

Political Violence in Bangladesh: Nature and Causes



A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

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January 2009

**Dedicated
to
My Parents**

Akhter Ferdousi Jahan
Md. Kamar Uddin Shah

Declaration

I do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled **Political Violence in Bangladesh: Nature and Causes**, submitted to the Institute of Bangladesh Studies, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science, is my original work. No part of it has been submitted, in any form, to another university or institute for any other degree or diploma.

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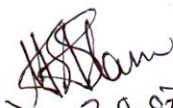
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Certificate

We certify that the dissertation entitled **Political Violence in Bangladesh: Nature and Causes** is the original work of Kamrun Nahar. It is done under our guidance and supervision. It is the researcher's own achievement and not a conjoint work.

We have gone through the final draft of dissertation and therefore approved it for submission to the Institute of Bangladesh Studies, University of Rajshahi in obtaining the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.


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Abstract

Violence includes mental torture, physical attack and destruction of property. Since independence, political violence in Bangladesh has resulted in a spate of occurrences and scores of casualties. Ruling party along with law-enforcement agencies and oppositions along with their allies took strong stances against each other. This study deals with this major crisis. The professed objectives were to identify nature, causes and consequences of violence in Bangladesh. To attain these objectives, this work limitedly used primary data, while extensively incorporated secondary data. The study period included six regimes from 1972 to 2006. Used methods were Historical, Case Study and Induction. Analysis reveals that abuse, assault, arrest-detention-imprisonment, vandalism, bombing, abduction and killing are common in this land. The main cause of violence was influence of imperialist great powers upon internal politics. These powers sometimes backed governments to suppress oppositions and sometimes backed oppositions to wage movement allegedly through supplies of money and arms. Godfathers, mostly ministers, MPs and local government heads, reared the armed youths and hired poor pickets, who perpetrated most crimes such as atrocious killing and terrifying bomb-blasting during strikes and elections. Because of political influence upon law-enforcement agencies and judiciary, criminals roved at large. Pakistan has allegedly backed Islamic fundamentalists and militants of Bangladesh since independence. International Islamist terrorist groups – Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Harkat-ul-

Jihad-al-Islami Pakistan, Rohingya rebel groups of Myanmar, Indian insurgent groups of Tripura and Assam had links with our rightwing and leftwing extremists. Socioeconomic factors such as poverty, little literacy or improper education, family background and change in values also begot political terrorists. Violence had impacts on person, family, society and state. Bomb-blasts and assaults took lives of those, who were only family earning members. These incidents increased disabled persons in society and caused economic downgrade in state. However, violence may be abated through taking some measures. These measures are free and fair elections, independent judiciary, economic development, unique, systematic and scientific educational system, ban on politics in educational institutes and alerts in boarder, hilly and forest areas.

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My friend Jahed Ahmed (writer and co-moderator of www.mukto-mona.com) first inspired me to work on political violence and helped improve my English through many constructive remarks. I thank those judges, police officers, army officers and other respondents, who gave interviews to me sincerely.

It is difficult to give vent to feelings in word for how much my family was by the side of me. They were my mother Akhter Ferdousi Jahan, father Md. Kamar Uddin Shah and three brothers- Md. Moshir Rahman, Shah Md. Mahmudur Rahman and Md. Shohidur Rahman.

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New Changes

According to the advice of the respected Bangladeshi examiner, the researcher has brought some significant changes in this revised dissertation. These changes are as fellows.

Deleted Chapter titled 'Suggestive Policy Measures'

The former Chapter Nine having suggestions has been deleted.

Revised Conclusion

The present Chapter Nine titled Conclusion has been revised satisfactorily.

Available Primary Data

As, the question has risen whether primary data are incorporated or not, the researcher wants to declare humbly that primary data are not presented in tabular form but presented in descriptive manners either in the text or in notes at the end of every chapter. These data are available under following subchapters.

Jamaatul Mujahidin Bangladesh (pp. 90-91, notes 43-44)

Some Cases of Victims (pp. 95-96, notes 53-57)

Various Organizations and Institutes (pp. 101-102, note 79)

Pakistan (p. 111, note 12)

China (p. 118, note 33)

Illegal Arms and Ammunition (p. 141, note 23)

Influence upon Transfer and Promotion of the Police (p. 147)

Torture in Custody (p. 148)

Government Case, Criminal Procedure Code Section 494 and Law officers (p. 152)

Bail and Influence of Ministers (p. 153)

Corruption in Jail (p. 154)

Ways of Publicity (p. 157, note 72)

Examples of Terrorists (pp. 177-178)


20.07.09
Dr. M. Zulfiquar Ali Islam

Acronyms

AA	:	Arakan Army
ACR	:	Annual Confidential Report
AHAB	:	Ahle Hadith Andolan Bangladesh
AL	:	Awami League
ALP	:	Arakan Liberation Party
ARIF	:	Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front
ARNO	:	Arakan National Organization
ASP	:	Assistant Superintendent of Police
ATTF	:	All Tripura Tiger Force
BBCP	:	Bangladesher Biplabi Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)
BBS	:	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BCL	:	Bangladesh Chhatra League
BDR	:	Bangladesh Rifles
BIDS	:	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
BNP	:	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CIA	:	Central Intelligence Agency
CID	:	Criminal Investigation Department
CMLA	:	Chief Martial Law Administrator
CPB	:	Communist Party of Bangladesh

CPD	:	Center for Policy Dialogue
CPI-M	:	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CrPC	:	Criminal Procedure Code
CSP	:	Chhatra Sangram Parishad
DB	:	Detective Branch
DC	:	Deputy Commissioner
DGFI	:	Directorate General of Forces Intelligence
DIG	:	Deputy Inspector General
DL	:	Democratic League
DPA	:	Democratic Party of Arakan
EGDNC	:	Ekattarer Ghatak Dalal Nirmul Committee
FBI	:	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GA	:	Ganatantric Aikyajot
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
HuJI-B	:	Harkat-ul-Jihad-al Islami Bangladesh
ICS	:	Islami Chhatra Shibir
IDL	:	Islamic Democratic League
IG	:	Inspector General of Police
IIUC	:	International Islamic University Chittagong
ISI	:	Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate
JCD	:	Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal
JF	:	Jatiyatabadi Front
JGP	:	Jatiya Ganatantrik Party
JI	:	Jamaat-e-Islami

JMB	:	Jamaatul Mujahidin Bangladesh
JP	:	Jatiya Party
JMJB	:	Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh
JSD	:	Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal
KGB	:	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (State Security Committee)
LeT	:	Lashkar-e-Taiba
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NAP	:	National Awami Party
NBCS	:	Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj
NLFT	:	National Liberation Front of Tripura
NUPA	:	National United Party of Arakan
OSD	:	Officer on Special Duty
PBCP	:	Purba Banglar Communist Party
PPCP	:	Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist, pro-Peking)
RAB	:	Rapid Action Battalion
RAW	:	Research and Analysis Wing
RSO	:	Rohingya Solidarity Organization
SB	:	Special Branch
SP	:	Sarbahara Party
SP	:	Superintendent of Police
UN	:	United Nations
UPP	:	United People's Party
VDP	:	Village Defense Party

Glossary

- Activists : They are those party members, who are active during movement.
- Agarbati : An essence, often used in religious ceremonies.
- Al Haramine : A Saudi Arabia-based Islamic non government organization (banned throughout the world).
- Amir : The chief leader of an Islamic political party.
- Ansar : A law-enforcement agency. It was established for security and reconstruction of rural areas in Bangladesh during the regime of President Zia.
- Awami Juba League: Youth wing of the mainstream Bangladesh Awami League.
- Bahini : A force.
- Bangladesh Chhatra League: Student wing of Bangladesh Awami League.
- Bazar : An open market place of essentials.
- BIDS : A research-based Institute of Bangladesh on economic development of the country.
- CIA : Central intelligence agency of the United States' federal government. It was created in 1947 to collect information for national security.
- Dal : Political party.
- Deputy Commissioner: District Administrator.
- DGFI : The detective branch of the army working for national security of Bangladesh.
- Fari : Police outpost.
- FBI : The chief criminal investigation agency of the United States' federal government.

- 15 Dal : An alliance of AL-led 15 political parties, mostly socialist minded ones.
- Hafezi Madrasa: An Islamic institute that makes learners versed in the Quran.
- Harkatul Jihad (Mufti Hannan): A faction of Islamist outfit Harkatul Jihad. Mufti Hannan was chief leader.
- Islami Aikya Jote: An alliance of some Islamic political parties.
- Islami Chhatra Shibir: Student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh.
- Islamist Militant Groups: Islamist outfits.
- Jamaat : Short name of Islamic fundamentalist party Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh.
- Jatiya Sangsad Bhaban: National Parliamentary House.
- Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal: Student wing of the mainstream Bangladesh Nationalist Party.
- Juba Commando: Youth wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh.
- Juba Dal : Youth wing of Bangladesh Nationalist Party.
- Juba Sangram Parishad: It was a 14 youth wing-alliance of 14 opposition political parties, led by AL wing Awami Juba League during the regime of President H.M. Ershad.
- Kata : Three bamboos are fastened together with ropes in the top that makes an angel.
- Katha : A Bengali measure of land that includes 320 square cubits.
- KGB : It was the intelligence agency of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from 1954 to 1991.
- Kharezi Madrasa: A private Islamic institute.
- Lungi : A cloth for men.
- Mahabharat : The Hindu mythology.
- Mahajan : Usurers.
- Mahakuma : A defunct administrative unit below a district.

Mujibism : A theory of former President Sheikh Mujib. It compiled 4 principles in constitution - democracy, socialism, secularism and nationality.

Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj: A dissolved political student wing. It was active under patronization of President H.M. Ershad during his regime.

Natun Bangla Juba Sanghati: A dissolved political youth wing. It was active under patronization of President H. M. Ershad during his regime.

Odhikar : A non-government human rights organization.

Operatives : They are those party workers, who operate most activities during movement.

Oppositions : It is meant for either opposition parties or opposition leaders and workers collectively.

Paurasava : A local administration of a district.

Purba Banglar Communist Party (M.L.): A faction of banned Purba Banglar Communist Party. Mofakkhar Hossain Chowdhury was chief leader. This party was much active in Khulna, Bagerhat and Chuadanga Districts till 2004.

Purba Banglar Communist Party (M.L.- Janajuddha): A faction of banned Purba Banglar Communist Party. It took birth in the 2000s. Abdur Rashid alias Tapan Malitha was chief leader. This party is active in Khulna, Bagerhat, Satkhira, Jessore, Chuadanga, Jhenaidah, Rajshahi Districts, etc.

Qadiani Community: A Muslim minority.

Qawmi Madrasa: An Islamic institute, dependent on society (for fund).

RAB : A working elite force of law enforcement agency. BNP government established it in 2004.

Rabita-Al-Alam-Al-Islami: Saudi Arabia-based Islamic non-government organization.

RAW : Intelligence agency of India.

Revival of Islamic Heritage Society: A Kuwait-based Islamic non-government organization.

Rakkhi Bahini : A defunct elite force of law enforcement agency. Government of Sheikh Mujib established it in 1972.

- Sadr : Headquarters of a district.
- Samyabadi Dal (Toaha): A leftwing party. Its first chief leader was Mohammad Toaha.
- Sarbadaliya Chhatra Aikya: An alliance of Bangladesh Chhatra League-led all party student wings.
- 7 Dal : An alliance of Bangladesh Nationalist Party-led 7 political parties, mostly Islamic minded ones.
- Shramik Dal : Labor wing of Bangladesh Nationalist Party.
- Shramik League: Labor wing of Bangladesh Awami League.
- Swechhasebak Dal: Volunteers' wing of Bangladesh Nationalist Party.
- Swechhasebak League: Volunteers' wing of Bangladesh Awami League.
- Tender-Business: Selling of tenders on corruption and nepotism.
- Thana : Police station.
- Union : An administrative unit below an upazila. It administers a fixed cluster of villages.
- Upazila : An administrative unit below a district.
- Urs : A Bengali traditional Islamic gathering. In this gathering, people sing religious songs and dance.
- Waqf : A charitable gift of land or property by a Muslim in the name of Allah for a religious institute or asylum.

Chapter One

Introduction

In ancient ages, when human beings lived in groups and state did not develop in the world, groups often attacked one another for snatching food, tools and land. When nations developed, states often invaded one another by dispatching forces for the same reason. These sporadic attacks spread in epidemic forms all over on earth during the World War I & II. Violence reached the highest peak at war. Before time wiped out, from minds of peoples, the bitter memory of World War I that caused over 40 million casualties, the deadliest World War II had taken lives of roughly 72 million people. After two world wars, new independent countries of Asia and Africa fell again in crisis of internal conflict, backed either by their previous imperialist states or by new imperialist ones. Such countries were Congo, Nigeria, Somalia, Nepal, Rwanda, Sri Lanka and Myanmar. All of these countries were once colonies of powerful states and exploited by those highly. When in African country Rwanda, violence between two ethnic groups — Hutu and Tutsi — for political power massacred between 500,000 and 1 million lives in 1994, in Asian country Sri Lanka, fights between government army and rebels killed 64,000 people from 1983 to 2001. Therefore, human beings were not in peace from the East to the West. Peace only cried her heart out at carnage. Likewise, politics was never sound in Bangladesh. In ancient ages, kings ruled various small parts of this land; they often confronted each other for the occupation of others' domains, and occupied those lands either by expelling or by killing former kings. Hindu Sena kings often killed their Buddhist opponents for power. This situation did not improve while Muslim rulers were seated on the throne. The main feature of Sultanic period was that Muslim rulers generally occupied power through conspiracy and assassination. From 1205 to 1765,

conspiracies raised regicide toll to 41 out of 115 Bengal sultans. Through conspiracy and bloodshed, a body of British traders in collaboration with some assembly members of Nawab Siraj-ud-Dawlah seized power of Bengal in 1757. Later the whole Indian subcontinent went under British Empire. During British rule of about 200 years, when Bengal was a part of India, politicians often struggled for rights and independence, and had to undergo extreme mental trauma, as common political means of British rulers were either killing political leaders by direct fires or hanging them on death sentence through false prosecution. In 1947, independence of India through its division into two different states gave birth to a new promising state named Pakistan with two provinces — the West and the East. Rulers of the West were not less cruel than previous ones towards East Pakistanis. Pakistani rule often faced the protest of Bengalis against government exploitation. Until independence, 1971, governments often threw leaders in jail, filed false charges and used army in killing scores of protestors and innocents.

The tradition of conspiracy and bloodshed dominated this land some hundred years. It has gradually become an incurable disease, and even independence could not cure the old disease from society. Democratic practices have not much developed since independence; rather incompetent leaders have caused political instability. Political leaders have been using armed terrorists increasingly for the greed of power. Today political violence is the major and identified crisis that is destroying social harmony and frustrating economic development programs. This study deals with political violence of Bangladesh having time-limit from 1972 to 2006. It has identified nature, involved bodies and causes of violence in Bangladesh. A brief analysis of consequences and presentation of recommendations have added more attractions for readers.

intervals. There were six major ruling periods of different governments from 1972 to 2006. All ruling periods were sick with violence between ruling and opposition parties, between their student and labor wings, between various inter-party factions, etc. Both ruling and opposition parties often attacked each other to disrupt their meetings and rallies. A spate of tri-party clashes among police, ruling and opposition activists often ended in scores of casualties. African writer Mercy Ababa called the era of Sheikh Mujib ‘the darkest part of the history of Bangladesh’ when few cabinet-and-family members of Mujib were responsible for misappropriation of money and social-political crimes.³ Later, whoever came to power, his family or ministers entered the realm of such crimes as stated above. Zafarullah said, ‘General Ziaur Rahman’s reign.....was marked by repeated instances of bloody violence.’⁴ Journalist Alamgir Hossain commented on the nine years’ rule of President Ershad by calling him ‘country’s longest surviving dictator’.⁵ More than 300 human lives were sacrificed in the movement against autocrat Ershad from 1982 to 1990.⁶ Professor Md. Maniruzzaman Mian said that terrorism was widespread during the tenure of AL headed by Sheikh Hasina.⁷ Only during first three months of 1996, animosity between opposition and ruling parties caused ‘120 deaths, thousands of casualties and widespread property damage.’⁸ Professor Dr. Harun-or-Rashid called the regime of BNP-Jamaat (2001-2006) ‘a reign of terror’.⁹ All these comments proved the prolonged instability inhabited this land through all regimes.

The ruling party usually tries to use police force as safeguards of its illegal activities. Instead of checking unlawful activities, policemen become persecutors and aides of criminals. Policemen can arrest a person for any suspicious criminal activity without a warrant or under an order from a magistrate under the Section 54 of Criminal Procedure Code. They can detain him under Special Powers Act (SPA) of 1974. Every government misused SPA and Section 54 to harass political opponents through arbitrary arrest and detention without formal charges. Every government used serial detentions and criminal charges against oppositions purposively and intentionally. Some of these were true while many were false.

Election violence is common in the country. Ruling and opposition parties intimidate voters, threat, kidnap, and/or kill rival candidates and polling agents, hurl bombs at polling centers and rig votes. Campus violence between rival political parties is a common phenomenon in colleges and universities. Attack and counter attack between rival student wings of different parties result in casualties in an alarming rate. They often expel one another from hostels and occupy residential seats by force. From independence, 1971 to 23 April 1998, 25 persons were killed and more than 5,000 including students, policemen and out-comers were injured at the University of Rajshahi.¹⁰

Besides, some political parties, which have particular ideologies, believe power is in hands of oppressors and exploiters; so violence is the only way for the salvation of their own oppressed group. Examples are revolutionary socialists, Islamic fundamentalists etc. AL regime (1996-2001) met the rise of Islamist outfits as another devastating power, which made the development of the country uncertain. They hurled bombs at various cultural functions in national ceremonies. Bomb- and grenade-attacks were staged in/at/on public places, *mazars*, cinema halls, opposition leaders, meetings and rallies etc from 2001 to 2005. All these attacks already took many lives and maimed many. Islamist militants were often suspects. They saunter everywhere in disguises of pious and harmless ordinary people, who are supposed not to be innocent from recent investigations.

‘Human rights defenders in Bangladesh include journalists, writers, and academics, staffs of non-governmental organizations, lawyers, and members of professional bodies.’¹¹ When human rights defenders are vocal against abuse of power by ruling party, government forces such as police, army and other law-enforcement agencies arrest and persecute them through arbitrary detention as well as file series of false criminal charges against them. If any published report is derogatory to the popularity of a political leader, hired raiders sometimes ransack, torch or bomb offices of national dailies. According to Reporters Sans Frontieres (France), more than 110 journalists were physically attacked, 130 were threatened and 25 were arrested in 2003.¹² Enamul Huq Chowdhury, senior staff reporter of *Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha* (Bangladesh News

Agency), and a Reuters stringer were detained from December 13, 2002 to January 5, 2003. The reason was that they published comments of Home Affairs Minister in several Reuters reports. When human rights defenders criticize human rights abuses of Islamic parties, for example, abuses against minorities, Islamic party activists attack them physically. When they publish stories of politicians and their retinues regarding their involvement in smuggling, corruption and the like, they are also targets of attacks by armed gangs. Armed activists and hired criminals of ruling and opposition alliances either send death threats to or maim or kill them deliberately. Governments freeze funds of non-government human rights organizations on the unsubstantiated allegation of either treason or anti-government activities when they protest against human rights violations of ruling personnel.

Occasionally, minorities, mostly tribes, Hindus and Ahmadiya, become victims of attack because of political, social and religious issues. There were evidences that law-enforcers tortured Hindus during AL government under Sheikh Mujib. Rakkhi Bahini arrested 20 Hindu youths at Rambhadrapur Village under Madaripur Mahakuma in Faridpur District on February 3, 1974. Most of them were fishermen. They were beaten with canes and guns highly. Females named Aruna Sen, wife of underground communist leader Shanti Sen, and Rani Sinha were taken as detainees on February 6, 1974. They were hung from ceiling and beaten through the whole night. Rani was made naked, sexually harassed and caused bleeding through beating.¹³ Yet BNP supporters perceive Hindus give votes for AL because of AL's past secular stand in independence war, 1971. This is why following the general elections of October 2001, BNP supporters victimized hundreds of Hindu families. Their crimes were beating, rape and arson attack on property of these minors.¹⁴

In Bangladesh, presently most political incidents take place in urban areas, while some take place in villages before and after elections. But in some villages, where extremists are active, there they often attack people for ransoms in the name of politics.

Why violence occur and recur in this green land, who involved are, and how we can get relief from this persistent crisis—answers of all these questions have been studied in this research.

Review of Related Literature

Ahmad and Akhter (2005)

Major Episodes of Political Violence in 2004

This book provides a chronology of grenade attacks and killings that mostly took place in 2004 and previous years. The study describes the background of JMJB and activities of Bangla Bhai along with his force. It also includes persecution on oppositions by police during strikes and killings of journalists by assailants. Writers describe RAB's formation and its related Acts. They provide evidences of violence by the then ruling BNP and Islamist fundamentalists against Ahmadiya and Hindu minority. But this book does not analyze all incidents in the manner of research work but presents those in the manner of news reports.

Karlekar (2005)

Bangladesh: The Next Afghanistan?

This is an excellent research work that identifies how militancy took place in Islam in Saudi Arabia during Abd al-Wahab and how Shah Waliullah Dehlavi of Delhi (1703-64) introduced Wahabism into India. It describes the continuance of Wahabi creed in Indian subcontinent by Titumir, Hazi Shariatullah and Dudu Mian during British rule. The study goes through histories of Indian partition, exploitation of West Pakistani rulers over East Pakistanis and emergence of Bangladesh. The study states how Golam Azam's return in Bangladesh revived Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh. The writer identifies ISI's links with Al-Qaeda and its activities in Afghanistan, India and Bangladesh. He also refers major bomb attacks and killings during BNP regime (2001-06). This book detects the connection between Jamaat and those militant groups of Bangladesh, which believe in Wahabi creed. It finds out similarities between Jamaat and Taliban on the basis of their views. On the above condition, the writer concludes the possibility of Bangladesh to be a country like Afghanistan under Taliban rule. But he exclusively gives his attention to terrorism of Islamist fundamentalists, while both ruling and opposition violence is not highlighted, which is the major crisis of this country.

Kabir (2005)

Extremism in Bangladesh: Poverty is the Root Cause

This is a research work that revolves round political and religious extremism. It presents definitions of violence and extremism. It also provides the historical background of terrorism and terrorist groups of the world. The study flies a while over Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi tribal rebels. The study gives details of active leftwing extremist and Islamist militant groups of Bangladesh. Writers set examples of those research studies that reveal whether poverty and illiteracy were causes or not behind such international terrorist groups as were Hamas (Palestine) and Hezbollah (Lebanon). Then, they present stories of some notorious terrorists of Bangladesh and finds out links between poverty and terrorism. Thus, they identify poverty as the root cause of violence in Bangladesh ignoring others.

Amnesty International USA (2005)

‘Bangladesh: Human Rights Defenders under Attack’

Human rights organization Amnesty International published a rich research report titled ‘Bangladesh: Human rights defenders under attack’ in 2005. It has highlighted violence against those human rights defenders, who include journalists, writers, academics, staffs of non-government organizations, lawyers, and members of professional bodies. Perpetrators are both law-enforcement state agents, namely police and army, and political activists as well as hired criminal gangs. Against independent work of human rights defenders, there are some pressure-points, i.e., political polarization, a culture of gun violence, tension between secularism and religious politics, a shrinking liberal space for expression of opinion and equality before law. All these have been well-discussed here. This report presents causes of human rights violations, assault and killing cases of journalists and officers of non-government organizations, and provides recommendations for governments of Bangladesh. But the hiatus is that this report revolves round abuses against a significant class, leaving discussion on those against political oppositions. Besides, it presents cases of killing and assault against journalists and NGOs personnel that occurred in the early 2000s while such incidents of previous years since independence have been overlooked.

US Department of State (2001)

‘Bangladesh: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices-2000’

US Department of State submitted this report to the Congress. It is an excellent evaluation of human rights practices in Bangladesh during AL regime (1996-01). It presents evidences of human rights abuses and violence both by ruling party in association with law enforcement agencies and by oppositions. It reveals that oppositions were often victims of arrest and arbitrary detention under Section 54 of Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) and Special Powers Act (SPA) as well as false criminal charges by police. It also presents evidences of social violence on women, Ahmadiya religious minority, domestic servants, child-workers and Rohingya refugees. The report highlights the then condition of some ongoing cases. These cases were against former President H.M Ershad for corruption and misuse of power during his tenure, against conspirators in the assassination of former President Sheikh Mujib, and against 8 persons, accused of four senior AL leaders’ murders in jail in November, 1975. This report exposes evidences of government coercion on press, media, assembly and association. The hiatus is that all discussion revolves round the regime of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina (1996-2001), while other regimes have been overlooked.

Mortoza (2004)

Bangladesher Underworld Ebang Rajniti

Journalist Golam Mortoza took interviews of some extremists. These interviews disclosed that godfathers enticed poor youths with money and ideology. Later, leaders used them either to kill targets for extortion or to remove rivals from the earth for political triumph. This book has narrated the grisly rise of many notorious underworld denizens along with their gangs in Dhaka and their cold-blooded killings since the reign of General H.M. Ershad. The journalist presents life-histories and interviews of some godfathers. These godfathers are AL leaders- former Paurasava Chairman of Laxmipur M.A. Taher, former MP of Feni Jaynal Hajari, former MP of

Narayanganj (Fatulla-Siddhirganj Constituency) Shamim Osman and former BNP MP of Chittagong-7 Salauddin Kader Chowdhury. This authentic book also unearths the truth of an innocent youth AL Worker Jamal's murder in police-lockup, former JP MP Golam Faurq Avi's involvement in Model Tinni's murder, Journalist Gaffar Chowdhury's baseless reports against former Chief Advisor of caretaker government '91 Sahabuddin Ahmad, autocratic rule of every government heads from 1972 to 2000, etc. It is not a research work but a witness of history with a compilation of some praiseworthy articles.

Arif (1995)

Underground Jiban: Dwitiya Khanda

In this unique book, the writer gives accounts of his breathtaking experience on underground politics. He got direct involvement in Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party during independence war of Bangladesh, 1971. After getting victory at war, Awami League (AL) formed government. The special law-enforcement force *Rakkhi Bahini* and AL tortured and killed *Sarbaharas* in Mymensingh in 1972. Arif's name came to the list of *Rakkhi Bahini*. There was no other option for him than choosing underground life. After two months, he was sent to Narayanganj with organizational duty. He was employed as the regional head of Faridpur in September, 1974. There, he noticed *Sarbaharas* established their strong hold in this area including Madaripur. But party was engaged in indiscriminate killing and *thana-fari*-bank looting in the name of revolution against national enemies. Party President Siraj Sikder was arrested at Hali-Shahar, Chittagong, brought to Dhaka and shot dead. After his lynching, internal conflicts among frontline leaders became severe and huge bloodshed occurred. This bloodshed spread among comrades. Comrades continued revengeful attacks and crimes through years that ended the idea of revolution. This book delineates past activities of Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party that were limited to 1977; therefore it has not the description of its present activities.

Rajshahi University Library
 Documentation Section
 Document No. D-3113
 Date 03/11/10

Islam, Major Rafiqul (1991)

Swairashasaner Nay Bachhar: 1982-90

As an eyewitness, Major Rafiqul Islam narrates how history facilitated the introduction of an autocrat into power in Bangladesh. Conflicts and conspiracies have been high among government-and army- personnel since independence. The army was sharply divided into two anti-groups - freedom fighters and repatriates. Among the repatriates from Pakistan, Hossain Mohammad Ershad, who later became Major General, was the beneficiary of a series of conspiracies in army. After a bloodless military coup, he assumed power on March 24, 1981. As a Chief Martial Law administrator and later as a President, he ruled country 9 years through the suppression of oppositions. Opposition movement escalated from October 10, 1990 and overthrew autocrat Ershad on December 6, the same year. Government coercion caused scores of casualties during the movement. This historical and praiseworthy book ends in 1990 and does not proceed further. Therefore, the book limits itself in the discussion of autocrat's era and leaves other regimes.

Huq, Abul Fazal (1994)

Bangladesher Rajniti Sanghat O Paribartan: 1971-1991

In this book, Professor Abul Fazl Huq narrates how Pakistan emerged from the divided Indian Sub-Continent on the issue of two different religions. Pakistan included two faraway provinces - East and West. The both had quite different cultures. East Pakistan later emerged as independent Bangladesh after a nine-month's bloody independence war, 1971. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-led Bangladesh Awami League ascended power in 1972. In severe political turmoil, some army officers assassinated Sheikh Mujib along with his family on August 15, 1975. Within a series of coups, two Generals - President Ziaur Rahman and President H.M. Ershad assumed power successively. A mass-movement of 1990 overthrew autocrat Ershad. After parliamentary elections of 1991, the new government restored parliamentary democracy. This historical book describes constitutional changes, participation of oppositions in parliament, clashes between ruling and

oppositions, economic conditions, and law and order situation during these periods. Though the writer argues reasons behind assassinations of two Presidents, he does not present general reasons behind all incidents of violence in Bangladesh. Also, the study limits itself till 1991 and does not proceed further.

Siddiqui (1984)

Kathamalar Rajniti: 1972-79

The core issue of this book is that politicians do not keep promises most of the time in Bangladesh. Here, the writer describes various political incidents of 1972-79. He chiefly states the murder and mayhem by different private forces of then ruling Bangladesh Awami League along with its elite law-enforcement agency *Rakkhi Bahini* while they were engaged for the establishment of *Mujibism*. According to his claim, victims were different AL factions, opposition National Awami Party (NAP), Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) and others. The book also states some AL leaders and bureaucrats were plunged into corruption and nepotism while dishonest traders were engaged in smuggling and black-marketing that reasoned economic downgrade. Because some national dailies and weeklies took a stance against activities of ruling AL, government took action against many. In this political storm, President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated in the military coup of August 15, 1975. After other two military coups, Major General Ziaur Rahman assumed power. This book identifies offences of ruling AL, but overlooks those of oppositions. Therefore, its discussion seems somewhat prejudiced.

Operational Definition of Key Concepts

Some concepts frequently come throughout the work. These concepts are violence or political violence, abuse, vandalism, arrest without warrants, kidnapping, assault, bombing and killing. These words have specific meanings in this study; therefore, their meanings have been made clear for readers in the following.

Violence

Encarta Encyclopedia defines violence as ‘the use of physical force to injure somebody or damage something’.¹⁵ Wikipedia Dictionary says, ‘Violence is a general term to describe actions, usually deliberate, that cause or intend to cause injury to people, animals, or non-living objects.’¹⁶ According to the World Health Organization, violence is ‘the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against another group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.’¹⁷

In broad sense, violence is generally divided into three categories — 1) domestic violence, 2) political violence and 3) social violence. UNESCO presents three categories of violence — 1) self-inflicted violence, 2) interpersonal violence and 3) organized violence. Self-inflicted violence means intentional self-destructive behavior, for examples, suicide and self-mutilation. Interpersonal violence is behavior between victim and offender, for examples, child abuse and homicide. Organized violence refers to violent behavior of social and political groups having specific socio-economic and political objectives, for examples, armed conflict and war.¹⁸ This study deals with both interpersonal and organized violence only related to politics excluding the first category.

Political Violence

Political violence ‘is a common means used by people and governments around the world to achieve political goals.’¹⁹ In general word, violence of a person or group on another for political purposes is called political violence. Government, law-enforcers, oppositions, even citizens can be perpetrators, who make justification of their activities.

In this research, political violence means aggressive behavior of both oppositions and government at each other. Government dispenses violence with the help of law-enforcement agencies and its own political parties. Law-enforcers beat oppositions with bamboo-sticks and rifle

butts in rallies and meetings arrest them without warrants and torture them in detention. Extra-judicial killings are also many. On the other side, ruling and opposition activists and hired criminals use some very common means of violence on each other. These means are assault, bombing, kidnapping and killing. Also, oppositions, sometimes in association with agitated mobs, torch and wreck such public and private properties as are buses, cars and government buildings during strikes. Besides, political parties abuse each other with oppressive words that create political unrest. All these are here considered violence that is broadly in three types, i.e., mental torture, physical attack and destruction of national wealth.

Abuse

There are many kinds of abuse, usually meaning physical and psychological molestation such as sexual abuse, spousal abuse, child abuse, human rights abuse and verbal abuse. But this research has only analyzed verbal abuse. Generally, verbal abuse means ‘the use of foul language, obscenities or demeaning talk directed at another.’²⁰ This study has used the term for statements and speeches delivered by political leaders to their political opponents as threats and insults.

Vandalism

Vandalism can be replaced with the term ‘property damage’. An individual or a body of retinue can damage any public or private property from personal resentment or for showing demonstrations.²¹

But this study has narrowed down this definition to some extent. Armed and aggressive political activists break and set fire to buses, cars and government buildings for showing demonstrations during strikes, sieges, processions and the like. Only these activities have been studied in this category.

Arrest without Warrants

When oppositions show demonstrations against government in rallies and meetings during general strikes, police arrest a huge number of oppositions without warrants and hold them as detainees. This type of illegal arrest as a tool of torture under Special Powers Act (SPA) of 1974 and various sections of Criminal Procedure Code have come in this study.

Kidnapping

Generally, in law, kidnapping means illegal capture and detention of a person by force, threats or deceit for ransoms, revenge or any other issue.²² This study has only discussed the kidnapping of political leaders by their opponents. The purpose of kidnapping is either to harass or to kill opponents secretly before elections or other time so that they can be removed forever from the way of political rivals.

Assault

Here, assault includes beating with hands, feet and rifle butts and attacks with deadly weapons like knives. Political activists, policemen or groups assault opponents that cause small-scale or fatal injuries to individuals.

Bombing

Bombing means a terrorist-attack by dropping bombs.²³ Usually, this attack of a person or group is targeted at either an individual or people or property. There are some kinds of bombing such as area-bombing, suicide bombing and sabotage. All those major bomb-and grenade attacks that were directed at political leaders, cultural or political functions, buildings, rallies, meetings etc in Bangladesh have been incorporated in this study.

Killing

Killing means causing death of a person by another one intentionally and illegally. According to the common law, if someone injured a man and if he died from the injury within a year and a day from the moment he was injured, the first man would be guilty of murder. If law provides support behind the killing, it will not be counted as a killing, for example, the killing of enemies at war.²⁴

In this research, political killing, assassination and extra-judicial killing have been discussed.

Objectives

This research work was done in the context of Bangladesh on following objectives —

- (i) to analyze the nature of political violence,
- (ii) to identify involved bodies and countries in political violence,
- (iii) to detect causes of political violence,
- (iv) to search out consequences of political violence, and
- (v) to give some recommendations.

Hypotheses

This study tested two hypotheses.

- (i) Ruling parties are more offensive than oppositions.
- (ii) Political violence is mainly the outcome of foreign influence and terrorism of political parties.

Research Methodology

This research is largely a descriptive and explanatory in nature. It is based chiefly on secondary data that are associated with primary data as well.

Secondary Data Collection

Most data were collected from secondary sources, mainly from major national dailies, magazines, related books and website-articles. For the collection of secondary data, historical and case study methods were used.

(a) Sources

National dailies: This study mostly relied on The Daily Sangbad and Prothom Alo. But data were largely cross-checked with those of most well-known national dailies. Those dailies were The Daily Ittefaq, Banglar Bani, Ganakantha, Dainik Bangla, Daily Purbadesh, The Daily Ajker Kagoj, The Daily Bhorer Kagoj, Jugantor, The Daily Janakantha, Muktakantha, Amardesh, Shamokal, The Bangladesh Observer, The Daily Star and The Independent.

Magazines: Sugondha, Politics and Society (weekly magazine of the daily JaiJaiDin) and Ajker Surjodoy.

Books: More than 60 books on politics, law, psychology, religion and fiction. Following 20 books were thoroughly studied and consulted in developing this thesis.

Amzad Hossain, (1997), *Bangladesher Communist Andolaner Ruprekha*.

Dr. Abul Fazal Huq, (1994), *Bangladesher Rajniti Sanghat O Paribartan: 1971-1991*.

Ekram Kabir, Rita Bhowmick and Nasreen Begum, (2005), *Extremism in Bangladesh: Poverty is the Root Cause*.

Golam Mortoza, (2004), *Bangladesher Underworld Ebang Rajniti*.

Halim Dad Khan, (1992), *Muktijuddha O Golam Azam*.

Hiranmay Karlekar, (2005), *Bangladesh: The Next Afghanistan?*

Jogindranath Sarkar, (n.d), *Chhotoder Mahabharat*.

M.A Wazed Mian, (1995), *Bangladesher Rajniti O Sarkarer Chalchitra*.

Major Rafiqul Islam, (1991), *Swairashasaner Nay Bachhar: 1982-90*.

Md. Afsar Uddin, (2002), *Sadharan Manobiggan*.

Muhammad Shams-Ul Huq, (2001), *Bishwarajjiti O Bangladesh*.

Professor Monzur Ahmad, (2005), *Oswabhabi Manobiggan*.

Raisuddin Arif, (1995), *Underground Jiban: Dwitiya Khanda*.

Rezwan Siddiqi, (1984), *Kathamalar Rajniti: 1972-79*.

R.N. Vyas, (1978), *Education for Political Leadership*.

Shamim Ahmad, Fahad Ferdous and Farhana Akhter, (2005), *Major Episodes of Political Violence in 2004*.

Siraj Sikder, (1989), *Siraj Sikder-er Rachana Sangkalan: 1968-1974: Ditiya Khanda*.

Suchita Ghosh, (1995), *China-Bangladesh-India Tangle Today: Towards a Solution?*

Syed Anwar Hossain, (1994), *Bangladesh Dakkhin Ashia O Bahirbishwa*.

Tareq Shamsur Rehman, (1993), *Soviet-Bangladesh Samparka: 1971-1975*.

Articles and Reports: 112 articles and 5 government reports. Following 5 articles and reports were helpful in the development of this thesis.

Amnesty International USA, (2005), *Bangladesh: Human Rights Defenders under Attack*.

GOB, (2006), *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*.

Kamrun Nahar, (2005), *Bombing: An Evil Power of Political Violence in Bangladesh*.

Saira Rahman Khan, (2001), *Abuse of Section 54 of the Code of Criminal Procedure*.

US State Government, (2001), *Bangladesh: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices-2000*.

Others: Two movies and Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia 2002 CDs.

(b) Methods

- 1) **Historical Method:** Historical method was applied to collect incidents, to find out the background of political parties and militant groups, to know activities of foreign countries - international terrorist groups in Bangladesh, and to understand the nature and causes of violence.
- 2) **Case Study Method:** Many cases of abuse, arrest, vandalism, bomb-attacks, killing, etc were studied for inferences and conclusions, and some were incorporated as evidences. Cases of victims were provided to show evidences of JMB violence and those of terrorists to understand how family and personal miseries let them choose terrorism. Case studies of godfathers presented the picture of their crimes.

(c) Periods of the Study

From 1972 to 2006, there were six major government periods. These periods were-

Regime of Sheikh Mujib (1972-1975)

Regime of Ziaur Rahman (1976-81)

Regime of H. M. Ershad (1982-90)

Regime of Begum Khaleda Zia (1991-1996)

Regime of Sheikh Hasina (1996-2001)

Regime of Begum Khaleda Zia (2001-2006)

This study collected and analyzed the remarkable incidents of political violence, occurred during the above selected periods. These incidents were of seven types such as abuse, assault, arrest-imprisonment, vandalism, bombing, kidnapping and killing. The selection of six periods was helpful for inferences and conclusions.

Primary Data Collection

Some data were collected from primary sources through interviews of related persons. Interviewees were of various categories. In order to examine the accuracy and validity of secondary data, these concerned persons were interviewed in stimulating environment.

(a) Interviewees

- 1) Professors, lecturers and related persons of University of Dhaka, University of Rajshahi, Shahjalal Science and Technology University, Sylhet, International Islamic University Chittagong and Darul Ihsan University, Rajshahi Branch. (Political Science, Peace and Conflict Departments and Others). (15 persons)
- 2) Police officers of different places. (10 persons)
- 3) Army officers of different places. (5 persons)
- 4) Judges of different places. (5 persons)
- 5) Party activists of Natore. (5 persons)
- 6) Party leaders of Bogra, Rajshahi and Sylhet. (5 persons)
- 7) Arms sellers of Dhaka and Rajshahi. (5 persons)
- 8) Victims of Bheti Village under Raninagar Thana in Naogaon District and of Palashi Village under Bagmara Upazila in Rajshahi District. (10 persons)
- 9) Madrasa related persons (teachers, students, neighbors and neighboring store-keepers) of 5 madrasas- *Al Markazul Islami As-Salafi*, located at Nawdapara, *Al-Jamia Al Islamia Allama Muhammad Mia Kasemi (R) (Islamia Madrasa)*, located at New-market Area, *Jamia Islamia Shah Makhdum*, located at Dargapara, *Laxmipur Bhatapara Faruqia Hafizia Madrasa*, located at Bhatapara, Laxmipur and *Jamia Usmania Husainabad*, located at Bakhrabaj under Matihar Thana - all in Rajshahi. (20 persons)

Total sample size was 80.

(b) Interviews

This study took both formal and informal interviews. Questionnaires had both open- and close-ends. Interviews of above discussed groups were taken on different issues. Three types of interviews enriched this study. These were 1) face-to face interviews, 2) indirect interviews, and 3) telephone interviews.

Face-to Face Interviews

Professors were interviewed with a questionnaire to know the major causes of political violence in Bangladesh, which countries and international terrorist groups were involved in bomb-attacks from 1999 to 2006, how to abate violence and which political party they like.

Lecturers of International Islamic University, Chittagong and related persons of Darul Ihsan University, Rajshahi Branch, were also informally interviewed to know the curriculum and the connection of these universities with Jammāt-e-Islami.

Judges were interviewed with a questionnaire to know how high officials, MPs or ministers influence trials in favor of them, what reasons of delayed justice are, how judgments can be implemented, etc.

Arms-sellers were informally interviewed to know present prices of some modern arms and ammunition.

Victims were interviewed to know stories of tortures on them by JMJB Leader Bangla Bhai along with his retinue and to identify reasons.

Madrasa related persons of 5 madrasas located in Rajshahi were interviewed to get information about the connection of those institutes with militant groups and foreign countries.

Indirect Interviews

Police officers were interviewed with a questionnaire to know how political influence works upon them, what laws support them in indiscriminate arrest of oppositions from meetings and processions, how they torture detainees, which punishments are fixed for corrupt police officers, etc.

Interviews of political activists contained questions on life-histories and family backgrounds, from which the researcher drew conclusions about how they got involved in violence.

Telephone Interviews

The researcher had informal interviews with political leaders over telephone for the collection of different party slogans.

The researcher had informal interviews with army officers over telephone to know about foreign arms that Bangladesh army use presently.

(c) Places of Interviews

Interviews were taken from Bogra, Natore, Naogaon, Pabna, Rajshahi, Dhaka and Sylhet Districts. Interviewees were randomly selected.

Presentation and Analysis of Data

Both primary and secondary data were presented in descriptive and qualitative manner. Data were incorporated as evidences for arguments and conclusions. Historical and induction methods were applied to reach in some generalizations through the analysis of similar incidents. Primary data were cross-checked with findings of secondary data.

Justification

Deep-rooted and thriven political violence destroys social harmony and inserts inconsistency into individual personality. We have reached in that critical condition, in which people must be anxious about their insecure future. In this moment, it is a crying need to get proper solutions for the salvation of this nation from their self-invited curse. If government, policy-makers and politicians follow given remedies, society will get a healthy social, political and economic environment in future. As all less-developed countries of Asia and Africa have nearly similar features of politics, other countries will also get benefits from this research.

Human rights organizations named *Odhikar* and *Amnesty International Bangladesh* published annual reports on violence in Bangladesh. Some books were written on violence of a single regime. Yet, this land lacks in well-organized research-book covering incidents of all regimes, though other countries of the world must have rich writings on this issue. In our country, national dailies bravely publish related daily reports. Their valuable data were collected, presented and analyzed impressively; therefore, the importance of this research has increased two-fold for future researchers.

Organization and Structure

The present doctoral dissertation focuses on the nature, causes and consequences of political violence in Bangladesh. It is organized within ten chapters. Chapter One is a blueprint of this research that identifies the crisis and determines the ways of whole work. To keep pace with objectives, Chapter Two infers the nature of this crisis in this country descriptively. Chapter Three, Chapter Four and Chapter Five locate the internal and international bodies, which were, directly and/or indirectly, involved in causing violence in Bangladesh from 1972 to 2006. Here, cases of some victims are presented after field

investigation. Chapter Six and Chapter Seven detect some political and socioeconomic causes behind the acerbate situation. Chapter Eight reveals the disappointing fact that political violence had impacts on individual nationals, family, society and state simultaneously. Chapter Nine suggests that some policy measures for government and people be helpful in peace-settlement in society. Chapter Ten concludes the major findings of the whole research and highlights the foci of present research in a concise fashion.

Limitations

The journey of violence from 1972 to 2006 was an odyssey. It was not easy to depict a panorama of many incidents. Yet, hard endeavors were taken for satisfying readers. Since it was impossible to include all, only major and remarkable incidents were accumulated.

Extensive fieldwork on different cases could create amazing empirical knowledge but it was avoided because of lack of time. The face to face interviews of extremists and militants could disclose hidden truth. Neither institute nor government provided personal security. This is why this path was not also walked through.

Cases of the assassination of Presidents and highlighted massive bomb-attacks on special days necessitated the help of detective reports. If these papers were studied, some hidden truth would come to light. Unfortunately, these papers were not available for researchers.

The researcher left a psychological survey on people of different categories, such as, victims, eyewitnesses, terrorists and ordinary people, who read and watched TV news daily. It could disclose how increase of violence kept impacts on their minds in Bangladesh.

Human rights organization named 'Odhikar' has kept records of the killed and the wounded since 1994. Records of previous years were not found. Therefore, this study did not present comparative statistical tables on incidents of each regime.

Detention, false criminal charges against oppositions by ruling parties and rape on relatives of political rivals as a means of taking revenge were not elaborately discussed so that this work could not become too large.

Interviews of university professors and lecturers were not much successful. Except for some, most of them were reluctant and non-cooperative because of the sensitive research topic. On the other hand, service rules and regulations of police and judges do not permit them to share official experiences and records with outsiders. This is why not many but a limited number of them gave interviews on the condition that the researcher would not disclose their names.

Except for libraries of Rajshahi, those of other universities were not available. Complex official formalities of entrance, distance, expense and time were obstacles in this case.

Above all, it was not easy to reach in conclusions about some political cases. Many books on politics, which failed to avoid favoritism absolutely, had confusing and opposing information on the same issue. Therefore, there were difficulties in finding out truth.

Endnotes

¹ Mortoza, 2004, pp.12, 48.

² Rashid, 2002.

³ Pressbox.Co.Uk, 2006.

⁴ Zafarullah, 1996, 'Notes 1,' p.140.

⁵ Alamgir Hossain, 'Fall of a Dictator,' *Sunday*, 6-22 December, 1990, cited in Chowdhury and Jahangir, 1992, p. 99.

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- ⁶ Islam, Major Rafiqul, 1991, p.16.
- ⁷ Mian, Muhammad Maniruzzaman, 2000, p. 136.
- ⁸ Human Rights Watch.
- ⁹ Rashid, 2002.
- ¹⁰ Mahbub, 1998.
- ¹¹ Amnesty International USA, 2005.
- ¹² Reporters Sans Frontieres.
- ¹³ Siddiqi, 1984, pp. 38-46.
- ¹⁴ Amnesty International USA, 2005.
- ¹⁵ Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, 2005, 'Dictionary: Violence.'
- ¹⁶ Answers. Com.
- ¹⁷ Kabir, 2005, p.11.
- ¹⁸ Kabir, 2005, p.11.
- ¹⁹ Nelson Education Ltd., 2005.
- ²⁰ Free-Definition.Com, 'Abuse.'
- ²¹ Free-Definition.Com, 'Property damage.'
- ²² Encyclopedia.Com; The Free Dictionary, 'Kidnapping'; Wikipedia, 'Kidnapping.'
- ²³ The Free Dictionary, 'Bombing.'
- ²⁴ Free-Definition.Com, 'Murder.'

Chapter Two

Nature of Political Violence in Bangladesh

Political situation facilitates violence during opposition-called strikes, sieges, blockades and meetings as well as before and after national, local and associational elections. Violence looms large between supporters of election candidates. Some candidates become MPs, chairmen and members of local administration, secretary general, secretary and other cadres of a political party and its wings. Besides, many incidents get political color but those actually ensue from personal issues of rivals on land, females or share of extortion. In violence, ruling party is often more responsible than oppositions as the former has power. In the 1970s, people had, in their hands, old types of arms and ammunition. Hence, the number of casualties was not many. From the 1980s, gradually more destructive arms and ammunition entered this land. In the 1990s, the number of casualties increased significantly. In broad sense, two types of violence are common in Bangladesh — inter-party violence and intra-party violence. In these two types, fighters use some common ways, which are abuse, assault, indiscriminate arrest and imprisonment, wrecking of property and arson attack, bombing, kidnapping and killing.

Inter-party and Intra-party Violence

Interparty feuding is common in Bangladesh. During all regimes, both ruling and opposition parties have an eye for an eye of each other. Violence not only comes as furious physical attack and onslaught of offensive language but also comes as the ransacking of party offices and property damages of rivals. Rivals attack each other mostly during strikes and elections all over the country and it is chiefly intense in cities and towns.

Every party has various wings among students, youths and labors etc. that ramify into central and local units. Every wing has more than one faction. In internal violence, student and

labor wings are more involved than other wings.¹ They started this ominous practice from the night of April 4, 1974 when 7 AL student leaders were serially shot dead at the gate of Mahasin Hall of Dhaka University. Shafiul Alam Pradhan, then secretary general of AL student wing, and some others were sentenced to life imprisonment in this case. They got release after getting an amnesty during the regime of President Ziaur Rahman.

Conflicts and clashes occur mainly because of leadership, share of extortion and the reign of an area. Though apparently it seems that the reason is political, the pivotal reason is economic. Supporters of a party avariciously long and strive for leadership because higher cadres are sources of awesome power that they use in earning illegal money. Most clashes take place before and during elections of student and labor associations. Warring factions often scuffle and run armed fights in the meeting of workers or leaders in party offices. But they also fight against each other in public places and educational institutes, mostly in colleges and universities. All parties are plagued with this crisis from grass-root to top level. In collaboration with supporters, leaders either remove their vulnerable rivals from the earth ruthlessly or give them such terrible lessons that they no more dare to enter their dominions. The wild fight for dominions is the same as that one of jungle king male tigers. In some cases, clashes ensue from the issue of teasing girls, though leaders give them political color. In clashes, lethal weapons are used that results in many casualties.

Abuse

In the early post-independence period, politicians had not democratic attitudes and neither ruling party- nor opposition- supporters could hold their tongues. Bangladesh Chhatra Union had celebrated the 14th national assembly in Sohrawardi Garden for three days. In the inauguration ceremony of that assembly, chief guest then Prime Minister Sheikh Mujib said, 'Parasites in the name of political parties and movement have crowded everywhere in society and state.' He added that these parasites had to be rooted out forever (by people) from the land of Bengal.² Violent activities of oppositions let government take hard attitudes towards oppositions, but the statement-

‘Parasites had to be rooted out forever’ –was a verbal abuse that might provoke oppositions and lead them for destructive activities. President Zia delivered his speeches in four places of Thakurgaon on May 8, 1978. There, he said, ‘We have to annihilate Awami-Bakshalis forever to re-establish democracy and to acquire economic solvency in the country.’³ The word ‘annihilation of opposition’ did not bear democratic attitude.

The culture of slashing abuses has transmitted from one generation to another later periods. Political leaders and workers abuse opponents in high-sounding and surly voice when they deliver speeches in open public meetings and processions. Their invectives and tirades are unbridled, sarcastic and provocative. They excoriate one another by disclosing their earlier discredits and secret offences. Moreover, before national or local elections, everyone often propagandizes against his rival to motivate voters in casting vote for his party. These offensive words and made-up stories that are aimed at demeaning the popularity of rivals get under the skin of targets, and acerbate situations. Rivals make plots for taking the revenge of all old insults anyhow. Thus, violence ensues from abuses.

On the other hand, members of parliament (MPs) disgorge less constructive remarks on bills. They inspire bitter quarrels with torrents of insults and innuendos. Tensions arise among MPs that passes to party members outside parliament. Sometimes, clashes among ruling and opposition parties open sporadically in different cities-towns on the issue of parliamentary quarrels.

Also, after elections, leaders of defeated parties express anger through violent speeches and undemocratic activities. None can accept defeat with a smile and congratulate the winner with open arms. Being defeated in parliamentary elections of 1991, then Chief Opposition Leader Sheikh Hasina said to the ruling party, ‘I won’t let (you) live in peace a single day.’ Being defeated in parliamentary elections of 1996, then Chief Opposition Leader Begum Khaleda Zia said to a ruling party leader in parliament, ‘Shut up, stupid (*beyadab, chup*)!’⁴

Life-threats in broad daylight are more common among workers of rival parties. Some examples are *toke dekhe neba* (I shall teach you a lesson), *jane mere felba* (I shall kill you), *duniar buke ar thakte parbi na* (You can no more live on earth), *jadi beshi barabari karis, tor parinati habe tor baba ba bhaiyer mato* (If you cross your limit, your end will be the same as that of your father or brother), etc. Even frontline leaders were found in using such life-threats from rostrums against rivals occasionally. These abuses are offences but none files suits against abusers, as cases are expensive and time-consuming.

Vandalism

Both opposition and ruling parties show aggressive and unyielding attitude towards each other through reckless destruction during clashes. Among the ways they follow, two ways are — breaking of public and private property and setting fire to those. Wrecking and arson attack are not new phenomena in political culture. In the midnight of December 13, 1974, a group of 15-16 armed miscreants led an arson attack on the office of Ghorasal Rail-Station. Fire burnt documents and furniture to ashes. Suspected anarchists were Sarbaharas, who called for strikes on December 15 and 16, 1974. During a JSD-called strike on November 26, 1974, pickets attacked some BRTC buses and broke glasses in some places of Dhaka.⁵ Since independence, these strategies have increasingly been used in politics.

Generally, political activists break and torch different types of property such as vehicles, shops, neon sign boards by the side of roads, rival party offices, houses of political leaders and workers, and government offices. Moreover, pickets uproot railways, slippers and fishplates to interrupt rail-communication that causes miserable train-accidents.⁶ Petrol pumps of rich political leaders were also torched in different time.⁷

Parties should arrange meetings in fixed public places. But from the end of the 1970s, opposition and ruling parties often chose busy streets for meetings. Then, vehicles with passengers stood still on streets for hours because of blockades. Because almost all movements take place on streets at present, casualties and wrecking of properties outnumber past records.

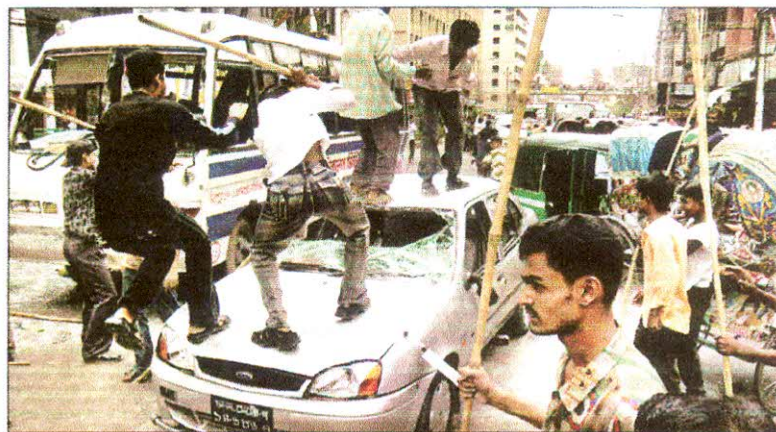
If policemen disperse opposition activists by baton charges and shooting and if armed ruling party activists associate them, it spurs oppositions for more destruction. They smash glasses and bodies of buses, microbuses, cars etc with hockey-sticks, bamboos and brickbats sometimes sporadically, sometimes in havoc. But evidences also prove sometimes with least provocation they spark organized and massive destruction to create a fearful and outrageous situation that compels ruling party to respond to their demands from the fear of losing public support. On the other hand, there are evidences that anti-strikers, i.e., ruling party activists similarly show power through destructive activities side-by-side oppositions during clashes. Activists, especially hired terrorists, also ransack and loot stores of rivals. At times, political activists go on rampage on trifle personal issues.

During the regime of autocrat General H.M. Ershad, different opposition alliances led democratic movement. Since government led coercion on oppositions through many ways of violence, fermentation rose that let oppositions commit massive destruction and conflagration. The movement made justification for them in wrecking and torching many government offices and vehicles. Government offices were symbols of exploitation to people. During a general strike, called by oppositions for the fall of autocrat H.M. Ershad on November 12, 1987, demonstrators ransacked, broke and set fire to 3 Bank branches and 7 government offices in Dhaka. During a general strike of opposition alliances on November 14, 1987, pickets set fire to three government offices of Customs and Excise Division at Chara Dighir Par in Sylhet.⁸ Then, situation was quite different and government offices became symbols of exploitation to people, as the autocrat was in power. It was a juggernaut that overthrew the autocrat. Though governments came through elections after the end of an autocrat's era, no party got rid of the old practice of movement. So, the juggernaut has continued its full-fledged journey.

Two noticeable incidents of vandalism, which created havoc, are here. On November 7, 1998, BNP had a scheduled meeting in observance of 'National Revolution and Solidarity Day'. Soon after the disruption of meeting by police and ruling AL supporters, BNP activists vandalized more than 200 vehicles including luxury buses and set about 50 vehicles ablaze in Dhaka City.⁹

Central Juba Sangram Parishad, led by Awami Juba League, was the 14 youth wing alliance of 14 opposition parties. This alliance laid a siege to PDB (Power Development Board) Office located at Matijhil demanding government steps for the solution of electricity crisis on May 9, 2006. On that day, agitated operatives of central Juba Sangram Parishad smashed more than 100 various vehicles from Topkhana Road to Dainik Bangla Mor in Dhaka at 11 am.¹⁰

Aggressive pickets created havoc at times. A noticeable reason behind it was economic inequality in society. If economic disparity is high in a society, the poor consider themselves deprived. Houses, cars and other things of the rich are symbols of disparity to them. From a feeling of deprivation, hatred ensues. When a chance comes, they use it in the destruction of private property. Another reason is that party leaders inspire them for this crime. In some cases, a political leader hired terrorists for property damage of his rival.



জামায়াতের পুঁজু পন্থা পাল্টা বাড়ুয়ের মতো নয়। গতকাল দুই সন্ধ্যায় পরিচয়ের কিছুই জল বেয়েও ফর্কত্বের সময় এ ছাত্রমণ্ডল বেগুনের বাড়ুয়ের পিঠের ধার অনেক ঘালঘাল —সাইফুল ইসলাম সন্ধ্যায়

Photo 1

Pickets of Juba Sangram Parishad were breaking vehicles on a street in Dhaka on May 9, 2006.

Source: Prothom Alo, 10 May, 2006.

Arrest, Detention and Imprisonment

Oppositions often become victims of indiscriminate and discriminate arrest as well as of false criminal charges in Bangladesh. Generally, policemen make a clean sweep of demonstrators to frustrate democratic movements. But it is also true that opposition activists and their hired pickets show least democratic behavior and lead destructive activities during movements. In some cases,

there are few alternatives for law-enforcers to arrest for the sudden control of agitated and aggressive mobs. An interviewed police officer said, 'Think of a lawless situation. If we have not the power of arrest, how can we control the agitated mob?' Despite this question, arrest and imprisonment were used for suppressing oppositions in every regime. Governments failed to play neutral roles with arrestees and detainees. All governments have used Special Powers Act (SPA) to arrest, detain and torture oppositions since SPA was enacted in 1974.¹¹

At district level, police can use Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) Section 54 and Police Act Section 34 while each metropolitan has its own ordinances for indiscriminate arrest. 'Under Section 54 (S54) of the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1898, individuals may be arrested under suspicion of criminal activity without any order from a magistrate or a warrant.'¹² Such other sections of CrPC are 55, 57 and 151.¹³ Section 167 grants remand. All these laws are sources of persecution. There were allegations that police also used, at orders of high officials, DMP Ordinance Sections 74, 81, 83, 86, 88, 92, 93 (a), 97 and 100 for indiscriminate arrest in different time.¹⁴

While a military government declares martial law in a country, open political activities are not allowed and fundamental rights of people are withheld. Martial Law often becomes the source of government violence. From 1976 to 1990, both military governments arrested thousands of oppositions in order to frustrate and weaken their democratic movements. Political captives, who were punished after prompt trials under the general courts-martial, had no scope for appeals to public courts. Former Organizational Secretary of AL and Former MP Abdur Razzak had been imprisoned in jail without trial for about 2 years and six months from September, 1975 to January, 1978. President of CPB Mani Singh (78) was arrested on October 13, 1977, and got release from Dhaka Central Jail on April 23, 1978. Moreover, many hundreds of leaders and workers belonged to AL, CPB and other democratic parties were in jails of the whole country without the scope for trials in public courts.¹⁵ On May 26, 1979, then Home Affairs Minister Lieutenant Colonel (retired) Mustafizur Rahman said in parliament that 339 political captives and 2, 862 prisoners, punished under martial law, were in different jails in that time.¹⁶ In 1983, AL Leaders Colonel

(retired) Shawkat Ali, Latif Siddiqi, Harun-or-Rashid Molla, M.A. Malek, Mrs. Akhtari Moazzem, Shramik Leader Md. Abu Jafar, Communist Leader Manmath De, Chairman of Samyabadi Dal Muhammad Toaha, President of Krishak-Mukti Samiti in Dinajpur District named Haydar Ali Master, other BNP leaders and workers were in jails. Tortures on some leaders during and after arrest were found.¹⁷ On November 30, 1987, then Home Affairs Minister said 4,832 persons were arrested from 25 October to 30 November, 1987.¹⁸ Living in unhealthy jails, where food was scarce and rooms were incommensurate, some oppositions became very sick. Some tried to lead revolts inside jails of different places during the regime of President Zia. Police silenced these revolts by shooting that created the miserable history of murder and mayhem inside jails.

According to a government estimate, 10,582 persons were arrested under section 54 of CrPC in 2000.¹⁹ Police arrested about 1.25 lac political leaders, workers and innocents from 30 April 2004 to 5 February 2006. Law-enforcers arrested them during democratic movements of oppositions.²⁰

If the suspect is a threat to the security of country, a police officer may get a detention order for an arrestee from a district magistrate under SPA for 30 days. A parliamentary subcommittee report, released on September 7, 2000, revealed successive governments detained 69,010 persons from 1974 to 2000.²¹

Kidnapping

Kidnapping is a common feature of violence in Bangladesh. That freedom-fighters often kidnapped Pakistani armies was a stratagem of war in 1971. Experiences of war degenerate people's qualities in all countries and it becomes difficult for people to overcome this situation soon. Since independence, deviated persons and desperados have started kidnapping and their blind followers have continued this crime in Bangladesh. Oppositions, mostly extremists, often abducted ruling party supporters and their allies for killing, for example, in the period of 1972-75, a group of armed miscreants kidnapped Mainuddin Ahmed by force from a religious gathering named *waz-mahfil*. They fired into the gathering from rifles and SLR. They took Mainuddin to a

field and cut his head with a sharp knife at night on December 16, 1974. He was a worker of Awami Juba League and inhabitant of Ikra Village under Kotchandpur Thana in Jhenaidah.²² In later periods, different extremist groups and factions kidnapped the others because of inter-party and factional conflicts.²³ Gradually, this crime became a tool of political triumph. BNP and other parties were also victims.²⁴ Before and after different elections, political rivals were often abducted. Killing often followed abduction.²⁵

Kidnappers generally use three types of techniques. A gang takes away a victim by force from either his house or any public place. In most cases, kidnappers lie in ambush on the usual walking way of a victim. They suddenly swoop down upon him and take away to their den. In some cases, victim's one acquaintance is used as a spy, who calls for him to a particular place. When he arrives there, he falls in a dreadful and inescapable trap.

From independence war to 2006, there were many kidnapping cases. According to the figure of human rights organization 'Odhikar', total 93 political persons including leaders, workers and activists were kidnapped in 2005.²⁶ Though many kidnappings occur in the name of politics, their motives are economic gain. Rogues take hostages for extracting ransoms from their families. If families fail or delay in fulfilling their demands, they kill hostages so that they cannot disclose names of criminals to police officers. For this reason, sometimes they either decapitate a victim or dismember his body. But in some cases, political leaders hire terrorists to abduct rivals and liquidate them for removing thorns from their ways of successes. A much-talked kidnapping was the case of BNP Leader Jamaluddin Ahmed Chowdhury in Chittagong City. While he was returning home from his business-shop at night, some muggers kidnapped him on April 24, 2003. Kidnappers demanded a ransom of 1 crore takas from his family. The family of the victim suspected that then BNP MP of Chittagong-12 Constituency (Anwara area) Sarwar Jamal Nizam and his younger brother Maruf Nizam might be masterminds of this kidnapping, though the MP disclaimed it saying that this allegation was baseless.²⁷ At last, police rescued a skeleton and claimed it that of Jamaluddin, though there was a confusion regarding it.

Assault and Persecution

Assault and persecution have been found since independence of Bangladesh. According to the estimate of human rights organization 'Odhikar', total 8997 political persons including leaders, workers and activists were injured in 2005.²⁸ During strikes or public meetings, called by oppositions, both strikers and anti-strikers bring out processions on streets. They chase one after another, terrifying passersby and breaking tranquility of atmosphere. Since they are well-armed and bear lethal weapons, assault and counter-assault between two or more groups inevitably result in scores of casualties and make a point or street in city a pandemonium. Sometimes, innocent passersby, drivers and passengers of buses, cars etc, motorcycle-riders and rickshaw-pullers also become victims of assaults by insane and aggressive pickets.

Besides, political leaders and workers become victims of assaults personally. Rivals hire terrorists to grill one another. Perpetrators use such deadly arms and weapons as are heavy wooden or bamboo sticks, hockey sticks, knives, daggers, pistols, revolvers and shot-guns. The mayhem includes such atrocities as are gouging eyes, breaking bones of hands and feet, cutting veins, pouring petrol on the body and setting fire to it. Two examples are here, on November 25, 1986, activists, led by then Shibir President Amir Hossain, cut off a hand of Hamid in front of Sohrawardi Hall of Chittagong University in broad daylight and rejoiced with the cut-hand. They also brought out a procession with the cut-hand.²⁹ BNP Leader Manzurul Ahsan Munsif was a MP of Debidwar Constituency in Comilla (2001-2006). His reared terrorists allegedly laid AL Leader Abdul Khalek on road and ran-over his body by a motorcycle at Unjuti Village under Debidwar Upazila, Comilla District in 2006. Thus, they crushed his two feet.³⁰

Not only persecution on oppositions but also that on own party leaders and workers by the powerful is common. Some ministers, MPs, mayors and UP chairmen were threats to own party members, who carried opposing views. Disobedience brought dreadful punishment.

In clashes between ruling and opposition parties, submissive police certainly give paternal shade to ruling party. A group attack of police with heavy sticks causes persons' fatal injuries.

Journalists become victims of assaults by police, ruling party and oppositions while on duty in processions or public meetings. When a journalist makes a report on political sleaze of a minister or an MP, he becomes vulnerable to the attack of MP's harbored terrorists. The powerful want that their political sleaze does not take air through national dailies.

Examples of Assault on Journalists

The Period of 1972-75

Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to Bangladesh for a three days visit on June 27, 1974. He departed Bangladesh on June 29, 1974. On the day of his departure, police and elite law-enforcement agency *Rakkhi Bahini* were deployed on streets from Tejgaon Airport to Bangabhaban, Dhaka for keeping law and order. But *Rakkhi Bahini* suddenly started beating with SLR-butts on people who gathered on streets near Jatiya Press Club at 3.30 pm. They injured two journalists along with passersby. Law-enforcers wielded massive baton-charges on Sub-Editor of *Purbadesh* Shri Mahadeb Saha in front of Purbadesh Office and Reader-in-Charge of *The Bangladesh Observer* Kajem Uddin Ahmed in front of Bangabhaban on that day.³¹

The Period of 1976-81

Journalists brought out a peaceful procession for their five point-demands to government in Dhaka on May 16, 1978. Suddenly surrounding them, police charged batons and rifle butts desperately. 22 journalists were injured and 23 were arrested. A leg of Sri Sanjay Barua broke from massive baton charges.³²

The Period of 1982-90

Oppositions jointly gave a deadline of 10 November 1987 to autocrat H.M.Ershad for his removal. To frustrate this movement, police arrested leaders Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia on November 11, 1987. But when journalists including foreigners tried to take photos of arrestees, police charged batons on journalists, slapped and pushed them out by the neck. The throat of a reporter of the daily *Sangbad* was choked. Later, he was thrown to the ground.³³

The Period of 1991-96

Bangladesh Awami League laid a siege to parliament on April 7, 1994. Kazi Motahar Hossain was a reporter of the daily *Pathoker Kagoj* in Khulna. When he was on duty in front of AL office in Dhaka on that day, police beat him, even after getting his identity.³⁴

The Period of 1996-2001

BNP- led seven party alliance observed a strike on June 18, 1998. Two journalists, one of *Bangla Bazar* and the other of *Manab Jamin*, were persecuted on Khilgaon Bishwa Road, Dhaka.³⁵

The Period of 2001-2006

Terrorists of BNP MP Abdul Wadud Bhuiya in Khagrachari District beat at least 8 journalists during BNP regime (2001-2006). Indrajit Banik, journalist of *Shamokal* at Matiranga, was beaten so much that bones of his hands and feet were broken.³⁶

Bombing

During Independence war of Bangladesh 1971, freedom fighters often exploded bombs and mines on bridges, culverts, government office-buildings etc. The deliberate destruction aimed at damaging communication system so that Pakistani army could not move from one place to another easily and at frightening government. In October-November, bombs and mines were exploded in/on Television Building, State Bank Building, Election Office and railways in Dhaka. After the end of war, supporters of almost all political parties applied the previous training on explosives. In the 1970s and the 1980s, chiefly handmade and less destructive bombs, grenades, cocktails and crackers were often exploded. Gradually, more destructive explosives sneaked into this land that caused a dramatic rise in the number of casualties. From analysis, it is found that bomb-attackers are 1) ruling parties, 2) oppositions, 3) Islamic militants, 4) extremist communist parties, and 5) reared or hired terrorists.

Generally, bomb-attacks are targeted at people in/on 1) processions, 2) mass-meetings, 3) political party offices, 4) government office buildings, 5) private property of MPs, ministers, UP chairmen and other political leaders (for e.g. petrol pumps, business enterprises, houses, etc), 6) cinema halls, 7) Islamic gatherings like *Urs*, 8) cultural functions, 9) vehicles of political leaders and ordinary people, 10) different religious institutes other than mosques, i.e., churches and temples of Hindus and Buddhists, 11) offices of national dailies, 12) educational institutes, mainly universities and colleges, and 13) areas of martyr's monument.

When oppositions call for a strike or blockade or meeting either for demands of some democratic rights or for the resignation of government, ruling party activists and hired terrorists hurl bombs at them to frustrate and weaken their movement. Fermentation rises from it and oppositions take retaliation in the same way. There are evidences that sometimes oppositions hurl bombs at police without provocation. The reason is that oppositions consider policemen their marked enemies because policemen are often compelled to take the side of ruling parties.

Sometimes, series of bombs and grenades are showered in order not only to terrify opponents but also to exhibit their destructive and organized power. On the other hand, rival student political wings hurl bombs at one another during clashes in universities and colleges.

To oppositions, ruling party offices are symbols of persecution, and government offices are symbols of corruption and exploitation. So, they execute bomb-attacks on these when clashes open. In retaliation, frenzied ruling parties attack opposition party-offices as well as ravage all papers and documents.

Oppositions stage bomb-attacks on private property and vehicles of MPs and rich leaders from anger that sprouts from a feeling of deprivation. Almost all ministers and MPs become rich through corruption and the deprived think it right to destroy the rich anyhow.

Organized bomb-attacks are also staged on cinema halls and cultural functions. Bomb blasts occurred in/at Udichi Concert in Jessore on March 6, 1999, a Qadiani Mosque in Khulna on October 8, 1999, Ramna Batamul at Pahela Baishakh function on April 14, 2001, Baniachar Mission in Gopalganj on June 3, 2001, Roxy Cinema Hall and a circus party in Satkhira on September 28, 2002, four cinema halls in Mymensingh on December 6, 2002, Pagla Pir Mazar in Sakhipur, Tangail in 2003, the Shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal (R) on January 12 and May 21, 2004, *Urs* at the shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal (R) on January 12, 2004, two cinema-halls in Sylhet named Manika and Rang Mahal on August 5, 2004, offices of two cultural organizations named Udichi and Shatadal in Netrokona on December 8, 2005. Places of these attacks were very similar. It is clear that those, who believed in Wahhabi creed, were attackers, as they considered singing, dancing and culture of shrine un-Islamic and wanted to stop these activities in society. Organized and numerous attacks proved they had secret connection with foreign Wahhabis. Detectives identified that Islamist militants perpetrated these crimes.

During strikes, pickets take position on almost all streets and avenues. If vehicles come out, they hurl bombs and grenades at them. The right hand of a taxi-driver named Manik (22) blew off from a bomb attack of pickets at Jurain rail-gate in Dhaka on January 26, 1999.³⁷

Islamist outfits exploded bombs on a few non-Islamic religious institutes and NGOs. Extremist Hindus destroyed the Mosque of Babur in India on December 6, 1992. Afterwards, Islamist outfits attacked some temples of Hindus in Bangladesh in retaliation. Besides, they alleged that some non-Islamic NGOs not only exploited locale but also converted poor Muslims to Christians that infuriated them.

The regime of Sheikh Mujib faced frequent attacks of pickets on both government- and opposition based national dailies. The reason was that some dailies published news in the support of their own parties. Therefore, rival political parties considered national dailies not the ways of mass-communication but the means of scattering propaganda that might distract people's support from them. On the other hand, during different regimes, journalists were victims when they published political sleaze of godfathers and their reared terrorists, for examples, bomb attacks took lives of two journalists - Manik Chandra Saha (50) on January 15, 2004 and Humayun Kabir Balu (58) on June 27, 2004, both in Khulna.

From Independence, 1971 to 2006, almost all government regimes saw explosions on the eve of or on the very day of National Victory Day (16 December), Martyrs' Day (21 February), Independence Day (26 March), etc. Oppositions alleged activists of anti-independence parties orchestrated these bomb-attacks. In the period of first AL government (1972-75), most Islamic-fundamentalist parties and -outfits believed Bangladesh as a Muslim country was the old province of Pakistan. From religious outlook, they had the concept that Pakistan was a sacred place of Muslims. From this religious bondage with Pakistan, they believed the denying of Bangladesh' independence was a sacred work. On the other hand, extremist communist parties were also anti-independence as they believed the war of Bangladesh did not end till then and another war was necessary for socialist revolution. In later periods, clashes between ruling and opposition parties were also responsible for blasts in national days.

Bomb attacks are executed to eliminate political rivals. AL Leader and Former Minister of Finance Shah A. M.S Kibria and other 4 persons died from a bomb-attack on January 27, 2005. There was an allegation that BNP might be mastermind in this incident.

The first half of the 2000s was occupied with repeated explosions of Islamist militants. They had the goal of replacing Islamic ruling system and Islamic law with existing democratic ones. They orchestrated bomb attacks in 63 Districts on August 17, 2005 and left leaflets, added to bombs, with the demand of Islamic law. Bomb attacks were executed on two judges in Jhalakati District on November 14, 2005 and in court areas of Chittagong and Gazipur simultaneously on November 29, 2005. The reason was that then leaders and workers of JMB, Harkatul Jihad and Ahle Hadith Andolan were already arrested and imprisoned. Many cases against them were ongoing. Militants might wish to make their leaders free through threatening government, judges and people. Also, they had spite against judges because judgments were given against them.

Islamist outfits have suicide squads, which use techniques of international terrorist groups; so they must have had connection with international terrorist groups. They bore time-bombs inside ordinary things and utensils such as sweetmeat-packet, tiffin box, toy and flax. Militants were active in disguises of ordinary people, such as, petty *lungi*-sellers, *agarbati*-sellers, CNG-auto rickshaw drivers and hawkers. They often shifted from one city/town to another and hired houses at low rate in busy or silent areas. All of them maintained a very good network among themselves all over the country by throwing dust in eyes of police and people.

Bomb/grenade blasts occurred in the mass-meeting of Suranjit Sengupta at Dhirai in Sunamganj on June 21, 2004, Gulshan Hotel at Taltala, Sylhet on August 7, 2004 targeting City Mayor Badar Uddin Ahmed Kamran and the anti-terrorism rally of Awami League in front of AL headquarters, Dhaka on August 21, 2004. Clearly, political rivals targeted frontline leaders to terminate their lives and to silence their political demands.



Photo 2
Victims of grenade attacks in front of AL headquarters on Bangabandhu Avenue, Dhaka on August 21, 2004.

Source: <http://thedailystar.net/2004/08/22/d4082201011p.htm>

Killing

Rampant political killings were committed from independence to 2006. The first AL government met a large number of political adversaries. Extremist communists continued secret killing of AL leaders to topple government. During question hours in parliament on July 6, 1973, Home Affairs Minister Abdul Malek Ukil said that assassins took lives of 2035 persons from 1 January, 1972 to 30 April 1973 in Bangladesh. He added miscreants (extremists) killed 4925 persons from 1 January, 1972 to 15 June 1973.³⁸ Despite soft-core AL leaders' wish of responding to opposition demands peacefully, other hardcore leaders in government promoted the use of force. As a result, law-enforcers terminated lives of many adversaries including communists as evidences said.³⁹

Assassinations through military coups and counter coups terrified people in early years of Bangladesh. President Sheikh Mujib was assassinated in the military coup of August 15, 1975 and President Zia in the military coup of May 30, 1981. Assassins took advantage of favorable political situation when popularity of these Presidents was at a low ebb. A serial killing of army officers including Major General Khaled Mosharraf in counter-coups dismayed people from

November 6 to 8, 1975. Army officers and politicians were sentenced to death in the name of prompt trials under general courts martial, for examples, Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal Operational Leader Colonel Taher on July 21, 1976 and 12 army officers on September 23, 1981. Major General Abul Manzur and his associates- Lt. Colonel Matiur Rahman and Lt. Colonel Mahbubur Rahman were accused of assassinating President Zia. They needed to be brought under trial. They were arrested and shot dead by police at Fatikchhari in Chittagong on June 2, 1981 instead. MPs and frontline leaders were victims of killing, for examples, MP Golam Kibria of Kumarkhali on December 25, 1974, former BNP MP of Brahmanbaria named Shahjahan Hawladar Sujon on July 3, 2001, AL MP of Gajipur-2 Constituency Ahsan Ullah Master on May 7, 2004 and AL former Minister of Finance Shah A. M.S. Kibria on January 27, 2005. All these assassinations and killings were signs of political instability and absence of democratic values among politicians. Assassinations indicated that conspirators were local agents and imperialists of foreign powers. Killings among army officers proved that they had less unity and less trust among themselves. Both army officers and politicians were greedy of power. For their rise in power, they tried to remove rivals from their ways even through heinous crimes. The trial of general courts martial was a way of removing rivals from the earth.

Candidates and elected UP chairmen often become victims. Candidates are removed from the earth so that rivals can easily get victory in elections. Chairmen often win elections through vote-rigging. They maintain private armed forces to use them as umbrellas and to suppress rivals. Their complicity in crimes and misappropriation of sanctioned money and relief for ordinary people often raises high discontent among people. Taking the benefit of this discontent, their rivals kill them by hired and reared terrorist groups. On the other side, popularity of an elected representative becomes an obstacle to getting votes of his rival in next elections. Therefore, his enemy takes the extreme way. This culture of violence has been exercised from Union Parishad chairmen to MPs since 1972.

During movements, clashes between ruling and opposition parties open on streets while they bring out processions and arrange meetings. In these clashes, leaders and workers die from receiving bullets, shot either unintentionally or intentionally by fighters and police. Sometimes, they die by terrific grenade or bomb attacks, stabbing, beating etc. Workers were more killed than leaders as they were much more vulnerable because of their poverty and having less dignity in society.

Jingo extremist communists and Islamist militants terminated lives of many people by bombing, shooting, stabbing and beating. They worked for powerful leaders of ruling parties. Extremists killed the rich when they did not get the demanded extortion from them.

Gunfights and clashes between student wings of different parties resulted in scores of killings in universities and colleges. 61 persons were killed in the campus of Dhaka University from independence, 1971 to 23 April, 1998. Other Universities also have records of casualties.⁴⁰ The reasons were contest among rival parties for the occupation of most hall seats, internal conflicts, shares of extortion and in a few cases quarrels on teasing girls.

Some cases were found that a party faction terminated life of its own useless worker and imposed the responsibility upon some targeted opposition leaders or members. The inner motive was to harass them and destroy their political career. Such a miserable murder of BNP worker named Mohon was committed in Bogra in the last year of BNP regime (2001-2006).

The powerful such as ministers and MPs often order police to torture oppositions in custody that causes killings. A Human Rights Organization named 'Odhikar' reported at least 60 persons died in police-custody and jails in 1998.⁴¹

Journalists died in hands of hired terrorists of MPs and ministers when they infuriated them by publishing reports on their political sleaze. 13 journalists were killed by terrorists in south-west areas of Bangladesh in 10 years from 1995 to 2004.⁴²

Many killings seem apparently political but behind scenes, the actual reason is either economic or personal. Some are committed from quarrels on the share of extortion, contests for the dominance of an area and tender-business. Rivals hire professional and notorious killers for taking lives of contestants. In most cases, assailants resort to the trick of waylaying during an operation and suddenly swoop down upon targets.

Sometimes, terrorists kill a person and behead the dead-body so that none can identify the victim and it helps them escape arrest. Other times, terrorists behead the dead body or cut hands and feet as well as rejoice for taking revenge. These types of atrocities prove that human qualities such as morality and humanity have degraded to an alarming level.

Patronization of political terrorism for several decades increased the number of terrorists to a degree that threatened the normal life. High demand of people for the control of terrorism inspired BNP government (2001-2006) to engage RAB and police. These forces were used in huge extra-judicial killings of terrorists, which were massive human rights violation.

From analysis, it is found that victims of political killing are 1) labors 2) students 3) hired terrorists 4) local heads, especially UP chairmen and members 5) election candidates 6) journalists 7) university and college teachers 8) MPs and 9) innocents. Killers follow various ways of killing- shooting, stabbing, bombing, cutting of throat, beating, stifling etc.

The reasons of killing are inter-or intra-party conflicts on leadership crisis, shares of extortion, personal enmity on land, females and others, quarrels on trifle issues, extremist or militant political views, revengeful political culture, etc. It is easy for terrorists to kill anyone since the police cannot yet develop itself as a strong autonomous force for the security of people. According to the estimate of human rights organization 'Odhikar', total 310 political persons including leaders, workers and activists were killed only in 2005.⁴³

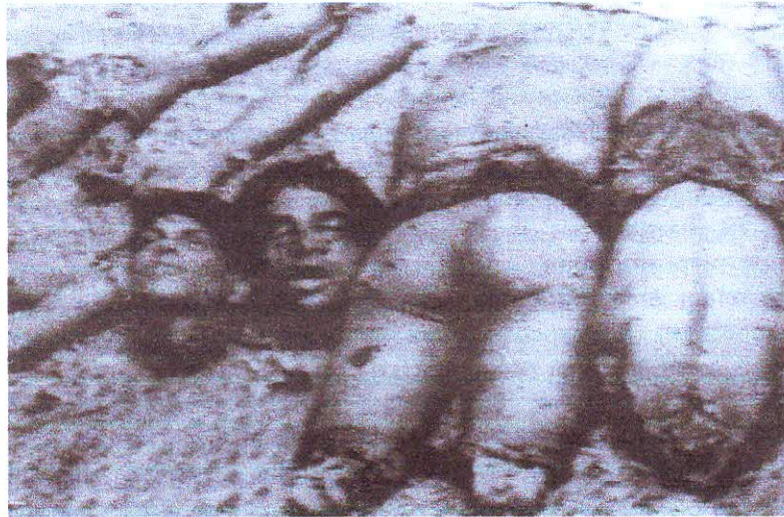


Photo 3

Dismembered bodies of two youths, whom terrorists killed on September 15, 2000.

Source: Ahmad, Badruddin, 2002, p. 66

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- ¹ On October 29, 1994, the *Daily Bhorer Kagoj* published that at least 53 persons were killed at Dhaka University in 23 years from independence, 1971 to 1994. But 29 persons out of 53 were killed because of internal conflicts among student wings of different political parties. See *The Daily Bhorer Kagoj*, 'Teish Bachhare Dhaka Bishwabidyalay Chhatra Sangathan-Gulor Obhyantarin Kondale 29 Jan Mara Gechhe,' 1994.
 - ² *Banglar Bani*, 12 November, 1973.
 - ³ *Dainik Bangla*, 9 May, 1978.
 - ⁴ Kaiyum, 1999, p. 27.
 - ⁵ *The Daily Sangbad*, 27 November & 15 December, 1974.
 - ⁶ For examples, see *The Daily Sangbad*, 16 December, 1974; *The Daily Sangbad*, 12 November, 1987; *The Daily Sangbad*, 19 June, 1998; *Prothom Alo*, 25 August, 2004.
 - ⁷ For examples, see *The Daily Sangbad*, 12 November, 1987.
 - ⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 13 & 15 November, 1987.
 - ⁹ The *Daily Sangbad* and the *Daily Ittefaq* reported that more than 200 motor vehicles were damaged while the *Bangladesh Observer* claimed 100 vehicles. See *The Daily Ittefaq*, *The Daily Sangbad* & *The Bangladesh Observer*, 8 November, 1998.
 - ¹⁰ The *Prothom Alo* and the *Jugantor* claimed that more than 100 vehicles were broken but the *Amar Desh* claimed more than 50. See *Prothom Alo*, *Jugantor* and *Amar Desh*, 10 May, 2006.
 - ¹¹ JSD Acting Secretary General Shajahan Siraj and Organizational Secretary Nure Alam Ziku came to meet imprisoned JSD Secretary General A.S.M. Rab in jail with the permission of Home Affairs Minister on November 23, 1974. But police arrested them under Special Powers Act from the gate of Dhaka Central Jail on that day. Other JSD leaders alleged the then government arrested them to frustrate the coming JSD-called strike of November 26, 1974. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 24 November, 1974.
 - ¹² Khan, Saira Rahman, 2001.
 - ¹³ Interviews with police officers, 13 April and 25 May 2007.

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- ¹⁴ *Prothom Alo*, 25 April, 2004.
- ¹⁵ Then, Former MP Kazi Mozammel Huq and Former MP Mahmudur Rahman Belayet were arrested and imprisoned in Dhaka Central Jail. Besides, Secretary General of CPB Mohammad Farhad, CPB Leaders and Workers Mokhesur Rahman, Jasim Uddin Mandal, Shri Apurba Kanti Dhar, Ali Azam, Mujahidul Islam Selim and Mantu Ghosh etc were in jails without trials. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 7, 18 January, & 26 April, 1978.
- ¹⁶ *The Daily Sangbad*, 27 May, 1979. *Till 26 March, 1978, AL Leaders Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Shri Fani Bhushan Mazumdar, Abdus Samad Azad, Nurul Huq, Zillur Rahman, Tofael Ahmed, Sardar Amzad Hossain, Abdul Kuddus Makhan, Shramik Leaders - Abdul Mannan, Kazi Mozammel Huq, Masudur Rahman Belayet and Khorshed Alam - etc were in jails. See, *The Daily Sangbad*, 1 April, 1978.
- ¹⁷ *The Daily Sangbad*, 10, 20, 22 May, 1 & 18 June, 1983.
- ¹⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 11 December, 1987.
- ¹⁹ US State Government, 2001.
- ²⁰ *The Daily Janakantha*, 7 February, 2006.
- ²¹ US State Government, 2001.
- ²² *The Daily Sangbad*, 18 December, 1974.
- ²³ For example, see *The Daily Sangbad*, 8 October, 1990.
- ²⁴ For example, see US State Government, 2001.
- ²⁵ For example, see *The Daily Sangbad*, 26 January, 1977.
- ²⁶ Odhikar, 2005.
- ²⁷ *Prothom Alo*, 6 October, 2004.
- ²⁸ Odhikar, 2005.
- ²⁹ Mahbub, 1998.
- ³⁰ *Prothom Alo*, 15 October, 2006.
- ³¹ *Dainik Bangla & Daily Purbadesh*, 30 June, 1974.
- ³² *Dainik Bangla*, 17 May, 1978.
- ³³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 12 November, 1987.
- ³⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 8 April, 1994.
- ³⁵ *The Daily Sangbad & The Daily Ittefaq*, 19 June, 1998.
- ³⁶ *Prothom Alo*, 11 October, 2006.
- ³⁷ *Muktakantha*, 27 January, 1999.
- ³⁸ Huq, Abdul, 1996, p.314.
- ³⁹ Badruddin Umar said AL government killed many communists. See Umar, 1990, p. 93.
- ⁴⁰ The killed were student leaders and workers of different political parties, professional terrorists and ordinary people. See Mahbub, 1998.
- ⁴¹ Mian, Muhammad Maniruzzman, 2000, p.25.
- ⁴² *Prothom Alo*, 29 June, 2004; Ahmad and Akhter, 2005, pp. 79-80.
- ⁴³ Odhikar, 2005.

Chapter Three

Major Political Parties and Government Forces

Internal political parties and government forces were responsible for violence in Bangladesh. Patrons of violence were most of the ministers, MPs, mayors, paurasava chairmen, Union Parishad (UP) chairmen and other powerful political leaders. Perpetrators were mainly student leaders and workers of different political parties who studied in various universities and colleges, labors who worked in different mills, factories and other places, hired poor people and hired terrorists. Student leaders and workers also perpetrated such crimes as were extortion, tender-business and intoxication smuggling.

When a ruling party descended from power, political godfathers and their fostered terrorists fled to India and some to western countries. Since West Bengal stands near long borders of Bangladesh and most of the West Bengalis have the same language as Bangladeshis, terrorists easily fled there and hid themselves among people. In collaboration with local influential persons, some rehabilitated themselves as long as a favorable political situation came in Bangladesh.

All political parties were somehow involved in violence in the history of Bangladesh. But backgrounds, nature and objectives of these parties were different. Between 1972 and 2006, over 100 parties worked in politics in different time, and some dissolved, while new ones sprung up. On the basis of political ideologies, parties can be divided into three categories.

Socialist Parties: Mani Singh-founded Communist Party of Bangladesh, Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani-founded National Awami Party (NAP), Mojaffar Ahmed-led National Awami Party (NAP), M.A. Jalil and A.S.M. Rab-led Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD), Haydar Akbar Khan Rano and Rashed Khan Menon-led Bangladesher Ganatantrik Andolan, Rashed Khan Menon-led Bangladesh Workers Party, etc.

Democratic and Islamic Minded Parties: Sheikh Hasina-led Bangladesh Awami League, General Zia-patronized Jatiyatabadi Ganatantrik Dal alias Jagdal, President Zia-founded Bangladesh Nationalist Party, Kazi Jafar Ahmad-led United People's Party, General H.M. Ershad-patronized Janadal, President Ershad-led Jatiya Party Bangladesh, Dr. Badruddoza Chowdhury-led Bikalpa Dhara, etc.

Islamic Fundamentalist Parties: Muslim League, Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, Islami Shashantantric Andolan, Islamic Democratic League, Islami Oikya Jote, Alem-Ulama-Mashaek Sangathan, Khelafat-e-Rabbani.

Neither socialist nor democratic parties strictly and honestly followed a political ideology from pre-war period to the present day. Almost all parties rather followed opportunism. Many notable leaders of different parties became renegades for better opportunities. As a result, disorders in their political directions and behavior were clear. In many cases, they attacked one another for either personal resentment or personal benefit. Islamic fundamentalists were much more attached to their ideology and desperate for the change of society. For this reason, they had hands behind subversive activities. Muslim League, Jamaat-e-Islami and Islamic Democratic League were anti- independence during independence war of Bangladesh, 1971.

Both ruling and opposition parties had similar inimical attitudes to each other and none of them could show least democratic behavior. Oppositions were often provoked by attacks of ruling party activists and government forces. Sometimes, they spurted destruction deliberately to create political turmoil for taking the benefit of a particular situation. From independence, 1971 to 2006, every opposition party opposed some right government-steps. On the other hand, ruling party ignored many right demands of oppositions.

Major Four Political Parties

Among over 100 parties, four major parties alternatively came to power either singly or in coalition. These parties were Bangladesh Awami League, Bangladesh Nationalist Party, Bangladesh Jatiya Party and Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh. Again, among these four, two mainstreams were Bangladesh Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party.

All ruling parties supplied huge illegal arms and ammunition to hands of their activists, and according to their orders, government forces were compelled to work for them. Therefore, opposition victims outnumbered those of ruling parties.

Bangladesh Awami League

Purba Pakistan Awami Muslim League saw the light as a communal political party in a meeting, held in Rose Garden, Dhaka from 23 to 24 June, 1949. Later, this party left the word 'Muslim' and introduced itself into politics as a secular one with a political objective before elections of 1954. This objective was to win general elections by contesting with the then ruling communal party. Every party takes the way that helps it to ascend power. Amzad Hossain said Awami League was pro-U.S. after elections of 1954.¹ When Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was a minister of East Pakistan, he went to the U.S. as a special guest for a state-visit being invited by then Vice-President Richard Nixon.² It proved that before 1971, the relation of Awami League (AL) with the U.S. government was friendly. Despite AL's getting the majority of Provincial Council in general elections of 1970, imperialist rulers of West Pakistan did not allow this party to form government. Besides, they ordered army to kill ordinary people along with Awami Leaguers. This torture and deprivation of power inevitably led the country to independence war.

Purba Pakistan Communist Party had turned its back upon China since 1962's war between India and China. After March 25, 1971, Purba Pakistan Awami League, Mani Singh-led Purba Pakistan Communist Party and Mojaffar Ahmed-led National Awami Party (NAP) took

shelter in India. The CPI, India government and the Soviet Union assisted these parties in war against West Pakistani rulers. Top AL leaders formed a migrant revolutionary government. Freedom fighters and people of East Pakistan made, in association with Indian army, this region free on December 16, 1971 and a new state named Bangladesh emerged.

AL led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held power in 1972. Various wings of AL were Chhatra League, Juba League, Shramik League and Swechhasebak League. After the end of war, Purba Pakistan Communist Party changed its name to Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB). This party and NAP (Mojaffar) cooperated with AL government in order to bring in socialist system through constitutional amendments. From 1971 to 1973, these three pro-Moscow parties took a strong stance against pro-tri-entente (Pakistan, China and the U.S.). Then, the pro-Pakistan and the U.S. were mostly war-criminal parties while the pro-China were extremist communist ones. Both ruling and opposition sides triggered violence at each other for retaliation. Anthony Mascarenhas claimed more than half and three lac fire-arms were in hands of ordinary people in Bangladesh in post-war period.³

Oppositions named Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) and National Awami Party (NAP-Bhasani) also alleged ruling party and its various wings often attacked and killed their supporters. There were evidences that AL attacked, in collaboration with police, on oppositions in processions and meetings. JSD Leader Nure Alam Ziku claimed Mujib-Bahini killed 10,000 JSD workers.⁴ Dr. Harun-or-Rashid, professor of political science at Dhaka University, was once a JSD leader. While a student, he accused Sheikh Mujib of killing some thousand JSD workers during AL regime (1972-75).⁵ JSD activists similarly either killed or injured many AL leaders and workers including other party members and even ordinary people between 1972 and 1975.⁶ Though CPB resorted to the way of co-operation with AL government, some leaders and workers brought allegations against AL activists for harassing and attacking them at the end of AL regime (1972-75).

Oppositions were arrested and had been imprisoned for a long time. Shramik League created a fighter group skilled with heavy sticks called *Lal Bahini* (Red Force). Its main work was to drive out oppositions from remote villages. In a meeting of *Lal Bahini*, Sheikh Mujib said, 'I'll help red horses to gallop.'⁷ He meant by red horses the *Lal Bahini*. Though Sheikh Mujib also delivered some peaceful statements in other places, this one was indulging to his party wing.

As the U.S. government was anti-independence of Bangladesh, AL turned its support to the USSR. From Independence war to 1990, AL was a semi-socialist party and pro-Soviet Union and pro-India. Famine broke out in Bangladesh in 1974; therefore food aid was essential for this land. On this issue, then AL government tried to revive the relation with the U.S. and Middle East countries for their financial assistance. Sheikh Mujib joined the OIC summit of 1974, reestablished Islamic Foundation and issued an amnesty for those war-criminals who were accused of petty offences. Despite his all endeavors for making balance with democratic, Islamist and socialist countries, Sheikh Mujib became a victim of conspiracy. Some army-plotters assassinated him along with his 21 family members on August 15, 1975.

When the biggest socialist state Soviet Union fell apart in the 1990s, this party appeared as a democratic one and changed itself from pro-Soviet Union to pro-U.S. The world's biggest democratic country U.S. had great influence like a god-father upon the politics of Bangladesh. Since there was no other way for a party than satisfying its godfather to hold power, AL set its sail as the wind blew. It corrected its final destination as the U.S government. But it often made alliance with socialist parties. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Moscow-following socialist parties sailed in the same boat with AL in financial crisis. They joined AL-led 14 party alliance not for ideological similarities but for existence. Before 1990, the objective of AL was to establish socialist government system but after 1990, this party promised the restoration of democratic government system in the country.

AL worked as mainstream opposition from 1975 to 1996. Badruddin Umar said an entente between AL and Jamaat-e-Islami was formed⁸ while AL led movement against the then government for the demand of a caretaker government in 1994. Having been out of power for 21 years, this party was reelected in parliamentary elections of 1996. Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujib, formed government. Unexpectedly targets of ruling activists were oppositions again. Armed Chhatra League and Chhatra Dal as well as Chhatra League and Chhatra Shibir often clashed with each other.⁹ Sometimes, ruling party supporters were also victims. Then, oppositions made a 7 party alliance, consisted of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jatiya Party (Ja-Mo) (JP), Jatiya Ganatantrik Party (JGP), Democratic League (DL), PNP and NDA. Violent clashes often took place between AL and oppositions in processions and meetings. Later, intervention of police made them tri-party clashes in many cases. Clashes resulted in many casualties all over the country. All these affected people's minds. The popularity of AL was on the wane that was the reason of its defeat in general elections of 2001. From then, this party again remained as a strong opposition from 2001 to 2006.

Bangladesh Nationalist Party

After General Ziaur Rahman had captured power as Chief Martial Law Administrator in 1976, he took some measures for consolidating power. One of these measures was to establish his political party. His effort brought forth Jatiyatabadi Ganatantrik Dal (Jagdal) as a platform. Before presidential elections of June 3, 1978, Jatiyatabadi Ganatantrik Dal made an alliance named Jatiyatabadi Front (JF) and its Candidate for Presidency was President Zia. To contest with it, AL also made an alliance named Ganatantrik Aikyajot (GA) with General Osmani as the candidate for Presidency. In GA meetings arranged for election campaigns, leaders and workers were often attacked by JF activists, as alleged GA.¹⁰ Also, GA leaders and workers were kidnapped¹¹ and killed by assailants.¹² So, incidents proved that before presidential elections, JF tried to win elections through violence against oppositions. After the presidential elections of June 3, 1978, Zia ascended power again, though oppositions brought allegations of massive vote-rigging.

On September 1, 1978, President Zia inaugurated Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Jagdal, along with all members, dissolved in it. He attracted and recruited members from such parties as were anti-Awami League and anti-independence. The government of Sheikh Mujib banned religious parties, arrested many war-criminals and sued them under *Dalal Act*. Some lived secret life. President Zia withdrew *Dalal Act* and allowed religious politics. These Islamic fundamentalists, mostly from Muslim League, not only crowded in BNP but also adorned life later being either MPs or ministers. Sometimes, President Zia tried to satisfy Islamic parties by joining Islamic meetings¹³ but he was more inclined to martial law than to Islamic law or ideology in his administration.

Besides, some parties, having enmity with AL because of different ideologies, also joined BNP, for example, a faction of United People's Party (UPP). Surprisingly, some AL leaders and workers, who had aspiration for power, converted themselves to BNP supporters. As years advanced, aspirants increasingly became renegades. In 1997, Badruddin Umar claimed apostate leaders of AL and NAP, who joined BNP and Jatiya Party, actually took leadership and authority in hand in these two parties.¹⁴ Like AL, BNP established some wings named Chhatra Dal, Juba Dal, Shramik Dal and Swechhasebak Dal (Volunteers' Party). Since the rise, BNP has been an Islamic-minded democratic party and kept on good terms with the U.S., China, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and some other Middle-East countries. Its declared objective was to restore parliamentary democracy in this land.

After Presidential elections, open politics was allowed to all parties in name. When oppositions arranged meetings or processions, BNP activists and police often attacked them. Since BNP recruited members from anti-AL parties, their first targets of attacks were AL¹⁵ and its allies—CPB and NAP (Mojaffar). Its student and labor wings were involved in violence. Most top leaders and workers of AL, CPB and NAP (Mojaffar) were soon arrested and imprisoned under martial law. Sometimes, they were punished after prompt trials in secret courts-martial. Most trials were almost hoaxes. The punished were not allowed to appeal for re-trials in public courts. Some captives had to live in jails for 2-3 years. These jails had inhuman condition because food was scanty, rooms were overflowed with many inmates and sanitation system was unhygienic.

In the early 1975, JSD organized its armed force *Ganabahini*. Colonel Taher was its commander-in-chief. During the regime of General Zia, government forces thwarted at least 21 coups against General Zia. JSD and Biplabi People's army led by Colonel Taher were allegedly responsible for some coups. To frustrate conspiracies, police arrested JSD Leaders A.S.M Abdur Rab, Inu, Abu Yusuf and Colonel Taher on November 23, 1975.¹⁶ Having been thrown in jail for 7 months, Taher was sentenced to death by the court martial on July 17. Without having the chance of appeal in public courts, he was hanged on July 21, 1976. JSD arranged a public meeting in Hadith Park, Khulna on September 7, 1980. There then JSD Secretary General A.S.M. Abdur Rab claimed that like Hitler, President Zia killed, in his normal brain, 11,500 JSD workers and JSD Leader Colonel Taher.¹⁷ It could not be worked out whether the claimed number of killing was true or exaggerated. But there were historical evidences of violence against JSD supporters.¹⁸

Moreover, oppositions were driven out from villages to towns. This strategy was the same as that one of Sheikh Mujib's regime. *Gram Pratirakkha Dal* (Village Defense Party) (VDP), established by President Zia, was allegedly engaged in this work. In a meeting of VDP arranged at Old Airport area, Tejgaon on December 6, 1980, President Zia said that in the early 1976, VDP was set on foot for saving innocent villagers from attacks of illegal arms-holders, dacoits, killers and miscreants, and one crore VDP members were engaged in 68,000 villages of the country in 1980. He also said VDP members had worked bravely to face the challenges of 'enemies of people' and 'anti-nationalists' (for five years).¹⁹ But in many public meetings, held before, President Zia often called Bakshalis 'national enemies'²⁰ and 'anti-nationalists'.²¹ Bakshalis were supporters of AL and its allies, who reunited them in a party named Bakshal in 1975. However, like Sheikh Mujib, President Zia had to accept untimely death in the military coup of May 30, 1981.

After the assassination of President Zia, his wife Begum Khaleida Zia took the leadership of this party. In the mean time, General H. M. Ershad emerged as Chief Martial Law Administrator, stepped for his fascinated journey of military rule and consolidated power. Gradually, his activities introduced him into the nation as a pure autocrat. BNP waged movement for the resignation of

autocrat and restoration of democratic system. To make movement strong, it united with six allies, most of which were either Islamic fundamentalists or once disputed ones. They introduced their alliance into politics as *7 dal*. After parliamentary elections of 1991 and 2001, BNP led by Begum Khaleda Zia, twice formed coalition government with Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and others. During both regimes, ruling parties involved themselves in violence with their old enemy AL,²² JP and communist parties in the same way as before. Oppositions also took retaliation.

Bangladesh Jatiya Party

Major General Hossain Mohammad Ershad removed then President Sattar from his office, declared martial law and assumed power as Chief Martial Law Administrator on March 24, 1982. Like former President Ziaur Rahman, he planned to form a new political party that would help him consolidate power. Various political wings took shape under his patronization. His first step was Jatiyatabadi Swechhasebak Sangathan (Nationalist Volunteers Organization). This organization dissolved itself and its members joined a new youth wing named Natun Bangla Juba Sanghati on May 10, 1983. Side by side a student wing named Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj (NBCS) appeared in political arena. Every ruler considered youths chief means of exerting power upon politics. He also resorted to these means for making a platform of his forthcoming new political party. He allegedly handed over a huge number of illegal arms and ammunition to these followers, whose main work was to drive out Chhatra League and Chhatra Dal members from halls of reputed universities. Under the secret patronization of General Ershad, a new experimental party named Janadal was called into being on November 27, 1983. Justice A.F.M. Ahsan Uddin Chowdhury was selected Chairman of its Central Convening Committee. The previous student and youth wings were declared its wings with a little change in the name. Natun Bangla Juba Sanghati was renamed Jana Juba Sanghati. At last, on January 1, 1986, he inaugurated Bangladesh Jatiya Party, well-known as Jatiya Party (JP). Janadal, along with all members, dissolved in it. Some apostate leaders and workers of BNP, Muslim League, AL and other parties, who flew high for power, converted themselves to JP supporters. Imitating others, it also maintained its various wings among students and labors.

A checkered political careerist President Ershad followed the path of President Zia and tried to satisfy Islamic- political parties, - organizations and - countries. He often joined different Islamic gatherings. An Islamic organization named Bangladesh Jamiatul Modarresin arranged an international Islamic gathering in January, 1983. There, Chief Martial Law Administrator Ershad said future activities of the country would be based on Islamic Ideology, and he would reflect Islamic ideology from constitution to all stages of national life.²³ Party Chairman General Ershad was well disposed towards heads of the U.S., Pakistan, China, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Islamic countries of the Middle East. Party objective was to establish democratic government system mixed with Islamic ideology in the country.

During the regime of General Ershad, bloody armed clashes often took place between NBCS- and other party- students in different reputed colleges and universities. Many times, they deliberately attacked other party students that resulted in many casualties in both sides.²⁴

The regime of H. M. Ershad (1982-90) was full of turmoil. As his government was illegal, oppositions were engaged in violent movement through strikes, demonstrations and mass-meetings. Both ruling and opposition parties often attacked each other by stabbing, shooting and bomb-blasting. On November 13, 1987, terrorists threw bombs at houses of those 4 top opposition leaders, who were engaged in movement against autocrat Ershad. These leaders were of AL, BNP and NAP. Attackers were JP activists, as oppositions claimed.²⁵ President Ershad delivered speech for ministers and MPs in Bangabhaban on November 23, 1987. There he said government would assist JP in its activities for the maintenance of independence and sovereignty as well as against anarchy and disorder.²⁶ His statement spoke volumes for his indulgence to JP.

People of almost all classes led by major oppositions broke out in an outburst of mass-movement against President Ershad from October 10 to December 6, 1990. In those days, JP in collaboration with government forces resorted to force to put demonstrators down, for examples, armed JP and its wings were identified as firing into processionists at National Press Club area, Dhaka on November 17, at Fakirapul and Segunbagicha, Dhaka on November 20 and at Gabtali, Bogra on November 21, 1990. Demonstrators exploded bombs in retaliation.²⁷ During movement,

many people including Dr. Shamsul Alam Khan Milon lost life. Milon was shot dead near TSC Mor, Dhaka on November 27, 1990. Avi and Niru group, hired by the ruling party, allegedly fired into a procession of BUET students in that area. When movement reached in the climax and made President Ershad a paper tiger, he had no alternative to the resignation of his office on December 6, 1990. Since then, this party has worked as an opposition in Bangladesh.

Jamaat-e-Islam Bangladesh

Mawlana Abul Ala Maududi established 'Jamaat-e-Islami Hind' in British ruled Indian Subcontinent in 1941. After the birth of Pakistan State, this party was renamed 'Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan'. During independence war of Bangladesh, 1971, it was anti-independence and took sides with Pakistani army in their savage war crimes. A UN report was submitted on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of Universal Human Rights Declaration. This report revealed that from third week of March to third week of December (1971), averagely 6000-12,000 people were massacred daily in then East Pakistan (later Bangladesh). It was the highest of all average numbers of daily slaughters in human history till then.²⁸ In April, 1971, Shanti Committee (Peace Committee) was established as a collaborator of Pakistani army. Its 'Acting Committee' consisted of 21 members. Then, Jamaat Leader Golam Azam was selected the third member of this committee. Golam Azam and his Jamaat-e-Islami played important roles in the formation of many committee-units all over the country. Later, this Shanti Committee formed private armed forces such as Razakar, Al Badr and Al Shams, which slaughtered many Bengalis. On April 22, 1971, the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami named 'Islami Chhatra Sangha' formed Al Badr in Jamalpur for the first time. Later, all branches of Islami Chhatra Sangha were turned into Al Badr. Its High Command consisted of Islami Chhatra Sangha leaders named Matiur Rahman Nizami, Ali Ahsan Md. Mujahid and Nurul Islam, etc. Matiur Rahman Nizami was the central leader of then Pakistan Islami Chhatra Sangha. Al Badr started massacre of intellectuals on December 4, 1971. Mawlana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish said that after the end of war, when Al-Badr members took their heels, a sack of human eyes were rescued from their Headquarters²⁹ in Mohammadpur Physical Training College, Dhaka. Golam Azam fled to Pakistan and lived there as a Pakistani citizen.

On February 9, 1972, government declared 15 leaders of some banned parties as absconders and ordered them to surrender within 22 February, 1972. Among these 15, there were also Professor Golam Azam, Shah Azizur Rahman and Khan A Sabur. According to section 3 of Bangladesh Citizenship Order, 1972, Mujib Government cancelled the citizenship of 39 persons who were accused of savage warcrimes during the genocide. Then, all of them took shelter in Pakistan and one of them was Professor Golam Azam.³⁰

In post-war period, the then government (1972-75) banned all religious political parties including Jamaat-e-Islami because of their anti-independence activities and slaughter of Bengalis. It promulgated Bangladesh Collaborators (Special Tribunals) Order, 1972 (PO no.8) on January 24, 1972. Government formed special tribunals, arrested war-criminals and arranged trials under Fourth Schedule of the constitution. On November 30, 1973, Sheikh Mujib proclaimed a general amnesty, under the 4 (b) Section, for only those war-criminals, who were accused of petty offences. But the others, accused of slaughter, rape, looting etc, did not get an amnesty. Until the assassination of Sheikh Mujib, many trials were ongoing against war-criminals in more than 1 lac special tribunals all over the country.³¹ Many of them fled and lived secret life.

After the assassination of Sheikh Mujib, President Sayem declared the 63 no. Order on December 31, 1975 that cancelled all tribunals. He revoked Special Tribunal Order, 1972 (PO no.8) from the constitution as well. As a result, trials of accused war-criminals did not see light. After General Zia had assumed power, he revoked the whole *Dalal Act* by declaring Ordinance no. 4 in 1978. When he allowed religious politics, Islamic parties like Islamic Democratic League (IDL) were resurrected. Many former Jamaat leaders and members crowded in IDL. On July 11, 1978, Pakistani Citizen Golam Azam returned to Bangladesh on a two-week visa. The visa was granted on his plea that he would meet his sick mother. Though the time of visa was soon over, he lived here illegally, resurrected the old party secretly and re-formed it with a new structure.

The old party reappeared as 'Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh' in May, 1979. Mawlana Abbas Ali Khan, accused of war crimes, was made temporary *Amir* (chief leader). Golam Azam was the life and soul of the party and acted as the real chief behind the curtain. Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, well-known as Jamaat, reorganized militant setups of its student-youth wings. The student wing was named 'Islami Chhatra Shibir' and the youth wing 'Juba Commando'. A huge arms and ammunition were allegedly supplied to hands of these wings. Targeted enemies of Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) were AL, its allies and freedom fighters because once AL brought JI supporters under trials, and freedom fighters also punished them without trials. In some cases, punishments were inhuman, for example, excoriation of an alive razakar.³² Then, many followers of other major parties were involved in extortion, illegal business and the like in educational institutes. New Chhatra Shibir members, who were well-organized, strictly maintained party rules and followed religious ideals. They said their five times prayer and helped ordinary students. Their appeal to students and youths rose significantly. These techniques increased recruits, mostly from the poor. In that time, student wings of 15 parties made an alliance named Chhatra Sangram Parishad in all colleges and universities for the purpose of overthrowing autocrat Ershad. Violent clashes often took place between Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS) and Chhatra Sangram Parishad (CSP) in colleges and universities all over the country. Such clashes took place between them at Dhaka University, Chittangong University, Barisal BM College and Joypurhat Government College on February 6 and 8, 1983. Both groups attacked each other with lethal weapons that injured more than 200 persons in both sides.³³ These clashes indicated that JI was used against CSP to frustrate its movement, which could have been stronger for the fall of then autocrat. President Ershad patronized Islamic fundamentalist parties for political support and declared Islam as a state-religion in 8th amendment of constitution on June 7, 1988. As a result, JI had a favorable situation for collecting old strength. But JP's fair-weather friend JI switched to BNP-led 7 party alliance against the autocrat. Its objective was to increase its appeal to people. It pretended as if it were a democratic opposition, struggling for the restoration of democratic system. Actually, it always dreamt of establishing an Islamic state as its final goal.

BNP won plural votes, but did not get the majority in parliamentary elections of 1991. JI provided support to BNP in the formation of government. Thus, this party got the way to turn government round its finger. On December 29, 1991, Golam Azam came to lime-light through taking the office of *Amir* (chief leader) of the party. Various parties and organizations burst out in rage and demanded his trial. On this ground, *Ekattarer Ghatak Dalal Nirmul Committee* (EGDNC) was established on January 19, 1992. It was renamed '*Muktijuddher Chetana Bastabayan O Ekattarer Ghatak Dalal Nirmul Jatiya Samanway Committee*' on February 11, 1992 but well-known as either 'Nirmul or Samanway Committee'. This committee constantly demanded the trial of Golam Azam. Since the formation of this committee, Chhatra Shibir and Juba Commando had often clashed with student wings of AL, CPB and their allies all over the country for frustrating the demand of Golam Azam's trial. Such a violent clash took place between Sarbadaliya Chhatra Aikya (AL-led All Party Student alliance) and Jamaat's student and youth wings along with police in Chittagong City on July 26, 1994. As a result, more than 300 persons including 20 seriously were injured. 3 Chhatra Aikya and 2 Chhatra Shibir activists were killed.³⁴

The Nirmul Committee arranged a people's court in the historical Sohrawardi Garden for the trial of Golam Azam on March 26, 1992. Writer Jahanara Imam was the chief justice of this people's court. After hearing from witnesses at the present of nearly 500,000 people, judges sentenced Golam Azam to death for his war-crimes. This committee requested government to implement this judgment within a month. Golam Azam later got Bangladeshi citizenship by a judgment of the court, though oppositions claimed top levels of BNP government influenced the judgment. He did not get punishment for his past records; rather the then government filed sedition charges against 24 intellectuals of Nirmul Committee. When this committee arranged a meeting on March 26, 1993, police charged batons on leaders. Chhatra Shibir, Juba Commando and Jamaat-backed *Bharatiya Dalal Pratirodh Committee* clashed with Nirmul Committee members in different places of the country.³⁵

Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS) clashed with different party wings, even with Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD) in different colleges and universities.³⁶ The main reason was to occupy most seats in halls. From May to December, 1991, both JI and other party activists clashed with each other in Comilla, Sirajganj, Rajshahi, Chittagong, Kushtia and Rangpur. JI activists cut veins and limbs of rivals. According to reports of various government organizations, Jamaat had the highest number of illegal arms and more than 10,000 trained activists (or terrorists) in 1994.³⁷ ICS activists were also victims of attacks by other parties many times.

But, soon Sheikh Hasina-led AL waged movement for an interim non-party caretaker government that would direct free and fair national elections. Jatiya Party took sides with AL. JI went with the favorable stream and supported them by calling for general strikes simultaneously. On this ground, on May 9, 1996, Badruddin Umar said that after the death of Jahanara Imam, AL was close to Jamaat-e-Islami so much that Nirmul Committee at first turned into a farce and later turned into a joke.³⁸

After AL had formed government through winning parliamentary elections of 1996, armed and bloody clashes often took place between student wings of JI and its rivals, i.e., AL and CPB, in different colleges and universities. Later, clashes between ICS and JCD also took place. Rampant violence between them interrupted normal educational environment. When BNP formed coalition government with JI in 2001, it often clashed with oppositions. For political goals, all major parties - AL, BNP and JP - drew Jamaat close to them and if necessary threw it also. This is why, clashes between Jamaat and BNP as well as Jamaat and AL sometimes took place in the history.

On November 1, 2000, Golam Azam resigned the post of Amir. The party-image was at risk because of the continuous demand of former freedom-fighter parties for the trial of Golam Azam as a war-criminal. Mawlana Matiur Rahman Nizami replaced him being elected by the party in December, 2000. Like Golam Azam, Nizami was a collaborator of Pakistani army in the slaughter of Bengalis during independence war of Bangladesh, 1971. In the wake of independence war, he disappeared and lived a secret life till 1975. After resurrection of Jamaat, the party appointed him *Maha Sachib* (Secretary General) in 1980. The formation of BNP-Jamaat coalition government in 2001 brought in his life further opportunities and he was made Industry Affairs Minister.

In the 1990s, JI was divided into two factions on the basis of ideologies — pro-Saudi Arabia and pro-Iran. Both groups believed in Islamic revolution for capturing state-power. So, it can be concluded that this party had links with Saudi Arabia and Iran. Another faction led by Matiur Rahman Nizami believed JI would hold power through participating in parliamentary democracy and would thus replace Islamic constitution with democratic one.³⁹ Nizami was Industry Affairs Minister of BNP-led coalition government (2001-2006). The US was well disposed towards this government. Thus, representatives of the U.S. got chances to come in close contact with Nizami and his followers. Different sources claimed Jamaat got fund from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, other Middle-East and Western capitalist countries.⁴⁰

JI has struggled for the establishment of Islamic state and constitution based on the holy Quran and the Hadith since its resurrection. In Jamaat's website, updated on September 24, 2002, Jamaat declared its mottos that the Quran and the Sunnah are its ideals and Jihad is its means. In 'An Introduction to the Jamaat-e-Islami', the website also states, 'The Jamaat-e-Islami is the vanguard of the Islamic movement in Bangladesh.'⁴¹ According to Mawlana Maududi, the goal of Islamic revolution is to establish Islamic state system. The next goal of Muslims is to bring about Islamic ideological revolution in the whole world.⁴² This statement proves why international Islamic militants have links among them like those among democrats, communists and other homogeneous groups. It is also clear that Jamaat is active in bringing about Islamic revolution. Oppositions and intellectuals often claimed Jamaat was involved in bomb attacks on cultural functions and martyrs' memorial monuments in different places of the country. The reason is that Jamaat's website states it considers singing and dancing un-Islamic. This party can not welcome offering flowers at the foot-step of martyrs' monuments as this culture reminds new generations of Jamaat's past role during independence. But some followers openly argue that offering flowers at the foot-step of monuments is an un-Islamic culture.

Government Forces

From 1972 to 2006, all governments used their forces named Bangladesh Police, Bangladesh Rifles (BDR), *Ansar* and sometimes Bangladesh Army for the control of law and order situation. Some established new additional forces by the side of existing ones when they failed to control anarchy. But allegations were often raised against these forces for persecuting oppositions through various means.

After independence, the total number of police was less than the actual necessity.⁴³ Both ruling and opposition parties had less-democratic attitude and behavior. Outlawed leftwing extremists took a strong stance against government and rich landlords. Foreseeing subsequent danger, the then ruling AL (1972-75) declared 'Rakkhi Bahini Ordinance, 1972' that established an elite law-enforcement agency named Rakkhi Bahini. But oppositions, NAP, JSD and even CPB, often raised allegations against this force for its harassment, persecution and killing after arresting them on false criminal charges. Rakkhi Bahini established camps in different places of the country. In these camps, its personnel tortured the arrested oppositions, extremists and relatives of fugitives during interrogation. In some places, ways of tortures were beating with canes and guns, repeated dipping of an arrestee into water after fastening the throat and feet with ropes, standing of two law-enforcers on the body of him and the like. Some died from repeated beating. Even, some women were victims of physical tortures and harassment at Rambhadrapur Village under Madaripur Mahakuma in Faridpur District in 1974.⁴⁴ Their treatment with women resembled those of Pakistani army in independence war, 1971. NAP arranged a mass-meeting in Paltan Maydan, Dhaka on December 14, 1973. There, Chief Leader Mawlana Bhasani threw an ultimatum at then government to stop Rakkhi Bahini's tortures within two days. Ruling party passed *Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini Act, 1974 (Amendment)* on January 28, 1974. This act gave Rakkhi Bahini the right of arrest without warrants. Oppositions walked out of parliament as a protest against this act. Their activities fueled the already smoldering fire. After the coup of August 15,

1975, total political situation collapsed. In this opportune moment, two generals led two full-scale military takeovers between 1976 and 1990. Martial law was declared for the consolidation of power and open political activities were not allowed in most of these years. When open political activities were allowed, government forces interrupted opposition processions and meetings with high hands. Through suppression, they often truncated those parties so that oppositions could remain as insignificant and harmless ones. As military rulers were in power, army kept footsteps all over the country by the side of police.

Policemen were arbitrarily used against desperate demonstrators, who were engaged in vandalism during movements against President Ershad. Police fired into processions of *Chhatra Sangram Parishad* in front of Government Education Building in Dhaka on February 14, 1983. 8 persons including Jaynal, Jafar, Mozammel, Kanchan and Dipali died from receiving bullets. Opposition alliances laid a siege to Dhaka on November 10, 1987. 10 persons including Nur Hossain were shot dead by police. Indiscriminate fires of police caused deaths of 21 oppositions in Chittagong on January 24, 1988 and 5 demonstrators including Ullapara College Student Jihad on October 10, 1990. BDR entered the house of a person on Wabda Road in Rampura, Dhaka and fired at the mother when her baby was sucking breast on November 28, 1990. She died on the spot. Such miserable incidents were many.⁴⁵ After the fall of General H.M. Ershad in 1990, kindling a false hope in minds of people for everlasting peace, the elected BNP took power in 1991. Since then, governments have gradually increased the number of police through recruitment from ruling party supporters.⁴⁶ Thus, police force was politicized for political purposes.

Police, paramilitary BDR and in some cases army were called into play on the scheduled days of opposition meetings or processions. Every government tried to frustrate movements from the fear of losing lucrative power. Police often used ways of lobbing tear gas into mobs, resorting to baton charges, firing into mobs, indiscriminate arrest and arbitrary detention in custody. Gradually, oppositions also equipped themselves with huge illegal arms and ammunition to confront government forces.

Massive baton charges and indiscriminate fires of police took many human lives and caused many injured. Sometimes, innocent passersby were victims.



Photo 4

An AL activist struggled to be free from the clutch of policemen at Zero Point in Dhaka during a strike on January 22, 2006.

Source: *The Daily Star*, 23 January, 2006.

Oppositions tried to get even with this force. There were evidences that unprovoked pickets also attacked cops.⁴⁷ In some cases, law-enforcers were provoked to take action because opposition activists vandalized vehicles, stormed roadside-shops and hurled bombs at police. Policemen were also killed and injured from opposition attacks. Both police and demonstrators were unruly.

London-based human rights organization Amnesty International Bangladesh presented a 29 page-report in a press conference on November 29, 2000. The report stated massive and violent tortures of police had been continued on the people of Bangladesh for a long time. The report added police tortured through various cruel measures and some detention laws (*Nibartanmulak Ain*). So, it recommended for the revocation of these laws. According to government estimate, '134 persons died in prison and police custody' in 2000. Human rights organization 'Odhikar' estimated that total 76 inmates died in prison custody while 6 in police

custody in 2005. The reasons of death were not only poor prison conditions, inadequate medical treatment and suicide but also tortures.⁴⁸

Once reared by all ruling parties, terrorists gradually became indomitable and dangerous to their patrons. When the society was so marred with them that a demand for their arrest and trials was raised from all sides, godfathers felt for shaking off loose feathers-like terrorists. Bangladesh constitution had an ordinance titled 'The Armed Police Battalions Ordinance, 1979'. On July 12, 2003, parliament passed 'The Armed Police Battalions (Amendment) Act, 2003. This act helped BNP government (2001-06) establish an elite law-enforcement agency named Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) to nab criminals. RAB appeared before people through its participation in the parade of National Independence Day on March 26, 2004 and started its first operation on April 14, the same year. From its formation to April, 2006, RAB and police caused over 600 extra-judicial killings in the name of 'cross-fire' or 'encounter'⁴⁹ and till 9 June, 2007, arrested 20,748 persons on various criminal charges.⁵⁰ The RAB press-releases immediately after almost all crossfires were the same. These stated that according to the confession of the arrested criminal, RAB went to recover illegal arms and ammunition from a secret den of terrorists. There, his comrades fired into them from ambush for the rescue of their arrested leader. The arrested criminal tried to flee and fell in crossfire. He received bullets and died on the spot. Besides, RAB claimed their targets were top-listed terrorists of all parties. Most of them were youths. It can be inferred that their press-releases were made-up. If those terrorists had been brought to courts, they could have disclosed names of their political patrons. If patrons had been arrested, their parties could have started movements against government on this issue and these movements could have been threats to the power of the then ruling parties. As we found, major parties shaded most terrorists. So, it was less dangerous for then government to take actions against small fry rather than against their patrons. Some top terrorists, who died in crossfire, had more than one cases against them in thanas. According to RAB's press-releases, there were 25 cases against Picchi

Hannan, 37 including 8 murder cases against David, 37 against Jane Alam and 20 against Pet-Kata Babar. Jane Alam killed at least 50 persons in 15 years till 2004.⁵¹ In some cases, ordinary people felt relief after the killing of terrorists. Sometimes, opposition AL alleged this force killed its activists intentionally. But god fathers were untouched and safe in their majestic world unless new caretaker government took power at the end of 2006. Many organizations and oppositions raised the questions of human rights violation against RAB for its extra-judicial killing. From June 2004 to February 2005, about 100 RAB personnel faced departmental and legal punishment for their illegal activities.⁵²

Examples of Rakkhi Bahini Violence

* Some personnel of Rakkhi Bahini killed Banku Das at the end of 1973. He was an old NAP worker of Derai Thana under Sunamganj District. Also, they arrested NAP-chairman, secretary, workers and even a worker's widow mother of Pirganj Thana under Rangpur District and tortured them mercilessly at the end of 1973.⁵³

*NAP Workers Sattar and Mansur of then Chuadanga Mahakuma were arrested and severely tortured. They were untraced from the day of arrest.⁵⁴

*Dr. Ansar Ali, secretary of Dingsada Thana Unit NAP under Chuadanga Mahakuma, was arrested on a false charge.⁵⁵

*While Dr. Abdul Karim, president of Pirgacha Unit NAP in Rangpur District, came to say goodbye to district leaders in rail-station, Rakkhi Bahini arrested him from there on October 30, 1973. After beating Karim mercilessly, this force took him to camp. There, he had been kept as a detainee and inhumanly beaten some days. As a result, he died on November 10, 1973, as Central NAP Secretary General Pankaj Bhattacharya claimed.⁵⁶

* In a press conference, Shah Alam, information and mass-communication affairs secretary of JSD, claimed Rakkhi Bahini shot 100 JSD workers injured in Dhaka, Narayanganj and Khulna during JSD-called strike on November 26, 1974.⁵⁷

Examples of RAB Violence

RAB personnel arrested Sumon Ahmed Mazumdar (21) along with his other two relatives on the charge of extortion from a businessman named Tajul Islam in Tongi under Gazipur District on July 15, 2004. After 5 hours of arrest, they handed over him to Tongi Thana, where he became seriously sick at midnight and was shifted to Tongi Hospital. Unexpectedly after 1 hour, he died there. His family alleged he died from RAB's tortures. Local Juba Dal Leader Muhammad Ali and his two brothers were allegedly masterminds, who made RAB arrest Sumon on a plot. Sumon was the vice-president of Ward No.10 Unit Juba League in Tongi Thana and witness no. 1 in the murder case of former MP and AL Leader Ahsan Ullah Master. He gave a statement as an eyewitness in the court of Magistrate A.K.M Sohel. His family alleged the termination of his life was plotted for weakening the case of Ahsan Ullah Master. Dr. Nazrul Islam of Tongi Hospital said while Sumon was admitted at 12.15 am, there were many marks of wounds in his body.⁵⁸

Billal Hossain alias Billah (25) was a petty-hotel owner. RAB declared terrorist Billah died in crossfire at Rayerbazar, Dhaka on September 9, 2004. But locale claimed him an innocent. An eyewitness nightguard said when Billah tried to flee for saving his life, RAB fired at him from the back. He fell into the ground. Then, a RAB member went to him and shot two rounds of bullets keeping pistol on his head and abdomen. Billah died on the spot after moving a little for a while.⁵⁹

RAB arrested Mahim Uddin Mahim on November 28, 2004. Mahim was a leader of Chittagong City Unit Chhatra League. While under RAB's custody, he was lynched in crossfire at Joyara of Chandanaish Thana in Chittagong District at midnight on that day. But his family claimed it was a preplanned killing. There were 9 bullet-wounds in different places of his body. Chhatra League also claimed the then government used RAB against oppositions for political purposes.⁶⁰

RAB arrested smuggler of narcotics Abdul Huq from Bairagibazar under Bianibazar Upazila in Sylhet District on December 2, 2004. RAB shifted him to Sylhet Osmani Medical College Hospital on December 3. There, he died on December 6, the same year. RAB claimed there were some cases against him in Bianibazar Thana on smuggling of narcotics and terrorism. But there was an allegation that he died from RAB's tortures in custody.⁶¹

Juba League Leader Iman Ali was an inhabitant of Savar. RAB arrested and lynched him in crossfire on March 8, 2006. Juba League called this crossfire 'a fabricated drama'. Locals claimed that some days before, the cousin of then Home Affairs Minister occupied 11 acre land by force at Miton Village in Savar. Local administration and police collaborated with them in this occupation, but they failed because of villagers' strong protest. Iman Ali organized and led people against them. This is why he was arrested and lynched in the name of crossfire.⁶²

Endnotes

- ¹ Hossain, Amzad, 1997, p. 39.
- ² Sheikh Mujib went to the U.S. in a year between 1956 and 1959. The definite year was not found. See Huq, Muhammad Shams-Ul, 2001, p.12.
- ³ Anthony Mascarenhas, *Bangladesh: A legacy of Blood*, Trans. by Md. Shahjahan, (Dhaka: Hakkani Publishers, 1988), p, 19 cited in Sikder, Md. Abdul Kuddus, 2003.
- ⁴ Sikder, Md. Abdul Kuddus, 2003.
- ⁵ Islam, Nazrul, 2000, p.78.
- ⁶ *The Daily Ittefaq*, 12 March, 1973; Sikder, Md. Abdul Kuddus, 2003
- ⁷ Islam, Nazrul, 2000, p. 79.
- ⁸ Umar, 1995a, p.113.
- ⁹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 28 March, 1998; *The Bangladesh Observer*, *The Daily Sangbad* & *The Daily Ittefaq*, 16 April, 1998.
- ¹⁰ GA arranged a meeting for an election campaign in Bogra on May 19, 1978. GA members alleged that about 50-60 Jagdal activists with bamboo-and iron- sticks attacked rostrum, snatched mikes and frustrated meeting while police stood inactive in the place. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 20 May, 1978.
- ¹¹ Abdul Hakim Talukdar, chairman of Kalihati Thana Unit Ganatantric Aikyajot, secretary general of thana AL and former commander of freedom fighters, was kidnapped by 20-25 armed men from Ichhapur Village under Kalihati Thana in Tangail District on May 21, 1978. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 May, 1978.

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- ¹² *The Daily Sangbad*, 25 May, 1978.
 - ¹³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 11 March, 1978.
 - ¹⁴ Umar, 1999, p. 56.
 - ¹⁵ *The Daily Sangbad*, 4 November, 1980.
 - ¹⁶ Sikder, Md. Abdul Kuddus, 2003.
 - ¹⁷ *The Daily Sangbad*, 8 September, 1980.
 - ¹⁸ On June 9, 1979, then Acting President of central JSD Mirza Sultan Raja and Acting Secretary General Shajahan Siraj alleged miscreants established a reign of terror being under the shade of government authorities and local branches of ruling party. They also claimed miscreants of Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party and Bangladesh Biplabi Communist Party killed 30 JSD leaders and workers within some months in 1979. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 9 June, 1979.
 - ¹⁹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 7 December, 1980.
 - ²⁰ *The Daily Sangbad*, 27 November, 1980.
 - ²¹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 29 November, 1980.
 - ²² *The Daily Sangbad*, 8 April, 1994; *Prothom Alo*, 23 January, 2006.
 - ²³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 15 January, 1983.
 - ²⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 20 January & 17 February, 1984.
 - ²⁵ *The Daily Sangbad*, 14 November, 1987.
 - ²⁶ *The Daily Sangbad*, 25 November, 1987.
 - ²⁷ *Banglar Bani & The Bangladesh Observer*, 18 November, 1990; *The Daily Sangbad*, 18, 21 & 22 November, 1990.
 - ²⁸ Rahman, Md. Khalilur, 1994.
 - ²⁹ Khan, Halim Dad, 1992, pp. 21-22, 31-32, 34.
 - ³⁰ Khan, Halim Dad, 1992, pp. 8, 54-55.
 - ³¹ Rahman, Md. Khalilur, 1994.
 - ³² A former group-commander of freedom fighters, interviewed by the researcher in Bogra, 5 March, 2007.
 - ³³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 7 & 9 February, 1983.
 - ³⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 27 July, 1994.
 - ³⁵ *The Daily Bhorer Kagoj*, 22 October, 1994.
 - ³⁶ *Banglar Bani*, 17 August, 1989.
 - ³⁷ *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 30 July, 1994.
 - ³⁸ Umar, 1999, p. 43.
 - ³⁹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 March, 1992.
 - ⁴⁰ Karlekar, 2005, p. 53; Mohammad, Hasan, 1993, p. 58.
 - ⁴¹ Karlekar, 2005, pp.135-137.
 - ⁴² Mohammad, Hasan, 1993, p.134.

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- ⁴³ According to the report of then police directorate, total number of police was 49,234 in Bangladesh in November, 1973. Then police officers said the number of police was less than actual necessity. See *Banglar Bani*, 11 November, 1973.
- ⁴⁴ Siddiqi, 1984, pp. 38-46.
- ⁴⁵ Islam, Major Rafiqul, 1991, pp. 3, 5, 7, 71, 161, 165; Huq, Abul Fazal, 1994, p. 328.
- ⁴⁶ About 3,500 ASPs (Assistant Superintends of Police), SIs (Sub-Inspectors) and constables were politically appointed at the end of BNP ruling period (2001-2006). See *Prothom Alo*, 7 January, 2006.
- ⁴⁷ AL called for a strike on July 3, 2004. On that day, police interrupted a female procession, led by AL Leader Matia Chowdhury at Paltan Mor, Dhaka. Police resorted to baton-charges on processionists and arrested some. After female police had lifted them on a police van, an AL worker caused ASI Maksuda Begum bleeding by biting. She also throttled Maksuda with hands. See *Prothom Alo*, 4 July, 2004.
- ⁴⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 30 November, 2000; US State Government, 2001; Odhikar, 2005.
- ⁴⁹ *The Independent*, 27 May, 2006.
- ⁵⁰ RAB.
- ⁵¹ *Prothom Alo*, 2 October, 2004.
- ⁵² *The Independent*, 2005.
- ⁵³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 3 November, 1973.
- ⁵⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 22 November, 1973.
- ⁵⁵ *The Daily Sangbad*, 22 November, 1973.
- ⁵⁶ *The Daily Sangbad*, 12 November, 1973.
- ⁵⁷ *The Daily Sangbad*, 27 November, 1974.
- ⁵⁸ *Prothom Alo*, 17 July, 2004.
- ⁵⁹ *Prothom Alo*, *The Daily Ajker Kagoj* & *The Daily Bhorer Kagoj*, 10 September, 2004.
- ⁶⁰ *Prothom Alo* & *The Daily Sangbad*, 30 November, 2004; *Amar Desh*, 3 December, 2004.
- ⁶¹ *Amar Desh* & *The Daily Sangbad*, 7 December, 2004.
- ⁶² *The Daily Janakantha*, 11 March, 2006.

Chapter Four

Extremists and Their Collaborators

Both leftwing and rightwing extremism of politics was exercised in Bangladesh from pre-war period. Since then, this tendency has been a reason of political instability. Violent and subversive activities of followers terrified ordinary people and increased crime rates. Leftwing extremists had links with some secessionist groups of India. They were not pro-USSR but pro-China. They called the Soviet Union a socialist imperialist country and the Soviet Communist Party a degraded revisionist one. But after the demise of Mao Tse-tung on September 9, 1976, Maoism as an ideology lost its past strength. So, these extremist parties left a dead hoarse like Maoism officially. But renouncement of this ideology did not end in the hatred of followers against the land-lord class. They transmitted this hatred to new recruits and used it in crimes. They have caused many violent incidents in north and south-west parts of the country since independence war, 1971. Rightwing extremists got by their side Rohingyas of Myanmar and international Islamic terrorist groups. Various foreign organizations working in Bangladesh were their collaborators. Islamist militants were much active from 1999 to 2005. All underground denizens were against parliamentary democracy. They used more than one name for escaping police-arrest. Major three leftwing extremist parties are Bangladesher Biplabi Communist Party (M-L), Purba Banglar Communist Party (M-L) and Bangladesher Sarbahara Party. Now, followers of all leftwing extremist parties are known as *Sarbaharas* everywhere. Rightwing extremist groups are Harkat-ul-Jihad-al Islami Bangladesh, Jamaatul Mujahidin Bangladesh, Ahle Hadith Andolan, Jamaatul Islamia, Shahadat Al-Hiqma, Hizbut Tawhid, Allahar Dal, Jadid-Al-Qaeda, Hizbut Tahrir etc.

Extremist Communist Parties

After the eruption of Naxalite movement against landlords in West Bengal in 1967, extremist communism took shape in then East Pakistan (present Bangladesh). In 1971, three main leftwing extremist parties were active in this area – 1) Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (M-L, Peking-follower), 2) Purba Banglar Communist Party, and 3) Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party. The former two parties decided to wage Naxalite movement in East Pakistan when the third one resolved to bring about Chinese model of communist revolution. After the victory in war, when AL government took power, these three, with their idea of armed revolution, simultaneously took strong stances against government. They were active in different areas of the country. In North Bengal, gangs of both extremists and war criminals made desolate largest marsh areas of *Chalan Bil* their sanctuaries. In those days, averagely 25 persons were brutally killed in North Bengal everyday.¹ Extremists more concentrated their activities in South-West Bengal. During the era of Sheikh Mujib, they mostly killed ruling AL members and *jotdars* (landlords).² Even, innocent villagers were victims in some places.³ They perpetrated organized banditry for booties, kidnapping and rape. They looted *thanas* (police stations), *faris* (police outposts) and banks in different places. All these social crimes were perpetrated in the name of revolution.

Since the regime of Sheikh Mujib, all governments have ordered law-enforcement agencies to ferret out extremists from their dens. Arrest and annihilation of extremists were seen in all regimes. Sheikh Hasina-led AL government was formed in 1996. Police, BDR and *Ansar* were called into play for ‘combing operation’ (special raids) against terrorists and extremists. Home Affairs Minister Md. Nasim called for the surrender of terrorists within 100 days under an amnesty with the deadline of 30th July, 1999. Within the deadline, 2159 underworld denizens surrendered and 2684 arms were handed over to police.⁴ According to the given promise of government, some hundreds of them were appointed to *Ansar Bahini* but many fled later and joined their old gangs again. Arrested criminals needed correction therapy, well training and

proper rehabilitation. All these lacked in less developed countries like Bangladesh. Thus, the operation of all governments was a flash in the pan. So, all efforts were futile in the long run because of political patronization.

Since the assassination of Sheikh Mujib, extremist diehards have been active for many years under the shelter of local MPs and chairmen, who reared and hired them for annihilating rivals.⁵ Only in 1998, extremists atrociously killed 85 persons by shooting, slaughter and hanging in Kushtia.⁶ 21 elected local representatives were killed in hands of miscreants in south-west areas of the country in 1 year estimated from August 1, 1998 to August 16, 1999.⁷ Moreover, at least 30 political leaders and workers were killed in hands of miscreants in 10 districts of Khulna Division in this 1 year. An estimate showed one person was killed every six hours in south-west region of Bangladesh from 1996 to 1999. Many local leaders, chairmen of union parishad (local administration unit) and UP members died in their hands.⁸

Later, the main three parties were replaced with somewhat changed names and split into several factions. Different factions were active in different villages and districts. Names of some extremist factions were often heard. These factions were 1) Purba Banglar Communist Party (M.L-Janajuddha), 2) Purba Banglar Communist Party (Lal-Pataka), 3) Biplabi Communist Party, 4) Shramajibi Mukti Andolan and 5) Sarbahara Party.

Gradually, almost all factions became organized criminal gangs. Many extremists along with their followers made their separate gangs independently only for perpetrating organized crimes. Rival gangs of Biplabi Communist Party, Purba Banglar Communist Party and Sarbahara Party attacked one another for dominance in particular areas. Different factions of the same party also attacked each other for the annihilation of rivals from those areas. Some killing sprees were so atrocious that those tarnished human history through the exposure of man's spite.⁹ According to police, 'at least 50 extremists were killed by their comrades' in 11 months in 2004.¹⁰ Attack and counter-attack dismayed ordinary people. Policemen were also victims of attacks by extremists

during drives. At times, gun-fight opened between policemen and extremists. As a result, the both received injuries, and sometimes extremists died. Innocents often died in hands of extremists on trifle matters.¹¹ Still, extortion, kidnapping and killing continue uninterruptedly in some parts of North and South-West Bengal.

Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (M-L)

With the direct assistance and aid of Russian Bolshevik Party, Indian Communist Party was first formed in Tashkent of the Soviet Union on October 17, 1920. The 2nd Congress of Indian Communist Party was held in Calcutta from February to March, 1948. According to this congress's decision, Pakistan Communist Party including units for both East and West provinces was established in Calcutta. Mani Singh was the chief leader of East Pakistan. Communist Party called for armed movement against then Muslim League government. This is why government took action against communists. Mojaffar Ahmed was one of the notable leaders in India.

After the death of Stalin, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev took the office of the Soviet prime minister from 1958 to 1964. He accused Stalin of the large-scale extermination of opponents' lives and the deportation of minorities. Though Khrushchev proclaimed a policy of peaceful coexistence with the West, sometimes he took hard-line; for example, Khrushchev sternly reacted to suppress an uprising in Hungary in 1956 by sending Warsaw Pact troops. His policy split the USSR relation with China, because Chief Leader of Chinese Communist Party Mao Tse-tung was a strict follower of Stalinism. An ideological dispute arose between Moscow and Peking openly in the 1960s. The same dispute arose inside Communist Party of India (CPI) and Purba Pakistan Communist Party. On this issue, members of Purba Pakistan Communist Party were poles apart and split in 1965 — Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (pro-Soviet Union) and Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (pro-China). Mani Singh, Barin Dutt, Mojaffar Ahmed, Chowdhury Harun-or-Rashid etc were pro-Soviet Union. Muhammad Toaha, Abdul Huq, Deben Sikder, Nazrul Islam, Abul Bashir, Abdul Matin, Alauddin Ahmed, Anwar Jahid, etc were pro-China.

Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (M-L, pro-China) (PPCP) was set on foot when its central organizational committee was called into being in June 1966. Leaders of the central committee were Muhammad Toaha, Nazrul Islam, Abdul Huq etc. M-L meant Marxist-Leninist. A split section of Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) led by Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal started a violent uprising against landlords at Naxalbari Village in West Bengal on May 25, 1967. Charu Mazumdar led guerrilla struggles, called *shrenishatru-khatam* (killing of class-enemies). China supported this insurrection that influenced Purba Pakistan Communist Party (M-L, pro-China). In spite of some leaders' having different views, this party established close connection with Charu Mazumdar-led Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and supported Naxalite movement. Party plenum was held in Dhaka in April, 1970. There, PPCP accepted the means of Charu Mazumdar, i.e., the way of *shrenishatru-khatam*. During independence war of Bangladesh 1971, this party accepted the view that its main work was to execute an armed peasants' revolution against the feudal landlords' class in Purba Bangla. The way was called 'class-struggle'.¹² When independence-war began, instead of participating in war, Huq and Toaha led the party to kill people in the name of class-struggle. They joined a meeting with Awan, chief of then Pakistani Central Intelligence Agency, and shook hands with Pakistan government. Pakistan military government supplied arms to them.¹³ The armed private forces of this party fought against freedom-fighters in different places of country in 1971. In these fights, both sides lost their lives.

After independence war, this party engaged armed private forces against government. In 1972, party decided in its plenum to organize guerrilla squads of landless and poor peasants and thus to form an armed force for final national revolution. Living underground life, leaders made hardcore guerrillas kill members of ruling AL and its allies - CPB and NAP (Mojaffar) either secretly or openly. Leaders and activists took shelter in the dense forest of Sundarban. War criminal parties – Razakar, Al Badr, Al Shams and Punjabi Army – shook hands with Purba Pakistaner Communist Party in Sundarban.¹⁴ Their plot was to make counter-revolution for the reunion of Bangladesh with Pakistan but it did not come true. There might be connection between Purba Pakistaner Communist Party and Pakistan government.

In a party-plenum held from 26 to 28 January 1978, leaders replaced the name 'Bangladesher Biplabi Communist Party (M-L)' (BBCP) with Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (M-L). On May 1, 1979, the party called members for removing President Zia's government from power and uprooting the imperialism-social imperialism of the U.S., feudalism and its agents. Chief Leader Abdul Huq and his followers led killing of class-enemies in some areas of Bangladesh. Another faction differed from them in their terrorist activities in 1978. 11 leaders presented a joint statement to the whole party on June 26, 1980. In this statement, they reported that Abdul Huq said 'Our country and state is Pakistan.' He had been working for the establishment of a confederation between East and West Pakistan. The 6th congress of Bangladesher Biplabi Communist Party (M-L) was held in 1983. This congress accepted a report on the way of capturing power. This report said BBCP should move class-struggle forward, scatter guerrilla war, create military post-areas, lead mass-movement in the whole country and at last capture power through armed fight. However, it was never successful in coming near power. A special congress of the party was held on March 27, 1996. There, leaders took back support from China and called Mao Tse-tung a revisionist.¹⁵ Leader Abdul Huq died at the age of 75 on December 22, 1995. Disunity and cleavage among leaders and followers resulted in several factions. They used the idea of class-struggle as the basis of crimes. Even today, they are involved in killing and dacoity in some areas of the country.

Purba Banglar Communist Party

Abdul Matin, Alauddin Ahmed, Deben Sikder and Abul Bashar were once members of Purba Pakistaner Communist Party. In 1968, breakaway leftists - Abdul Matin, Alauddin Ahmed, Deben Sikder, Abul Bashar along with Mahbub Ullah and A.K.M Fazlul Huq - established Purba Banglar Communist Party (PBCP). The first national congress of PBCP was held three-days in July 1970. In this congress, the party accepted a document (*dalit*) on its political objectives. According to this document, its main objective was then to capture power through revolution and to establish an independent people's republic led by the proletariat in Purba Bangla. Targets of

revolution were imperialism of the U.S., social imperialism of the Soviet Union, expansionism of India, capitalism and feudalism as well as their agents, i.e., bureaucrats, headmen (*matabbar*) and some counter-revolutionary intellectuals. The first work of PBCP was to form peasants' revolutionary committee in villages.¹⁶

In March, 1970, Siraj Sikder called them (above persons) revisionists and said, 'They include people of East Bengal and West Bengal in a nation in their private conversation and dream of establishing a united states, consisted of East and West Bengal, after revolution.' A special additional session of party's central committee was held in Kushtia on June 14, 1971. In this session, the committee accepted the way of Charu Mazumdar, i.e., operation of class-enemy killing. On the issue of independence war, 1971, two breakaway members - Deben Sikder and Abul Bashar - seceded from the party. They fled to India, took shelter under the shade of Jyoti Basu and E. M. S. Nambudiripad and joined '*Jatiya Mukti Sangram Samanway Committee*' (National Freedom-fight Co-ordination Committee). After independence, they came back to Bangladesh and acknowledged AL government. Other two out of six leaders shrank from politics of extremism. Only Abdul Matin and Alauddin Ahmed tried to be Naxalites and declared that conflict between peasantry and feudalism was the main crisis of Purba Bangla. Therefore, 'killing of landlords' was taken as the party-strategy. In the Special Congress Report (January 1976) of Purba Banglar Communist Party (M-L), leaders confessed, their party killed some thousand landlords and money-lenders in villages in 1971. Then, it counted all freedom-fighters as its enemies. It shook hands with Pakistani army before December, 1971. Siraj Sikder also said that before and after 25 March, 1971, they collaborated with Pakistan military government secretly. In the name of the killing of class-enemies, party activists perpetrated dacoity in houses of people and killed them. People called them dacoits and killed some in protest.¹⁷

After independence war, the government of Sheikh Mujib banned PBCP. Leaders and workers took shelter in remote villages of the country's south-west areas. Till August 1971, the party counted China as its ally, but in 1972 one faction, led by Deben Sikder and Abul Bashar,

changed it from pro-China to pro-India. Sessions of PBCP central committee was held in 27-28 January and 9, 28-29 February, 1972. During these sessions, Abdul Matin presented an observational report that was accepted by the central committee. In this report, he said a new dependent state emerged in Purba Bangla but the state had not sovereignty. It was a colony of the imperialist Soviet Union. The proletariat would have to make Purba Bangla free from all foreign and local exploitation. This report invoked comrades for the formation of secret party units among labors and peasants as well as their guerrilla squads. Its proposed plan was to make villages free from class-enemies through continued *khatam abhizan* (operation of killing). PBCP's armed force *Lal Fouj* was engaged in killing of its targets in 1972. One faction, led by Amzad Hossain, dissolved itself and returned to its mother Party East Pakistan Communist Party (M-L) (then Communist Party of Bangladesh) in May-June 1973 and the other faction, led by Alauddin Ahmed and Tipu Bishwas, maintained the old party and continued vindictive attacks on class-enemies.¹⁸ It is noticeable that the party had disunity as it comprised of leaders, who were both pro-India and pro-China-Pakistan. These leaders were both soft-core and hard-core types. This party failed to achieve its ultimate goal, i.e., capturing power through national revolution. The reason of failure was the same as that one of Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (M-L). The reason was that the majority could not accept them for their violence.

On November 22, 1973, Rakkhi Bahini arrested a top PBCP leader named Satya from Girisawari Village under Alamdanga Thana in Kushtia District. He confessed to the commanding officer of Rakkhi Bahini that Sundarban Forest was the sanctuary of his organized group. He along with his comrades perpetrated banditry for the maintenance of party expense. For the counter revolution, they often killed people, mostly AL members and *Jotdars* (landlords). He also confessed that an international political intrigue and an Indian political party collaborated with his group indirectly. Party motive was to reunite Bangladesh with Indian Province West Bengal for a United Bengal.¹⁹ This Indian party might be Charu Mazumdar-led CPI-M.

In 1976, Purba Banglar Communist Party (M-L) changed its name to Bangladesher Communist Party (M-L) and excluded the way of class-enemy killing. It elected Badruddin Umar its Secretary. But Mofakkhar Hossain Chowdhury left party and organized a separate faction. From then to 1996, Purba Banglar Communist Party (M.L), led by Mofakkhar Hossain Chowdhury, used weapons in the liquidation of class-enemies in different places of the country. In 1997, Amzad Hossain said party supporters were not able to decrease the influence of *jotdars-mahajans-dalals* (landlords- usurers-agents) by killing in any place of villages last 25 years. These rebels were rather working as their toys.²⁰ At last, RAB lynched Leader Mofakkhar Hossain Chowdhury in crossfire on December 17, 2004. Gradually, the party was split into several factions.

Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party

In 1968, Siraj Sikder founded an underground party named Purba Banglar Shramik Andolan. He was a follower of Chinese Communist Party Leader Mao Tse-tung. In 1971, Siraj Sikder established *Purba Banglar Sashastra Deshpremik Bahini* in Peyara Bagan under Swarupkathi, Barisal for fight against West Pakistani rulers. In the same place, he also inaugurated Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party between 1 and 3 June, 1971. He became its president. In 1971, these parties fought against West Pakistani army in Barisal, Faridpur and other places.

Siraj Sikder had a group of 7 associates, who only carried out president's orders strictly. They were Political Assistants- Rana, Mahtab, Organizational Assistants- Rafiq, Jyoti, Operational Assistants- Matin, Jiyauddin and Chief Coordinator Jamil. All members were called 'comrades' and guerrilla-leaders 'commanders'. All subordinate comrades and guerrillas had only duties to implement orders of high officials. It indicated that the party had not much democratic culture and president played an authoritarian role.

Siraj Sikder claimed he strictly followed scientific socialism, based on Marxism-Leninism- and Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts. According to him, scientific socialism was the only way for the salvation of labors, peasants and people. In his analysis, all party leaders of then AL,

CPB, NAP, JSD, etc were revisionists, who did not follow Marxism strictly and wanted to bring in socialism through participation in parliamentary elections. He believed Purba Bangla (then Bangladesh) did not achieve independence; it became a colony of India and place of imperialist exploitation by the USSR and the U.S.; the then AL government was a dependent (*tabedar*) on India government. Besides, AL tried to bring in Mujibism instead of Marxism; therefore Siraj Sikder called AL government a fascist one and traitor in October 1972. Scientific socialism includes two revolutions for the change of a society- 1) national democratic revolution and 2) socialistic revolution. Siraj Sikder said revisionists want to bring about national democratic revolution and socialistic revolution through parliament peacefully. On the other hand, Marxists say either national democratic revolution or socialistic revolution is impossible without force. According to his view, national democratic revolution was incomplete in this land till then. Sarbahara Party (SP) along with its armed private force should lead this revolution, oust all foreign countries along with their agents from power absolutely, root out feudalism from the country and capture power. Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat (*sarbahara*) would be established. Immediately after this revolution, people should rush for socialist revolution that would root out capitalism from the country. The war-strategy of national democratic revolution insisted that rebels, at first, occupy all villages, later occupy all cities and thus make free the whole Purba Bangla (then Bangladesh). He also said labors, peasants, bourgeoisie and patriotic feudalists were jointly fighting with the aim of executing the incomplete national democratic revolution. For this reason, class-conflict (or class-fight) between them became less important. People of Purba Bangla were spontaneously killing disdainful rogues and national enemies inside AL and pro-Moscow parties, added he.²¹ The war strategy indicates that his party might have fought against landlords in villages. Probably, he indicated his own party supporters by the word 'people of Purba Bangla'. This proved that his party declared a war against AL and its allies- CPB and- NAP (Mojaffar). But it could not bring about national revolution. Neither a reserve of enough arms nor the support of the majority was with it. Smoke of anger and fear already rose because of its violence.

In the name of revolution, *Sarbaharas* followed two types of killing. 1) annihilation of national enemies. 2) punishment of deviated comrades. National enemies were anti-*Sarbahara* parties and landlords. After a comrade had been accused of violating party rules and orders, soft-core leaders punished him on proper evidences through democratic ways but hardcore leaders solved the problem only through killing. In many cases, *Sarbaharas* were victims of suspicion and distrust. This type of internal conflict and killing of comrades started in 1972 and intensified as years advanced. Their other strategies were looting of *thanas-faris*-banks and demanding of ransoms from the rich for raising their reserves of arms and fund. From 1972 to 1974, *Sarbaharas* made strong holds in different places of the country including Mymensingh, Narayanganj, Madaripur and Barisal. In these places, they were engaged in killing of targets and looting of *thanas, faris* and banks. On the other hand, there were allegations of government persecution on *Sarbaharas*. Leader Arif claimed that in mid-1972, AL, *Mujib Bahini* and *Rakkhi Bahini* jointly persecuted and killed *Sarbaharas* in Mymensingh so brutally that it exceeded those of Hitler's Nazis.²²

For his rebellion against government, Shiraj Shikder was arrested, at the order of then AL government, on January 1, 1975 and shot dead on January 2, 1975. The special law-enforcement agency *Rakkhi Bahini* arrested and shot many *Sarbaharas* dead as well. The absence of an authoritarian leader can raise a sheer contest among contestants. It was visible inside this party. After lynching of Siraj Sikder, SP met the intense internal conflicts for leadership. In mid-October, 1975, a faction led by Kamal Haydar conspired to take the post of Siraj Sikdar through killing frontline leaders. Its victims were Comrade Masud, Comrade Mahtab and Mahtab's wife Jiban. Other attempts of murders failed since some plans got wind. However, Leader Arif formed *Asthai Parichalana Committee* (Adhoc Committee) in March, 1976. Committee Members were Rana, Jiyauddin, Jyoti, Pankaj and Arif. Five frontline leaders including softcore Arif, Rana and Joyti were arrested and imprisoned in Dhaka on June 22, 1977. Hardcore L. Colonel Jiauddin took leadership and renounced Maoism from SP in 1982. The party changed its name to Bangladesh Sarbahara Party at the end of 1983.²³ From then, several factions of SP continued crimes of killing and dacoity.

Islamist Militant Groups

In the 1980s, Islamist militant groups ran the risk of organizing themselves secretly. Their main objective was to establish Islamic political system in Bangladesh through Islamic revolution. Most chief leaders of these Islamist outfits once followed Wahabi creed. In the 1990s, they executed bomb-and grenade-attacks, ranging from small-scale to devastating ones, on politicians, government personnel, intellectuals and ordinary people. Detectives found that three outfits were involved in most cases. They were Harkatul Jihad, Jamaatul Mujahidin Bangladesh and Ahle Hadith Andolan. Some former ministers, MPs and other frontline leaders of then BNP-led coalition government (2001-2006) were identified as their patrons, while influential local agents and police officers as their collaborators. They were sometimes used against oppositions. Every group had the central committee named Majlis al-Shura. It was the Bangladesh version of Saudi government's. In Saudi Arabia, the king appoints a consultative council named Majlis al-Shura. In 1992, King Fahd introduced this system of advisers and he had the power of member selection. In the beginning, the number of members was 60 that rose to 90 in 1997. Moreover, Bangladesh detectives identified names of three newly rising ones in the 2000s. They were Allahar Dal, Jadid-Al-Qaeda and Hizbut Tahrir Bangladesh.²⁴ Islamist outfits were often renamed in order to escape arrest of their followers.

Harkatul Jihad Al-Islami Bangladesh

Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami means 'Islamic holy war movement'. Fazalur Rehman Khalil and Qari Saifullah Akhtar first founded this outfit in Pakistan in 1984. Its members were engaged in fight for Afghan warriors against Soviet-troops during Afghan-Soviet war. After the end of this war, they gathered themselves in Kashmir to fight against Indian troops for the separation of Jammu and Kashmir State from India. Once backed by Taliban rulers, this outfit, often called HuJI, has the pan-Islamic ideology that professes the bringing about of Islamic rule in the world through Islamic revolution.²⁵ Saifullah Akhtar came to Bangladesh more than once. Probably, in his time

or before his coming, Bangladeshi branch of this militant group took shape secretly. Other sources also stated Harkatul Jihad ran its organizational activities in the disguises of various political, social and cultural organizations in Bangladesh at the end of the 1980s. The Bangladesh branch of this outfit was first secretly organized for the purpose of getting recruits in Afghanistan and Kashmir wars. The first Bangladeshi commander Abdur Rahman Faruqi died at Afghan war and Bangladeshi Manzur Ahmed replaced him. In the 1980s, more than 10,000 Bangladeshis were dispatched to Afghanistan for fight against Soviet troops. Among them, more than a hundred died. Manzur returned alive to Bangladesh and later went to Kashmir, where he died at war on behalf of Mujahids in 2001.²⁶

This militant group first appeared in open politics of Bangladesh as Harkatul Jihad Al-Islami Bangladesh through a press-conference in national press-club, Dhaka on April 30, 1992. It was well-known to people as Harkatul Jihad or HuJI-B. It had an advisory council named Majlis al-Shura. Mawlana Mohiuddin Khan was the head of 16 council members. Former Jamaat-e-Islami MP Mawlana Delwar Hossain Saidi, Islami Shasantantra Andolan Leader Mawlana Saikul Hadis Allama, Islami Oikya Jote Chairman and Bangladesh Khelafat Majlis Ameer Azizul Huq, Khatib of Baytul Mokarram Jatiya Maszid Mawlana Obaydul Huq, Pir of Charmanai Mawlana Syed Fazlul Karim etc. were suspected members of Mazlis al-Shura. Mawlana Sheikh Farid was in-charge of HuJI-B.²⁷ Then, above fundamentalist parties might play roles in the function of this outfit. Police investigations confirmed that this outfit had connection with Jamaat. HuJI-B leaders claimed they had units of committees in all districts, 200 thanas and some unions in Bangladesh in 2006. Jihad of Bangladesh version was its way of activities. The international objective of this outfit was to assist Muslims, especially Afghan warriors. Its local objective was to establish Islamic ruling system through Islamic revolution in Bangladesh.

In 1999, police investigation revealed HuJI-B had a large number of recruits from madrasa learners and Rohingya refugees. Three Qawmi and Kharezi Madrasas of Chittagong City

recruited about 50,000 workers from the whole country and all of them got trained on arms and explosives in 5 years before 1999. Most training camps were identified in the dense forest of Bandarban District under Chittagong Hill Tracts and a few in Cox's Bazaar. Trainers were those, who once returned from wars of Afghanistan and Kashmir. Sometimes, Myanmarese Rohingya rebels and Indian secessionist guerrillas of United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) were trainers. Besides, agents of ISI reportedly provided arms and training to its recruits. ISI's training camps were found in Kurigram and Rangpur. It is noticeable that most camps were near border areas and in the dense forest. Camps near borders again proved that rightwing extremists of three countries crossed borders when they needed. Despite training system for workers in the country, training in Afghanistan and Pakistan was reserved for selected workers. In June 1998, a group of 50 HuJI-B returned from Afghanistan to the country with arms-training.²⁸

HuJI-B made its strong holds in Dhaka, Chittagong and Barisal. History stated that leftwing extremists occupied Dhaka and Barisal including some other towns strongly many years. In the 1990s, the rise of Islamist militants in these areas indicated that in the mean time, disunited leftwing extremists were then about to lose their kingdom.

As HuJI-B activists often used the slogan in Bengali, '*Amra sabai habo Taliban. Bangla habe Afghanistan.*' (We all shall be Taliban; Bangladesh will be turned into Afghanistan),²⁹ this outfit had connection with either former Taliban government of Afghanistan or Al-Qaeda. Shawkat Osman alias Sheikh Farid met with Osama bin Laden more than once in Afghanistan. In 1999, Bangladesh CID police identified Osama bin Laden's organization named International Islamic Front (IIF) funded 20 million Takas for HuJI-B. Pakistan's ISI and outfits named Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed and HuJI-Pakistan contributed to the fund of it. These three Pakistan-based outfits had the same pan-Islamic Ideology. HuJI-B received financial aid not only from Afghanistan and Pakistan but also from Saudi Arabia. Their financial assistance was channeled to HuJI-B through Islamic NGOs of Bangladesh such as Servants of Suffering

Humanity International, Adarsha Kutir, Al Faruq Islamic Foundation and Hataddin. Also, some local rich Islamic leaders subscribed to the fund of this outfit.³⁰

The police interrogation of arrested militants revealed HuJI-B leaders made a list of 28 intellectuals for killing, whom they considered enemies of Islam and obstacles to the establishment of Islamic ruling system in Bangladesh. In this plan, they first attacked the famous Poet Shamsur Rahman on January 19, 1999. Fortunately, the poet could save his life. Their next targets were Professor Kabir Chowdhury, Writer Taslima Nasrin and Director of Islamic Foundation Mawlana Abdul Awal.³¹ Militants counted some poems of Shamsur Rahman as hurts to religious feelings of Muslims. One of such poems was *Janmandher mato* (Like the Born-Blind). This poem had a line - *Moyazzemer dhwani/Jeno kyanvasarar ektana/Alajjita beshyabritti/Alite galite...*(The call of the Islamic priest for prayer is like the canvasser's continuous shameless prostitution-like business from lanes to by-lanes).³² He presented similarity among prayer, canvasser's business and prostitution sarcastically. Such a sarcasm on a very sensitive issue provoked religious-minded persons. Both reasoning and illusive-minded persons finally submit themselves to God as man's mortality and limitation cause awesome feelings. Many do not welcome blasphemy. Freedom of speech excluding decency, politeness and respect to others' feelings may kindle a fire of hatred and distrust among a divided nation. But those, who thought that their feelings were hurt, could try it in courts for peaceful solution. They took the extreme way of violence instead. Besides, the above persons were either members or supporters of Nirmul Committee and held their voice against Jamaat. These were the reasons why they were targets of attacks.

Mufti Hannan, chief leader of a HuJI-B faction, allegedly manufactured explosives at a soap factory named Sonar Bangla Chemical Industries Limited near Gopalganj District. Afterwards, HuJI-B leaders were accused of two assassination attempts on then Prime Minister and AL Chief Leader Sheikh Hasina in July 2000. Hidden explosives were recovered near the places of her scheduled visit and public meeting in Gopalganj District on July 20, 2000.³³ These attempts might result from conspiracies of one or more powerful anti-AL parties and their foreign allies. Deployed law-enforcers and detectives, who had checked ground there before meetings started, might neglect their duties. This suspicion remained that anyone of them might be involved in such crimes. HuJI-B leaders were accused of bomb-blasts at Baniachor Mission in Gopalganj on June 3, 2001 and four cinema halls in Mymensingh on December 6, 2002. These attacks proved they followed Wahhabi creed and Taliban ideology. They were accused of grenade-attacks on Bangladesh-born British High Commissioner Anwar Hossain Chowdhury at the shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal (R), Sylhet on May 21, 2004. Police arrested Mufti Hannan from Badda, Dhaka on October 1, 2005. Under opposition pressure, coalition government (2001-06) banned this outfit on October 17, 2005.

Examples of HuJI-B Violence

Three HuJI-B operatives, armed with axes, attacked famous and secular Late Poet Shamsur Rahman in his house on January, 1999. Fortunately, the poet then escaped unscathed but his wife got injuries.³⁴

HuJI-B was thought to be responsible for the murder of journalist Shamsur Rahman. He was killed on July 16, 2000.³⁵

The accused HuJI-B concealed explosives underground at the venue of a scheduled public meeting at Kotalipara in Gopalganj on July 20, 2000. Then Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was invited to address the meeting. As security forces unearthed the explosive of 76 kg beforehand, she could save her life fortunately.³⁶

HuJI-B operatives staged a bomb-attack on a cultural function at Ramna Batamul, Dhaka on April 14, 2001. Cultural organization Chhayanat arranged the function in the celebration of Bengali New Year's Day. It killed 10 persons and injured about 100.³⁷

Arrested Chief Leader of HuJI-B Mufti Hannan, his brother Mohibullah alias Mafizur Rahman alias Abhi and another HuJI-B leader of Sylhet named Sharif Shahedul Alam alias Bipul gave a confessional statement in Dhaka Chief Magistrate Court on November 1, 2007. On that day, they confessed their complicity in grenade attacks on AL rallies in front of AL headquarters, located on Bangabandhu Avenue on August 21, 2004. In this incident, death toll rose to 20 and the injured were over 200.³⁸

Jamaatul Mujahidin Bangladesh

In April, 1998, Shaekh Abdur Rahman organized Jamaatul Mujahidin Bangladesh (JMB) as an Islamist outfit and made a central committee named Majlis al-Shura. The committee members were Shaekh (spiritual leader) Abdur Rahman, Khaled Saifullah, Hafez Mahmud, Salauddin, Nasrullah, Shahed bin Hafiz and Rana. Later, Shaekh Rahman's brother Aatur Rahman Sani became operational commander, who orchestrated all major bomb-attacks in different time. Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai joined JMB in 2001 and was appointed in West Zone that included Rajshahi, Chapainawabganj, Naogaon and Pabna at the end of the same year. He organized a JMB-wing named Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) in this zone and became its operational commander. He was selected a member of Majlis al-Shura in 2002. JMJB members were divided into three tiers. The first tier, called Ehsar, comprised fulltime activists. The second tier, called Gayeri Ehsar, comprised part-time activists. The third tier comprised those persons, who indirectly collaborated with JMB. The professed objective of the outfit was to establish Islamic ruling system on the basis of the Quran and the Hadith through Islamic revolution.

After the formation of JMB, Shura members went to different districts of North and West Bengal. These districts were Rajshahi, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Bogra, Pabna, etc. There, they delivered speeches on Jihad in mosques and madrasas for the recruitment of workers. Their activities increased the number of recruits clandestinely. According to Bangla Bhai's claim, JMJB had about 300,000 activists in 2004. Leaders trained recruits with 'recorded speeches of Osama Bin Laden and the video footages of warfare training at the Al Qaeda's Farooque camp (now defunct) in Afghanistan.'³⁹

JMB made its strong dens in some places of Dhaka Capital City. These dens were scattered in Demra, Basabo, Manda, Tongi and Uttara of Dhaka. Here, floating and low-income-earning people lived. The rent of houses and messes was cheap. Militants lived in the disguises of ordinary people, made explosives, and eluded police-eyes by shifting from one house to another.⁴⁰ JMJB made its strong holds mostly in Rajshahi and Naogaon Districts. Gradually, it spread its network in the whole country. Before exploding bombs in a particular place, those militants, who had come from outside, took shelter in mosques.⁴¹ Night-halting in a mosque for religious passers-by is open and free. Moreover, both police and people less suspect religious people than others.

Leftwing extremists were active in remote areas of Rajshahi, Natore, Bogra, Joypurhat and Naogaon Districts. People knew these extremists by a name, i.e., Sarbaharas. These pro-left outlaws had no real political objectives. They worked as terrorists on hire for different political parties in different time and allegedly involved themselves in extortion, robbery and killing in rural areas. Some BNP MPs and ministers once patronized and reared them during BNP regime (2001-2006).⁴² But AL MPs were also their patrons. Thus, they became threats to BNP leaders for their existence. The monster, Frankenstein's own creature, was about to devour its creator. Therefore, godfathers created another monster to destruct the first one. From this view, first monster Sarbahara and second monster JMJB were patronized.

Spearhead Bangla Bhai and his militant force, consisted of 9-10 members, unleashed vigilante operations against Sarbaharas in Bagmara Upazila of Rajshahi District on April 1, 2004. They maintained a camp at Hamirkutsa under Bagmara Upazila from 1 to 30 April in 2004. In this camp, 50-100 JMJB members were present in different time. Palashi is a village under Goalkandi Union of Bagmara Upazila in Rajshahi District. About 19 inhabitants of Palashi, all AL followers, were tortured at Hamirkutsa Camp between 1 and 30 April in 2004. Among victims, some were

Md Ferdous (19), Md. Farhad Hossain Sazid (39), Afzal (33), Aiub Ali (52), Ainal Huq (24), Ismail, Abdul Kuddus, Laiub Ali, Rezaul etc. Some aged victims described the ways of tortures were more brutal than those of independence war, 1971. They claimed some locale collaborated with JMJB in their operations. This is why this outfit became much desperate.⁴³



Photo 5

From the left side, Ainal Huq, Afzal, Md. Farhad Hossain Sazid, Aiub Ali and Md Ferdous, villagers of Palashi, were tortured by Bangla Bhai's force in April, 2004.

Source: Kamrun Nahar

Gurbaria Camp was set up under JMB Leaders Abdul Awal and Sani in Atrai Upazila while Bashbaria Camp was set up under JMB Leaders Hafez Mahmud and Tariq in Raninagar Upazila, both of Naogaon District on May 8, 2004. At the end of operations, above camps were winded up and Bheti Camp was set up under Bangla Bhai in Bheti Siddiqia Fazil Madrasa at remote village named Bheti under Kaligram Union of Raninagar Thana in Naogaon District from 16 May to 25 May, 2004. Here, they ended operations. In this camp, militants brought most people from neighboring villages such as Shafiqpur, Simba and Belghoria. More than 100 people including a few inhabitants of Bheti were victims of tortures and confinement here. Among victims of Bheti, some were Sarbahara Abdur Razzak (40), Shamsuddin (40) and Jahidur Rahman (35). Victims claimed local aides of Bangla Bhai were Shariatullah (35), Ishak Master (55), Manik (35) etc in Bheti. Shariatullah claimed he submitted himself to Bangla Bhai from the fear of life and he himself was a victim because JMJB extorted 5-maund rice from him by force. Villagers

said that in 2004, almost every night came to them as a curse. The reason was that a big gang of out-coming Sarbaharas often besieged the village for dacoity, killing and the like at night. People were helpless for threats of life and maim. Once a gang of Sarbaharas attacked the house of rich Shariatullah and attempted to murder him but fortunately he could escape. When JMJB supporters came to village and declared that their purpose was to make a clean sweep of Sarbaharas, Shariatullah and some villagers welcomed them from a hope and helped them give lessons to local Sarbaharas. But soon the hope proved it was baseless and situation went beyond their control. They saw, true motive of Bangla Bhai was to collect extortion from families of victims, and thus they extorted some lakh takas from inhabitants of neighboring villages. JMJB militants forced some persons to give chickens, goats and cows for their food-supply. Besides, they confined a few unknown girls and women, whom they allegedly used for their sexual amusement in those days. Scared villagers, especially youths, left the village and took shelter in houses of relatives in different villages and towns. The shameful story was that some police guarded the camp each night from 16 May to 25 May, 2004. During operations, then Rajshahi District Superintendent of Police (SP) Masud Mia, Naogaon District SP Fazlur Rahman, SI Khayrul of Raninagar Thana and police officers of Bagmara Thana collaborated with Bangla Bhai.⁴⁴



Photo 6
Bheti Camp in Raninagar Thana, Naogaon.

Source: Kamrun Nahar

By the heinous attack of JMJB operatives led by Bangla Bhai, at least 17 persons died and more than a hundred were either injured or maimed in three upazilas of Rajshahi District in 2004. They also killed 2 persons and either injured or maimed about more than 50 in Atrai Upazila of Naogaon District between April and May in 2004.⁴⁵ By the torture of the same group, two persons died in Raninagar, Naogaon in the same year.⁴⁶

JMB targeted judges for bomb-attacks because some chief leaders and workers were already in jails then. Though they left leaflets on August 17, 2005 with the message that they wanted the establishment of Islamic law, their inner motive of bomb-attacks were to frighten both judges and government so that they would release their arrested leaders and workers.

On January 30, 2007, the *Prothom Alo* published a research report. According to this report, it had true evidences that 8 BNP ministers-MPs of then coalition government (2001-2006) were patrons of JMB and JMJB Chief Leaders Shaekh Abdur Rahman and Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai. They subscribed to the fund of these outfits and gave supports to them in their suppression of *Sarbaharas* in some remote areas of Rajshahi and Naogaon Districts.⁴⁷ From field investigation, it was found that both *Sarbaharas* in some places and opposition AL supporters in other places of these two districts were given lessons at the order of administration's high levels. Local agents and local police officers collaborated with persecutors.

In the mean time, probably contradiction between patrons and perpetrators burgeoned. Because oppositions and foreign powers constantly demanded their arrest, BNP leaders might refuse to give militants shelter anymore. JMB leaders started to believe that existing law would not help them and only the establishment of Islamic constitution could save their lives. Therefore, they demanded it by terrifying government through bomb-attacks on August 17, 2005.

When BNP government went under immense pressure inside and outside the country, it made a move to ban JMB and JMJB on February 23, 2005. Some top leaders were arrested and brought under trials between 2005 and 2006. JMB's Shaekh Abdur Rahman surrendered to a joint force of RAB, police and BDR from a house, located at East Shaplabag, Sylhet City while these

forces encircled the house on March 2, 2006. On March 6, 2006, RAB arrested JMJB operational commander Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai from a barn of a remote village Rampur under Dulla Union in Muktagachha Upazila of Mymensingh District. Since he blasted himself to avoid arrest, he was seriously injured.

On May 29, 2006, 7 JMB militant leaders were sentenced to death in murder cases of two judges of Jhalakati. They were JMB's Shaekh Abdur Rahman, his Second-in-Command Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai, Chief Operational Commander Ataur Rahman Sani, Commander of Rajshahi Zone Abdul Awal, Shura-Member Khalid Saifullah, Commander of Barisal Zone Asadul Islam Arif and Suicide Bomb-Attacker Iftekhar Hasan-Al-Mamun. At last, under caretaker government led by Chief Advisor Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed, six top JMB leaders were hanged in four jails at midnight on March 29, 2007. These six leaders were Abdur Rahman, Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai, Ataur Rahman Sani, Abdul Awal, Khaled Saifullah and Mamun.



Photo 7

Hanged six militants. From the left side of the above row, Abdur Rahman, Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai, Ataur Rahman Sani, Abdul Awal, Khaled Saifullah and Mamun.

Source: <http://www.thedailystar.net/2007/03/31/d7033101011.htm>

After death-sentences of some chief leaders, JMB sometimes changed its name to Allahar Dal and sometimes to Jadid-Al-Qaeda. Again, when government notices it and arrests its new leaders, the rest of members will organize themselves under a new banner and try to survive.

Examples of JMB Violence

*JMB seized Juba League Leader Idris Ali Khejur (32) from Simba Village on the allegation of his collaboration with Sarbaharas and confined him in Bheti Madrasa under Raninagar Upazila in Naogaon District on May 19, 2004. There Bangla Bhai and his aides asked him the name of his political godfather at night on that day. Because he refused to answer, he was inhumanly beaten by fastening his hands behind with ropes and by hanging him from a bamboo. When Khejur wanted drinking water, militants gave him urine instead. This made him so angry that he kicked Bangla Bhai violently. Instantly, militants cut his two legs from knees and two hands from elbows with large choppers. At last, they killed him by separating his head from the body.⁴⁸

*Abdul Kaiyum alias Badsha (42) was an inhabitant of Shafiqpur Village under Raninagar Upazila in Naogaon District. 30-40 JMB militants seized him on May 19, 2004. Being killed, he was hung upside-down from a tree in Nandigram Upazila of Bogra District on May 24, the same year.⁴⁹

*JMB executed the largest bomb-attack in the history of Bangladesh that broke out simultaneously in 63 districts out of 64 on August 17, 2005. Different national dailies reported different numbers of bomb-blasts and of the injured. According to reports of four largest national dailies, that about 300-500 bombs were blasted caused 2 killings and about 100- 200 persons injured. All bombs were targeted to intimidate government and people, and kept in places of much importance such as the stair of Zia International Airport, Hotel Sheratan and Supreme Court in Dhaka. But bombs were mostly aimed at courts and government buildings. Leaflets were left with all bombs that ordered government to replace Islamic constitution with existing democratic one in Bangladesh.⁵⁰

*JMB committed suicide bomb-attacks simultaneously in the crowded hall-room of Gazipur District Court Advocates Committee and at the entrance of Chittagong District Court on November 29, 2005. Both blasts resulted in 7 killings and 70 persons injured.⁵¹

*JMB committed a suicide bomb-attack at the gait of District Controller's office in Gazipur on December 1, 2005. Suicide-bomber Abdur Razzak came to the place in the disguise of a flying tea-cigarette-seller and carried bomb inside a flask. He blasted the flask throwing it to the ground. This blast killed an agricultural block-supervisor, who came to DC office. At least 30 persons, including advocates, policemen, journalists, rickshaw-pullers, college-students and passersby, were injured. The wounded and arrested attacker had 7 leaflets in his pocket having the words that bomb-attacks would be executed for the establishment of Allah's law. It maintained that those, who interrupted the establishment of this law and those journalists as well as their national dailies that would write against JMB, would be blasted.⁵²

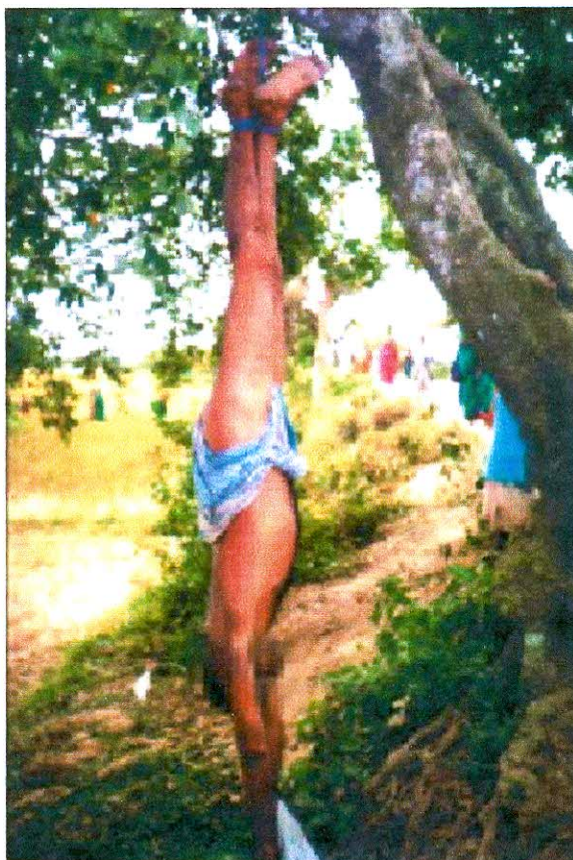


Photo 8

Abdul Kaiyum alias Badsha. After killing, JMJB militants hung him upside-down from a tree in Nandigram Upazila, Bogra on May 24, 2004.

Source: <http://www.muktadhara.net/page77.html>

Some Cases of Victims

Aiub Ali

AL follower Aiub Ali (55) is a farmer, fish-cultivator and inhabitant of Palashi Village that is under Goalkandi Union of Bagmara Upazila in Rajshahi District. He has only 1 *bigha* land and a family, consisted of 6 members. JMJB activists abducted him from his house and took to the house of former razakar Ramzan Ali Kaya at 10 am on April 7, 2004. This house was then used as a JMJB camp and well-known to people as *Hamirkutsa Camp*. They beat him with hockey-sticks and demanded a ransom. His family gave them the ransom after selling a pond. After that, they made the then Bagmara Thana police officer arrest him under CrPC section 54 but later thana released him.⁵³

Ainal Huq

AL follower Ainal Huq (27) is the son of Aiub Ali and a farmer of Palashi. JMJB activists abducted him from his house after fastening his hands and took to Hamirkutsa Camp on April 7, 2004. There they hung him from a *kata* (that three bamboos are fastened together with ropes in the top creates an angel) and beat him with hammers. He had been confined there for two days and beaten three times. They extorted a ransom of 80,000 takas from his family. Later, Bagmara Thana police officer arrested him and brought false charges of two murders and one theft against him. He cannot still either sit, stand or walk well and sometime his body aches.⁵⁴

Many arrested militants confessed they were former members of Islami Chhatra Shibir, which was the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). It proved that all these outfits might be connected with JI. While students, JMB Chief Leader Shaekh Abdur Rahman, JMB Suicide Squad Leader Aatur Rahman Sani, JMJB Operational Commander Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai and Ahle Hadith Andolan Leader Dr. Asadullah-Al-Galib were members of Islami Chhatra Shibir.⁵⁸

Also, evidences said there was connection and communication among all Islamic parties. RAB arrested Mawlana Ikramul Huq from Rangpur at the end of 2005. RAB claimed he was a JMB member. But local people said he was a member of JI Committee. Some meetings of local JI were held in his house.⁵⁹ Police arrested Enayet Ullah alias Jewel on December 5, 2005. He was an operational commander of JMB in Gazipur. But police identified he was a member of Harkatul Jihad (Mufti Hannan) in 1995.

According to the report of the *Prothom Alo*, it had true evidences that Charmanair Pir, Shaykhul Hadith and Islami Oikya Jote (Amini Group) gave moral support to JMB in the suppression of Sarbaharas in some remote areas of Rajshahi and Naogaon Districts.⁶⁰

An Islamist outfit named *International Khatme Nabuyat Movement Bangladesh* brought out a large procession in Chittagong City on May 28, 2004, demanding that government declare Qadiani Community as non-Muslim. There were hockey-sticks and bamboo-sticks in hands of some thousand demonstrators. When the procession reached near Chittagong College, cohorts of Jamaat-Shibir youths joined it.⁶¹ These two Islamist parties must have had preplans about this movement. It also proved that Jamaat gave direct support to other militant groups in their violent activities.

Mawlana Abul Ala Maududi, founder of 'Jamaat-e-Islami Hind' said those people are only Muslim community, who fights for the establishment of Allah's ruling system. In this system, Allah's revelations will replace the man-made law.⁶² The echo of the same ideology was heard from voices of arrested JMB leaders. From this ideological point, Jamaat and JMB were very close; therefore connection between them might exist.

Therefore, it is inferred that almost all Islamist parties and militant groups worked hand in hand. Fundamentalist parties take the way of compromise in politics for survival and cannot lead Jihad and Islamic revolution openly. They might patronize militants for the establishment of Islamic state.

External Secessionist and Terrorist Groups

Secessionists and militants of neighboring countries keep close connection between themselves for arms smuggling, training and shelter. The reasons are - 1) Arms- smuggling is a big source of lucrative illegal earnings. Underground smugglers of powerful countries have bigger capital than those of weak ones. They use Bangladesh as a transit, from where arms and ammunition are sold to different countries. Thus, smuggling drew rebels and militants of Bangladesh, India and Myanmar close to each other. 2) Rebels of either big or turbulent countries have more experiences of using arms and explosives than those of less developed and less turbulent areas. Therefore, the experienced give training to others on hire. This is the reason why rebels of India and Myanmar often gave training to Bangladeshi ones.⁶³ Harkatul Jihad had training system for its operatives in Arakan border areas of Bangladesh.⁶⁴ 3) Because poor countries always have less protected borders, secessionists of neighboring countries sometimes gather there, being driven by their government forces, for example, Rohingyas of Myanmar. 4) Geographical vicinity is the reason why rebels and militants of neighboring countries come close to one another. Bangladesh has long borders with India and Myanmar. Tripura, northeastern state of India, has three sides, encircled by Bangladesh. Therefore, rebels of India and Myanmar made Bangladesh their sanctuary. 5) Similarity in languages, religions, ideologies etc. is a reason of links between them. One northeastern state of India is Assam. Its language Assamese is very similar to Bengali. Another northeastern state of India is Tripura. Its one official language is Bengali. Arakan of Myanmar is Muslim-populated area. Rebels of these areas were present in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts in different time.

Three major secessionist guerrilla groups of India established camps in Bangladesh. These were United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA), National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) and All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF). Camps of ULFA were identified in Bangladesh in 1989 when those of NLFT and ATTF in 1999. Those camps were found in Sylhet, Comilla, Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh.⁶⁵ In a media conference on April 10, 2004, Chittagong City Mayor and AL Leader A.B.M. Mahiuddin Chowdhury also said, 'Indian insurgent groups ran at least 50 to 60 camps in Bangladesh to train militants.'⁶⁶

Arakan was a Muslim-populated territory, where Muslims were known as a separate community named Rohingya. In 1978, Myanmar army started a drive against Rohingyas and captured Arakan in 1784. Between April and June, 1978, total 2,06,157 Rohingya refugees fled into Cox's Bazar and Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. Myanmar government claimed some thousand Bengalis streamed into Arakan during war of Bangladesh, 1971 and in post-war periods, and inhabited there illegally. An agreement between representatives of Bangladesh and Myanmar governments was signed for the repatriation of refugees to Myanmar within 29 December, 1979. Yet, since then, some lac Rohingyas crossed borders in southeastern Bangladesh in 1991, 1992 and 2000. Some were again repatriated to Myanmar, others lived in refugee camps and the others scattered inside Bangladesh. Different reports showed camp officers caused violence on refugees.⁶⁷ Both Myanmar and Bangladesh failed to give normal livelihood to homeless Rohingyas. For survival, they desperately started unlawful activities such as giving training and arms selling to militants.

In 2005 and 2006, active Rohingya rebel groups in Chittagong Hill Tracts were Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO), Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF), Arakan Liberation Party (ALP), Arakan National Organization (ARNO), National United Party of Arakan (NUPA), Arakan Army (AA) and Democratic Party of Arakan (DPA).⁶⁸ According to reports of various government organizations, 1994, Jamaat-e-Islami collected huge illegal arms from Rohingya refugees.⁶⁹ Sometimes, JMB had connection with RSO as Shaekh Rahman met RSO Leaders Dwin Mohammad, Salimullah, Abdur Rashid etc in Cox's Bazar and Bandarban between 1996 and 1997.⁷⁰

International Islamist terrorist groups subscribed to the fund of Bangladeshi militants and provided training to them many years. Detectives found connection between internal and international militants in bomb-attacks of Bangladesh in 2004. Names of Pakistani and Afghan groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami Pakistan and Al-Qaeda were much heard.⁷¹ There were some reasons of connection between international and internal militants. 1) They helped militants terrify government through bomb-attacks for replacing Islamic ruling system with existing democratic one. Their other members might work for the same purpose in different countries. 2) These international Islamist terrorist groups recruited militants, who fought, from religious convulsion, for Muslims in Afghanistan, Palestine and Iraq, and attacked western imperialist settlements like embassies in other places. These groups consider that Muslims are in danger. They were provoked because UK and the U.S. enslaved some countries of the Middle-East through defeating those at war. Therefore, they try to invigorate their activities through the recruitment of people from every corner of the world.

Hafiz Muhammad Saeed was the founder of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) in Kunar Province of Afghanistan. Later, the headquarters of this outfit was set up in Lahore, Pakistan. LeT's objective was to separate the state of Jammu and Kashmir from India and to restore Islamic rule all over Asia. Its pan-Islamic ideology professes the bringing about of Islamic revolution for an Islamic commune including Pakistan in Asia. Because in connection with Osama Bin Laden LeT orchestrated lethal attacks in India and Pakistan, governments of both countries banned it. To survive, it was renamed Jamaat-al-Dawat in January 2002.⁷² JMB Chief Leader Shaekh Abdur Rahman had connection with Lashkar-e-Taiba occasionally. He got trained on arms, explosives and warfare-strategy in LeT's training camp, located at Mozaffarabad in Kashmir under Pakistan at the end of 1997. He got another chance of going to Pakistan and meeting then Amir-in-Charge of LeT Abdus Salam Batabi and other leaders at its headquarters, located in Lahore in 2002. He informed them of JMB activities and explained why *kital*⁷³ was necessary for Bangladesh.⁷⁴ Both Harkatul Jihads of Bangladesh and Pakistan had links with Lashkar-e-Taiba and another Pakistani

outfit Jaish-e-Mohammed. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) first took shape as an Islamic outfit in Pakistan in 1994. Like LeT, JeM is active more strongly for the separation of Jammu and Kashmir from India. It is responsible for a series of attacks all over India.⁷⁵ Sometimes, Shaekh Abdur Rahman made connection with Tahriq-Ul-Mujahidin of Pakistan. He met Amir of Tahriq-Ul-Mujahidin Sheikh Jamilur Rahman at his office, located in Islamabad in 2002. Sheikh Jamil gave him 60 thousand rupees as *hadia*.⁷⁶ Above information proved Bangladeshi Islamist outfits had mostly links with those of Pakistan.

Various Organizations and Institutes

All foreign organizations, ranging from small to big ones, invest money in a country for profit. They try to exert influence upon both politics and economics since these are interrelated. Some organizations have private fund, others government fund and the others international fund. This connection determines what types of activities they will spawn. Some international terrorists groups have established own organizations that have their branches in different countries. There, they fund Islamist militants for the recruitment of new members. In Bangladesh, these organizations were active many years.

In 2005, then Education Minister Dr. M. Osman Faruq told BBC that 30 lac students were studying in madrasas.⁷⁷ Many public madrasas were established all over the country. Besides, Qawmi-Kharezi-Hafezi Madrasas and Islamic NGOs-Cadets-Kindergartens proliferated with foreign aid. A survey report revealed 1,473 Qawmi Madrasas existed in Bangladesh in 1999.⁷⁸ A central and private Qawmi Madrasa Board, located in Dhaka, controls the curriculum of all Qawmi Madrasas. All private madrasas have similar curriculum. They teach the Quran, the Hadith and fatwa, written in Arabic, Urdu and Persian languages. It can be concluded that the Central Board and these institutes had secret fund from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Iran because above national languages belong to these. Not only Iranians but also a section of Afghans speak in Persian. After field investigations, it is identified that three big madrasas - Al Markazul Islami As-Salafi, located at Nawdapara, Al-Jamia Al Islamia Allama Muhammad Mia Kasemi (R) (Islamia Madrasa), located at New-market Area and Jamia Islamia Shah Makhdum,

located at Dargapara, all in Rajshahi – have connection with foreign countries and get foreign donations. These madrasas arrange Islamic gatherings for once or more a year. Evidences say that in these gatherings, foreign Islamic orators come, stay some days or months and donate money. Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian orators often came to Al Markazul Islami As-Salafi, established by Asadullah al-Galib, and donated a large amount of money. Students of this institute were sent to Saudi Arabia for further studies. Pakistani and Saudi Arabian orators often came to Al-Jamia Al Islamia Allama Muhammad Mia Kasemi (R) Madrasa and Jamia Islamia Shah Makhdum and donated money to these institutes. Even Indian Islamic mawlanas often came to Mia Kasemi (R) madrasa. Some of these institutes spend about 2 lakh Takas each month when students have either almost free or least tuition fees and living costs. The madrasa authorities claim the committee of each madrasa collects money from the rich of society. But it is impossible to bear such huge expense without foreign donations and only with society's donations of a poor country each month. Field investigations reveal Jamaat-e-Islami leaders often come to these institutes; connection between Jamaat and these madrasas must have existed.⁷⁹ Dr. Hasan Mohammad claimed student wings of Jamaat — *Islami Chhatra Shibir* and *Jamiyate Talabaye Arabiya* — have become successful in getting a large number of recruits among Madrasa students.⁸⁰ The target of Jammat is to bring about either Islamic movement or revolution.



Photo 9
Al Markazul Islami As-Salafi, located at Nawdapara, Rajshahi.

Source: Kamrun Nahar

Some private madrasas continued teaching in broad day light but provided arms training for Islamist militants at night or during vacation and the others donated money either monthly or annually. In 1999, detectives identified almost all Qawmi Madrasas regularly subscribed to the fund of Islamist outfit 'Harkatul Jihad' either by posting or from hand to hand.⁸¹ These madrasas were used as posts of waging Jihad, and some gave warfare training.⁸² Government Madrasas were also under the same suspicion because some arrested militants once studied there.

In Bangladesh, various Islamic NGOs have been established with different queer Arabic names. In his Bengali book *Bangladeshe Maulabader Arthaniti* (2005) (The Economics of Fundamentalism in Bangladesh), Abul Barkat says, 'Fundamentalists ran approximately 450 NGOs.'⁸³ Detective investigations discovered some of these NGOs arranged training for militants clandestinely. Also, they subscribed to funds of various madrasas, Islamic universities and religious political parties. The Servants of Suffering Humanity International Bangladesh was an International Islamic NGO, founded at Dakkhin-Khan in Uttara, Dhaka in the mid-1990s. This institution and Fatematuz Zohara (R) Mahila Madrasa, run by the same man, gave secret training to 500 militants of Harkatul Jihad in three years. It provided knowledge of Islamic revolution as well as training of exercises and fight with bamboo-sticks. At times, foreign trainers came to this institution.⁸⁴ Any Islamic foreign country might donate money to the fund of this NGO. Detective reports discovered a Kuwait-based Islamic NGO named Revival of Islamic Heritage Society and a Saudi Arabia-based Islamic NGO named Al Haramine (banned throughout the world), that had connection with Jamaat in Chittagong as police identified, provided fund to Islamist militants of Bangladesh for Islamic Revolution in the 1990s. AL-Haramine led by Hasan Adam started working for Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar of Bangladesh in 1992. On June 2, 2004, the U.S. and Saudi governments jointly promulgated an order to close branches of this NGO in five countries including Bangladesh. The U.S. Intelligence Agency alleged this NGO was a sister organization of Osama bin Laden-led Al-Qaeda. JMB Linchpin Shaekh Abdur Rahman had connection with Director of Revival of Islamic Heritage Society named Akramuzzaman. Evidences showed the both had similar interest in Jihad. Revival of Islamic Heritage Society donated 27 lakh Takas to Ahle Hadith Andolan Leader Dr. Asadullah al-Galib in 2001.⁸⁵

Private Islamic Universities were not beyond suspicion since trustees of these institutes were Islamic countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran. Their curriculum that might be designated for further plans included religious study. This study might inspire youths for the establishment of Islamic state through bringing about Islamic revolution; therefore the goal of above donors was the same as militants'. On October 11, 1980, High Commissioner of Kuwait handed over to then Prime Minister of Bangladesh a check of 1 crore Takas for the development of Islamic University and 14 lac Takas for Institute of Islamic Education and Research, both as financial aids.⁸⁶ Behind these aids, their inner objective was not to spread Islamic education but to establish Islamic ruling system by rousing Islamic consciousness among Bangladeshis through education. It was clear in voices of those government heads and representatives of Islamic countries, who came to Bangladesh in different time. Kuwaiti minister on *Waqf* and Islam Yusuf Jasim-al-Haji came to visit Bangladesh at the end of March, 1978. Then, he said he was pleased at endeavors of people for developing Bangladesh as an Islamic state.⁸⁷ Darul Ihsan University was founded as a private institute at Dhanmondi, Dhaka in 1989. It included both religious and conventional education system. Darul Ihsan Trustees were former deputy speaker of Saudi parliament named Dr. Abdullah Omar Nasseef, industrialist Naimur Rahman, civil servant Yakub Latifullah and Trinidad's multimillionaire Dr. Aleem Mohammed.⁸⁸ The deputy speaker of Saudi parliament must have subscribed to the fund of this university in order to increase those Islamic-minded people in Bangladesh, who would finally be pioneers in the conversion of this country to Islamic state. International Islamic University Chittagong (IIUC) was founded in 1995 and is being directed by some Jamaat bigwigs. It integrated both religious and conventional education system.⁸⁹ Jamaat-Shibir recruits were high in International Islamic University Chittagong and Darul Ihsan University. Other Islamic Universities also allegedly became hubs of Wahhabi followers.⁹⁰

No governmental caution or watch work over these organizations and institutes. Like silent creepers, they are spreading all over the country and maintaining smooth, fast and secret

network. They established their offices, with far-reaching insights, in busy and densely populated areas of Dhaka and other cities-towns for economic purposes. It is noticeable that in the name of Islamic revolution, militant Islamist groups orchestrated armed- and bomb attacks on people and places more than once in Bangladesh.

Endnotes

- ¹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 22 November, 1973.
- ² *The Daily Sangbad*, 15 November, 1973.
- ³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 17 November, 1973.
- ⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 31 July, 1999.
- ⁵ Cf. *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 17 September, 1994; *Prothom Alo*, 24 November, 2004.
- ⁶ *The Daily Sangbad*, 17 February, 1999.
- ⁷ *The Daily Bhorer Kagoj*, 22 August, 1999.
- ⁸ *The Daily Bhorer Kagoj*, 22 August, 1999; Kabir, 2005, p. 52.
- ⁹ A terrific incident took place between two rival extremist gangs - Asad group and Jakir group- that ended in the killing of 11 rivals in a village of Jessore on December 12, 1998. Ring Leader Jakir (42) was taking tea at Ghoshnagar Bazar under Bagher Para Thana in Jessore at about 7 am on that day. Suddenly, swooping down upon Jakir, Asad along with his armed group shot him dead and exploded bombs. Soon after the incident, angry armed aides of Jakir chased after escaping Asad and his aides. After running amuck for about 3 km, they caught hold of 10 persons out of 12 including the leader at Narendrapur Village. There, they chopped and shot all of them dead in retaliation. Blood and human brains were scattered here and there all over the village. See *The Bangladesh Observer & The Daily Sangbad*, 13 December, 1998.
- ¹⁰ Kabir, 2005, p. 55.
- ¹¹ For example, see *Prothom Alo*, 12 October, 2004.
- ¹² Hossain, Amzad, 1997, pp. 68-69, 72, 74.
- ¹³ Sikder, Siraj, 1989, pp. 41, 46.
- ¹⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 November, 1973.
- ¹⁵ Hossain, Amzad, 1997, pp.104, 105, 107, 175, 267.
- ¹⁶ Hossain, Amzad, 1997, p.82.
- ¹⁷ Sikder, Siraj, 1989, pp.14-15, 18, 51-56; Umar, 1996, pp.55-57, 60.
- ¹⁸ Hossain, Amzad, 1997, pp. 85-90, 130, 167.
- ¹⁹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 November, 1973.
- ²⁰ Hossain, Amzad, 1997, pp.167, 257, 259.
- ²¹ Sikder, Siraj, 1989, pp. 39, 67-70, 72-77, 88, 95.
- ²² Arif, 1995, pp. 50, 91, 96.
- ²³ Arif, 1995, pp. 132-135, 148, 154.
- ²⁴ Judge Taqiuddin al Nabhani founded Hizbut Tahrir in Jerusalem in 1953. Now, it is an international Islamic group working in more than 100 countries for the establishment of Caliphate-like state. Bangladesh branch of this outfit appeared on November 17, 2001. 20 countries have already banned it.
- ²⁵ Wikipedia, 'Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami.'
- ²⁶ *Prothom Alo*, 22 June, 2006.

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- ²⁷ Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies, New Delhi; *Prothom Alo*, 22 June, 2006.
- ²⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 January & 15 February, 1999; Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies, New Delhi.
- ²⁹ Karlekar, 2005, p. 167.
- ³⁰ *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 January, 1999; Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies, New Delhi.
- ³¹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 January, 1999.
- ³² Ullah, 1999, p. 53. Both writer and publisher of this book are known as Islamist militant at Syedpur in Sylhet.
- ³³ South Asia Terrorism Portal.
- ³⁴ Karlekar, 2005, p.167.
- ³⁵ Karlekar, 2005, pp.167-168.
- ³⁶ *The Daily Star*, 2005, 'Harkatul Jihad Banned At Last.'
- ³⁷ Karlekar, 2005, p. 168.
- ³⁸ *The Daily Star*, 21 September, 2004; *Prothom Alo*, 30, 31 October & 2 November, 2007.
- ³⁹ Ahmad and Akhter, 2005, p. 39.
- ⁴⁰ *Prothom Alo*, 9 January, 2006.
- ⁴¹ Cf. *Prothom Alo*, 7 December, 2005.
- ⁴² Cf. Hasan, 2007.
- ⁴³ Local collaborators of JMJB in Palashi were Mamun (32), Murshid (25), Mustak (22), Siddiq (37), Minhaz (19), Jalil Amin (52), Maznu alias Baltu (37), Manzur (25), Ghetto (35), Mannan (22), Nasir (47), etc. Interviews with villagers at Palashi, 21 September, 2007.
- ⁴⁴ Interviews with villagers at Bheti in Naogaon District, 28 September, 2007 and 29 February & 22 November, 2008; *Prothom Alo*, 20 August, 2007 & 27 May, 2004.
- ⁴⁵ *Prothom Alo*, 31 December, 2005.
- ⁴⁶ Killed victims were local Juba League Leader Idris Ali alias Khejur and Chhatra League Leader Jiaul Huq. See *Prothom Alo*, 31 December, 2005.
- ⁴⁷ These 8 godfathers were then Tele-Communication Affairs Minister Barrister Aminul Huq, Land Affairs Deputy-Minister Ruhul Kuddus Talukdar Dulu, State-Minister of Housing and Public Works Division Alamgir Kabir, MP and Rajshahi City Mayor Mizanur Rahman Minu, MP Nadim Mostafa, MP Abu Hena, MP Dr. Salek Chowdhury and MP Shamsul Alam Pramanik. See Hasan, 2007. *The Daily Janakantha also claimed that at the order of Dulu and Kabir, JMJB Chief Leader Bangla Bhai killed and tortured oppositions in Bagmara Thana of Rajshahi District and Raninagar Thana of Naogaon District. See *The Daily Janakantha*, 7 & 11 March, 2006.
- ⁴⁸ *Prothom Alo*, 1 April, 2005.
- ⁴⁹ *Prothom Alo*, 1 April and 31 December, 2005 & 27 May, 2004.
- ⁵⁰ *Prothom Alo*, *The Daily Star*, *Amardesh* & *Jugantor*, 18 August, 2005.
- ⁵¹ *The Daily Bhorer Kagoj*, 30 November, 2005.
- ⁵² *The Daily Bhorer Kagoj*, 2 December, 2005.
- ⁵³ Aiub Ali, interviewed by the researcher at Palashi, 21 September, 2007.
- ⁵⁴ Ainal Huq, interviewed by the researcher at Palashi, 21 September, 2007.
- ⁵⁵ Afzal, interviewed by the researcher at Palashi, 21 September, 2007.
- ⁵⁶ Sazid, interviewed by the researcher at Palashi, 21 September, 2007.
- ⁵⁷ Ferdous, interviewed by the researcher at Palashi, 21 September, 2007.
- ⁵⁸ *Prothom Alo*, 30 January, 2007 & 15 December, 2005; *The Daily Janakantha*, 3 March, 2006.
- ⁵⁹ *Prothom Alo*, 5 December, 2005.
- ⁶⁰ Hasan, 2007.

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- ⁶¹ *Prothom Alo*, 29 May, 2004.
- ⁶² Khan, Halim Dad, 1992, p. 9.
- ⁶³ United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) and Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) had training camps in Chittagong Hill Tracts. Harkatul Jihad and JMB got training from them on arms and explosives. See *Prothom Alo*, 15 December, 2005; Karlekar, 2005, pp.169-170.
- ⁶⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 25 January, 1999.
- ⁶⁵ Wikipedia, 'United Liberation Front of Asom.'
- ⁶⁶ Ahmad and Akhter, 2005, p. 28.
- ⁶⁷ US State Government, 2001; Huq, Muhammad Shams-ul, 2001, pp.56-59.
- ⁶⁸ *Prothom Alo*, 11 December, 2005 & 4 January, 2006.
- ⁶⁹ *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 30 July, 1994.
- ⁷⁰ *Prothom Alo*, 17 August, 2007.
- ⁷¹ 10 workers of Islamist outfit Harkatul Jihad were arrested on January 19, 1999. At the end of their police-remands for 5 days, Additional IG Nurul Huda sent a report to Police Headquarters on January 24, 1999. This report asserted Harkatul Jihad had connection with Afghan Taliban, Kashmiri militants and Arakan Army. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 25 January, 1999.
- ⁷² Wikipedia, 'Lashkar-e-Toiba.'
- ⁷³ The Arabic word *Kital* means fight (or military action of Muslims against enemies for self-defense).
- ⁷⁴ *Prothom Alo*, 17 August, 2007.
- ⁷⁵ Karlekar, 2005, p. 168; Wikipedia, 'Jaish-e-Mohammed.'
- ⁷⁶ *Prothom Alo*, 17 August, 2007.
- ⁷⁷ *Prothom Alo*, 16 December, 2005.
- ⁷⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 13 February, 1999.
- ⁷⁹ Interviews with madrasa-related persons, September 2007.
- ⁸⁰ Mohammad, 1993, p. 69.
- ⁸¹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 24 January, 1999.
- ⁸² *The Daily Sangbad*, 13 February, 1999.
- ⁸³ Abul Barkat, *Bangladeshe Maulabader Arthaniti* (The Economics of Fundamentalism in Bangladesh), (Dhaka: Jatiya Sahitya Prakashani, 2005), p.19 cited in Karlekar, 2005, p.172.
- ⁸⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 27 January, 1999.
- ⁸⁵ *Prothom Alo*, 29 July, 2004; Azad; *Prothom Alo*, 17 August, 2007; Karlekar, 2005, p.164. *Dr Muhammad Asadullah al-Galib was a professor of Arabic at University of Rajshahi. On February 23, 2005, he was arrested on charges of militancy. His book *Dawat O Jihad* (Invitation and Jihad) had the idea of armed Islamic revolution for Bangladesh. See Karlekar, 2005, p.186.
- ⁸⁶ *The Daily Sangbad*, 12 October, 1980.
- ⁸⁷ Yusuf Jasim-Al-Haji, then Kuwaiti minister on *Waqf* and Islam, came to Dhaka for a week-visit in March, 1978. Before his departure, he told it to journalists at airport on March 27, 1978. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 28 March, 1978.
- ⁸⁸ Ahmad, Akbaruddin, 2007.
- ⁸⁹ Interviews with two lecturers of IIUC; International Islamic University Chittagong.
- ⁹⁰ Sadique, 2006; Raman, B.

Chapter Five

Big Powers

Political histories of Bangladesh and other third world countries are similar in some cases. More than one state played with the fate of Bangladesh. British and Pakistani rulers exploited it. After independence, two big powers contested with each other for dominance in this land. There were allegations that some states provided financial and logistic support, from behind, to different parties, groups and organizations to fan the flame of political turmoil and to get benefits from it. The USSR insisted that Bangladesh be a socialist state of Soviet model from 1971 to 1975. China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and his following rulers had also the dream that this country would be a socialist state of Chinese model. Followers of Mao Tse-tung were active in Bangladesh during the era of Sheikh Mujib. It was not an empty word that some Indian leaders wished the annexation of Bangladesh and so did some Pakistani leaders. Islamic fundamentalists and militants allegedly got financial support from Pakistan and some of the Middle-East countries. Suspected Middle-East countries were Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran. Among these, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait disclosed their preference that Bangladesh turn itself into an Islamic state. The last, but not the least, the world's giant U.S. had had the outcry for the establishment of democracy in Bangladesh since its return in this country. All these countries had influence upon different ruling and opposition parties and upon their violent activities during different regimes. Their activities aimed at having this land as their satellite state. Governments and oppositions of Bangladesh saluted those of different powers and acted as their representatives only for financial aid and military assistance that they used against each other for power.

Pakistan

Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a dry, saline and mountainous land in southern Asia. It took birth in 1947 from the split of Indian Subcontinent. Indian Subcontinent was under British Empire from

1756 to 1947. Muslim League appeared in Indian politics in 1906 for working as a representative party of Muslim minority. British rulers came under pressure both from nationalists for independence and from Muslim League for a separate territory. Escaping British rulers divided India in 1947 and Pakistan as a new state emerged with two parts- the West and the East. East Pakistan was 1,600 km away from the West. This geographical location was the first obstacle in the unity of two parts. West Pakistan's poor amount of arable land and backward economy probably gave its rulers the nature of imperialists in the alluvial East. Economic and political exploitation again split this country resulting in the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971. From the rise to 2008, Pakistan saw four military takeovers and assassination or conspired killing of 4 former state-heads. As state-heads could never bring in political stability, their roles in the lost province were under questions. Therefore, this study has analyzed Pakistan's undermining activities in Bangladesh since 1971.

Pakistani military junta massacred three million people and raped 425,000 women during independence war of Bangladesh, 1971.¹ It was the atrocious genocide of the world history that had impact on the relation between independent Bangladesh and Pakistan. The government of Sheikh Mujib stepped forward for the normalization of relation between Bangladesh and Pakistan for economic purpose. Sheikh Mujib went to join the summit of Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Lahore in February, 1974. In this summit, then Pakistani Prime Minister Zulifkar Ali Bhutto proposed that Bangladeshis should forgive Pakistan government's past faults and make an understanding between two countries.² Bhutto was one of the Pakistani leaders, who sided with Pakistani army in the war of 1971. This summit gave Bangladesh the renewed entrance to the world of oil-rich Islamic countries that once turned their back on our freedom fighters.

Despite the ostensible diplomatic etiquette of Bhutto, Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) continued activities against AL government and collaborated with conspirators in Bangladesh. On August 15, 1975, a clique of army officers assassinated Sheikh Mujib and his

family members. It is now proven that ISI along with CIA played a role in this coup. Pakistan government wanted to take retaliation of its old defeat.³ Pakistan government was the first in acknowledging then President Mostak, who openly took the responsibility of this assassination. Besides, Pakistan helped other absconded killers to be rehabilitated in Pakistan and other countries.⁴ These were clear evidences of Pakistan's vengeful role. Andrew and Mitrokhin said, 'Within twenty-four hours of Mujib's murder, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the first to recognize the new military regime – deluding himself into believing that Bangladesh might now be willing to form a federation with Pakistan.'⁵ But his dream did not come true.

ISI resumed and continued operations in Bangladesh during military rule from 1976 to 1990.⁶ President Zia, President Ershad and Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia maintained warm relation between governments of two countries from 1976 to 1996. President Ershad enhanced this relation through various agreements⁷ and contracts on culture and trade with Pakistan's President General Zia-ul Huq. President Zia-ul Huq honored President H.M. Ershad with the highest civilian title of Pakistan 'Nishan-e-Pakistan' on July 26, 1986.

In 1996, AL, led by Sheikh Hasina, ascended power and the new AL government emphasized the maintenance of friendly foreign relations. Then, Nawaz Sharif was prime minister of Pakistan government. Studied sources stated he raised a fair relation between two countries and inspired less activities of ISI in Bangladesh. When Sharif advanced diplomatic relation in order to reduce tensions between India and Pakistan in 1999, army chief Pervez Musharraf did not alter his posture on Kashmir issue. Sharif's attempt to terminate the life of Musharraf opened the door for the general in getting the support from his army and seizing power in that year. Specialists on diplomacy claimed the relation between Bangladesh and Pakistan deteriorated this time in such a state as had never seen before. Among some reasons, one was that Musharraf was believed to increase activities of ISI in Bangladesh that aimed at collaborating with secessionist guerillas of India's North-East States. As AL government had no way to support such policy against the powerful neighbor, Musharraf was provoked.⁸ Amnesty International and different international

human rights organizations clearly said Pakistan intelligence agency ISI, some international arms smugglers' groups and arms traders were involved in keeping war-like situation in Chittagong Hill Tracts. Besides, internal and external interest groups were active in looting of natural resources there.⁹ This time, ISI allegedly persuaded pro-Pakistan fundamentalist parties to continue turmoil. Detective investigations proved that Pakistan's outfits subscribed to the fund of Bangladeshi militants in recent years.

Journalist Abdul Gaffar Chowdhury claimed ISI was involved in the massive grenade attacks on AL rallies on August 21, 2004. In this attack, plotters targeted Sheikh Hasina.¹⁰ Two major bomb-attacks occurred in the same month, i.e, in August. It was a repeat of the history. People highly suspected Pakistan for its involvement in recent bomb attacks here. CID and RAB identified attackers used the same type of grenades in three cases — grenade attacks on British High Commissioner Anwar Chowdhury in Sylhet on May 21, 2004, grenade attacks on AL rallies in Dhaka on August 21, 2004 and grenade attacks on AL Frontline Leader S.A.M.S. Kibria in Sylhet on January 27, 2005. These grenades were the same make named ARGES. Though the manufacturer was Austrian, users were American, Chinese, Pakistani and Indian armies.¹¹ AL is pro-India and China government is less influential than the U.S. one in Bangladesh politics in recent years; so names of these two countries can be ruled out. Finally, suspicion goes to the other two, as Pakistan, often backed by the U.S., has still agents in this country. It is also mentionable that Austria is one of the 8 arms sellers to Bangladesh Army.¹² ARGES grenades could slip from Bangladesh army to attackers. Opposition alleged the then coalition government of BNP and Pakistan-backed fundamentalist parties were involved in above cases. It seemed this allegation was not baseless.

US

United States (U.S.) is a federal republic of 48 states on North American Continent including the remote island state Hawaii. Most states were once British colonies in America and became

independent through American war of independence (1775-1783). U.S. expansion in the world was mainly motivated for overseas markets. For this reason, the U.S. gradually developed the skill of making a powerful atomic bomb between 1941 and 1945. The use of this lethal weapon on a Japanese city Hiroshima near the end of World War II cost about 60,000 to 70,000 people killed, injured and missing.¹³ In the post-war period, allies of World War II – the U.S. and the USSR - turned themselves into two foes. Both countries directly involved themselves in internal politics of third world countries for the establishment of democratic or socialist governments. The fight was called cold war. From the 1940s to the 1970s, the US extended influence upon Turkey, West Germany, South Korea and South Vietnam through both economic and military assistance. The disputable roles of the U.S. in wars of Korea, Vietnam and Iraq brought disrepute for this country. Evidences disclosed that U.S. government intelligence agency CIA conspired for the removal and assassination of presidents in many socialist countries.¹⁴ All Presidents - Harry S. Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Milhous Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush took hard-line in cold war. After the collapse of the USSR, the cold war ended but world politics was turned into another form with the rise of Islamic countries. After George W. Bush had become the U.S. president on January 20, 2001, the U.S. waged wars against Afghanistan and Iraq. Because of economic development, the U.S. got the leading position in the world during the era of President Eisenhower. But its increasing investment in the army, weaponry and overseas wars raised unemployment crisis and fall of industries. Because of economic crisis, the United States alone lost the position of a super power. Therefore, it often chose UK and others as its allies to control world politics in the early 21th century. In the mean time, its much expense on making nuclear weapons made the country a threat to world peace. In this span of time, how this major power played its role in Bangladesh is studied here.

The U.S. government was anti-independence during war of Bangladesh, 1971. Then, U.S. President Richard Milhous Nixon and State-Secretary Henry Kissinger played key roles in this case. The U.S. sent to Pakistan some cargoes, full of arms and ammunition that Pakistan used in this war.¹⁵ U.S. citizens and the congress opposed this policy. U.S. government was not ready to

lose either people's support or its foreign allies. So, it played a political game to keep balance with two sides. It stopped sending arms supplies to Pakistan directly. Yet, Pakistan received American arms through other ways, for example, in October, 1971, 74 fighter-planes were sent to Pakistan from Saudi Arabia and these planes were supplied by the U.S.¹⁶

The alliance of U.S., China and Pakistan made West Pakistani rulers insolent during their slaughter of then East Pakistanis despite the protest of U.S. citizens. After independence war, when the government of Sheikh Mujib, submissive to the USSR and India, ascended power, these three allies could not accept it.¹⁷ Three political allies — ruling AL, CPB and NAP (Mojaffar) — jointly alleged in December, 1973 that agents of the U.S.-China-Pakistan and conspirators against independence were deliberately engaged in destructive activities. They threw two grenades at Cultural Building of Soviet Embassy, located in Dhaka on December 14, 1973 and two Molotov cocktails in front of the office of Indian airlines, located in Dhaka on December 15, 1973.¹⁸ It seemed the motive of attacks was to enter distrust among Bangladesh, India and the USSR, and thus to bring about a split in the alliance. CPB leaders got information from those of then Soviet Communist Party that CIA played a role in creating political instability during AL regime (1972-75).¹⁹

ISI and CIA backed a clique of army officers, who assassinated Sheikh Mujib and his family members in 1975. The U.S. government sought an alternative government, which would be submissive to the world's largest capitalist country and which would stop developing an offshoot of Soviet socialist system. In their research work, three Americans - Lawrence Lifschultz, Kai Bird and Christopher Hitchens — proved the involvement of CIA in the assassination of Sheikh Mujib. They said on evidences that then CIA officers and General Khondakar Moshtak Ahmed along with his accomplices plotted the coup of August 15, 1975.²⁰ Later, Khondakar Moshtak Ahmed was sentenced to imprisonment some years.

Capturing power as chief martial law administrator, General Zia realized he would not receive favor of the USSR government. As the final beneficiary after the coup of August 15, 1975, he raised the rumor of his tacit consent in the coup; consequently Soviet leaders could not

trust him. He had no other way than saluting the U.S. government for his survival in the stormy and conspiracy-stricken politics of Bangladesh. American Magazine the *New Solidarity* published a report on CIA Agent of Bangladesh on February 27, 1976. This magazine revealed Air Vice-Marshall Golam Toab was one of the CIA agents, worked in Bangladesh government and Bangladesh army. There was an allegation that then U.S. President Ronald Reagan and his government along with Khondakar Moshtak Ahmed and Golam Toab tried a plot for President Zia's removal from power.²¹ President Zia removed Air Vice-Marshall Md. Golam Toab from his office in his period. He also imprisoned Khondakar Moshtak Ahmed from 1976 to 1980 after a trial in the court martial for his involvement in the assassination of Sheikh Mujib and his family. These are the reasons why both were angry with President Zia. During his regime, President Zia had to face at least 17 coups. Both might be conspirators in some frustrated insurrections. However, President Zia's Foreign Advisor Muhammad Shams-Ul Huq said the relation between the U.S. and Bangladesh was even cold in March, 1977.²² Probably, General Zia could make relation with the U.S. after that time. To show deference to the entente of the U.S.-China-Pakistan, he amended the constitution and made new policies as they liked.

After the assassination of President Zia, General H.M. Ershad captured power as chief martial law administrator and followed footsteps of his predecessor. In January 1989, Badruddin Umar said the then first foreign enemy of Bangladesh (as an imperialist one) was the U.S.²³ It meant that in the mean time, the U.S. government gained the upper hand over Bangladesh's. Syed Anwar Hossain said the U.S. government helped autocrat H.M. Ershad to hold power nine years.²⁴

Prime Ministers Begum Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina followed their predecessors in making relation with U.S. All governments, not excepting Sheikh Mujib's, turned their faces to the U.S. ones for financial loan, aid and trade. But as leaders of a poor country, they always had to bow their heads in many ways. It could be assumed that these governments received logistic support from the U.S. ones and bought arms and ammunition from them for suppressing oppositions. The U.S. government-intelligence agency CIA might work for creating conflicts

between governments and oppositions in Bangladesh like in other underdeveloped countries. But the U.S. governments often acted as a mediator between them and shed crocodile tears at our political turmoil. Renowned Political Scientist Badruddin Umar said that to sell arms and ammunition in potential buyer countries, imperialist states try to create and continue civil-war like situation inside a country or war between neighbors very tactfully and cleverly. In this way, three imperialists — the U.S., UK and France — have largely been selling their arms and ammunition all over the world after World War II.²⁵

China

The People's Republic of China is a large state in East Asia and has acquired the top position in the world for its population of 1.3 billion (estimated in 2001). After the break of the USSR in 1991, it is now the largest socialist country with some features of market economy. Chinese Communist Party established Leninist model of socialism in China in 1949. In the 1950s, this country brought in socialist economic system that allowed the state-control on agriculture and industry. Under Chinese Communist Party, it turned back on the West and shook hands with the USSR and Soviet bloc in the 1950s. During war between North and South Korea (1950-1953), Chinese troops sided with Communist North Korea. China backed Communist insurgents in Indonesia till 1965 and during Vietnam war (1959-1975). The crack in the Soviet-China relation was visible, when the Soviet Union withdrew its economic assistance from China in 1960. Being isolated from both democratic and socialist blocs, China sought its allies with Chinese model of socialism in Asia and Africa and stood against the USSR in the same decade. In the 1970s, China's relation with the U.S. got a new turn during the regime of U.S. President Richard Nixon. From 1979, governments of China took economic reforms that allowed some private enterprises and invited foreign investment. Gradually, China took positive look to Western nations. The relation between China and the U.S. more advanced with the visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton in China in 1998. As China oscillated between democratic and socialist blocs, its role in Bangladesh also changed over decades.

In December, 1971, in Security Council of United Nations (UN), members raised the issue of war between India and Pakistan that started on December 3, 1971. There, China took sides with Pakistan. China argued the motive of this war was the occupation of East Pakistan by India. It was the echo of West Pakistan's propaganda. Later, the same words were heard in the voice of Siraj Shikder. He often said independence war was nothing but the occupation of East Bengal by India. It proved that he along with his party might get support from China government.

In 1971, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai sent a reply to a letter of President Yahya Khan. In this reply, he supported West Pakistan's action against East Pakistan. When Pakistan government fell in financial crisis because of war expense, China government promised to give more financial assistance to it.²⁶ Thus, this country was away from our freedom-fighters. Even it delayed much to acknowledge Bangladesh as an independent state. The regime of Sheikh Mujib faced sporadic movements of extremist Peking-followers. These followers of Mao Tse-tung often perpetrated kidnapping and secret killing of AL leaders and workers. China could not accept AL government because AL was pro- India and - the USSR. China's relation with India deteriorated on the issues of border disputes and India's support to Tibetan independence movement. China and the USSR had a smile between them with Soviet assistance in China's economy in the 1950s. But bitterness and hostility opened after the Soviet Union withdrew economic assistance in 1960, when famine broke out in China. They turned back on each other with the eruption of clashes in border areas along the Amur and Ussuri rivers in 1969. Cross-border war between two big socialist countries broke out at the end of 1974. This is why India-and Soviet-backed government in Bangladesh was not favorable to China. Therefore, China government sided with Maoist Communist party of Bangladesh in its activities against government.

In a party-document of March, 1972, Siraj Sikder said because then AL government took power, Purba Bangla became a counter-revolutionary outpost against communism and China.²⁷ His loyalty to Mao Tse-tung and China was disclosed more than once in some of his party documents, published between 1968 and 1974. From these evidences, it is concluded that he was

pro-China. Therefore, then China government could not be out of suspicion for its complicity in violent activities of Siraj Sikder-led then Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party.

In post-war period, government sought fair foreign relation for financial assistance. In 1973, Foyez Ahmed went to Hong Kong as a special messenger of Sheikh Mujib in order to develop a relation between Bangladesh and China. He had a long discussion with Chinese officials there.²⁸ Though this endeavor was not as much successful as expected, China took an initiative by sending financial aid to Bangladesh last year of Mujib's era.²⁹ After the assassination of Sheikh Mujib, President Zia tried to make relation with all big powers. Then Premier of China was very pleased with General Zia, because of which Chinese leaders probably distracted their support from extremist Maoist parties.

After the demise of Mao Tse-tung on September 9, 1976, the new Chinese high officials probably turned their back on our extremists. Deng Xiaoping, appointed as deputy premier in 1977, brought a change in Mao's commune system and allowed household production after its contract with local authorities. In 1993, Jiang Zemin got the power as President in China. In their reigns, China took economic reforms inviting foreign investment that also changed their foreign policy. For this reason, new Chinese leaders changed their previous inimical attitude and established economic relation with Bangladesh through investment of capital. The distance between China and Bangladesh is only ninety km. This nearness was another reason of their renewed relation in the late 1970s. Moreover, like all other big powers, China had the long for increasing its influence in South Asia that let it stand by the side of war-devastated Bangladesh.

That the trade relation between China and Bangladesh developed in the life-time of President Zia advanced with endeavors of Chief Martial Law Administrator (CLMA) Lieutenant General H.M. Ershad. The motive of H.M. Ershad was to draw money. He went to China for a state-visit of 6 days on November 26, 1982. His visit brought from China a loan of 1 crore and 25 lac US Dollars for the country.³⁰ China government gave loans of 32 crore and 50 lac Yuans to Bangladesh

government in 8 years from 1978 to March 10, 1986.³¹ But the relation got another color with the supply of Chinese military arms in his tenure. High officials of China army came for a visit in Bangladesh on January 7, 1987. After this visit, their arms were supplied for Bangladesh army. Chinese arms experts provided training to Bangladesh army in Comilla, Sylhet and Chittagong in that time. Chinese ammunition specialists supervised Bangladesh Arms Ordinance Factory near Dhaka by 1987 to produce ammunition, required for their supplied arms.³² Even presently, China is the leading seller of arms to Bangladesh army. Now, Bangladesh Arms Ordinance Factory at Jaydebpur in Gajipur District also manufactures arms of Chinese model.³³ Besides, more than one national dailies often wrote that Chinese rifle AK-56 was a common illegal arm in hands of terrorists in Bangladesh. Therefore, legal and illegal Chinese arms entered this land. It proved once again that manufacturers sold their arms to less developed countries legally and illegally. On the other hand, assistance from foreign powers in arms supply made governments strong to be tyrannical on oppositions.

However, it is not forgettable that in periods of President Zia, President Ershad and Prime Minister Khaleda Zia (1991-96), China provided grants and loans in various developments projects such as the construction of bridges on big rivers- Buriganga and Mahananda, urea fertilizer plant and textile mills.

India

Republic of India is a federal state and great power in southern Asia that got independence from British Empire in 1947. It is the second populous country in the world with more than 1 billion people of diverse culture, languages and religions. But Hindus are the majority in India. Though this country was pro-Soviet Union in the late 1950s and continued this tendency for some decades, it much inherited government structure from the Great Britain and accepted some features of the United States. After P. V. Narasimha Rao had become prime minister, he took economic reforms of privatization and foreign investment. From 1947, border disputes between India and Pakistan on

Kashmir, a state of Muslim majority, remained an unsolved tension, and border wars were often erupted. Internal politics of India was disturbed with Hindu-Muslim riots in the late 1960s, early 1970s and December 1992. There, people got shocks with the assassination of Indira Gandhi on October 31, 1984 and that of his son Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991. On the other hand, separation movements in some particular areas created tensions for governments. These areas were Assam, Punjab, Uttaranchal in Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand in Bihar. Being absorbed in chaotic internal politics, India governments had less attention for making warm relations with those of a weak Islamic neighbor, except for Awami League governments, believed to be secular. Subversive activities in Bangladesh mostly came from the secret relation of militants between two countries.

A short-time war broke out between India and China in 1962. After this war, the relation between two countries deteriorated. The crisis between the two arose on two issues- 1) India gave political asylum to former Tibetan ruler Dalai Lama in 1959 when China's suppression of a rebellion let many Tibetans seek refugee status in India. 2) The incursion of Chinese troops in Indian borders in 1959 and 1962 gave a rise to bitterness. The relation between India and Pakistan was not friendly on the issue of Kashmir. Because a huge influx of Bengali refugees was a threat to economic and political stability of India during independence war of Bangladesh 1971, India government probably had no alternative to its participation in war. These were some reasons why India took sides with then East Pakistan and China with West Pakistan. During this war, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her government gave food, shelter, arms and training to freedom-fighters, and at last in association with Indian Army, freedom-fighters earned victory on December 16, 1971. Soon afterward, the relation between India and Bangladesh was very warm and euphoric. But this relation suffered last years of Sheikh Mujib's era. Tension and agitation between inhabitants of two countries were high and Bangladeshis of border areas were often victims of attacks.³⁴ The crisis of the Ganges' water distribution, determination of border areas and water-boundaries, trade discrimination, etc added more tensions. These crises have not yet been solved. Uncompromising attitude of India as a big power was an impediment to proper

solutions. On the other hand, an Indian political party allegedly had connection with Purba Banglar Communist Party so that Bangladesh could reunite with West Bengal. Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini arrested Pakhi along with his retinue on November 27, 1973. Pakhi was chief leader of Purba Banglar Communist Party in Jessore and Kusthia Districts. He along with his armed force *Lal Fouj* (red army) executed scores of killing and looting. He confessed a special political party of West Bengal and an international political link helped his party in all aspects.³⁵

After the assassination of Sheikh Mujib, General Zia seized power. In his period, he could not earn the true trust of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, yet she kept diplomatic etiquette with him sincerely. President Zia-led BNP often propagandized that India government conspired with AL in creating turmoil in the country. This propaganda might partly be true. Since AL was submissive to Indira Gandhi, its leaders might receive logistic support from India government in movement against President Zia and his martial law administration. Indira Gandhi was pro-USSR while Morarji Deshai was pro-U.S. In January, 1977, Janata Dal came to India's power and Morarji Deshai became Prime Minister. In his time, at the endeavor of President Zia's Foreign Advisor Muhammad Shams-ul Huq, the relation between two governments improved. India's *Sunday Times* reported with evidences that General H.M. Ershad became an agent of Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) during his training in India. After Indira Gandhi's return to power, RAW advanced with the conspiracy of President Zia's assassination and Ershad's rise in power because President Zia was an anti-India.³⁶

In 1978, Communist Party of India (CPI) of West Bengal claimed Jessore, Kushtia and Faridpur Districts in Bangladesh were actually parts of India.³⁷ This claim exposed its attitude. It can be assumed that the split section of this party named CPI-M had connection with Purba Banglar Communist Party of Bangladesh. The arrested leaders of this leftwing extremist group confessed that it got assistance from an Indian one.

Again, a tension between Bangladesh and India rose more steadily during the regime of H.M. Ershad. Agitated demonstrators of pro-Moscow All Indian Student Federation (AISF)

hurled bombs at Deputy High Commission of Bangladesh, located in Calcutta, India on December 3, 1983. They also torched the dummy of CMLA Lieutenant General H.M. Ershad. Indian frigates' crossing of Bangladesh water-boundary increased another tension. On the other hand, Indian TV, radio and national dailies broadcasted and published the news of Bangladesh opposition movement. The news did not favor autocrat H.M. Ershad that enraged him.

After ascending power in 1991, Begum Khaleda Zia and her government tried to make economic and diplomatic relation with India's. Since some BNP members were pro-Pakistan, India government could hardly trust this party from its rise. After the demolition of Babri Mosque in Ayodhya by ultra Hindus on December 6, 1992, the following communal violence in both countries jeopardized their relation. On July 12, 1994, Altaf Parvez, columnist of the daily *Ajker Kagoj*, said, 'The relation between Bangladesh and India is again being frozen...Anti-Bangladeshi attitude in the whole India including West Bengal is now stronger than that of previous years.'³⁸ During her regime, BNP leaders often lashed out against India. Propaganda on India's conspiracy with AL against sovereignty flooded the country. AL always denied this allegation. But it is not deniable that India's rulers considered AL submissive and secular; so they might provide logistic support to AL for overthrowing governments in different time.

When AL with the leadership of Sheikh Hasina came to power in 1996, an emotional outburst was visible among Indian rulers and their people. At the invitation of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, Indian Prime Minister H. D. Deve Gowda, along with a group of 20 high officials, came to Bangladesh for a state visit of two-days on January 6, 1997. It is noticeable that despite governmental endeavors, former Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia of BNP government failed to bring then Indian Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao. However, this warm relation turned into clod last two years of AL regime (1996-2001). In the mid-1997, a report was published in national dailies that intelligence agency RAW (Research and Analysis Wing) and CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation) of India had opened their braches in Bangladesh. Bangladesh

government disclaimed this information. Where CIA and ISI were present, there RAW and CBI had more chances to be active. The latter agencies represent the country that is within a stone's throw from ours.

After having been elected for the second time, BNP led by Begum Khaleda Zia, again blew a storm of propaganda that Indian intelligence agency RAW, along with AL, was working in the country for the re-union of Bangladesh with India as a province. As a freedom-fighter party, AL could not conspire against sovereignty. But RAW might work with it for the fall of government. Thus, the relation between two countries received another shock.

Talukder Maniruzzaman said small countries fell in aggression of rising neighboring powers most of the time in history. In post-World War II period, there were many examples that big countries of the third world devoured or tried to devour their small neighbors, for examples, China's attack on Tibet from 1950 to 1951, India's occupation of Kashmir in 1947, Indonesia's occupation of East Timor from 1975 to 1976, Vietnam's operation in Cambodia from 1978 to 1979, etc. Likewise, India wants to weaken Bangladesh very soon and to take its sovereignty.³⁹

In January, 1971, Siraj Sikder said AL's slogan 'Jay Bangla' disclosed a happy imagination. It wished to bring a victory over the great Bengal by joining West Bengal with East Bengal. But this imagination would never come true. In 1972, Mawlana Bhasani raised the demand of a United Bengal, consisted of Purba Bangla (East Bengal), West Bengal, Assam and Tripura.⁴⁰ It meant that not only Indians but also some Bangladeshi leaders dreamt of a united Bengal. In the inauguration ceremony of Calcutta Book-fair, 1998, Sheikh Hasina, then Prime Minister of Bangladesh, was invited as chief guest. There, the chief convener of the book-fair addressed Hasina *Mukhya-Mantri* (Chief Minister) instead of Prime Minister intentionally or unintentionally. Though he later begged pardon from Hasina, it proved some Indian leaders liked to imagine Bangladesh as a part of India. They thought since once Bangladesh was a part of India as East Bengal, it would once again annex itself to India. Even in 2001, some radical rightist leaders of India believed that as a great military power, India like other great powers of the world would be able to exert political and economic influence upon other countries.⁴¹ It is thought that Indian radicals have secret links with anarchists of Bangladesh. They may expect that this link will make their long-lived imperialist dream come true.

USSR

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (1917-1991) was the world's first and largest socialist federation that emerged in December 1922 after Russian Revolution under Vladimir Lenin in 1917. It covered a very large part of the world that included Russia and its empire in Eastern Europe and Asia. After Joseph Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev and Mikhail Gorbachev, who had favor for socialist imperialism, came to leadership of the Soviet Communist Party successively. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Soviet Union was much exhausted in curbing capitalist rebellions in East Europe and mitigating the crisis of socialist friends in Asia and Africa. Some of these countries were Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Vietnam, etc. The use of Soviet army and WARSAW Pact caused huge bloodshed in Poland and Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Romania in 1989. Amidst these disputable roles and tensions, this largest country sided with Bangladesh in independence war but had not much attention to financial crisis of this land in post-war period, as expected then.

In 1971, Soviet President Nikolay Viktorovich Podgorny, titular head of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from 1965 to 1977, sent a letter to General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan of Pakistan. In this letter, he expressed his concern in the slaughter of unarmed ordinary East Pakistanis by West Pakistani army. He requested to stop bloodshed and to reach in a political settlement. It was of course a praiseworthy endeavor. But the Soviet Union did not want that a war between Pakistan and India broke out. It advised the both again and again not for independence but for autonomy of East Pakistan.⁴²

With the dream of Lenin, Moscow wanted to see the rest of Asia in the world of socialism. In the 1950s, India stepped on its way that kindled its hope. In the early 1970s, China's turning to the U.S. gave a big blow to the dream of the USSR. In 1971, influx of Bangladeshi refugees created a huge crisis in the economy of India that increased the possibility of war between India and Pakistan. At the time of India's major crisis, the Soviet Union could not take the decision of alienation with India, as it was afraid of losing its big ally in Asia. This chess of politics let the Soviet Union support East Pakistan's independence war in November, 1971. After Pakistan's attack on India on December 3, 1971, Security Council of the United Nations raised the motion of cease-fire. The Soviet Union used its veto there that saved freedom-fighters from defeat.

When the Soviet Union became a close ally of Bangladesh, it already acquired an imperialist character. An imperialist country always bears an objective of economic exploitation in underdeveloped countries. It seemed that this country was not an exception. This longing was soon disclosed with its economic policy. Tareque Shamsur Rehman said though food aid was a crying need in war-devastated country, the Soviet Union was more interested in investment for projects and state-owned industries. Loans were given often with political and economic conditions. These conditions compelled government to import machinery only from this big power, for example, after an agreement was signed in June 1973, the Soviet Union assisted Bangladesh with 2 crore British sterling pound for paying its debt. Bangladesh had to expend this amount of money in buying machinery from the Soviet Union.⁴³ On the other hand, the era of Sheikh Mujib received the supply of arms and ammunition, valued 60 million U.S. dollars from the Soviet Union. Though the quantity was not very high, it was the highest of all military assistances here in that time. In 1973, Bangladesh received a supply of 16 aircrafts from this country. In 1972-78, total 445 officers of Bangladesh defense forces, mostly air force members, went to the Soviet Union. They got trained on both MiG aircraft and Marxism of Soviet version⁴⁴ that disclosed the big power had both political and economic interests. Soviet Leader Brezhnev wanted to transform Bangladesh into a socialist state with the help of Sheikh Mujib. But Sheikh Mujib was once pro-America. He could

not leave his emotion neither for democracy nor for socialism. Therefore, he made a gruel hotchpotch of both democracy and socialism that famine-stricken Bangladeshis could not swallow well in the interruption of his corrupt relatives and flatterers.

During the era of Sheikh Mujib, CPB, NAP (Mojaffar), Samyabadi Dal, etc were active socialist parties. Among them, CPB and NAP were the most faithful agents of Moscow.⁴⁵ They made alliance with the government of Sheikh Mujib and kept pressure on it for taking steps in favor of socialist system. Former Communist Leader and Writer Badruddin Umar said CPB and NAP were loyal to every president of the Soviet Union and got financial assistance from this country.⁴⁶

The relation between the Soviet Union and Bangladesh started to become cold after 1975. After the assassination of Sheikh Mujib, when President Zia captured power, he did not get the trust of the USSR government. Because then Bangladesh needed foreign aid desperately, Zia turned his face to the U.S., China and Islamic countries. President Zia blotted out the word 'Socialism' from constitution and replaced the words 'Economic and Social Justice' to please the U.S. government. He also tried to reestablished diplomatic relation with USSR leaders and sent Tobarak Hossain as a special messenger there. Yet, Soviet leaders turned the cold shoulder to his proposal. Tobarak Hossain was in charge of the office of Foreign Secretary from November 1975 to September, 1978 in Bangladesh. Vasili Mitrokhin claimed 20 influential KGB agents were active against government during the era of President Zia in Bangladesh.⁴⁷ Then, government banned CPB on October 14, 1977. The reason was that CPB was accused of its complicity in the military coup d'état of October 2, 1977 against President Zia. Mani Singh and Mohammad Farhad were arrested.⁴⁸ Government withdrew ban from this party in 1978. CPB was Moscow-patronized; KGB, intelligence agency of the USSR Government, must have had connection with it. KGB claimed that in its own plans, oppositions of Bangladesh arranged 44 meetings against the government of President Zia in order to spread disinformation in 1979.⁴⁹

After the assassination of President Zia, General Ershad seized power. In his time, the relation between Bangladesh and the Soviet Union again faced complexity. Indian Scholar Suchita Ghosh said, 'Bilateral relations had suffered after Dacca expelled twelve Soviet diplomats on November 1983 on charges of inciting an anti-government agitation...'⁵⁰ In the mean time, General Ershad entered the axis of Pakistan-America-China entente. The Soviet Union's favorable Awami League was out of power and leaders of other socialist parties were imprisoned. Bangladesh in the hand of tougher person was already turned into its lost kingdom. Therefore, it was possible that like India, the Soviet Union tried to work against the autocrat. In 1984, a soviet diplomat beat a Bangladeshi officer at Dhaka Air Port. This is why the relation between the Soviet Union and Bangladesh extremely deteriorated later.⁵¹

In 1991, the USSR collapsed and a Russian Federation emerged as an independent nation. It adopted somewhat Presidential form of government and the market economy with the legalization of private enterprises and foreign investment. Russian President Boris Yeltsin brought these huge changes in Russia through a new constitution that was activated in 1993. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party was only one party. But from the late 1980s, hundreds of political parties and factions triggered off a great political crisis in Russia. Though, in elections of parliament 1999, the communist party got about one-quarter of votes, it did not recover its past glory. The fall of the Soviet Union had great impact on Bangladesh politics and other Soviet-oriented countries. To survive in politics, AL shook off its socialist cover and disclosed itself as a democratic party. CPB and other socialist parties gradually lost their strength. In the 1990s, influence of the Soviet Union upon Bangladesh decreased remarkably.

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is mostly a land of desert and extreme temperature in southwestern Asia. It is the leading state among Arab countries. In the first half of the 1900s, Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, follower of Wahhabi creed along with his forces, conquered Mecca and its surrounding areas. In 1932, he

named his kingdom Saudi Arabia and established Islamic monarchy. Government works on the basis of Islamic law and royal decrees instead of any approved constitution. Since 1938, this country has largely produced oil from its coastal areas. Though the history of its oil-exports saw ups and downs, oil production from rich oil reserves changed the economy of this desert-area. This country often tried to aid Arab countries with both economic and military assistance in their political crises, but this relation fluctuated and deteriorated on national interests. Saudi Arabia often sided with Islamic ruling system, for example, after Yemen's revolution in 1962, the new republican government took power. Saudi government gave shelter to the expelled Yemeni Imam. For his restoration of power, Saudi Arabia had intermittent border wars with Yemen for seven years until July 1970. An agreement of June 1951 between Saudi Arabia and the U.S. permitted the former to purchase U.S. arms. Since then, imprudent governments have expended much money in buying arms. The influence of the U.S. upon Saudi Arabia increased during invasion of Iraq in Kuwait in 1990. Then being afraid of border security, this country allowed deployment of U.S.-led allied troops. These troops fought against Iraq during Persian Gulf War, 1991. U.S. force extracted huge costs from the host country that led it to economic crisis. In this span of time, its relation with Bangladesh is a subject of study here.

Saudi Arabia appeared in Bangladesh politics during the regime of President Zia. Being invited by King Khalid Bin Abdul Aziz, President Zia went to Saudi Arabia for a visit and stayed there from 21 to 28 July, 1977. This visit made bipartite relation between Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia strong. In those days, President Zia attracted Islamic countries of the Middle-East for their investment in various development projects of Bangladesh. Saudi Arabian rulers were very much enthusiast with his warm welcome and invested huge money. Saudi government gave \$ 24 crore as loan and \$ 29 crore and 50 lac as financial aid in various development projects of Bangladesh government in three years till 1980.⁵² On May 15, 1983, the government of Saudi Arabia granted a loan of 2,69,60,000 US dollars to Bangladesh government.⁵³ Without particular political or economic objective, no state invests such a huge financial aid to a foreign country or organization.

Their objective was, as evidences proved, to influence government in proclaiming Bangladesh as an Islamic state. During regimes of President Zia and President Ershad, high officials of Saudi government came for visit in Bangladesh and their speeches exposed their attitude. On March 10, 1985, then Saudi Prince Mohammad Al-Faysal-al-Saud, chairman of International Association of Islamic Bank (IAIB), came to Bangladesh to join a seminar of three-days on 'Islamic Banking' that was scheduled to start from 11 March, 1985. On that day, he told journalists at the airport that Bangladesh could be the center of Islamic activities as one of the biggest Islamic countries.⁵⁴

Side by side, they gave their attention to preach and spread Islam through assisting Islamic educational institutes. After Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) had been reestablished as an Islamic political party in 1980, it drew financial aid from Saudi Arabian rulers in different time. In 1984, Saudi government sent a bank-draft of huge money, assigned to a 'Prince Golam Azam' of Bangladesh. This news got wind and raised uproar in print media.⁵⁵ The Islamic Research Center of Saudi government subscribed to funds of many countries for the development of Islamic culture. In the 1980s and the 1990s, this aid of many crore Takas was channeled to JI and its other sister organizations. In 1994, three sister organizations of JI named *Islam Prachar Samiti*, *Saimum Shilpi gosthi* and *Adhunik Prakashani* requested donations of 40 crore Takas from governments of two Islamic states including Saudi Arabia.⁵⁶ This huge money made JI strong. To appear as a strong one, a party in the less developed country spends much money for recruits and arms. JI might spend money for collecting strength because in the 1980s and the 1990s, student and youth wings of JI had numerous clashes with those of other parties.

In 1996, JMB Chief Leader Shaekh Abdur Rahman arranged a meeting at Baytul Mokarram, where leaders discussed the necessity of Jihad in Bangladesh and its way of implementation. Ruhul Amin, military Attaché of Saudi Arabia embassy, was present in that meeting.⁵⁷ JMB must have received logistic support from this influential representative of Saudi Arabia government.

When Rohingya refugees of Myanmar entered this country, Saudi Arabia-based Rabita-Al-Alam-Al-Islami came to give aid to refugees in various madrasas of Cox's Bazar, Chittagong. At the same time, it allegedly recruited them as Islamic militants and gave training. It was one of the suspected organizations that cooperated with militant groups of Bangladesh. Detectives identified Jamaat often controlled and influenced Rabita in Bangladesh.⁵⁸ Industry Affairs Minister (2001-2006) and Jamaat Amir Matiur Rahman Nizami went to Saudi Arabia for a 4-days visit in April, 2006. The official periodical (*mukhapatra*) of Jamaat stated that Nizami went to join an international meeting of Rabita-Al-Alam-Al-Islami in Saudi Arabia. These evidences stated the then rulers of Saudi Arabia could not keep them beyond questions. Their endeavors of transforming Bangladesh into an Islamic state were the same as the activities of JI. Various wings of JI unleashed innumerable violence and vandalism to replace Islamic ruling system with the present democratic one.

Endnotes

- ¹ Karlekar, 2005, p.47.
- ² Huq, Muhammad Shams-Ul, 2001, p. 63.
- ³ Chowdhury, Abdul Gaffar, 2006, p.8; Dashgupta, 2008.
- ⁴ 'Khaledar Pakistan Safar O Khuni Chakrer Sathe Baithak' (Pakistan-Visiting of Khaleda and Meeting with the Killer Group), *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, cited in Mahmud, 1999, p. 77.
- ⁵ Andrew and Mitrokhin, 2005, p. 351.
- ⁶ Karlekar, 2005, p. 69.
- ⁷ Both governments signed in an agreement on July 27, 1986. It allowed two countries to exchange land in diplomatic areas of their capital cities for the construction of permanent embassies. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 28 July, 1986.
- ⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 3 November, 2000.
- ⁹ Santras O Nairajyai Ganatantra Pratishthar Pradhan Antaray' (Main Obstacles before the Establishment of Democracy are Terrorism and Anarchy), *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 5 December, 1997, cited in Mahmud, 1999, p.99.
- ¹⁰ Chowdhury, Abdul Gaffar, 2006, p.8.
- ¹¹ Karlekar, 2005, p. 133.

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- ¹² Interviewed army officers say that presently Bangladesh army uses arms and ammunition of 6 countries and 2 alliances. These are China, Yugoslavia, Austria, Pakistan, UK, the U.S., NATO and WARSAW Pact. *5 army officers, telephone interviews by the researcher, 5, 6 & 8 September, 2008.
- ¹³ Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, 2002, 'United States (History).'
- ¹⁴ In 1975, American Senate Committee disclosed a report on 10 years' conspiracies of CIA that was counted from 1960 to 1970. This report stated CIA conspired for the assassination of state-heads in many countries of Asia, Africa and South America. Its targets were the first Prime Minister of Congo Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of Cuba Fidel Castro, Indonesian Former President Sukarno, the first President of South Vietnam Ngo Dinh Diem, etc. Some of them were assassinated. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 'Bharater Khabar, Carter-er Sathe Safal Alochana Hayechhe,' 1978; Huq, Abdul, 1996, p. 382.
- ¹⁵ Huq, Abdul, 1996, pp. 238-239.
- ¹⁶ Hossain, Syed Anwar, 1994, pp.59, 61.
- ¹⁷ Andrew and Mitrokhin said, 'Moscow's preferred candidates (given the impossibility of Communist regimes) took power in both Islamabad and Dhaka.' They were Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Bangladesh after 1971's war. See Andrew and Mitrokhin, 2005, p. 349.
- ¹⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 20 December, 1973; *Banglar Bani*, 15 & 16 December, 1973.
- ¹⁹ Khan, Mizanur Rahman, 2006c.
- ²⁰ Khan, Mizanur Rahman, 2006c.
- ²¹ Khan, Mizanur Rahman, 2006b.
- ²² Huq, Muhammad Shams-Ul, 2001, p.23.
- ²³ Umar, 1990, p. 95.
- ²⁴ Hossain, Syed Anwar, 1995, p. 14.
- ²⁵ Umar, 1995b, p. 98.
- ²⁶ Huq, Abdul, 1996, pp. 213, 226.
- ²⁷ Sikder, Siraj, 1989, pp. 39-40.
- ²⁸ Hossain, Syed Anwar, 1994, p.11; cf. Kaiyum, 1999, p. 40.
- ²⁹ Hossain, Syed Anwar, 1995, p. 35.
- ³⁰ *The Daily Sangbad*, 5 December, 1982.
- ³¹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 10 March, 1986.
- ³² Ghosh, 1995, pp. 16-17; *Tareque Shamsur Rehman also said that China appeared as a great arms supplier in Bangladesh in 1988. See Rehman, Tareque Shamsur, 1993, p. 123.
- ³³ 5 army officers, telephone interviews by the researcher, 5, 6 & 8 September, 2008.
- ³⁴ Huq, Muhammad Shams-Ul, 2001, p.22.
- ³⁵ *The Daily Sangbad*, 28 November, 1973.
- ³⁶ Islam, Major Rafiqul, 1991, p.42.
- ³⁷ *Dainik Bangla*, 'Bakshalira 20 Hajar Deshpremik-ke Hatya Karechhilo,' 1978.
- ³⁸ *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 12 July, 1994.

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- ³⁹ Maniruzzaman, 2001, pp. 16-17.
- ⁴⁰ Sikder, Siraj, 1989, pp. 35, 95.
- ⁴¹ Huq, Muhammad Shams-Ul, 2001, p. 50.
- ⁴² Rehman, Tareque Shamsur, 1993, pp. 21-26.
- ⁴³ Rehman, Tareque Shamsur, 1993, pp. 6, 99-100.
- ⁴⁴ Rehman, Tareque Shamsur, 1993, pp. 115-117, 120, 123; Syed Anwar Hossain, *Bangladesh and the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace*, p.157, cited in Ghosh, 1995, p.5.
- ⁴⁵ Sikder, Siraj, 1989, p.116; Rehman, Tareque Shamsur, 1993, p. 53.
- ⁴⁶ Umar, 1992, pp.104-105.
- ⁴⁷ Khan, Mizanur Rahman, 2006a.
- ⁴⁸ Hossain, Amzad, 1997, pp. 54-55.
- ⁴⁹ Khan, Mizanur Rahman, 2006a.
- ⁵⁰ Ghosh, 1995, pp. 62-63; *Tareque Shamsur Rehman claimed the expelled Soviet diplomats were 14 in 1983. See Rehman, Tareque Shamsur, 1993, p. 122.
- ⁵¹ Hossain, Syed Anwar, 1994, p.10.
- ⁵² *The Daily Sangbad*, 23 September, 1980.
- ⁵³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 16 May, 1983.
- ⁵⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 11 March, 1985.
- ⁵⁵ Hossain, Syed Anwar, 1994, p.11.
- ⁵⁶ *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 3 April, 1994.
- ⁵⁷ *Prothom Alo*, 17 August, 2007.
- ⁵⁸ *The Daily Janakantha*, 9 April, 2006.

Chapter Six

Political Causes of Political Violence

In broad sense, violence effervesces from exploitation in all small or large groups of a society or a state. Exploitation creates discontent among people. When the exploited protest against the exploiting class, the latter uses force to silence the former. From small scale to serious outburst of clashes take place between them. There is no group or society or state, ranging from democratic to socialist, where there is no exploitation.

Human nature is that the powerful always try to exist on earth by sucking the weak. This is why the strong party rises in power. State-power is always helpful for misappropriation of money and suppression of the weak mostly in less developed countries. Since no strong party can constantly keep status for internal conflict, another strong party takes birth among the weak. It continuously clashes with the ruling party. At the political climax, it leads other small parties and groups either for movement or for revolution. But this circle continues and maintains violence in a land. Therefore, no state, either developed or backward, is absolutely free from violence. Only its severity sometimes decreases and increases in some places of the world. But because of human nature it will never leave this poor earth. The earth will always be soaked with human blood and tarnished with exploitation.

The causes of political violence have been divided into two categories — political and socio-economic. Political causes are- 1) foreign influence, 2) failure of government and violent style of movement, 3) god fathers and political terrorism, 4) illegal arms and ammunition, 5) failure in law-enforcement, 6) failure of justice, 7) religious politics, 8) ways of publicity, 9) political ideology, and 10) unfair and partial election.

Foreign Influence

Almost all developed countries become rich through their imperialist exploitation of weak neighbors and remote third world countries. In the modern world, the new exploitation style is to exert strong influence upon the government of a country. The powerful country government first charms the weak one with generous etiquette. Later, the powerful government entices it to jump into the pitfall of loans and aid in series on some conditions. These loans inevitably draw it to an abysmal condition of being a bankrupt. Conditions of loan and bankruptcy are those smooth ways that make new imperialist exploitation easy.

Where there is an economic interest, there is also a political interest, since the both relate each other. It is said that the more investment, the more income. Big countries invest more money in those countries, from where they expect to get more return. Underdeveloped countries are the best places that they choose for investment and marketing.

Badrudin Umar says imperialist countries are such international mahajans (usurers) that they can be resemble with common village mahajans of our underdeveloped country. If a poor farmer falls in the trap of a mahajan, he has no way of coming out of it. His utensils, land and all other things go to mahajan's hands. In some cases, he along with his family becomes a beggar. The same way, if a poor country takes loans from imperialist countries and becomes indebted, it gets no way of coming out of this situation. Imperialist countries suck people of that country absolutely.¹

An estimate showed that from independence 1971 to June 1982, the U.S. was the leading donor in Bangladesh. The financial assistance came as loans and grants. It showed how immense interest this country had in the economy of Bangladesh. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait also gave noticeable grants and loans in these years.²

If the ruling party of a poor country submissively responds to demands of imperialist one, the latter provides financial and logistic support to the former in suppression of oppositions. But if the ruling party is unyielding and affronting in response to demands of imperialist power, government of this country provides, from the behind of a curtain, financial or logistic support to either oppositions or rebels to topple government. Thus, violent clashes or movement escalated

with foreign aid. No political party of a poor country can collect such money from internal sources that it can buy huge weapons and hire innumerable people. Internal political chaos hoodwinks eyes of people so tightly that they consider it their own crisis and blame one another. Turmoil impedes internal economic development but no harm reaches to imperialists. Actually, behind the scene, foreign countries remain real playboys. In some cases, poor countries truly have no real political identity. Their histories like that of Somalia are full of foreign conspiracies. Being independent in 1960, Somalia suffered from civil wars among different clans, warlords and government troops from 1982 to 2007. There was an allegation that the U.S. persuaded Ethiopia to attack Somalia in December, 2006. The ground force of the U.S. was active in Somalia. The aim of the U.S. was to help ascend a submissive government in power of this mineral-rich country and it was finally successful. The U.S. had had hands behind internal political instability of this country for more than an epoch.³

Nicolae Ceausescu became President in Romania in 1967. He compelled Soviet army to leave Romania and stooped to the U.S. and other Western countries. During his rule, the Soviet Union-backed military coup occurred. Soon after this coup, both Ceausescu and his wife were executed through a secret and prompt trial on December 25, 1989.⁴ Like in Romania and Poland, both the U.S. and the USSR played bloody political games in different countries for economic control.

In post-World War II period, the new style of imperialism traveled in newly independent third world countries. All great powers and international alliances like EEU rear thirst for imperialism. They quench this thirst through their influence upon governments of small countries. Thus, exploitation becomes easy behind eyes of citizens.

An allegation has hovered in the air of Bangladesh since its birth that some foreign powers have been engaged in conspiracies against the sovereignty of this country. During the era of Sheikh Mujib (1972-75), top leaders of ruling AL and its allies - CPB and NAP (Mojaffar) -

claimed more than once in public and party meetings that Pakistan, China, the U.S. and their agents such as Razakar, Al Badr, Al Shams, Communist Party (pro-Peking) and Pakistan Communist Party continued conspiracies to reestablish Pakistani rule in Bangladesh.⁵ Bangladesh Chharta Union had celebrated the 14th national assembly in Sohrawardi Garden for three days from 11 to 13 November, 1973. There, on November 11, chief guest then Prime Minister Sheikh Mujib said ... today agents of foreign powers are involved in a far-reaching conspiracy against the establishment of socialism. Foreign imperialist powers are trying to frustrate development activities by money.⁶ Despite all these complaints, AL government reestablished the relation with the U.S. for fair financial assistance and it was successful. The U.S. gave 16.21 percent of the total financial assistance as grants and loans in Bangladesh from 1971 to 1976, while the USSR gave only 2.63 percent and India 6.42 percent in the same years.⁷ But ruling AL tried to satisfy leaders of the world's largest socialist country and its powerful neighbor. Therefore, AL gave hand to nationalization of Industries, banks etc for the establishment of socialism. The U.S. President as the head of the world's biggest capitalist country could not probably take it easy. Then, struggles for the establishment of socialism and capitalism continued in the whole world. The U.S. and the USSR spent much for their objectives. Since the role of U.S. President Nixon was disputable, the U.S. government might not be innocent in internal political chaos of Bangladesh then.

Allegations were also heard from the voice of President Zia in the later period. A journalist of the *Daily Sangbad* had a close interview with President Zia while President was in a special train from Dhaka to Comilla on November 26, 1980. In that interview, he said, 'There are some political parties in the country, which believe in foreign ideologies. These parties get money from foreign countries.'⁸ On November 28, 1980, he again said, 'Bakshal, JSD and Democratic League (DL) are engaged in politics on the basis of ideologies, exported from abroad'.⁹ From his allegation, it can be assumed, almost all parties, not excepting President Zia's BNP, often got foreign money for their existence.¹⁰ In all regimes, both governments and oppositions brought

allegations against each other for their connection with foreign powers. It was, in some cases, propaganda to help a drop in the popularity of rivals. But every allegation was not propaganda. In fact, there is no underdeveloped country in the world without the influence of powerful developed ones. A government can easily persecute oppositions, if it gets financial and logistic support from world's one or more great powers.

Since independence, governments of Pakistan have allegedly collaborated with Islamic fundamentalists and militants for the retaliation of their old defeat. Militant groups of Bangladesh like JMB expended some crore Takas in weapons, which they had already used in different attacks. Internal sources cannot contribute to their funds solely in a poor country; these groups must have got subscriptions from foreign countries.

Since the regime of President Zia, the U.S. governments have an increasing influence upon governments of Bangladesh. Innumerable violent clashes between ruling and opposition parties have taken place. Still the imperialist major-power controls governments and mainstream oppositions in Bangladesh. Sometimes, the U.S. ambassadors delivered such speeches on internal politics that these statements almost belied sovereignty. The U.S. provided financial and logistic support to either ruling or opposition parties in different time.

Failure of Government and Violent Style of Movement

Failure of government gives chances to oppositions to wage movement. It was identified that from 1972 to 2006, all governments, ranging from elected to military ones, failed in all aspects. Failure was identified in – 1) control of rampant corruption, 2) control of price-hike, 3) maintenance of law and order, 4) construction of infrastructure, and 5) management of natural disasters such as flood, draught and famine.

No government could either control corruption or manage price-hike. Some became millionaires but masses could not enjoy economic equality. Exuberant crimes of youths along with complicity of law-enforcers resulted in downslide in law and order. Personnel in

administration were corrupt; therefore they failed to manage disasters and misappropriated relief food and materials during all regimes. Government corruption is the reason that creates discontent among people and gives oppositions the chance of waging movement. Since independence, political sleaze has been high against public figures such as MPs, ministers¹¹ and bureaucrats. Some of them became very rich in a short period of time. Because of black-marketing and smuggling, in which ruling party leaders and supporters were directly involved, price-hike of essentials and famine-like situation appeared in less developed north-west zones of the country in lean season each year. It was often called by writers either *monga*¹² or *nirab durbhikkha* (silent famine).

During regimes of Sheikh Mujib, General Zia and General H.M. Ershad, oppositions were vocal against government corruption.¹³ Similarly, from 1991 to 2006, rampant corruption was a setback to the hobbled economy of this country.¹⁴ Germany's Berlin-based international anti-corruption organization named Transparency International (TI) publishes a statistical report every year. According to this organization's report, Bangladesh got the top position in corruption without intervals five times from 2001 to 2005.¹⁵

Even after the reestablishment of parliamentary democracy in 1990, none could make parliamentary system meaningful. The ruling party hardly let oppositions practice their rights absolutely regarding passing bills and amendment of constitution. On the other side, oppositions often set their faces against necessary bills and even on trifle matters either walked out of or boycotted parliament. Least tolerance among all parties caused political instability and failure of parliamentary system. Opposition movements originated from parliamentary quarrels many times.

Because of government's failure, discontent among people escalated and it helped oppositions take a stance against government. Government took a hard-line and used various means of suppression to silence their outcry that resulted in outburst of anger. Some means were law,¹⁶ police, ruling party activists etc. Agitation may ferment from government coercion and lack of political freedom. It provokes the persecuted and the deprived for counter-attack. Again, misuse of political freedom and aggressive behavior in a normal situation of a country may lead a nation to a full-scale civil war, in which violence culminates.

During all regimes, oppositions were active for the fall of government. In November-December, 1974, UPP, NAP (Mojaffar) and JSD proposed that people should wage movement against the government of Sheikh Mujib. As we know, NAP (Mojaffar) provided support to government initially but took back its support later being bothered at ruling party activities. During the regime of President Zia, AL, CPB, JSD, NAP (Mojaffar), Jatiya Ekata Party, Ganatantrik Andolan etc. also called for mass-movement. BNP and AL-led mass-movement escalated against autocrat H.M. Ershad from October 10, 1990 and reached at political climax on December 6, 1990. Ruling Jatiya Party, its various wings and police persecuted oppositions and people highly that caused scores of casualties and toppled government. On September 10, 1994, AL and Jatiya Party laid a siege to Dhaka City for the demand of BNP government's resignation. On that day tri-party clashes among police, anti-strikers and strikers caused more than 500 persons injured. On November 25, 1999, BNP, Jatiya Party, Jamaat-e-Islami and Islami Oikya Jote called for a countrywide dawn-to-dusk *hartal* (strike) for the demand of AL government's resignation. 1 person died and other 30 persons including 4 policemen were injured from clashes between police and pickets. Pickets hurled a petrol bomb at a running truck on Outer Circular Road by the side of Islamic Bank Hospital, Dhaka at 5 pm. The body of truck driver Nasu was ablaze from the petrol-bomb and was seared. Later, he succumbed to his injuries. Again, AL gave a deadline of 30 April (2004) to then BNP government challenging that it would topple government on that day.¹⁷

If government had become successful in solving major national crises, no movement could have been necessary and less violence could have occurred. On the other side, no party actually fought for major crises of people. All fought for such demands as were re-elections, caretaker government for directing fair elections and the resignation of government. The common weapons were *hartal* (strike) and *abarodh* (blockade or siege) on/around railway, minister's house, prime minister's office, parliament, Dhaka City, etc. Strikes after strikes halted normal life of common people again and again. Sometimes, armed clashes took place on the basis of non-issues.

God Fathers and Terrorist Groups

In Bangladesh, godfathers maintained private armed forces, which perpetrated most crimes such as killing, dacoity and rape. Many MPs, ministers, local government heads, i.e. mayors, paurasava chairmen and UP chairmen, were either manifested or invisible godfathers in history. Even, their close relatives sometimes misused power and promoted terrorism. Dr. Ali Riaz also said the reason of violence in Bangladesh was fostering of terrorists by ruling and opposition parties. Principal participants in violence were MPs, representatives of the rich, and their reared unemployed poor youths, i.e., patrons and perpetrators.¹⁸

Almost all presidents or chairmen of political parties winked at crimes of ministers, MPs and local government heads as well as indulged them with awards of senior posts in parties. God fathers used their fostered terrorist groups for both economic and political purposes. Economic purposes were extortion, tender-business, occupation of land and river sand-estate (*balimahal*), hooliganism, etc. in their areas directly and indirectly. Political purpose was to win the next election. For these two reasons, they used terrorists either to weaken both opponents and their fostered gangs or to drive them out of their constituencies or to remove them from their ways forever.

Ministers and ruling MPs could control police officers; consequently their terrorists went scot-free even after massive violation of law. When a ruling party descended from power and when political situation was not favorable, godfathers and hunted top terrorists fled to foreign countries. Most of them fled to India and lived safe and secure life.

Since December 6, 1990, a caretaker government has taken power for three months after the end of a regime. Its main work was to direct free and fair elections. Caretaker governments arrested some godfathers along with terrorists and imprisoned them in jails. Besides, in absence of top terrorists, courts sentenced them either to life imprisonment or to death but criminals remained absconded some years.

AL gave word to people in its election manifesto that when it came to power, it would eliminate terrorism from the country. To keep promise, AL government (1996-2001) led army and other government forces for drives against extremists. BNP gave the same word to people in its election manifesto. To keep promise, BNP government (2001-2006) formed a special elite force of police named RAB and let it terminate life of listed top terrorists through extra-judicial killing. All these efforts ended miserably, as MPs, local government heads and their relatives in collaboration with their private armed forces promoted terrorism and corruption.

During AL regime (1996-2001), six godfathers violated law and misused power. They were all AL MPs and leaders, as Jaynal Hajari of Feni, Shamim Osman of Narayanganj, Abul Hasanat Abdullah of Barisal, Abu Taher of Lakshmipur, Altaf Gollandaz of Gafargaon (Dhaka) and Haji Selim of Lalbag (Dhaka).¹⁹ The same allegations were against BNP MPs during BNP regime (2001-2006). Law Minister Barrister Moudud Ahmed of Noakhali-5,²⁰ MP Majibur Rahman Manzu of Kishoreganj-6, MP Shahidul Islam of Kushtia-2, MP Abdul Wadud Bhuiya of Khagrachari, MP Nasiruddin Ahmed Pintu of Dhaka-8, MP Manzurul Ahsan Munsif of Debidwar in Comilla, Mayor Majibar Rahman Sarwar of Barisal-5, MP Muhammad Giasuddin of Narayanganj-4, MP Salauddin Kader Chowdhury of Chittagong-7, etc were god fathers, who showed thumbs to law. All of them reared terrorist groups, which committed most crimes.²¹

Illegal Arms and Ammunition

Soon after liberation, political activists used such arms and explosives as were stengun, rifle, heavy and light machinegun, sub-machinegun, shotgun, S.L.R, pistol, mortar, and aeroplane-destroyer cannon etc. Despite the recovery of illegal arms by then government, huge arms were in hands of political activists. In recent years, these illegal arms that increased violence broke previous records. The *Prothom Alo* claimed about 2, 50,000 illegal small and light firearms existed in the country in 2004. The daily *Janakantha* claimed 4 lakh illegal arms were in hands of terrorists in 2006.²² These illegal small and light arms were country-made shotguns, pipe-guns, smuggled foreign- revolvers,

pistols, sub-machineguns, AK-56 rifles, M-16 rifles etc. These arms were mostly made in the U.S., UK, China, Italy, France and Czechoslovakia. Cheap and small arms made in India are being smuggled to Bangladesh. Terrorists of Bangladesh mostly use cut-rifles during operations. In addition, powerful bombs and grenades are being both smuggled to and made in the country.

Prices of arms are very high in present markets.²³ Most labors and students are plunged into dire poverty. They join political parties only for money. It is not easy for them to buy arms in such high prices. Yet, arms are available in their hands; god fathers must have supplied these to them.²⁴

In different time, police, army and other forces arrested student and labor supporters of almost all parties. Historical evidences show four major parties had, in their hands, almost equal numbers of arms²⁵, because they ascended power in different time and used power in supplies of arms to their activists.²⁶

During every ruling regime, police and other forces raided halls of universities and colleges. Oppositions alleged their leaders and workers were harassed in the name of arms recovery, while ruling party students were safe under the shade of law-enforcement agencies.

Collection of Illegal Arms and Ammunition

Political activists collect arms and ammunition in some ways. These ways are- 1) supplies of political god fathers, 2) looting of *thanas* and *faris*, 3) snatching, and 4) buying of illegal arms with own money.

After liberation, underground extremists and such others had the crisis of arms. They often looted police stations to increase their reserves. Till then, most extremists did not learn how to make explosives. According to the report of the *Daily Sangbad*, miscreants looted total 22 *thanas* (police stations) and *faris* (police outposts) of different places in the country from independence, 1971 to 3 November, 1973.²⁷ Looting of *thanas* and *faris* was a regular phenomenon during AL regime (1972-1975).²⁸ Then, miscreants also collected illegal arms through snatching. Moreover, when they could get information that any person had legal arms with license, they perpetrated organized dacoity in his house and looted arms and money.

Gradually, the necessity of looting reduced when ruling parties started to supply firearms and explosives to hands of their activists and to hands of extremists and fundamentalists, who took shelter under ruling parties. Ministers, MPs, and local government heads reportedly bought arms and ammunition, and distributed among activists. Some terrorists, who became rich through crimes, bought arms, bullets etc with own money. Journalist Golam Mortoza claimed some policemen and *ansars* had hands in illegal sale of bullets. In Bangladesh, underworld denizens often used cut rifles that were almost obsolete in other countries of the world. Bangladesh Arms Factory, located in Gazipur, made bullets of cut-rifles.²⁹ Administrative personnel along with workers of Bangladesh Arms Factory were not beyond suspicion about illegal sale of country-made products.

Besides, the modern technology of making explosives passed to most extremists and militants through international links. But during BNP regime (2001-2006), political terrorists newly used old style not only to get arms but also to frighten government and ordinary people. Terrorists attacked and looted Randhunibari Police Camp under Belkuchi Thana in Sirajganj District on September 16, 2002 and Bamihal Police Fari of Singra Upazila in Natore District on December 28, 2005. In both cases, suspected attackers were JMB militants.³⁰

Two types of illegal arms and ammunition flooded Bangladesh — foreign products and illegal local products.

a) Foreign Products

Law-enforcement agencies recovered foreign arms and ammunition from terrorists in every regime. Arms hauls enter the country by two ways — sea-route and border points. Detectives state that on sea-route, trawlers are used to fetch arms consignments from vessels on the deep sea to shore. But it can be assumed that smugglers may also use small boats to fetch illegal arms from trawlers and may pass from the shallow sea to navigable rivers to come inland. In this way, they throw dust in the dutiful law-enforcers' eyes. Along borders, poor people are engaged in bringing firearms and explosives by crossing borders.

On April 2, 2004, police seized the cache of arms that came by two fishing trawlers at the jetty of state-owned Chittagong Urea Fertilizer Limited (CUFL), located at Karnafuli river-bank and in the opposite side of Chittagong Port. It was a high-profile arms haul of huge AK-47, AK-56 automatic rifles, more than 27,000 grenades and about 11 lakh bullets. Most of these were made in Korea, Italy, China and the U.S. 10 trucks were used to fetch these arms from jetty to police-line.³¹ Besides, police seized a significant arms haul of 100,000 cartridges and about 200 kg explosives from an abandoned truck in Bogra District on June 27, 2003.³² Thus, sophisticated illegal arms went to patrons and terrorists of different parties. As internal market was small, such illegal arms could not be sold only here; therefore a large number of those ones were passed to neighboring and other countries.

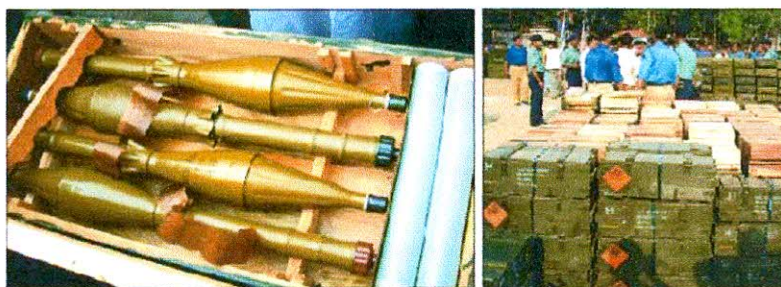


Photo 10

From left, rocket shells in a wooden box and wooden boxes of high-profile illegal arms that came by sea in Chittagong Port on April 2, 2004.

Source: <http://thedailystar.net/2004/04/03/d4040301011p.htm>

Arms manufacturing countries use third world countries as markets of arms selling. This is why they deliberately maintain warring situation in less developed countries by intelligence agencies. Governments and oppositions of these countries often either clash with each other or continue war with neighboring countries. According to the research-work of Bangladesh Network Small Arms, from America, Europe, Africa and South Asia, illegal arms of about 500 crore Takas are being smuggled every year. Bangladesh is being used as a transit route, through which illegal arms of more than 500 crore Takas are passing to different countries.³³ This estimate proves that police could seize a few arms hauls when many hauls often enter this country.

Chittagong Port and remote hills of Khagrachari, Bandarban and Rangamati Districts in Chittagong Hill Tracts are identified as transit points, from where arms and explosives often pass to international arms-smugglers of different countries.³⁴ But suspicion goes to all coastal areas including Mongla Port and the Sundarban.

From different sources,³⁵ it can be concluded that those, who are involved in arms hauls, are as follows.

1. Syndicates of India, Myanmar and Bangladesh. These syndicates comprise of political leaders and multimillionaires, who invest money.
2. Syndicates of manufacturing countries - the US, UK, China, Italy, Korea, etc.
3. A section of BDR, BSF and local police officers near border points and coastal areas.
4. Local inhabitants, who are both influential persons and poor men-women-children.

The poor inhabitants have few alternatives to this illegal earning.

b) Illegal Local Products

Makers of illegal arms and explosives were caught red-handed more than once in Bangladesh. Arrestees disclosed in their statements that they made huge bombs, grenades and bullets secretly in their houses and stores. Illegal production increased significantly in the 1990s and the 2000s. Law-enforcers recovered some handmade-pistols and pipe-guns. Pipe-guns cost 500-700 Takas. The stores and floating factories of illegal arms and explosives were found in Dhaka, Mymensingh, Rangpur and other urban areas. It can be concluded that members of major parties and their shaded leftwing-rightwing extremists were involved in local production. Accidentally, workers were injured from blasts while making explosives at home or stores. They were arrested at times, and national dailies disclosed their party names. Leaders might supply stuff to their workers. In 2004, illegal arms factories were identified in Maheshkhali and inaccessible forest of Ramu's Eidgar. Some local influential persons owned these businesses.³⁶ In such other cases, some powerful political leaders were involved in production. Recovery of powerful bombs like light-sensitive ones in 2005³⁷ proved that terrorists must have learnt the technology of making arms and explosives through international links.

Three categories of people were mostly involved in production. They were- 1) the poor, who were hired by illegal traders and who had no other work than making explosives for earning money, 2) political activists, engaged by god fathers, and 3) blind religious people, who were brainwashed by their militant leaders and who believed that they were doing sacred work for God.



ময়মনসিংহের আকুলাপাড়ার জেএমবির আড্ডানা থেকে গতকাল বিপুল পরিমাণ বিস্ফোরক ও বোমা তৈরির সরঞ্জাম উদ্ধার করে র্যাব
—সাইফুল ইসলাম কন্টোল

Photo 11

RAB seized huge stuffs of bombs from two JMB dens at Aquapara, Mymensingh on December 18, 2005.

Source: *The Prothom Alo*, 19 December, 2005.

Recovered Chemicals and Equipment

During BNP regime (2001-2006), police and RAB seized chemicals and equipment of making bombs and grenades from houses of Islamist militants. These were as follows.

a) Chemicals

White gun powder, black gun powder, aluminum powder, sulfur powder, ammonium nitrate, potassium carbonate, tin, etc.³⁸

b) Equipment

Ejectors, electric detonators, circuits, pencil batteries, safety rings of grenades, meters, electric wires, electric switches, funnels made of glass, plastic boxes, blender machines, flasks, calling bells, GI wires, watches, etc.³⁹

These chemicals and equipment are sold in open markets in Bangladesh. Besides, some dishonest officers and workers of mills and factories sold stolen chemicals illegally for money.⁴⁰

Failure of Law-Enforcement

Political influence over policemen caused the failure of police department that increased violence in Bangladesh. Law and order situation degraded during all regimes from 1972 to 2006. History says enough security was not provided to opposition meetings. When policemen were deployed, they took sides with ruling party activists. They had no way to act in defiance of ruling party's orders. Human rights organizations were vocal against tortures, corruption and human rights violation of policemen. Political use of police increased in recent years.⁴¹

During the regime of Sheikh Mujib, extremists often perpetrated killing, bank-dacoity, looting of *thanas* and *faris*, etc in the name of armed revolution. Then, the number of police was less than actual necessity;⁴² therefore, government established a special force *Rakkhi Bahini*. Besides, BDR and army were also deployed. Yet, law and order situation deteriorated seriously. Police also lacked in modern arms and ammunition.⁴³

In Bangladesh, a large number of policemen earn illegal income using arms and power. In collaboration with criminals, they perpetrate crimes such as trafficking in women and children, rape and killing. All these activities have raised questions about impartiality and responsibilities of police. According to Bangladesh Penal Code Section 161, if a policeman takes a bribe, he will get punished. According to Bangladesh Penal Code Section 109 and 114, if a policeman assists anyone in his crime, he will also get punished. But in rare cases, punishments were implemented. The reason was that in most cases, subordinate police officers paid bribes to corresponding higher police officers and used political influence over them to stop punishment. This is why some policemen violated law desperately.

Families of victims often could not lodge cases because either the police did not accept their charges or the powerful threatened them. When policemen made charge-sheets, they excluded names of powerful persons instead. Police officers did not submit charge-sheets in 1-2 years in many cases. Where justice is denied, ordinary people seek solace in God's punishment for criminals. In many cases, at the orders of ministers and MPs, policemen arrested oppositions and tortured them. Act no 27 under Part III of Bangladesh Constitution says, 'All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.'⁴⁴ But in fact, ordinary and poor people cannot enjoy this fundamental right equally.

Sometimes, governments passed such acts as were sources of persecution on oppositions. On December 6, 1992, *Santras Daman Ain '92* (Anti-Terrorism Act, 92) was passed in parliament in absence of opposition MPs. According to Section 4-12 of this act, the highest punishment for terrorism is death-sentence and the lowest punishment is 7 years imprisonment. Section 19 of this act states arrested persons will not get bail. According to Section 14 of the same act, special tribunals will sue arrested persons. Many opposition leaders and workers were arrested under this act.⁴⁵

Influence upon Transfer and Promotion of the Police

District police officer is called Superintendent of Police (SP). Divisional police officer is called Deputy Inspector General (DIG). The whole country police officer is Inspector General (IG). SP controls the transfer of all police officers ranging from constables to inspectors in a district. DIG has power over transfer of subordinate police officers in a division. Similarly, IG controls transfer of police officers in the whole country. Establishment Ministry has the right of transfer and promotion of ASP (Assistant Superintendent of Police), Additional SP, SP, Additional DIG, Additional IG, DIG and IG. If a police officer does not respond to an illegal order of a minister or MP, the minister can take action against him by influencing Establishment Ministry or corresponding higher police officer. In this case, the higher police officer either brings a false charge against him or writes in his Annual Confidential Report (ACR) that he is not eligible for promotion. He has to accept either transfer to a remote area or suspension or OSD or deprivation of promotion as a punishment.⁴⁶ Sometimes, political leaders and workers arranged meetings or

processions for spreading propaganda against the disloyal officer. Therefore, police officers become toys of ministers. On the other hand, if they are loyal to ministers, they can earn illegal money and become accomplices of criminals. Police officers are also influenced by bribes.

Torture in Custody

According to CrPC Section 167, policemen cannot torture arrestees.⁴⁷ But they often torture arrestees for their confessions during interrogation in custody. Common ways are beating, kicking, driving water force into mouth until one almost fails to breathe, pouring freezing water on body, hanging a brick with a rope from penis, hanging him upside down from the ceiling, pouring hot or cold water into nose, poking body with pins, and occasionally electric shock.⁴⁸

Act no 33 (1) and (2) under Part III of Bangladesh Constitution provide acts for the protection of an arrested person. Act no 33(2) says, 'Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before the nearest magistrate within a period of twenty-four hours of such arrest,...and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a magistrate.'⁴⁹ But in practice, policemen often violate this act. Generally, police officers do not hurry for arrestee's entry in the police log. They hold him as many days as they want. Later, when they feel it necessary, they go for entry. In the mean time, they get many opportunities of squeezing the arrestee desperately. Sometimes, ministers order a police officer to arrest and harass a rival. In many cases, police officers are compelled to execute their orders under immense pressure.

Failure of Justice

In Bangladesh, judiciary is divided into two tiers - Supreme Court and subordinate (lower) courts. The both hear civil and criminal cases. Subordinate courts consist of magistrates, and session and district judges. While magistrates worked under administration, session and district judges worked under judiciary. Supreme Court has two sections- High Court Division and Appellate Division. The failure of justice increased violence in Bangladesh. Here is the further discussion on how justice had been failed for a long time.

Because of political influence, police officers were compelled to exclude names of ministers, MPs and their reared terrorists from charge-sheets in many cases.⁵⁰ Plaintiffs, threatened by powerful persons, withdrew many ongoing cases.

Terrorists killed 13 journalists in south-west zones of Bangladesh from 1995 to 2004. In most cases, extremists were attackers. Trials of some murders were started and delayed some years. Real culprits either got bail and roved undaunted or went scot-free. Some families of victims did not want to lodge cases because they thought they would not get justice. After the killing of Journalist Humayun Kabir Balu, a banner was hung in front of Khulna Press-Club, 'We don't get justice; therefore we don't want any trial of this killing (*Bichar pai na, tai e-hotyar bichar chai na*).'⁵¹

Trials of courts-martial were sources of government violence during regimes of two generals from 1976 to 1990. In those days, many army officers and politicians were allegedly sentenced to death after secret, prompt and hoax trials in the general courts-martial. In 1978, human rights organization Amnesty International disclosed a report that after trials in courts-martial, lives of at least 130 persons were executed on death-sentences from September to December, 1977. The accused had no chance of self-defenses or appeals in public courts.⁵² *The Daily Ajker Kagoj* wrote that some thousand officers of army, air-force and navy were killed at the order of President Zia. Even Zia did not mind hanging freedom fighter Colonel Taher, who once saved his life and helped him to ascend power.⁵³ Though Colonel Manzur declared he assassinated President Zia, after the analysis of historical incidents, most analysts concluded the actual plotter might be General Ershad. But General Ershad accused 12 army officers of this assassination and arrested them. These officers were former freedom-fighters. The general courts-martial arranged a secret, prompt and hoax trial inside Chittagong Jail and sentenced them to death. They were hanged in different jails of the country on September 23, 1981.

Cases against Influential Political Leaders

A party needs to get the majority in parliamentary elections in order to form government. But none got it between 1990 and 2006. So, mainstream AL and BNP made alliances with others. Other parties often joined alliances on their given conditions. Two common conditions were - 1) to withdraw government filed cases against their chief leaders and 2) to give release of party leaders and workers from jails.

Autocrat H.M. Ershad resigned his office during opposition-led mass-movement on December 6, 1990. BNP government (1991-96) filed 21 cases on various charges against H.M. Ershad. He was arrested and thrown in Dhaka Central Jail. In these years, he was not granted bail. During AL regime (1996-2001), former President and Chairman of Jatiya Party H.M. Ershad got release from jail on January 9, 1997 after the court had granted him bail in all cases. Later, almost all cases against him were withdrawn. There was a rumor that a contract was signed between AL and JP. AL formed coalition government with Jatiya Party, and this party might provide support to AL under some conditions including the release of H.M. Ershad.

According to the claim of Satkania Thana and Chittagong Sessions Court, Jamaat MP Shahjahan Chowdhury made Home Affairs Ministry withdraw 63 cases from Satkania Court during BNP regime (2001-2006). Among these cases, 30 were against the MP and the rest were against his party supporters. These were related to attempt to murder, attacks on oppositions, wrecking of vehicles and attacks on police.⁵⁴ Thus, people did not get justice because of government influence on courts.

Magistrates and High Court Judges

Ruling party leaders influenced subordinate courts and High Court in Bangladesh. Magistrates and High Court judges could not work independently because judiciary was not separated from executive. Before 2004, Public Service Commission (PSC) appointed magistrates and subordinate court-judges through rigorous written tests and viva but Establishment Ministry controlled

transfer, promotion and other conditions of magistrates. According to Act No. 116 under Part VI of Bangladesh constitution, President could exercise power over posting, promotion and grant of leave of magistrates in consultation with Supreme Court.⁵⁵ So, ministers could control magistrates directly. Supreme Court is at the apex of judicial system in Bangladesh. Its Appellate Division consists of 7 judges. There is no fixed number of judges for High Court Division. Presently, 80 judges are working there. Government directly appointed these High Court judges. At first, Law Minister sent a list of competent probable judges' names to Chief Justice of Supreme Court for his approval. Whether he approved or not, these names were sent to the office of Prime Minister. When Prime Minister approved the list, it was sent to President, who had formal power to appoint them. Act No. 95 (1) under Part VI of Bangladesh constitution says, 'The Chief Justice and other Judges shall be appointed by the President.' Here, other judges mean all other judges of Supreme Court. According to Act No. 96 (3) (5b) (6) under Part VI of Bangladesh constitution, Supreme Judicial Council, consisted of Chief Justice and two next senior judges, was formed. If this council had investigated and submitted a report to President on gross misconduct of a Supreme Court judge, President could have removed him from his office.⁵⁶ Therefore, the whole process of appointment was political. This is why magistrates and High Court judges could not dispense justice properly till 2006.

Recently, a change has come in the appointment of magistrates. Being provoked at government actions, 440 members of judiciary's lower tier sought a remedy for the maintenance of service dignity to High Court Division of Supreme Court with a writ petition in 1995. This case was popularly known as Masder Hossain Case. On May 7, 1997, on the basis of constitutional Article 22, a High Court Division bench, comprised of two judges, handed down the judgment that government would separate judiciary from executive. On the appeal of then government, Appellate Division of Supreme Court reviewed the case and upheld the High Court judgment on December 2, 1999. Parliament declared the 'Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance-2007' during the regime of caretaker government (2006-ongoing), led by Chief

Advisor Fakhruddin Ahmed. This government implemented separation of judiciary from November 1, 2007. Now, two tiers of magistracy exist in Bangladesh- judicial magistracy and executive magistracy. The former comes under Supreme Court and the latter remains under the executive. The council of Advisers also approved 'The Mobile Court Ordinance, 2007' on October 27, 2007. According to this ordinance, executive magistrates can deal with some petty offences. They can impose fine on an offender or sentence him to not more than three months imprisonment on the spot in such cases as are illegal trade, illegal gatherings and instigation of riots. But if such cases are reserved for them, they can misuse power on oppositions again. It is better that all trials are taken under judiciary.

Government Case, Criminal Procedure Code Section 494 and Law Officers

According to Criminal Procedure Code Section 494, government can withdraw any Gr. case any time. Section 494 says a public prosecutor can withdraw one or more cases against a person with the court's permission.⁵⁷ Interviewed Judges say this law is highly misused in Bangladesh. This is why judges dispense with justice in many cases against political terrorists. All serious crimes such as murder, rape and robbery are considered crimes against state. So, when court takes these cases, these are called government cases or in brief Gr cases. Government appoints its advocates in all courts and they have daily salaries. Among them, those advocates, who deal with criminal cases in districts, are called Public Prosecutors (PP) and their assistants are called Assistant Public Prosecutors (APP). There are one PP and many APPs in a district. But those government advocates, who deal with civil cases, i.e. land-related disputes, are called Government Pleaders (GP). In Supreme Court, there are about 100 government advocates, who have different posts of Attorney General, Assistant Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, etc. When a ruling party comes to power, it appoints its own party supporters as government advocates for 5 year-terms. Home Affairs Ministry orders PP, APP, Attorney General etc to withdraw all government cases against ruling party leaders and workers. Some of these cases are harassing and the others are genuine. Thus, all have been dismissed before victims get justice.

Harassing Cases

After ascending power, ruling party leaders and workers compel police officers to lodge cases against oppositions. Most of these cases are false and harassing.⁵⁸

According to Penal Code Section 211, because of a false charge, if a court sentences a person to either death or life or 7 years or more than 7 years imprisonment, the person, who brings the false charge, will be punished with not more than 7 years imprisonment or a fine. A person, who brings other false charges, will be punished with not more than 2 years imprisonment or a fine. Generally, political leaders and workers do not go for this case.

Bail and Influence of Ministers

When the subordinate court sentences a criminal to death, it will not grant him bail according to law. But when the subordinate court sentences him to life imprisonment, and if he appeals to High Court, this court will grant him bail. According to Criminal Procedure Code Section 496, a criminal can get bail on various conditions. The ruling party also influences judges. Ministers influence witnesses by threats or money for saving their terrorists. After coming out of jails, they again violate law desperately under the shade of godfathers.⁵⁹ Sometimes, prosecution continues and ends in death-sentences against convicts in their absence. They remain absconded. When a ruling party descends from power, terrorists flee to neighboring countries mostly to India. When situation is favorable, they return and perpetrate offences again. Thus, justice becomes meaningless.

Delay of Trials

If the subordinate court gives a punishment to a criminal, High Court grants him bail. The trial delays some years in High Court. At last, the case loses proper evidences. There is no fixed time for prosecution of serious crimes like murder.⁶⁰ Lack of necessary judges, absence of witnesses in court, absconding of criminals and delay of submitting charge-sheets by *thanas* are reasons of delayed trials. As a result, both plaintiffs and defenders suffer from the loss of huge money.

Overwhelming backlog of cases is a feature of judiciary. Even, many cases of the 1970s are pending in Dhaka and Rajshahi District Judge Courts. In a gathering organized by Law Ministry on May 19, 2000, the Chief Justice of Supreme Court said about 1 million cases were pending in civil, criminal and appellate courts.⁶¹

Some Judges take bribes

If a judge, being politically influenced, either discharges a criminal or acquits him of a charge and if one proves this accusation against him, the judge will get punished. According to the Government Servants (Discipline & Appeal Rule 1985), there are different types of punishment for a judge's transgression. The serious punishments are demotion to lower-scale post, compulsory retirement, discharge from the post etc.⁶² But in most cases, punishment is rare. High Court Judges escape punishment with political influence. Some judges dismiss cases after taking bribes.⁶³ According to a sample survey carried out by Transparency International Bangladesh, 'over 60 percent of the persons involved in court cases paid bribes to court officials.'⁶⁴

Implementation of Judgments

Judges sentenced judgments at the end of trials but all judgments were not implemented.⁶⁵ Many criminals were absconded. Every ruling party allegedly influenced and ordered police officers not to arrest its followers. Many absconded criminals had 5 to 10 years imprisonment against them. In collaboration with political godfathers, some of them took shelter abroad.

Corruption in Jail

Many political terrorists get punished with 5 to 10 years imprisonment. Living in jail 1-2 years, they get release from jail. They allegedly pay bribes to jailers, sub-jailers, clerks, jail-supers, etc and influence them to get release.

Religious Politics

Religious politics was often a source of high conflict and riots among people in many countries. In the world, 60 percent of Muslim-populated states have accepted Islam as state religion.⁶⁶ Religion is often used as the delicate means of rising in power. Religious politics has possessed Bangladesh for many years. Conflicts among Hindus and Muslims on their political, economic and social rights resulted in the partition of Indian Subcontinent in 1947. Finally, two faraway provinces of East and West Pakistan could not bind together only on the basis of religion. Conflicts on shares of power and a right of regional resources erupted a war between two parts. During independence war, opportunist religious parties - Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami – sided with West Pakistan government for the secure shelter, and slaughtered innumerable innocent Bengalis. AL and its communist allies - CPB and NAP fought for independence of this country. In post-war period, Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami had a very bad impression upon minds of people. The first AL government banned religious political parties and arrested many war criminals. Absconded and dispersed criminals took underground shelter and waited for a favorable situation. After the coup of August 15, 1975, General Zia declared martial law and assumed power. Then, Talukder Maniruzzaman said, ‘Islam which was temporarily muted but was never dead reappeared on Bangladesh political arena.’⁶⁷ General Zia helped rehabilitate Muslim League leaders and others in politics by awarding them with offices of ministers and others. He amended constitution and replaced the sentence ‘Absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah shall be the basis of all actions’ with the word ‘secularism’.⁶⁸ Thus, religious politics started its journey afresh. Jamaat supporters sneaked into politics very cautiously but to camouflage themselves gathered in a new party – Islamic Democratic League (IDL).

When Jamaat stumbled during the regime of General Zia, it galloped during the regime of General H.M. Ershad. After General Ershad had captured power in 1982, he followed his predecessor in harboring Islamist parties for his own existence. As an illegal power-holder, he got

necessary oiling only from these disputable parties. Both President Zia and President Ershad adopted political Islamization but did not establish a full-scale Islamic state for their existence. BNP and Jatiya Party showed affection for Islam in their manifestos. Under the rule of General Ershad, parliament passed the 8th amendment of constitution on June 7, 1988. This amendment accepted Islam as a state-religion.⁶⁹ In fact, this constitutional change was the key factor in resurrection and exuberant growth of Islamic parties. Afterwards, violence increased between student wings of fundamentalist Jamaat and those of 8 party alliance in different places.

AL-and BNP-led opposition alliances waged movement against autocrat Ershad. In the mean time, Jamaat-e-Islami reappeared in the dais of politics throwing the covering of IDL. It joined movement as an unfailing means of increasing its political appeal to people. After the fall of President Ershad in 1990, BNP took power through election victory and formed a coalition government with Jamaat. From then to 2006, both AL and BNP took, by their sides, Jamaat and various Islamic fundamentalist parties and drew them close for their political triumph over rivals. From the reappearance of Jamaat and other Islamist parties, they tried to establish an Islamic ruling system and a constitution on the basis of the Hadith and the Quran. Many clashes took place between Islamic fundamentalist and such parties as claimed themselves secular but did not bear secular culture absolutely. These clashes caused huge bloodshed.

According to Thomas Jefferson, a secular state is a place, where a 'wall of separation between Church and State' will exist.⁷⁰ It is not true that where modernization proceeds, there religious politics dies. If it had been true, religious party BJP could not have been elected for power in India in twentieth century. In Poland, there were 5120 churches in 1937 but the number increased to 16,000 in 1976.⁷¹ This number shows that as far as modern age proceeds, fanaticism also collects strength to survive.

Ways of Publicity

Ways and materials for publicity, i.e., slogans, placards, leaflets, books, cassettes and CDs have a great impact on minds of people. So, those, who want to change people's minds, use these materials for spreading their ideologies. Parties often use slogans and anti-slogans. Student wings affiliated to different political parties use some common slogans from their processions in colleges and universities. One slogan is *Jalo, Jalo, Agun Jalo* that means 'Set fire, set fire, set fire (everywhere)'. A slogan of AL is *larai larai larai chai, larai kare bachte chai* (Fight, fight, we want fight; we want to live by fight). A slogan of BNP is *rakter banyay, bheshe jabe anyay* (The flood of blood will take away injustice). A slogan of JSD is *rakte neba pratishodh, jasad jasad* (We shall take revenge through bloodshed, JSD JSD). These slogans are very sensitive and instigating. One slogan of Islami Chhatra Shibir is *ekta ekta kare dhar, dhare dhare jabai kar* (Catch hold of them one by one and slaughter) and the other by AL and its allies is *ekta ekta Shibir dhar, sakal bikal nasta kar* (Catch hold of Shibir one by one and take breakfast and snacks with them). These anti-slogans often spread spite between both sides that ends in violent clashes.⁷² In the 1970s, extremists like *Sarbaharas* distributed among comrades leaflets that transmitted the idea of class-struggle. All major political parties publish political books, magazines, pamphlets and leaflets. Many biased printed materials contain spite against rivals. Violence ensues from spite among rivals.

In Bangladesh, Islamic political parties spread religious ideology for achieving their political goals. They use *Jihadi* books, magazines and CDs etc to motivate their members. According to their political ideology, *Jihad* or Islamic revolution is not an offence, rather a sacred sacrifice. Police and RAB seized many *Jihadi* books and magazines from houses of militants.⁷³ Muhammad, JMB area operational commander of Chittagong Division, had a hired house at North Kattali in Chittagong. From this house, RAB seized 29 CDs. Some CDs were voice records

of Jamaat MP Mawlana Delwar Hossain Saidi and the others were products of Jamaat's sister organizations named Saimum and Ranangan Shilpigosthi. Besides, 127 books on militancy were also found there. Some books were *Sashasrta Jihad* (Armed Jihad), *Al-Jihad*, *Jihad O Shahadat* (Jihad and Death), *Jihad Santras na Rahmat?* (Is Jihad Terrorism or Blessing?) etc.⁷⁴ Shaekh Abdur Rahman was the chief leader of banned Islamist outfit JMB. According to his confessional statement to investigating police officers, he got inspirations for the establishment of his outfit in order to bring about Islamic *Jihad* after reading some *Jihadi* books. One of these books was *Al-Jihad*, written by Jamaat-e-Islami's theoretical guru Mawlana Maududi.⁷⁵

Political Ideology

Fascism and Nazism eclipsed politics and encouraged governments to use oppressive measures on people highly in Italy and Germany. In France, the rise of democratic ideology inspired people in the bringing down of monarchy during historical French Revolution (1789 to 1799). But some ultra rebels were responsible for the death of approximately 40,000 people there. These victims either died in jails or were executed by guillotine in France from 1793 to 1794.⁷⁶ In post-World War II period, the clashes between nationalism and imperialism brought independence of many countries at the expense of huge bloodshed. During cold war, socialism and democracy equally contributed to bloodshed in the name of revolution and counter-revolution in different countries of the world. Ideologies of both oppressors and the oppressed offered coercion and revolution. Where coercion and revolution come, there violence must accompany these.

In Bangladesh, mainly three ideologies have been prevalent from pre-independence time. These are socialism, democracy and Islamic fundamentalism. All ideologies have the idea of revolution. In Bangladesh, heterogeneous minded followers of the above three have been fighting for replacing their own ideologies with existing ones in power for a long time. In the name of democratic movement, communist revolution and Islamic Jihad, innumerable people were killed

in Bangladesh. Most political parties did not strictly follow any ideology, rather followed opportunism. None kept given promises to people after elections. The proverb – Great talkers are little doers – is true for leaders of mainstream parties.

Marxist-Leninist Revolution

In the beginning, Marx emphasized violence was essential for changing a capitalist system to a socialist one. But later, he admitted socialism might be established with nonviolent means in England, Holland and the United States. Marx predicted that in capitalism, when capitalists bought more machinery because of hard competition, they would employ fewer people. Thus, unemployment would increase the number of the proletariat, and fewer people would control wealth in society. When the misery of the proletariat intensified to an unendurable point, a revolution would knock capitalist system down. According to Marxism, ‘When the proletariat became fully aware of its unique situation in society— when it developed class consciousness— it would realize the full extent of its oppression and the parasitic nature of its rulers. It would then rise up in revolution.’⁷⁷

Marxist Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the chief leader of socialist Bolshevik Party, successfully brought about Russian Revolution in October 1917. He established a federal socialist state named the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922 and his party was renamed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in November, 1952. Despite Lenin’s disputable role in elimination of opponents, the world’s socialists took his revolution as a model. Socialists believe revolution ends in exploitation in a society absolutely. Exploitation causes violence. But the Soviet history stated that revolution did not end in exploitation absolutely; rather leaders got justification for violence.

Among other socialist parties, Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal and Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party truly fought for bringing about Marxist-Leninist model of revolution in Bangladesh during the regime of first AL government (1972-1975). Their violent activities were described in details in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

Democratic Movement and Revolution

In democracy, movement is a people's right to overthrow an autocrat. When, a ruling party or a dictator along with its/ his associates exploits people in a country so highly that the majority of citizens become deprived of equal economic, political and social rights, discontent among people effervesces and erupts. Oppositions and ruling party becomes formidable enemies. Oppositions lead people to bring in a change in power through violent or non-violent commotion that is called movement. While movement brings in political change only, revolution brings in social, political and cultural changes. During revolution, rebels violate law and order desperately, disobey constitution and apply force. Revolution is necessary for the establishment of democratic system in a society where democracy is not properly exercised. There is no other alternative way than revolution for bringing a broad change in society. This is the dilemma of this concept that people cannot get rid of. In Bangladesh, since independence, opposition parties have often waged such democratic movements as were strikes, blockades and processions. Their activities were described in details in Chapter Three.

Charu Mazumdar and his Annihilation Line

Charu Mazumdar was the former leader of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML). His Naxalite ideology originated from Maoism. Mazumdar advocated his party would comprise of youths of peasantry, working class and toiling middle class, for whom he was fighting sincerely. He added they must organize armed force along with other thousands of youths, execute guerrilla wars in countryside and finally overthrow government and upper class through democratic revolution. It would destroy influence of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and feudalism along with their lackeys upon power. His annihilation line, called *Shrenishatru-Khatam*, emphasized Naxalites would kill class-enemies. But practically, victims of attacks were landlords, university teachers, police officers, politicians and others. Mazumdar told labor class and revolutionaries that you should hurt someone not to wound him but to terminate his life. He explained that if they let enemies live, reactionary department would take retaliation, but if they

killed them, everyone in governmental coercive machine would be frightened. Government sweeps against Naxalites might inspire him to take hard line. In the political and organizational report of first congress, his Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) declared class-struggle, i.e., annihilation would take fight to the highest level.⁷⁸

Purba Pakistaner Communist Party (M-L) and Purba Banglar Communist Party followed the way of Charu Mazumdar in Bangladesh some years. Their followers were believed what they were doing was right. The reason was that their political ideology did not consider killing of the rich and looting of their property crimes, rather necessity of time for the change of society.

Jihad

In the early years of preaching, Prophet Muhammad (sm) (570-632) along with his followers faced mental and physical tortures by Makkah's well-known tribe the Quraish. This tribe continued the conspiracy of killing against Muhammad (sm), interrupted his work and later compelled him to leave Makkah. He took shelter in Madinah, where his followers increased to a significant number. But Quarish pagans of Makkah, Jews of Madinah and different tribes of adherent areas of Madinah continued conspiracy against Muhammad (sm) and his followers. Islamist writers claimed that in this situation, Muslims started *kital* or *jihad* for self-defense and for the establishment of Islam in Allah's cause. Then, Muslims and the above groups often clashed with each other. Small troops of Muslims, say from 10 to 300 numbers, were sent to infidels and dacoits. Both defeated each other and often looted goods and herds. But large troops took part at battles of Badr (624), Khandaq (627), Makkah (630) and Hunain (630). These battles caused more casualties. Used weapons at battles were arrows-bows, spears and swords. Historical books have accounts of dreadful incidents in these battles such as cutting off hands and feet, piercing eyes with spears and cutting off heads. However, all these took place in the Middle East at early ages of Islam, when tribal fights were common for looting goods and herds.

After the demise of Prophet Muhammad (sm), a section of Muslims in different countries did not leave the idea of *jihad* and it got strength after Wahhabism had spread in the world. In the

mid-18th century, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-87) organized a fundamentalist sect for movement against Sufism and worship in *mazars*. This sect in association with Saudi Army established an Arab state in Najd. From then, Wahhabis captured Mecca and its surrounding areas. But their anti-group, the Sheikh of Riyadh, also expelled them throughout the century for two times. In the first half of 1900s, Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, follower of Wahhabism, along with his forces recaptured Riyadh, Mecca, Medina, etc. After that he became the king. He named his conquered area Saudi Arabia in 1932. Indian Shah Waliullah Dehlavi (1703-64) first imported Wahhabi creed to India for cleansing Islam. Mir Nisar Ali Titumir (1782-1831) first introduced this creed into West and East Bengal during his fight against British rulers. Wahhabis considered luxury, dancing, gambling, music, use of tobacco and custom of shrine un-Islamic. In Bangladesh, most militant leaders stemmed from Wahhabi creed. They filliped the idea of Jihad among followers.

In the Quran, revelations on jihad were Surah An-Nisa: 95, Surah Al-Anfal: 74, Surah At-Taubah: 20, 41, 73, Surah At-Tahrim: 9, etc.⁷⁹ It is noticed that in Arabic words - *kital* and *jihad* were used in different revelations. *Kital* means fight while *jihad* means strife in Allah's cause. There is controversy among different writers on these words. Specialists - Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al Hilali, Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan and Dr Md. Mustafizur Rahman - used these two words in the same meaning in some places. According to Surah Al-Baqarah: 190, 'And fight in the Way of Allah those who fight you, but transgress not the limits...' ⁸⁰ The above specialists claimed this verse was the first revelation in connection with jihad, though in this verse, not the Arabic word *jihad* but *kital* was used. According to Hilali, *Al-Jihad* (with full force of numbers and weaponry) is holy fighting in Allah's cause. He also said, '*Jihad* is an obligatory duty in Islam on every Muslim.'⁸¹

University of Southern California (the U.S.) has an article on Jihad in its website. This article explains *jihad* is not terrorism against civilians and civilization but a defensive fight against leaders of any unjust regime in a country.⁸² But militants of Bangladesh often exploded bombs in crowded places that took many lives of ordinary people; therefore, *Jihad* of these militants was not a defensive fight, rather terrorism. Jamaat-e-Islami, banned JMB and Harkatul

Jihad etc had the same objective – to establish Islamic ruling system through bringing about Islamic revolution in the country. They did not believe in existing democratic system. Some leaders might wrongly mix up the idea of *jihad* with terrorism and revolution.

JMB Chief Leader Shaekh Abdur Rahman surrendered to a joint force of RAB, police, and BDR while these forces were engaged in an operation for arresting him in Sylhet City on March 2, 2006. On that day, he was taken to the Magistrate Court of Sylhet, where he gave a statement for self-defense. In that statement, he said, ‘We have created the history through Islamic Jihad. If we don’t do it, how will the next generation know what Jihad is?’⁸³

Prophet Muhammad and his followers used to take exercises because physical fitness was necessary for the preparation of battles. Besides, they were skilled in riding on horses, fighting with swords and bamboo-sticks, throwing arrows, etc.⁸⁴ In different time, police discovered some training centers of Islamist militants in deep forests of Chittagong Hill Tracts, where militants used to practice above mentioned old types of exercises and fight for physical fitness.

Surah At-Taubah: 111 states Allah gives a promise that those believers, who will die at war in Allah’s cause, will be rehabilitated in paradise.⁸⁵ Leaders enticed activists with paradise after death. Hence, activists jumped to suicide attacks without hesitation and thought if innocents died from attacks, they would be rehabilitated in paradise. Anayet Ullah alias Jewel, JMB chief commander of Gazipur zone, was arrested on December 5, 2005. He confessed his involvement in bomb-attacks of 29 November and 1 December, 2005 in Gazipur District. He said to police, ‘I’m not repentant for attacks. Attacks were conducted for the establishment of Islamic law. If innocent people died from attacks, they would be rehabilitated in heaven.’⁸⁶

Founder of ‘Jamaat-e-Islami Hind’, Mawlana Syed Abul Ala Maududi, said Islam was established in the world by force of the sword, not by invitation.⁸⁷ Such instigative words might persuade Jamaat workers for using force. In a party workers’ convention of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, arranged in Satkania Thana of Chittagong District on September 15, 2006, Jamaat

MP Shahjahan Chowdhury (2001-2006) said, 'To kill people and to maim them — are all to be done for Islamic revolution. Politics is not for them, who can't do these. They should do *Imamati* (leading prayers as priests) in mosques.'⁸⁸

From above statements of stalwart Islamic fundamentalist and militant leaders, it can be understood how the political ideology of these parties and outfits inspires a person for sacrilege. They consider heinous crimes right in the name of religion.

Unfair and Partial Election

Allegations of vote rigging were raised in almost all general, local and by-elections that took place between 1972 and 2006. Discontent among oppositions opened clashes between ruling and opposition parties that resulted in many casualties. Every government employed huge supporters of its own party in all spheres of administration during its regime. As a result, the next election engineering system became corrupt that let oppositions wage movement.

Between 1972 and 2006, features of election violence were tri-party clashes among supporters of two rival candidates and police, kidnapping of rival candidates and presiding officers, life threats, attacks on polling agents and presiding officers, hijacking of ballot-box and ballot-papers, ransacking of polling booths, etc. Unfair and partial elections were reasons of violence. Victims of oppositions often outnumbered those of ruling parties.

Violence occurred before, during and after elections. Examples of such violence were found in UP elections in December 1973, national parliamentary elections on 18 February 1979, UP elections in January 1984, sixth national parliamentary election on 15 February 1996, by-elections of Pabna-2 Constituency in December 1998, by-elections of Dhaka-10 Constituency on 1 July 2004. In sixth national parliamentary election held on 15 February 1996, at least 12 persons died and over one thousand people were injured from sporadic gunfights and bomb blasts.⁸⁹

In underdeveloped countries, candidates get and buy votes by force and with money. This is why the whole election system becomes useless. It was found that BNP Leader Manzurul Ahsan Munsil was elected MP for Debidwar in Comilla four times in parliamentary elections in different time. There were allegations that he often tortured opposition leaders.⁹⁰ As he was a persecutor, he might get election-victory in other ways. There were 6 killing cases against Jamaat Leader Shahjahan Chowdhury in Satkania Thana of Chittagong District during AL regime (1996-2001). He won parliamentary elections in 2001 and became MP in Satkania Thana. But both BNP and AL candidates alleged he won election through massive vote-rigging.⁹¹ Salauddin Kader Chowdhury became MP five times in parliamentary elections of different time. He became MP for Rauzan Constituency of Chittagong from Muslim League in 1979, from Jatiya Party in 1986, from National Democratic Party in 1991 and for Rangunia Constituency of Chittagong from BNP in 1996 and 2001. It seems as if he were very popular. But in Bangladesh, the main factor in election victory is not popularity but use of musclemen. Salauddin Kader Chowdhury had a very big reared terrorist group. He along with his reared terrorists allegedly led innumerable incidents of persecution and killing.⁹²

Endnotes

¹ Umar, 1999, p.157.

² *Banglar Bani*, 13 November, 1983.

³ Dip, 2007, pp.13-15.

⁴ Umar, 1992, pp. 33-38, 48-50; Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, 2002, 'Romania.'

⁵ *The Daily Sangbad*, 13 & 20 December, 1973; *Banglar Bani*, 11 & 12 November, 1973.

⁶ *Banglar Bani*, 12 November, 1973.

⁷ Rehman, Tareque Shamsur, 1993, p. 105.

⁸ *The Daily Sangbad*, 27 November, 1980.

⁹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 29 November, 1980.

¹⁰ The government of President Zia made friendly relations with those of such Islamic countries as were Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Libya and Morocco. But some Islamic countries supported West Pakistan during independence war of Bangladesh, 1971.

- ¹¹ There were allegations of corruption against almost all BNP ministers and MPs of 2001-2006, Extortion, tender-business, misappropriation of allotted money from development projects in areas of MPs, the occupation of government estates and land of ordinary people were main sources of their huge income. Their reared terrorists perpetrated these crimes. See *Sugondha*, 2005b, p.7; *Prothom Alo*, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16 and 17 October, 2006.
- ¹² *Monga* is a local word of North Bengal. The word means high price of an essential that is beyond the purchase ability of a person. But the term is often used to mean as a famine-like situation in Gaibanda, Rangpur, Kurigram, Nilphamari, etc. districts of North Bengal in this country.
- ¹³ Umar, 1990, p. 93; *The Daily Sangbad*, 17 & 25 November, 9 & 22 December, 1974; *The Daily Sangbad*, 9 January, 1978. *Deputy Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed and Minister Maidul Islam of President Zia were arrested under the charge of corruption in November, 1982. On August 31, 1986, the *London Observer* published that President H.M. Ershad of Bangladesh had saved 15 crore dollars in banks of the U.S. and Switzerland. See Islam, Major Rafiqul, 1991, p.79.
- ¹⁴ *Cf. Jugantor*, 31 May, 2006.
- ¹⁵ *Prothom Alo*, 7 November, 2006. *Many top leaders of BNP and AL including Begum Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina, charged with corruption, were arrested in 2007. See *Prothom Alo*, 10 & 11 March, 2007.
- ¹⁶ Then Home Affairs Minister Lieutenant Colonel (retired) A.S.M. Mostafijur Rahman raised 'The Bill of A Disturbed Area, 1980' (*1980 Saler Upadruta Elaka Bill*) in parliament on December 1, 1980. JSD Parliamentary Affairs Leader Shajahan Siraj said, 'This bill has been brought to choke democracy and to kill political workers.' The summary of the bill is here: If law and order of any area of Bangladesh deteriorates so badly that existing law can hardly control it, government will call defense forces. The defense forces include police, ansar, army, navy and air force. If a person is a suspect, officers of defense forces, even Habildar of Bangladesh Rifles, can search his house or arrest him without warrants, and if a person is engaged in illegal activities, officers can shot him dead under section 4 of this bill. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 2 December, 1980.
- ¹⁷ *The Daily Sangbad*, 25 November & 9 December, 1974; 8, 11 & 12 June, 1979; 26 November, 1999; *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 11 September, 1994; *The Daily Janakantha*, 7 February, 2006; Islam, Major Rafiqul, 1991, pp.2-3.
- ¹⁸ Riaz, 2004, pp. 58-59.
- ¹⁹ *Jaynal Hajari had been the secretary general of Feni District Unit AL for 25 years since 1980. There were 17 cases against Hajari on arms, drugs, tortures, murder, arson attack, and money-laundering etc. *AL Leader Abu Taher of Lakshmipur District was sentenced to life imprisonment in the murder case of Juba Dal Leader Kamal. He was arrested in the period of caretaker government (2001) and later imprisoned in Lakshmipur Jail. See *Prothom Alo*, 22 October, 2006; Mostafa, 2005, pp. 12-13.
- ²⁰ *Sugondha*, 2005a, pp.12-13.
- ²¹ *BNP Leader Majibur Rahman Manzu was elected MP for Kishoreganj-6 Constituency in parliamentary elections of 1996 and 2001. 5 murder cases were filed against him. *11 cases were filed against Nasiruddin Ahmed Pintu in Lalbag, Kotwali and Hazaribag Thanas, Dhaka between 1991 and 1996. There was an allegation that he was involved in at least 12 killings. *At least 29 cases including 3 murders were filed against BNP Mayor Majibar Rahman Sarwar of Barisal-5 Constituency (2001-2006) in some years. *6 murder cases were filed against Jamaat MP Shahjahan Chowdhury in Satkania Thana of Chittagong District. See *Prothom Alo*, 8, 12, 13 & 16 October, 2006.
- ²² *The Daily Janakantha*, 20 February, 2006. *According to the UN report, about 50 crore small and light arms were already scattered in the world. According to the 'Yearbook-2004' of London-based private organization *International Action Network on Small Arms* (IANSA), about 7 crore illegal small arms were scattered in South Asia. See *Prothom Alo*, 29 August, 2004.

- ²³ In July and October, 2007, prices of some foreign arms in Bangladesh market were as follows - pistols 15,000-1,50,000, rifles and guns 5,000-1,50, 000 Takas. Prices of bullets were 10-100 Takas, while those of cartridges were 150-200 Takas. *Interviews with 5 arms-sellers at Purana Paltan, Dhaka and Saheb Bazar, Rajshahi, 9 July and 3 October, 2007. *Government approved a ban on the possession of Chinese rifles, 3H pistols and Italy-made 9MM pistols by people. Government organization TCB imported these arms only for police and army. National dailies reported that these arms were often in hands of terrorists. So, it can be concluded that a portion of government-imported arms somehow passed to terrorists.
- ²⁴ Godfather and former MP of Feni Jaynal Hajari had about 500 illegal arms under his supervision for his private armed force of 5,000 members. See Mortoza, 2004, p. 72.
- ²⁵ On May 10, 1998, the *Daily Sangbad* published that according to various sources, there were about 150 arms at Dhaka University in May 1998, among which Bangladesh Chhatra League had 66 and Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal had 57 firearms in their hands. See Morshed, 1998.
- ²⁶ During his rule, H.M. Ershad handed over illegal arms to some arrested terrorists in his cantonment house, Dhaka under a contract. See Mortoza, 2004, p. 85.
- ²⁷ *The Daily Sangbad*, 3 November, 1973.
- ²⁸ On September 24, 1973, Home Affairs Minister Abdul Malek Ukil said in parliament that miscreants looted 2 *thanas*, 11 police *faris* (stations) and 18 *bazars* from March to August, 1973. As a result, 188 firearms and 24,421 round bullets were looted. See Huq, Abdul, 1996, pp. 318-319.
- ²⁹ Mortoza, 2004, p. 59.
- ³⁰ *Prothom Alo*, 29 December, 2005.
- ³¹ Different national dailies and independent media investigations claimed a section of Chittagong police and two local leaders of ruling coalition BNP and Jamaat-e-Islami were allegedly involved in this arms haul. In a media conference, celebrated on April 10, 2004, Chittagong City Mayor and AL Leader A.B.M. Mahiuddin Chowdhury claimed the U.S. and Pakistan sent above arms haul for some Indian insurgent groups, which had their camps in Chittagong Hill Tracts. See *Prothom Alo*, 6 April, 2004; Ahmad and Akhter, 2005, p. 26.
- ³² The truck owner Jogesh Dev Barman, arrested from Habiganj District, was a top leader of Indian front rebel group All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF). See Ahmad and Akhter, 2005, p. 28.
- ³³ *The Daily Janakantha*, 20 February, 2006.
- ³⁴ *The Bangladesh Observer*, 2004; *The Daily Ittefaq*, 12 December, 1998.
- ³⁵ *The Bangladesh Observer*, 2004; Chowdhury and Rana, 2004; Morshed, 1998; *The Daily Janakantha*, 20 February, 2006.
- ³⁶ Chowdhury and Rana, 2004.
- ³⁷ *Prothom Alo*, 15 & 19 December, 2005.
- ³⁸ *Prothom Alo*, 6, 15, 18, 19 & 28 December, 2005.
- ³⁹ *Prothom Alo*, 6, 15, 18 & 19 December, 2005.
- ⁴⁰ TSP Complex Limited, located in Chittagong, is a government manure mill under Industry Ministry of Bangladesh. From this mill, rock sulphur of 1182 metric ton was somehow stolen and sold since this amount was found untraced in December, 2005. See *Prothom Alo*, 22 December, 2005.
- ⁴¹ Cf. *The Daily Janakantha*, 23 March, 2006.
- ⁴² According to then police directorate, the total number of police was 49, 234 in Bangladesh in 1973. Then police officers said the number of existed police was less than actual necessity. See *Banglar Bani*, 11 November, 1973.

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- ⁴³ At present, police use 303 rifles (old), Chinese rifles, shotguns and in some cases LMGs (old light machine guns).
- ⁴⁴ GOB, 2006, p. 8.
- ⁴⁵ Sultan, Aminur Rahman, 1995, p. 31.
- ⁴⁶ *Then DIG Nur Muhammad of Rajshahi Range was transferred to Khulna because of his stand against Islamist militant operations of Bangla Bhai and his group during BNP regime (2001-2006). *BNP Leader Abdul Wadud Bhuiya was elected MP for Khagrachari in parliamentary elections of 2001. An officer of Khagrachari District Administration said that during BNP regime (2001-2006), five district commissioners (DCs) and five police supers (SPs) were transferred from Khagrachari by the influence of MP Abdul Wadud Bhuiya. See *The Daily Janakantha*, 19 April, 2006; *Prothom Alo*, 11 October, 2006.
- ⁴⁷ *The Daily Janakantha*, 23 March, 2006.
- ⁴⁸ Both face to face and indirect interviews with police officers, April and May 2007.
- ⁴⁹ GOB, 2006, p. 9.
- ⁵⁰ *Prothom Alo*, 19 October, 2006.
- ⁵¹ *Prothom Alo*, 29 June, 2004.
- ⁵² Huq, Abdul, 1996, p. 414. *During the regime of President Zia, various factions of army were constantly engaged in conspiracies against government in order to capture power. Zia faced and frustrated 17-20 abortive military coups and mutinies. See Zafarullah, 1996, 'Notes 1,' p.164.
- ⁵³ Santras O Nairajyai Ganatantra Pratishthar Pradhan Antaray', (Main Obstacles before the Establishment of Democracy are Terrorism and Anarchy), *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 5 December, 1997, cited in Mahmud, 1999, p.97; *But Journalist Golam Mortoza claimed some hundred army personnel were executed after trials in courts martial during the era of General Zia. These personnel were former freedom fighters. See Mortoza, 2004, p. 175.
- ⁵⁴ *Prothom Alo*, 13 October, 2006.
- ⁵⁵ GOB, 2006, p. 46.
- ⁵⁶ GOB, 2006, pp.38, 39.
- ⁵⁷ Rahman, Gazi Shamsur, 1985, p. 530.
- ⁵⁸ For examples, see *Prothom Alo*, 18 &19 October, 2006.
- ⁵⁹ JMB Operational Commander Aatur Rahman Sani was arrested in Khetlal, Joypurhat District on August 14, 2003. He was granted bail from District and Sessions Judge Court of Joypurhat on January 17, 2004. After 1 year 7 month of this release, he led bomb attacks in 63 districts simultaneously on August 17, 2005. See *Prothom Alo*, 15 December, 2005.
- ⁶⁰ Time is fixed for those cases that government takes under Special Tribunal Act. After a case report is submitted to the special tribunal court, a trial ends within 30 working days. Prompt trial may help main criminals escape law and throw dust to people's eyes.
- ⁶¹ US State Government, 2001.
- ⁶² Mian, Siddiqur Rahman, 1999, p. 21.
- ⁶³ Through interviews of judges, the researcher got information that some judges take bribes.
- ⁶⁴ US State Government, 2001.
- ⁶⁵ *Prothom Alo*, 9 October, 2006.

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- ⁶⁶ Talukder Maniruzzaman, 'Bangladesh Politics: Secular and Islamic Trends' in Ahmed, Rafiuddin, 1990, p. 67.
- ⁶⁷ Talukder Maniruzzaman, 'Bangladesh Politics: Secular and Islamic Trends' in Ahmed, Rafiuddin, 1990, p.64.
- ⁶⁸ Regarding the fundamental principle of state-policy, Act no 8 (1A) under Part II says, "Absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah shall be the basis of all actions." See GOB, 2006, p. 4.
- ⁶⁹ According to Act no 2 (A) under Part I of Bangladesh Constitution, state religion is Islam.
- ⁷⁰ Talukder Maniruzzaman, 'Bangladesh Politics: Secular and Islamic Trends' in Ahmed, Rafiuddin, 1990, p. 65.
- ⁷¹ Umar, 1992, p. 30.
- ⁷² Informal interviews with five political leaders in Bogra, Rajshahi and Sylhet, July 2008. Besides, while a student, the researcher heard some of these slogans at Bogra Govt. Azizul Huq College and the University of Rajshahi from 1991 to 1999.
- ⁷³ *Prothom Alo*, 15, 18, 19 & 28 December, 2005.
- ⁷⁴ *Prothom Alo*, 15 December, 2005.
- ⁷⁵ *Prothom Alo*, 30 January, 2007.
- ⁷⁶ Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, 2002, 'French Revolution.'
- ⁷⁷ Baradat, 1984, pp. 176-178.
- ⁷⁸ Saleque, 1997, pp. vi, vii, 262; Wikipedia, 'Naxalite'; Marxists.Org.
- ⁷⁹ Hilali and Khan, pp. 125-126, 242, 246, 251, 256, 770; Rahman, Md. Mustafizur, 2003, pp. 61, 123, 125, 127, 130, 411.
- ⁸⁰ Hilali and Khan, p. 39-40.
- ⁸¹ Hilali and Khan, 'Footnote V.2: 190,' p. 39.
- ⁸² University of Southern California.
- ⁸³ *Amardesh*, 3 March, 2006.
- ⁸⁴ Rahim, 1986, pp. 462-463.
- ⁸⁵ Hilali and Khan, p. 264; Rahim, 1986, pp. 230, 444.
- ⁸⁶ *Prothom Alo*, 21 December, 2005.
- ⁸⁷ Khan, Halim Dad, 1992, p. 13.
- ⁸⁸ *Prothom Alo*, 13 October, 2006.
- ⁸⁹ *The Daily Sangbad*, 25 December, 1973; 19 & 21 February, 1979; 4 January, 1984; *The Daily Star*, 16 February, 1996; *The Bangladesh Observer*, 12 December, 1998; *Prothom Alo*, 2 July, 2004; *The Daily Janakantha* & *The Daily Ajker Kagoj*, 4 July, 2004.
- ⁹⁰ *Prothom Alo*, 15 October, 2006.
- ⁹¹ *Prothom Alo*, 13 October, 2006.
- ⁹² *Prothom Alo*, 19 October, 2006.

Chapter Seven

Socioeconomic Causes of Political Violence

The poor socioeconomic environment induces people to commit violence in Bangladesh. Socioeconomic factors are determinants of different personalities and thus a nation. These factors may shape a society either into a factory of intelligentsia or into a heaven of criminals. Poverty shrinks opportunities of education for a large number of people. Some have access to institutes of least or free tuition fees, which have a lack of systematic education and personality building mechanisms. Poverty and people often torment children of poor families so violently that servile life, a scaffold before their eyes, makes them desperados to walk on the sharp sides of a sword, i.e., they choose the deviated way of life. A considerable number of adolescents and youths, who manage little money anyhow, spend for trifle amusement by watching native and foreign movies, in which gunfights and use of weapons are common. In a word, the whole situation is conducive to the breeding of social and political criminals among the poor, the class often hired for melee by opportunist political godfathers.

Poverty and Unemployment

In 2005, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics estimated that 40 percent of Bangladeshis lived under poverty line.¹ Extreme poverty is the main reason why criminals are exuberant in this country. A poor man cannot thank his stars rather abuses them severely. Extreme poverty and frustration beget discontent. This discontent persuades them to perpetrate political crimes. This is why a large number of the poor took a leap in the dark of leftwing and rightwing extremism in more poverty-stricken areas that included Khulna, Barisal and Rajshahi divisions.

As a social being, everyone tries his best to live by socially accepted work. When every door is closed, he/she is compelled to find out other ways for survival. Poverty-stricken Bangladesh has failed to create jobs for a large number of unemployed youths.

Background of Terrorists

Fathers of most political activists did petty jobs. They were porters, tailors, farmers etc. Activists followed their fathers in childhood or adolescence. Living in unbearable poverty and disgrace, they committed petty offences like pilfering. As much as they grew up, they gradually stepped feet to the world of crimes. Political godfathers almost bought these unemployed and vagabond youths by money. Some became wealthy by illegal business and extortion. Picchi Hannan of Dhaka, Rakmat (38) and Nazrul Islam alias Sweet (37) of Narayanganj, and Md. Nasir alias Gittu of Chittagong were top terrorists. Picchi Hannan had intimacy with many influential leaders of then ruling BNP (2001-2006) and opposition AL. Nazrul Islam alias Sweet was a Juba League worker and Md. Nasir alias Gittu a terrorist of Islami Chhatra Shibir. All of them had to undergo miserable poverty in their childhood. In the early life, Picchi Hannan worked as a petty vegetable-vendor on footpaths, Rakmat as an ordinary laborer of a mill, Sweet as a petty service-boy for players in various national football-clubs and Gittu as a porter. Later, all became criminals having many cases including killing and extortion. Either RAB or Police lynched them between 2004 and 2005. Enayet Ullah alias Jewel was a JMB operational commander in Gazipur. He along with his father accepted mendicancy because of poverty in his childhood.²

Evidences showed professional killers even killed those persons, whom they did not know before or with whom they had no enmity.³ Once they entered the world of crimes either willingly or unwillingly, they had no alternative to it and had no way of return. Morality that could have stopped them is an ornament of the middle class but neither of the rich, nor of the poor.

Increasing Urban Violence

Violence and crime are growing problems in urban areas, where inequality between the rich and the poor is sharp. Urban violence exceeds rural incidents because the capitalist in urban areas is a part of administration. This class hires disunited proletariat for political purposes. This class is stronger than that of UP chairmen and arbitrators in villages. Therefore, in urban areas, political turmoil escalates with the participation of the hired poor in fights between rivals.

Factors of Poverty

It is a common idea of people that poverty is the result of less production. But historical evidences showed poverty was the creation of corrupt governments. Politicians exerted their influence upon all economic activities and enjoyed bribes while the rich became the owners of industries and enjoyed profit. The poor were poor not because they neither had money nor worked hard, but because they were exploited by politicians and the rich. In a poor country, MPs' having palace-like buildings prove that misappropriation of money makes the rich richer and the poor poorer.⁴

All regimes met with price-hike of essentials, which was a consequence of artificial food deficiency. Corruption, black-marketing and smuggling were common. Badruddin Umar said famine broke out in 1974 mainly because of speculation with rice in the share market, in which a group of bureaucrats were involved.⁵ We knew that bumper rice-crops were produced 4 times during the regime of President Zia in Bangladesh; yet the price of rice increased and there was famine-like situation in the country.⁶ On June 7, 1979, six trucks, loaded with about 4000 mound paddy and rice, were seized and 16 rice-holders were arrested from Brahmanbaria, Ashuganj, Chandura and Gokarna Bazars. After this incident, retail prices of various kinds of rice decreased at Brahmanbaria Bazar.⁷ An economist said that to maintain various extra-budgetary election expenses, government took loans from banks in 1995. As a result of it, inflation rate went high. The deficiency of food production that was much propagandized was not the main reason of price-hike of essentials.⁸ The powerful business syndicate controlled the whole market system during BNP regime (2001-2006). The business syndicate including some powerful leaders of

ruling party caused price-hikes artificially.⁹ Oppositions always condemned governments and bureaucracy for their corruption that caused food deficiency and inflation. But all governments disclaimed responsibility saying that natural calamities, i.e., flood, draught, and food deficiency were the reasons why Bangladesh remained economically backward.

Seasonal famine called *monga* often breaks out in some districts of north-western Bengal each year. Monga-prone areas include Gaibanda, Rangpur, Kurigram, Lalmanirhat and Nilphamari. The economic crisis ensues from unemployment crisis in agriculture during and in the wake of flood from mid-September to mid-November. NETZ carried out a research on Monga. This research paper claims Monga results not from the food deficiency but from inaccessibility of people to food. The affected people are marginal farmers and a large number of agricultural laborers with low wages. The study claims Greater Rangpur is a food surplus area.¹⁰ Undoubtedly, the seasonal famine is an outcome of unequal land distribution and improper allotment of food. Above all, political leaders were not sincerely devoted to the eradication of poverty.

Besides, not only population growth but also push-in is a great crisis that hampers economic development and increases violence in Bangladesh. It is a crisis that was marked in the period of President Zia, and still exists but unmarked. It is true in border areas of both India and Myanmar. Push-in ensues from two ideas – 1) people from underdeveloped countries rush to developed ones through borders, and 2) minors from developed countries are thrust to underdeveloped ones by force either making an excuse like that they are not their citizens or torturing them in many ways. Borders of developed countries are more protected than those of underdeveloped ones. The regime of President Zia suffered from torrents of expelled Burmese Muslims. They were killed, tortured, raped and looted by Burmese army so inhumanly that there was no other option for them than crossing borders.¹¹ The expelled and militant Burmese are still present in some areas of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Uneducated People and Improper Education System

A large number of uneducated people were one of the reasons why rampant political violence took place in Bangladesh. The country also lacked in systematic education system and it bred a nation of unsound minds, which acquired aggressive attitude and behavior.

Population of Bangladesh was approximately 140 million in April, 2006 (according to World Bank Development Indicators Database, April, 2006). Adult Literacy Rate of Bangladesh was 41 percent in 2006 while adult meant age 15 yrs+. ¹² Many of these adults could not continue their studies further; therefore, a large number of people remained either illiterate or little-literate.

Education engenders people of enlightened brains, who can perceive the difference between what is right or wrong. An uneducated or little-educated person is much more vulnerable to god fathers, who easily wheedle them for perpetrating crimes. In most clashes, pickets were those hired uneducated people, who lived in lashing, unfettering and extreme poverty. An uneducated person has less control over his unbridled passions. Pickets break vehicles and ransack government offices in ecstasy. They can hardly realize that this destruction means chopping on one's own feet with axes. Terrorists do not show less brutality in killing their targets. Illiteracy keeps a man uncivil and hinders the development of human qualities. Human beings acquire qualities through learning to adapt themselves to society, and these qualities are not inborn.

Education may determine whether a nation will be either violent or tolerant, destructive or constructive. Both Plato in *The Republic* and Dr. R.N. Vyas in *Education for Political Leadership* gave importance on the education of rulers for an ideal state. ¹³ Dr. R.N. Vyas stated that without proper education, rulers might lead a nation to destruction and annihilation of the whole human civilization. Communist China and the former USSR followed an education system that only had socialistic curriculum excluding others. Most opportunist rulers of different countries gave attention to the change of curriculum that helped them hold and consolidate power uninterruptedly many years. In Bangladesh, governments also tried to change histories by revising old books and publishing new ones.

Most children do not get proper education and behavior at home in early ages and schools in adolescence in Bangladesh. In early ages, children have absorbing minds; so they imitate whatever they hear and whatever they see. Children acquire aggressive behavior and intolerance from family and educational institutes as misbehavior and punishment are visible there. The strong have tendency to oppress the weak.

Present education system of Bangladesh broadly includes five levels, as, pre-primary, primary, secondary, higher secondary and tertiary levels. Both public and private institutes in all levels work side by side. Mostly visible in urban areas, various Kindergartens cover pre-primary education. Schools operate for primary and secondary students, and colleges for higher secondary students. Universities meet the need of tertiary level. In all levels, three categories of educational institutes operate in Bangladesh. These are general, western and religious. Because government institutes conduct studies in less expense, the middle class tries to get degrees from there. Because English-medium institutes, established in urban areas, demand high charges, the rich get chances to study there. Islamic kindergartens and madrasas for secondary, higher secondary and tertiary levels, mostly serve for the poor in either free or cheap cost. Above information proves there is a lack of co-ordination in education system in Bangladesh. That religious, western and general schools, colleges and universities work side by side have quite different curriculum. As a result, an aimless and heterogeneous minded nation is being developed. This is why people do not support the same political system. When general and English-based students like parliamentary democracy, students with religious background struggle for Islamic state system in Bangladesh. Moreover, politics is allowed in colleges and universities, where violence often takes place.

Though non-government organizations (NGOs) run non-formal primary schools for the deprived like slum-dwelling children, a large number of the poor fail to continue further studies. The situation of suburbs and remote villages is much critical. Neither skilled teachers are found nor a significant number of students regularly come to study. Many admit themselves to primary education with aspiration but drop out before ending the exams of Secondary School Certificate (SSC) and Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC). Standards of education from primary to higher

secondary levels in many schools and colleges are not satisfactory at all. What they learn and how much they are educated are under questions. Little literacy fails to develop human qualities inside them and depression results in their aggressive attitude and behavior.

In Bangladesh, Islamic Kindergartens, Qawmi-Kharezi-Hafezi Madrasas and Islamic Universities have mushroomed with the financial aid of some Middle-East Countries. Most of their textbooks are written in Arabic and some in Urdu with ideas of Pakistan.¹⁴ Government madrasas and Islamic universities teach students on law of the Quran and the Hadith as well as Muslim histories of wars. Islamist militants have fought for the establishment of Islamic state and constitution since their rise. Religious politicians use religious education for the achievement of their political objectives. In books and magazines, they have added such words that people believe divine goals can be achieved if they join Islamist political parties and sacrifice life in revolution. Almost all Islamist militants were once students of Islamic institutes.¹⁵

Since human beings have limitation of power, most of them have faith in the Almighty. Through religion, they try to get invisible God's support. Almost all religious books have stories of fights that let people think that it is right to fight for God. In the world, many religious militants of different religions have been fighting nationally and internationally for many years.

For the change of violence-stricken political culture, at least 90 percent of people need to be educated with scientific, rational, unbiased and unique education. People may raise the question, why violence is rampant despite the high literacy rate in Sri Lanka. The answer is there may be another factor that makes Sri Lankans intolerant and suicidal.

Family Background and Personal Miseries

Family is the institution, where a political terrorist learns his first, basic and continuous lessons of crimes. A deviated family cannot give birth to a normal human being. Militants or extremists sprout from those families, which either nurture extremism or perpetrate crimes. Every child or adolescent imitates his parents and deviated siblings arduously. Evidences show political activists had their fathers or brothers, who were active either in politics or in crimes.

Another noticeable matter is that if a child gets experiences of tortures in family or lives a neglected life in society, he/she will have a tendency of torturing others or showing spite to them at his youth. Following case studies show political terrorists had bitter experiences in childhood when either parents beat them brutally or society drove them out for petty offences. Spite burgeons from spite. A person definitely gives back to family and society what he gets from these.

Some persons become political terrorists after the powerful victimize them or their family members. Through past miseries, they acquire revengeful minds that lead them astray. They seek complacency through retaliation. People take justice in hands, where law-enforcement is weak and judiciary is not independent. On the other hand, political parties, godfathers and terrorists individually take opportunities of their miseries, entice them with false promises and use them arbitrarily for crimes.¹⁶

Examples of Terrorists

Ataur Rahman Sani

Ataur Rahman Sani was operational commander and chief leader of JMB suicide squad. His father Abdullah Ibne Fazal was a leader of Ahle Hadith community. As a collaborator of Pakistani army, he played a disputable and anti-independence role in Jamalpur District in 1971. His whole family was active in militancy. JMB Chief Leader Shaekh Abdur Rahman was his elder brother. Another brother Obaydur Rahman was imprisoned in Jamalpur Jail. His brother-in-law, niece, nephew and niece's husband were involved in bombing activities. Ataur Rahman Sani was arrested on December 13, 2005.¹⁷

Maminulla David

Maminulla David was the ring leader of David-Said terrorist group in north areas of Narayanganj District and the joint convener of Narayanganj District Juba Dal. David's brothers – Kiran, Mona, Jewel, Romel- were terrorists. Kiran died from drug-addiction. Mona killed a college-student named Azmiri in 2003. Mona also died from drug-addiction. There were 37 cases including 8 murders against David. But his family claimed he did not kill anyone. RAB lynched David in crossfire at Malibag, Dhaka in November, 2004.¹⁸

Omar Ali

Omar Ali (25) was a most-wanted and absconded terrorist in Natore District. Father was a tailor. He had 3 brothers and 2 sisters. First brother Murad was a laborer of a small workshop; second brother Abdullah was a businessman; third one Omar was extortionist, picket and bomber in ten years. Brother Abdullah was an AL activist when Omar was a BNP activist. His parents often beat him in his childhood. There were 9 cases against Omar in Natore Thana in 2007.¹⁹

Dollar

A.T.M. Rezaul Karim Dollar (23) was a political terrorist in Natore District. He had four brothers. First brother Raju was a contractor; second brother Dollar did nothing; third Roni and fourth Bappi were students. Dollar was engaged in picketing and bombing while Raju in extortion. Both were activists of Bangladesh Chhatra Dal. His parents often beat him in his childhood. There were 1 case against Raju and 2 cases against Dollar in Natore Thana.²⁰

Sadrul Islam alias Dambel

Sadrul Islam Dambel (28) was a political terrorist in Natore District and imprisoned in Rajshahi Jail in 2007. Father was a BNP leader. They were two brothers and two sisters. Both brothers were extortionists and terrorists while sisters were ordinary housewives. Both were leaders of Juba Dal while Dambel was also a ward commissioner in Natore. There were 15-20 cases against them.²¹

Changes in Values

In Bangladesh, violence escalated because of political values. Individual, social and political values are interrelated and influence one another. Because of infiltration of foreign culture, religious beliefs, political criminalization, poverty and less-literacy, significant changes came in traditional individual and social values. These changes had negative impact on new generation, which acquired undaunted attitude and inconsistent behavior. An example of individual value is here: Once a youth did not like to earn money illegally, even when his pocket was empty, rather starved. Later, when this value changed, a youth believed he had, as a human being, the right to live on earth even by any dishonest way; therefore corruption and crimes were also his ways of earnings. An example of social value is also here: Once youths had a value that they would always respect the older. The older also tried to live immaculate and simple life so that no question could be raised. Gradually, older ones became deviated through corruption and crimes. Youths lost their reverence to older relatives, neighbors and teachers. As a result, terrorists did not mind humiliating, attacking and killing them for political purposes.

In Bangladesh, individual and social values have been changed while existing political values have been exercised since pre-war time. Political values were never much democratic in this land. As imperialist British and Pakistani rulers had ruled Bengalis for a long time, ruling

parties inherited values of exploitation and dictatorship over oppositions. On the other hand, since political parties fought against imperialist rulers, oppositions believed they could compel government to respond to their demands only through violent movement. These two antagonistic concepts maintained an inimical relation between them. Godfathers valued that election victory was a prestige, which could be acquired only through dismaying opponents by terrorists. Politics was not a place of the weak but a place of musclemen, believed they. In Bangladesh, politicians do not much bear values, related to peace and tolerance. Mainstream parties have engraved the idea of violent movement in minds of blind followers. Extremist leaders have infused values of counter-revolution into the arable minds of youths. Religious political parties have transmitted values of Jihad to illiterate and less-educated people.

Core Democratic Values of the U.S. include two types - fundamental beliefs and constitutional principles. Fundamental beliefs are right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, common good, justice, equality, diversity, truth, popular sovereignty and patriotism. Constitutional principles are rule of law, separation of powers, representative government, checks and balances, individual rights, freedom of religion, federalism and civilian control of the military.²²

Democratic values state that everyone has the right to live on earth and none can violate this right unless he/she is under attacks. NGOs - *Odhikar*, *Amnesty International* and the *US Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor* - kept records of human rights violation in Bangladesh in the first half of the 2000. These prove how much this right was violated. Besides, extra-judicial killing of criminals stanching many lives without giving them chances of getting justice.

Liberty includes personal, political and economic freedom. Political freedom, i.e., freedom of speeches and gatherings, became meaningless when ruling party activists attacked oppositions in processions and meetings. During military regimes, rulers withheld these rights more than once. Ruling parties sometimes passed bills in parliament in the absence of oppositions that winked at opinions of oppositions.

In quest of happiness, none will interfere in another's life. But political parties often use loud speakers when they arrange political and cultural functions either in streets or in public places. Loud speakers bother ordinary people. Rostrums and orations in streets interrupt communication.

Parties need to work for common good. For the welfare of citizens, neither ruling nor opposition party unanimously took decisions in national crises.

Justice was neglected because the powerful, i.e. ministers, MPs and other elected representatives, often influenced police and judges (analyzed in Chapter Six).

Political, legal, social and economic equality was not much acquired. Oppositions were sometimes deprived of equal political rights. On the other side, the income disparity between the rich and the poor proves that masses do not get economic equality.

Diversity means peaceful existence of different people in a society irrespective of religion, language, culture, etc. Though ordinary Muslims and Hindus lived peacefully side by side, religious parties sometimes attacked the minority, i.e., Hindus, Buddhists and Ahmadiyas.

Truth means government and people will not lie and disclose all information to each other. But governments often hid information, for example, they allegedly increased GDP to hide their failure in economic development. Ruling parties did not produce their corrupt leaders before courts impartially.

Popular sovereignty means people rule government through votes. In Bangladesh, universal suffrage becomes meaningless because poor people sell their votes for money.

During independence war, patriots participated in war and sacrificed life. In post-war period, patriotism did not develop well in minds of new generations; therefore, they vandalized government- and private-property in strikes and other ways of violent movement.

Bangladesh government has not also acquired constitutional principles. Therefore, it is proved that politicians do not much transmit democratic values to their followers. Absence of democratic values helps the presence of authoritarian values that nurture terrorism, intolerance, inequality, coercion and injustice. Authoritarian values come from family, where either elders or the powerful dominate members. This is why powerful governments often dominated people. Two generals could reign in this land many years through consolidation of power unless oppositions made citizens understand their rights.

Arthur Lyon Dahl said, 'Different values produce different kinds of behavior. Saints and sinners, snobs and sex fiends are determined by what they value most...Values are not innate, but are transmitted through parents, family, school, religion and society at large...In our modern world, the media like television, cinema and advertising have an increasing influence in forming individual value systems.'²³

Most local and foreign movies have scenes of fights between heroes and villains. These scenes infuse the values into human minds that it is right to defeat enemies even through violence. Our politics and changing society generate and nurture such values as help increase the number of political criminals. Youths tend to select political terrorism as a way of huge and easy earnings.

Heroism in Bengali Fairy Tales, Myths and Movies

Most books and movies depict a hero, who often wins a bloody fight against his enemies. Even how much violence he does for retaliation is not considered a crime. If he defeats, he will not be a hero, rather a coward. This idea occupies minds of children and adolescents. They also try to be heroes in fights against rivals in practical life. Many stories do not bear the idea that tolerance and non-violence must be a way of being a hero. Bengali and foreign books as well as movies that are available for all in the market inspire people for retaliation with moral and social support. Moreover, terrorists imitate villains while watching movies. It is noticed that those children, who watch cartoons on fight, try to play such a game with peer-groups and show aggressive behavior.

Examples of 2 fairy tales, 1 mythology and 2 movies will support this view. The name of a fairy tale is *Rakhal Raja*²⁴ (The Cowboy King). The story was about a cowboy named Bireshwar. He first won the heart of the king by his benevolent work and later became his faithful soldier. At the order of his majesty, he took part in a fight with another king. Bireshwar looked as if played 'bounce' with cut-heads of enemies. He along with other soldiers defeated enemies through desperate killing and conquered the land. But his playing 'bounce' with cut-heads of enemies was really very cruel and inhuman. Through this inhuman work, he became the following king! In the way Bireshwar became hero in eyes of his king, political terrorists also try to win hearts of god fathers through records of crimes. This is why it is found that there were about 25 cases against top terrorist Picchi Hannan of Dhaka and 17 cases including 4 murders against Juba League Worker Nazrul Islam alias Sweet of Narayanganj. Md. Nasir alias Gittu, top terrorist of Islami Chhatra Shibir in Chittagong, was accused of many murders.²⁵ The name of another fairy tale is *Mayabi Daitya*²⁶ (A Sorcerer Demon). A pair of *Daitya* (demons) lived in a desolate mountain. One was Shimmu and the other was his wife Rambha. To the east of their adobe, there was a human kingdom named Anandapur, where a king reigned. Shimmu often kidnapped people from Anandapur and took them to his adobe for eating. One day Shimmu kidnapped the only one princess of that area named Lilabati. A prince named Satyakumar came to Anandapur from another kingdom and agreed to rescue her. He went to the kingdom of demons and cut off the head of Rambha with the sword. Later, he also cut Shimmu into two pieces. Since the demon Shimmu often caught hold of human beings and ate them, he was of course cruel and disdainful. But in order to rescue the princess, the prince was not less cruel than the demon. He killed not only Shimmu but also his wife. The prince had the option of giving a chance to the demon to be corrected and using him in welfare work. But he took no other way than executing his life. The story has the core idea that a vile person has no chance of living on earth. This idea may increase violence in a society. The story should bear the idea that a hero should even forgive a villain and rehabilitate him with the correction of his character. In Bangladesh, people commit such crimes as the killing of demons since vigilant violence is common here. When people catch hold of an offender for his pilfering, they often do not hand over him to police, rather take the responsibility of giving punishment. As a result, there are records of offenders' death in their hands.

The name of a mythological epic and religious book of Hindus is *Mahabharat*.²⁷ The story is about a kingdom named Hastina that stood near the present Delhi. A bloody fight started between two relative groups named Pandabs and Kaurabs at a place named Kurukhetra for the power of Hastina's one part. For a kingdom, both relatives killed each other brutally and some thousand people died in this fight. Since the fight took place in an ancient time, fighters used arrows and cudgels as weapons. Arjun was one of the heroes in this epic. The incarnated God Shri-Krishna himself was the driver of his chariot at the battle-field. But Arjun and his brothers were no less cruel in killing than their rival Durjadhan and his brothers. As they were stronger, they perpetrated more violence for the rescue of their lost kingdom. The story supported violence for victory that would inspire readers as well. In Bangladesh, when rival political parties clash with each other, huge bloodshed occurs like that in *Mahabharat*. Leaders infuse the idea into disciples that it is honesty to fight blindly for their parties.

The name of a movie is *Teji* (Spirited). The story-writer and director was Kazi Hayat. The movie has depicted the real story of Bangladesh that political godfathers use terrorists for terrorism. So, it is no doubt a praiseworthy endeavor of Kazi Hayat. But hero was not less cruel than villain in taking revenge. Hero cuts throat of villain's comrade with a dagger and enters the dagger into the heart of villain. These scenes may instigate people for taking revenge. Why does a person need to defeat rivals in fight to be a hero? If the director shows the hero as a man of patience, this model can inspire viewers to be non-violent. The name of a movie is *Ful Neba Na Ashru Neba* (Whether I shall take flowers or tears). The story-writer was Shafiqul Islam and director F.I Manik. In the movie, both hero Akash and side-hero Raja did not show less cruelty to their enemies and rivals did not either. After cutting villain Nila's hand with a dagger mercilessly, Akash stands with an innocent face as if nothing serious happens. But Nila skips in pain with his cut-hand. When hero commits this heinous crime, viewers especially uneducated people will naturally be inspired. In Bangladesh politics, there are evidences of such crimes as those in movies. Besides, movies show modern arms and ammunition in fights between heroes and

villains. Demands of these arms increase in market as terrorists become inspired through watching movies. Hauls of sophisticated arms and ammunition, smuggled to Bangladesh in different times, proved that the demand in market of course welcomed their supplies.

Revengeful politics is a feature of Bangladesh. Like these stories, political leaders persuade workers to take revenge. Rivals do not show mercy when attack each other. Police do not show mercy during their suppression of masses. Oppositions take revenge on police in opportune moments. Evidences are provided in Chapter Three. Therefore, fairy tales, myths and movies have impact on minds of people. Stories can determine whether people will be aggressive or non-violent.

Endnotes

- ¹ *Prothom Alo*, 8 September, 2008.
- ² *Prothom Alo*, 7 & 12 August, 2004; 7 December, 2005; *Amardesh*, 1 December, 2004; Kashem, 2005, p.16.
- ³ Famous Journalist Golam Mortoza had an interview with a professional killer. The killer was a poverty-stricken youth, who shot a person dead on hire only for 900 takas. It was the first killing of his life. He did not even know the victim before. See Mortoza, 2004, p.46.
- ⁴ *Before Ruhul Kuddus Talukdar Dulu became deputy minister, he had had a half brick-built house with one-slanting roof in Natore. After he had gotten the office of Land Deputy Minister during BNP regime (2001-2006), a four- storied building was constructed there. It was the same for BNP MPs - Abdul Wadud Bhuiya of Khagrachari Constituency, Nasiruddin Ahmed Pintu of Dhaka-8 Constituency and Manzurul Ahsan Munsif of Debidwar Constituency in Comilla during BNP regime (2001-2006). See *Prothom Alo*, 10, 11, 12 & 15 October, 2006.
- ⁵ Umar, 1990, p. 93. *In those days, dealership of many goods was handed over mostly to AL supporters. During drives against smugglers, army recovered food stuffs, valued to 10 crore, at the end of 1974. Recovered food stuffs were wheat of 2125 maunds, rice of 827 maunds, flour of 708 maunds, salt of 2308 maunds and dried fish of 100 maunds. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 22 November, 1974. *From these operations, it is clear how much food was then smuggled to India. The crisis of artificial food scarcity ensued from this smuggling.
- ⁶ Then AL Secretary General Abdur Razzak revealed this information in a big public meeting, arranged by AL in the courtyard of Baytul Mokarram on May 24, 1979. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 25 May, 1979.
- ⁷ *The Daily Sangbad*, 13 June, 1979.
- ⁸ Masum, 1996.
- ⁹ Renowned Economist Dr. Atiur Rahman said, 'Prices of essentials have not increased only because of economic reasons in Bangladesh. Middlemen (or beneficiaries), extortionists and syndicate are mostly responsible for this crisis.' See Hossain and Hossain, 2006.
- ¹⁰ Zug.

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- ¹¹ *About 15,000 Rohingya Muslims entered Bangladesh only in a day on April 29, 1978. Among them, about 600 people came with marks of bullet-wounds, stabbing and tortures. See *The Daily Sangbad*, 30 April, 1978. *Many of them were repatriated; yet situation deteriorated and then government had to pray for international aid.
- ¹² USAID, 2006.
- ¹³ Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, 2002, 'Republic'; Vyas, 1978, p. 85.
- ¹⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 13 February, 1999; The researcher also cross-checked information while visiting 5 madrasas.
- ¹⁵ *JMB Leader Enayet Ullah alias Jewel was arrested on December 5, 2005. Jewel passed Hafezi exam from Hafizia Free Forkania Madrasa, located at Bangshal, Dhaka. *JMB Operational Commander Ataur Rahman Sani got Dakhil degree from Kamal Khan Hat Madrasa, located in Titpolla Union, Sadr Upazila in Jamalpur District in 1996. He got Alim degree from Beltia Kamil Madrasa, located in Jamalpur. See *Prothom Alo*, 7 & 15 December, 2005.
- ¹⁶ Cf., Mortoza, 2004, pp. 17-22, 25, 27-36.
- ¹⁷ *Prothom Alo*, 15 December, 2005.
- ¹⁸ *Amardesh*, 26 November, 2004.
- ¹⁹ Interview with a police officer, 13 April, 2007.
- ²⁰ Interview with a police officer, 13 April, 2007.
- ²¹ Interview with a police officer, 25 May, 2007.
- ²² Classroomhelp.Com; Michigan Government; Macomb Intermediate School District.
- ²³ Dahl, 2001.
- ²⁴ Rahman, Atwar, 1977, pp.27-35.
- ²⁵ *Prothom Alo*, 7 August, 2004; *Amardesh*, 1 December, 2004; Kashem, 2005, p.16.
- ²⁶ Bhuiya, 1980, pp. 143-154.
- ²⁷ Sarkar, pp. 1-28.

Chapter Eight

Consequences of Political Violence

Bangladeshis have miserably suffered from consequences of violence since independence. Political violence has affected personal, family, social and state lives simultaneously. Impacts of violence on person are deterioration of morality as well as psychological and psychosomatic disorders. Exercise of terrorism by politicians deteriorated their morality. Rampant violence yielded psychological and psychosomatic patients in the country.

Impacts on family are loss of earning members, increase of domestic violence and increase of broken families. When families of hapless victims lost their earning members, miserable poverty fell upon them. Political terrorism hatched domestic violence. Increase of political violence might generate oppressive attitude and behavior among ordinary people. As a result, the powerful oppressed the weak in families, for examples, violence on wives by husbands, that on children by parents or vice-versa and that on maidservants by housewives. These harrowing features had hewed the society of Bangladesh for many years. For the same reason, scores of broken families increased significantly. On July 30, 2007, *Prothom Alo* published that total 5,103 couples got divorce in Dhaka City Corporation in 2006, while on January 17, 2008, Law Branch of Rajshahi City Corporation disclosed that 379 couples got divorce in Rajshahi City Corporation in 2006. Reasons of divorce were poverty, conflict of personalities and violence on wives. United Nations Development Program (UNDP) reported in 2006 that 47 percent of women were victims of physical violence by husbands in Bangladesh.

Impacts on society are change in social values, change in culture, increase of crimes and increase of disabled persons. Political leaders, who inspired terrorism, engraved, in minds of disciples, the idea that one should attack his rival for political gain. They did not care for the old social value that people should show reverence to the old and affection to the young. A gruesome culture of arms and weapons developed rapidly. At the same time, crimes increased in society

during successive government periods. Violence generated many disabled persons and cut short many human lives.

Impacts on state are interruption in smooth administrative work, economic downgrade, downslide in law and order, increase of cases in courts, and disrepute of country in the world. Because of political conflict and corruption, administrative personnel failed to execute duty properly with accountabilities. Outcry of people was visible against crises of electricity, water and gas during all regimes. Violence injured and terminated many lives during opposition-called strikes. Strikes have grilled economy through less production throughout all years since the emergence of Bangladesh. Less production and less income left this land as less developed country. Both strikers and anti-strikers violated law desperately that deteriorated law and order situation. People filed many cases with the escalation of violence, for example, 196 cases were initially lodged against suspects in connection with serial bomb attacks of August 17, 2005 in 63 districts of the country. Both plaintiffs and defendants had to bear unnecessary expenses of delayed trials. Media spread the news of Bangladesh in the world. As a nation, its image was damaged in international market. Disunited nation always bears the risk of imperialist interference. Bangladesh politics is also being played in hands of imperialist powers. This study has focused on some noticeable consequences.

Psychological and Psychosomatic Disorders

Violence-ridden society helps develop two types of inconsistent personality inside people in Bangladesh. One is anti-social, aggressive personality and the other is psychologically disordered personality. First type becomes a political-social criminal and the second one becomes a psychological patient. Broadly, personality means what a person is. Personality includes some features – 1) it means psychophysical features, 2) it is unique that makes a person different from others, 3) it includes habits, attitude, values etc of a person and 4) it is always changing, developing and thriving with the changing environment. In Bangladesh, political and social environment has

increasingly become turbulent. This environment inserts inconsistency and aggressiveness into human nature. Biological and social factors develop personality. A human being deserves an environment from birth to death, where family, school, curriculum, teachers, peer groups etc influence development of personality. Those, who mix with political and social criminals at home and outside mostly in slums and populated areas of towns/cities, are prone to crimes. C. R. Shaw (1927, 1930, 1938), psychologist at the University of Chicago, proved that those boys, who live in poor residential areas, generally mix with small and organized groups. This intermixing develops their tendency of crimes.¹ In Bangladesh, a large number of low-income earning people live in poor populated residential areas and slums in cities, towns and suburbs.

Because political violence increased in the country, five types of persons suffered from psychological disorders. They were 1) victims, 2) eyewitnesses, 3) politicians, 4) terrorists and 5) ordinary people.

JMB tortured inhabitants of two remote villages in Rajshahi and Naogaon Districts in 2004. Interviews of some victims were taken in 2007 (See details in Chapter Four). It was observed that they suffered from anxiety disorders from the fear of more attacks even after three years. Also, those, who bore physical problems from past tortures and paid a large amount of money as extortion, suffered from depression for uncertain future.

Persons of above first, second and fifth categories might suffer from generalized anxiety disorder, conversion disorder (old name hysteria), amnesia etc. A painful experience of any dreadful incident in the past is one of the reasons why a person can be a patient of generalized anxiety disorder. In Bangladesh, people come across armed street-fights and bloodshed. Because of conversion disorder, a person suffers from a loss of sensory experiences. In spite of having no physical abnormalities, he can be attacked by any of such diseases as are fainting fit, anesthesia, blindness, deafness, muteness and paralysis. A violent psychological stroke may cause dissociative amnesia in a person, who experiences loss of memory about past-life. Besides, these

psychological disorders are responsible for psychosomatic disorders such as heart-diseases, hypertension, digest-related diseases, asthma, migraine and skin diseases. During regimes of two generals, political captives were imprisoned without trials some months or years. Many became sick in jails. They were taken to hospitals. Some suffered from psychosomatic diseases, for examples, AL former Minister Abdus Samad Azad was attacked with heart disease and CPB Secretary General Mohammad Farhad suffered from high blood pressure while they were in jail in 1978.² Former MP Colonel (retired) Shawkat Ali was suffering from heart disease and Chairman of Samyabadi Dal Muhammad Toaha was suffering from both heart disease and diabetes while in jails in 1983. Even families of politicians went under mental stress. When Colonel (retired) Shawkat Ali was in jail, his wife had deterioration of mental and physical condition.³ Even politicians outside jails suffered from psychosomatic disorders. Abdul Malek Ukil, member of AL Presidents' body, had the onset of heart disease at midnight on April 17, 1983. Shafi Ahmed, former secretary general of DUCSU, had the onset of heart disease at night on May 6, 1983.⁴ Golam Mortoza took interviews of some professional killers in his book *Bangladesher Underworld Ebang Rajniti*. This book had evidences that in Bangladesh, political terrorists consumed intoxicants for either personal amusement or revelry with retinue in leisure. Moreover, they took alcoholic drinks before or after killing so that conscience could not halt them from crimes. Godfathers also gave them free wines before or after operations of killing.⁵ Their motives were to satisfy criminals and to let them lose conscience before crimes. In the period of caretaker government headed by Fakhruddin Ahmed, RAB and police raided houses of some former MPs and ministers, and discovered personal bars of wines there. Professor Monzur Ahmad says excessive drinking of alcohol that is a depressant may be a reason of one's losing his conscience. A drunk may, without any reason, attack someone and even commit killing.⁶

Ordinary people read news of violence in national dailies and often watch these incidents on TV in Bangladesh. They are vulnerable to psychological disorders despite their living in comparatively peaceful and educated environment. Professor Monzur Ahmad says massive

violent activities among groups that are resulted from political and socio-economic situation create severe awe and panic in people's minds. This stressful situation plays a role in producing psychological disorders.⁷

Table 1
Psychological and Psychosomatic Disorders among Bangladeshis in 1995

Problem/Illness	Population (age group)	Percentage	No. of Cases (million)
Major Depression	General	3	3.6
Anxiety Disorder	---	5	6.0
Obsessions	---	0.5	0.6
Schizophrenia/Psychosis	---	1	1.2
Learning Disability	---	2.5	3.0
Chronic Illness (e.g. asthma, diabetes, pain)	---	10	12.0
Head Injury/Head Trauma	---	.25	0.3
Hypertension/ Sleeplessness	Adults	14	8.4
Addictions (including Smoking)	Adults	10	6.0
Dementia (including Memory Impairment)	Over 65 years	5	1.2

Source: Powel, G. The Future of Clinical Psychology in Bangladesh, 1995, cited in Banglapedia.

Table shows, rates of chronic illness, i.e., psychosomatic disorders, hypertension and addictions were higher than those of other types in Bangladesh in 1995. But hypertension had the highest rate. 8.4 million people had hypertension and 12 million people had chronic illness. 6 million people were addicted to intoxication and narcotics. It was really a worried number. We already found that politicians suffered from chronic illness and hypertension. Political terrorists were addicted to intoxication. The above classified data were made in 1995. Then, a significant number of persons were suffering from depression but the rate was not the highest. Later, National Institute of Mental Health and Hospital carried out a study on mental patients in 2005. The study revealed 2.25 crore mental patients existed in Bangladesh. It also disclosed 16.5

percent of total population was suffering from mental disorders in Bangladesh in 2005 while depressive disorder had top position among all mental diseases.⁸ Within 10 years, patients of depression increased remarkably. Depression comes not only from personal and family life but also from society and state. That in these years, social and political turmoil increased significantly had impact on life of all. Social and political turmoil caused economic downgrade. Deteriorated economic condition of people made them unrest and disturbed. Anxiety from insecurity among income-earning members, mostly males, failed to keep respect to family. Therefore, their victims were mostly women. Thus, political crisis had great impact on family and mental health of people.

Loss of Family Earning Members

Both ruling and opposition parties hired the poor for picketing during strikes. Mostly poor pickets were both perpetrators and victims. Many people either died or were disabled from opposition tortures and bomb-blasts. Many of them were only earning members of their dependent poor families. After their death or having been disabled, families were drowned into darkness of uncertain future. Expenses for medical treatments of wounded persons made families poorer than before. This catastrophe barred the education of children. Having no aegis from starvation, they submitted themselves to the lot. Poor families of arrestees, detainees, prisoners and hostages suffered equally. Long absence of earning members threatened them with starvation.

Families of the killed and alive victims lived under insecurity and continuous life-threats from killers. Police harassed them for taking biased confessions. The death of father created the complexity of broken families. These families faced troubles of dignity in society. Some families had to pay ransoms to criminals from the fear of more harms. They had to pay bribes to police, who associated the powerful. Expenses of cases made families poorer as trials continued some years. All these had great impact on the economic condition of families.

Cases of Ashraf Uddin Billal, Rafiqul Islam and Ashraf Siddiqi were similar. Ashraf Uddin Billal was an inhabitant of 20 no Agamsi Lane, Dhaka. Rafiqul Islam was an inhabitant of Sipahibag, Dhaka. Both died from grenade-attacks while they were present in AL rallies on August 21, 2004. Ashraf Siddiqi was a police constable, whose father's house was at Amtail Village under Sakhipur Upazila in Tangail District. Ashraf died in a clash between oppositions and police that took place at Nalitabari in Sherpur District during an AL-called strike on February 6, 2005.⁹ All of them were chief earning members of their poor families. Most families had a large number of members; hence the death of earning members was a massive loss, which brought the great economic crisis to dependents.

Families of assassinated dignitaries, for examples, Presidents and MPs, suffered somewhat differently. They lost power and position. Life-threats were stronger than economic crisis in their lives. Some of them took shelter abroad unless a favorable situation was visible in the country.

Increase of Social Crimes

Political and social crimes accompanied each other. Politicians and many personnel of law-enforcement agencies accelerated both crimes. During different regimes, crimes, registered in police directorate, were dacoity, robbery, burglary, theft, murder, rioting, arms act, kidnapping or abduction, smuggling, police assault, rape and miscellaneous.

Here is a chart that shows social crimes increased in years of political turmoil.

Table 2
Total Numbers of Annual Crimes as Registered with the Police
(Selected Years of Six Regimes)

Year	Total Crime
1972	55,119
1974	85,648
1977	62,152
1979	62, 986
1982	56,619
1990	61, 354
1991	67,682
1995	82, 931
1997	1, 02,161
1999	1, 08,927
2002	1, 27,616
2005	1, 23, 033

Source: BBS 1979, p.415; BBS 1983-84, p. 682; BBS 2000, p. 577; Bangladesh Police.

More political turmoil marred the years of 1974, 79, 90, 95, 99 and 2005. Social crimes also increased in these years. On the other hand, political turmoil was somewhat bridled in 1972, 77, 82, 91, 97 and 2002. Therefore, social crimes somewhat decreased in these years. Besides, because the supply of illegal arms and ammunition flooded the country, crimes geared up more in recent years than in the remote past. Another noticeable matter was that though BNP government (2001-06) engaged an elite force of police named RAB in arrest and extrajudicial killing of criminals from 2004 to 2006, the decrease of crimes was insignificant in 2005. It proved suppression of government could not check social violence, rather gave fuel to the already kindled fire.

Table 3
Number of Crimes by Types as Registered with the Police
(Selected Years of Six Regimes)

Year	Dacoity	Murder	Arms Act	Kidnapping	Smuggling	Cruelty to Women
1974	4731	2703	-	-	-	-
1979	1222	1802	478	628	4902	-
1990	1055	2206	875	1330	3630	-
1995	907	2588	1635	1705	2430	556
1999	845	3386	3081	1080	784	3140
2005	796	3,592	1,836	765	4,334	11,426

Source: BBS 1979, p.415; BBS 1983-84, p. 682; BBS 2000, p. 577; Bangladesh Police.

In the chart, it is noticeable that dacoity decreased while murder, arms act and cruelty to women increased in the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s. Though kidnapping increased in the 1990s, it fell significantly in 2005. But smuggling reigned over all periods except for that in 1999 when a sharp fall in the number was noticed. Besides, this chart said political terrorism also helped increase violence on women in society.

606 girls and women were raped, 143 were attacked with acid and 167 were ill-treated for dowry in six months estimated from January 1 to June 30, 2003.¹⁰ About 10,000-20,000 Bangladeshi girls and women were trafficked to India, Pakistan and other countries annually in the first half of the 2000s.¹¹

Increase of Disabled Persons

Generally, blind, deaf and dumb persons are called disabled ones. But this group also includes those persons, who have injuries in hands and legs. About 10 percent of total population is disabled in Bangladesh.¹² In 2006, total population of Bangladesh was approximately 140 million; so about 14 million persons were disabled.

Activists of different political parties and hired terrorists either maimed many rival targets or bruised their bones of hands and feet through tortures. Besides, because of grenade and bomb-attacks, many political leaders and workers as well as ordinary people lost eyes, hands, legs and life. In some cases, splinters struck heads, entails and other parts of victims. There were evidences that those, who got struck in heads, lost memories partially. Bomb-and grenade-attacks were frequently staged from 1999 to 2005 in Bangladesh, and these incidents made many people disabled for life-time. Operation charges for removing splinters from the body are very high. Besides, in many cases, wounded persons have a little chance of making their inactive parts of the body absolutely active. Thus, a growing number of disabled persons have become burden not only for themselves but also for society. If the disabled increases, development programs will be slow.

Examples of Disabled Persons

Disabled from Tortures of Militants and Extremists

JMJB militants, led by Bangla Bhai, caused more than hundred persons injured and disabled in three Upazilas of Rajshahi District in 2004. They also made more than 50 persons injured and disabled in Atrai Upazila of Naogaon District from April to May in 2004. Abdus Sattar of Kasunda Village, Dilbar Ali, Jinnah, Bhola and Moazzem of Bhopara Village, Ahidur Rahman of Shimulia Village under Atrai Upazila in Naogaon District¹³ and Rafiqul Islam (36) of Kalupara under Hamirkutsa Union in Bagmara Upazila, Rajshahi District¹⁴ became almost disabled because of tortures by JMJB Leader Bangla Bhai's militants.

Rafiqul Islam (45) was UP member of 6 no Kaligram Union under 7 no ward and inhabitant of Bheti Village under Raninagar Thana in Naogaon District. A gang of 60-70 Purba Banglar Communist Party (Lal Pataka) supporters attacked him in the yard of his house at 7 pm on April 12, 2004. They chopped and beat him with choppers, iron rods and tube-well handles half an hour. Later, he was left almost dead. Soaked with blood, he was immediately shifted to more than one hospital. For saving his life, doctors cut one of his seriously wounded legs. Now, his one hand and both legs are disabled.¹⁵

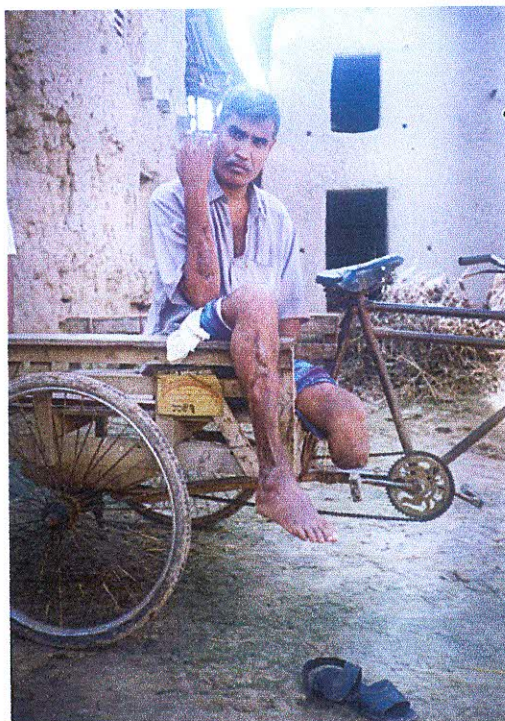


Photo 12

Disabled Rafiqul Islam, inhabitant of Bheta Village under Raninagar Thana in Naogaon District.

Source: Kamrun Nahar

Disabled from Bomb and Grenade Attacks

Mahfuzur Rahman (55), Bashir Ahmed Babul (56) and Photo-Journalist M.A. Shishir received splinters in their eyes while they were in AL rallies on August 21, 2004 that made their eyes blind for ever. Sandip Babul received splinters in different parts of his body including legs and right hand. Yasmin Hossain (33) received many splinters in legs. Mahbuba Parvin, women affairs secretary of Dhaka district unit Swechhasebak League, received about 500 splinters in the whole body including head. Their hands and legs became inactive in the same incident.¹⁶

Militants exploded bombs in Udichi National Concert in the courtyard of Jessore Town Hall on March 6, 1999. Iqbal Kabir Nahid (21), inhabitant of Naldanga in Jessore District, lost two legs in this incident. Likewise, Udichi Member Sukanta Das (28) lost his right leg, and his right hand became inactive.¹⁷

Militants blasted bombs at four cinema halls in Mymensingh on December 7, 2002. This blast took left leg of Fulbabu, who was the manager of Ajanta Cinema Hall in Mymensingh. Shahin (20), operator of Ajanta Cinema Hall, received injuries from bomb-blasts, and doctors cut his legs during operation. Likewise, housewife Shilpi (25), inhabitant of R.K. Mission Road, Mymensingh, received splinters in two legs that made her almost disabled.¹⁸

Political opponents hurled bombs at AL office in Narayanganj on June 16, 2001. Chandan Shil, secretary general of Narayanganj district Krishak League Committee, lost two legs after he had been wounded from the bomb-attack. On January 20, 2001, opponents hurled bombs at the meeting of Bangladesh Communist Party in Paltan Maydan, Dhaka. On that day, Former Chhatra Union Worker Jahangir Alam received injuries from a bomb-attack that made his left leg almost inactive.¹⁹

Economic Downgrade and Interruption in Development

As a poor country, Bangladesh had been building its infrastructure for many years, though yearly flood often damaged it. But opposition demonstrators and militants also targeted infrastructure for attacks. A spate of recurrent blasts, arson attack and wrecking of vehicles-government buildings and uprooting of railway sleepers etc caused such destruction as was irreparable within a short period of time. Strikes and democratic movement were relentless to people of almost all classes, who had to accept unavoidable economic loss in the wake of turmoil. The poor including rickshaw-pullers, drivers of taxis, labors etc could not go out for earnings and faced starvation. Pickets attacked him, who ever dared to take risk. Business-shops, mills and factories were by force closed. Because of political instability, many small and medium scale industries fell in economic loss and were closed. Government and non-government organizations receded from poverty alleviation programs and different development projects. In years of turmoil and imbroglio, GDP rates were low because of less production and income. All these factors affected the whole economy badly.

Pfizer (2001) said the cost of both crime and violence was as many as 14 percent of GDP in less developed countries. James Fearon and David Laitin claims the eruption of civil war inversely relates GDP per capita.²⁰ Here is a chart that says GDP rates were low in years of political turmoil in Bangladesh.

Table 4
GDP of Different Years at Constant Price (Base: 1995-96=100)

Year	GDP %
1990-91	3.34
1991-92	5.04
1992-93	4.57
1993-94	4.08
1994-95	4.93
1995-96	4.62
1996-97	5.39
1997-98	5.23
1998-99	4.87
1999-2000	5.94
2000-01	6.04

Source: BBS 1999, p.443; BBS 2000, p.449.

Here, it is noticeable that the year 1990 was full of political turmoil because of democratic movement against autocrat H.M. Ershad. Therefore, GDP rate was very low. In 1991, elected BNP government took power and improved economic condition gradually. Political situation was comparatively peaceful in fiscal years of 1991-92. AL with other oppositions waged movement against government for a caretaker government. This is why political uproar was high from 1993 to the first half of 1996. In these years, GDP rates decreased. Again, AL government took power in 1996 and maintained a comparatively peaceful situation till 1997. Economists saw an increase in GDP in fiscal years of 1996-97. But it decreased again when opposition BNP-led political allies waged movement against government in 1998. Militant groups appeared before people by terrific bomb-blasts in 1999. Economic condition deteriorated because of political violence. Again, people saw a shining rise in GDP in fiscal years of 2000-01 when political turmoil was comparatively low.

According to government estimate, annual growth rate of GDP was 5.38 percent in fiscal years of 2005-06. But Center for Policy Dialogue (CPD), research institute on economics, raised the question of transparency in terms of making data on GDP by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS). There were allegations that both AL (1996-2001) and BNP (2001-06) governments increased the rate of GDP artificially for keeping their impression upon minds of people. In the 2000s, though BBS showed increase in GDP rate, disparity between incomes of the poor and the rich was high.²¹ It indicated that actual GDP rates were lower than made-up rates in years of political turmoil.

Endnotes

- ¹ Uddin, 2002, p. 617.
- ² *The Daily Sangbad*, 12 January & 25 May, 1978.
- ³ *The Daily Sangbad*, 31 March & 15 May, 1983; *Dainik Bangla*, 20 May, 1983.
- ⁴ *The Daily Sangbad*, 19 April & 8 May, 1983.
- ⁵ Mortoza, 2004, pp. 19, 34, 46.
- ⁶ Ahmad, Monzur, 2005, pp. 119-120.
- ⁷ Ahmad, Monzur, p. 37.
- ⁸ *New Age*.
- ⁹ *Prothom Alo*, 7 February & 17 August, 2005.
- ¹⁰ Odhikar, 2003.
- ¹¹ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
- ¹² *The New Nation*, 2006.
- ¹³ *Prothom Alo*, 31 December, 2005.
- ¹⁴ Rafiqul Islam (36), interviewed by the researcher at Kalupara Village under Hamirkutsa Union in Bagmara Upazila, Rajshahi, 21 September, 2007.
- ¹⁵ Rafiqul Islam (45), interviewed by the researcher at Bheti Village under Raninagar Thana in Naogaon District, 28 September, 2007.
- ¹⁶ *Prothom Alo*, 29 August, 2004.
- ¹⁷ *Prothom Alo*, 27 August, 2004.
- ¹⁸ *Prothom Alo*, 27 August, 2004.
- ¹⁹ *Prothom Alo*, 27 August, 2004.
- ²⁰ Kabir, 2005, pp. 31, 101.
- ²¹ *Prothom Alo*, 6 June, 2005.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

Political violence is either mental molestation or physical harm to one person or group by another with the aim of achieving political goal or taking political revenge. It includes reckless or deliberate destruction of both private and public property on the issue of politics. In Bangladesh, after liberation, this deep-rooted crisis intensified as years advanced. Both ruling and opposition parties, from conventional to extremist ones, as well as government forces were on the same boat as they triggered violence against one another. To prove this idea, this study used historical, case study and induction methods for the selected data of 1972-2006. Both secondary and primary data were incorporated descriptively, followed by inferences and generalizations.

Political instability has continued in Bangladesh from the very beginning of its liberation because of undemocratic attitude and behavior of political parties. It is evident that the very nature and styles of violence are verbal abuse, vandalism, psychical and mental assault, bombing, kidnapping and killing. In this sphere, rival parties try to use all styles in counter-attacks. On the other hand, ruling parties use arrest, detention, imprisonment, etc. as the means of silencing the outcry of disgruntled oppositions. The study identified that almost all parties brought inglorious chapters in nation's history through violence from 1972 to 2006, when they were either in government or in opposition. Ruling parties used law-enforcement agencies as their safeguards of coercion against oppositions.

The USSR, India, China, the U.S., Pakistan and Saudi Arabia had influence upon four major parties named AL, BNP, JP, and Jamaat in different periods. It is proved that they got arms and ammunition from these countries in many ways, while they were in or outside power.

According to various detective investigations, Islamist militants had connection with Pakistan and various international terrorist groups.

Leftwing extremists and Islamist militants, who perpetrated attacks upon oppositions and ordinary people, were shaded by leaders of all ruling parties. Obeying the order of godfathers, they either persecuted oppositions or terminated their lives by showing thumbs to law and justice. They were involved to create social violence, in the name of politics, upon ordinary people for the occupation of others' land, extortion and personal enmity. Violence was a bizarre thrill to those deviated youths, misanthropes and strays, who enjoyed it as a way of showing contempt to the society that deprived them from normal livelihood.

Bangladesh, full of natural and human resources, fell again and again in hands of imperialists. Violence is not only our own creation but also imposed one that resulted from foreign conspiracies by imperialist countries. Secondly, the repeated failure of governments in many fields made alluvial ground for oppositions to wage movements through violent means. The political situation much deteriorated because many godfathers promoted political terrorism as their means of holding power. Torrents of illegal arms and ammunition entered this land by national and international smugglers. Law-enforcement agencies and judiciary, influenced by Government, failed to establish rule of law and justice. Political ideologies of every kind supported violent means of achieving political goals. Besides, unfair elections often enraged the defeated that opened clashes between rivals. All these were political causes of violence as this study identified.

Moreover, there were some socioeconomic factors behind the crisis. First, hard-scrabble life thrust people to sell themselves, and they participated in formidable armed fighting against

rivals on hire in meetings and processions. A large number of people were less-educated, and this less-education was conducive to their aggressive behavior. Changing values, ensued from this poverty, was another factor that induced youths to accept political terrorism as their easy means of getting huge illegal incomes.

Violence eroded society like a bloodsucker. Its myriad consequences were fatal and long-lasting. It increased a large number of psychological and psychosomatic patients. Social crimes increased in alarming rates through years. On the other side, downgrade of GDP rates during years of turmoil proved that violence affected economy badly. The increased number of disabled persons (or victims) became burden of society and misery of their families.

One kind of the respondents recommended that our country acquire some characters for the abatement of violence. These are corruption-free administration, eradication of poverty through proper distribution of wealth, tolerance among political parties, patriotism among citizens, political unity, a strong stance against political terrorism, ban on religious politics, exercise of democratic values, recruitment of meritorious and qualified persons in politics, assurance of administrative accountabilities, good communal amity, government free from foreign influence, rule of law for the preservation of human rights, increase of literacy rate and scientific educational system.

For the establishment of peace, this study suggests free and fair election, independent judiciary with strong judicial service commission, and independent police force that will establish rule of law. Some CrPC Sections including Section 54 that have several loopholes and help police to arrest people indiscriminately need to be amended. Side by side, the existing government should improve the environment of jails and enhance human qualities of prisoners.

Government must impose ban on politics in all educational institutes. But if an autocrat seizes power, both teachers and students can participate in politics.

If any published book or magazine contains false or seditious statements and the fragrance of revolution, extremism and militancy, the government censor board should censor it. Sometimes, free political pamphlets are distributed among people. These print-outs have instant influence upon the minds of people. Police have to seize all these print-outs and to arrest distributors.

Censor board of every country should not release those films, in which fighters use lethal weapons. Films will bear lessons to people about desired behavior, and heroes will be symbols of tolerance and peace. Films that may spark hatred in the minds of people against enemies should not be released.

Political leaders and workers abuse rivals with indecent words and scatter propaganda in open public meetings or processions mostly before national elections. New law is necessary for the control of indecent words and false stories.

Government should have control over the sale of such chemicals as are ammonium nitrate, potash, potassium carbonate and sulphur, etc. These chemicals are used in making bombs. Government needs to be alert so that gun powder or other explosives do not slip to hands of people. Law-enforcement agencies should ensure that none can buy huge stuff, i.e., electric wires, batteries, switches, etc. without proper documents.

Government should intensify patrolling and security alert in borders to curb activities of many insurgent groups. Side by side, deployment of more BDR and army is necessary in inaccessible parts of Sundarban forest and Chittagong Hill Tracts that are sanctuaries of militants.

It is necessary to exchange absconded immigrant criminals among relevant countries. No country should give political asylum to anyone, who has criminal cases against him in public courts of his country. But countries should give political asylum to a person, who becomes a victim of either government cases or trials of courts-martial because these are mostly used for persecution.

Unique, systematic and scientific education is essential for the development of values and morals so that political parties can abstain from taking violence as the means for getting political goals.

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2004	<i>Prothom Alo</i> , 24 November
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2005	<i>Prothom Alo</i> , 7 February.
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Appendix

A Chronology of Recent Bomb Attacks

In recent years, bomb-attacks increased drastically and dramatically. Those not only took huge lives but also created panic in minds of people. A chronology of major bomb-attacks is listed here.

1999

- **Udichi Concert:** Time-bombs were exploded in Udichi Concert in Jessore on March 6. It took 10 persons' lives.
- **Qadiani Mosque:** The blast was targeted at a Qadiani Mosque in Khulna on October 8. Qadiani is a minority Community in Bangladesh.

2001

Bomb-blasts occurred in/at —

- CPB Rally in Paltan Maydan on January 20. (7 persons were killed.)
- Ramna Batamul in Pahela Baishakh function on April 14. (10 innocents were killed.)
- Baniachar Mission in Gopalganj on June 3. (10 innocents were killed.)
- Narayanganj Awami League Office in June. (22 persons were killed.)
- AL Rally at Mollarhat in Bagerhat on September 23. (8 persons were killed.)

2002

The major explosions occurred at —

- Roxy Cinema Hall and a circus party in Satkhira on September 28. (3 persons were killed.)
- Four Cinema Halls in Mymensingh on December 6. (19 innocents were killed.)

2003

Bomb-blasts occurred at—

- Pagla Pir Mazar in Sakhipur, Tangail.
- A Madrasa Mess in Dinajpur in February.

2004

- **Journalists:** Manik Chandra Saha (50) was a staff correspondent of the daily Sangbad, Khulna-based stringer of BBC and former president of Khulna Press Club. He regularly wrote reports on underground political activities of Khulna. On January 15, he came out of the press club and boarded a rickshaw for home. Suddenly, a man called him from behind. As soon as he stepped down from the vehicle, another man hurled a bomb at him. The bomb blew off his head from the body killing him instantly. Humayun Kabir Balu (58) was an editor of the daily Janmabhumi and president of Khulna Press Club. On June 27, when he got down from a car in front of his house-cum-office in Khulna City, assailants hurled bombs at him. He received serious injuries to his back and legs from this deadly bomb attack and succumbed to his injuries later at Khulna Medical College Hospital.
- **The Shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal (R):** Two deadly blasts occurred – one on January 12 and the other on May 21.
- **Urs (A Muslim Ceremony):** There was a Muslim ceremony at the shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal (R) on January 12. Miscreants secretly kept powerful bombs under the ground, where about 200 camps of people were laid. Devastating explosions broke out at night that took 3 lives (1 person succumbed to his injuries later) and the injured was more than 50.
- **British High Commissioner:** British High Commissioner Anwar Chowdhury, newly appointed in Bangladesh, hailed from Sylhet, came to the shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal (R), Sylhet to take part in Friday prayer on May 21. After his prayer, when he came out of the mazar's mosque, someone hurled a grenade at him. It dashed against his belly, rebounded and exploded. By chance, he saved his life. But 8 persons died and more than 100 including envoy were wounded.
- **Mass-Meeting of Suranjit Sengupta:** A meeting of AL Frontline Leader Suranjit Sengupta went on at Derai in Sunamganj on June 21. Grenade attacks on that meeting caused 1 person dead and more than 50 people injured.
- **Cinema Halls:** Explosions occurred at two cinema-halls in Sylhet named Manika and Rang Mahal on August 5.
- **Gulshan Hotel:** Assailants staged a grenade attack in front of Gulshan Hotel at Taltala, Sylhet at night on August 7. The target was City Mayor Badar Uddin Ahmed Kamran. Though he narrowly escaped death, about 30 persons were wounded. AL Leader Ibrahim Ali succumbed to his injuries later.
- **The Anti-Terrorism Rally of Awami League:** On August 21, an anti-terrorism rally of Awami League was going on in front of AL headquarters, located on Bangabandhu Avenue in Dhaka. A series of about 13 Grenades, rained from the top of a near building, devastated rallies. The target Sheikh Hasina could fortunately escaped unscathed. Death toll rose to 20 including AL Frontline Leader Ivy Rahman and

over 200 were injured. AL alleged the then ruling BNP was the mastermind of these well-orchestrated grenade attacks.

2005

- **63 Districts:** The country was rocked by a wave of blasts that simultaneously broke out in 63 districts out of total 64 on August 17. Different national dailies published different numbers of blasts and of the injured. According to reports of four largest national dailies, 300-500 blasts resulted in 2 killings and 100-200 injured. All bombs were hurled to intimidate government and people, and kept in places of importance such as the stair of Zia International Airport, Hotel Sheratan and Supreme Court (Dhaka). The main targets were courts and government establishments. With all bombs, leaflets were left in the name of a government banned Islamist outfit named Jama'atul Mujahidin Bangladesh (JMB) demanding the replacement of Islamic Law with country's democratic one.
- **Two judges:** A deadly bomb attack took valuable lives of two judges on November 14. They were Senior Assistant Judges of Jhalakati District Judge Court - one named Sohel Ahmed Chowdhury (35) and the other named Jagannath Pare (32). They were waiting for another judge by sitting in a microbus in front of Judges' Quarters at Officers' Para, Jhalakati District City at 9 am on that day. Their destination was court. Attacker Mamun, later arrested, hurled a strong bomb inside the vehicle from a very close distance. He was later identified as a suicide-squad member of JMB.
- **Court-Areas of Chittagong and Gazipur:** JMB suicide-bombers attacked lawyers, police and ordinary people in court areas of Chittagong and Gazipur simultaneously on November 29. 10 persons including police, lawyers and attackers died. The injured were over 150.
- **The Office of District Administrator:** Islamist militants orchestrated a suicide-bomb attack at the entrance of DC office in Gazipur on December 1. This incident took 1 human life and injured 30 including 3 journalists, 7 policemen and 8 lawyers. The young attacker was in the disguise of a flying tea-seller with a tea-flask. The flask contained deadly bombs.
- **Udichi and Shatadal:** A blast occurred in front of the offices of two cultural organizations named Udichi and Shatadal in Netrokona District at 10:30 am on December 8. In this incident, 7 persons died and 50 were injured. A letter of JMB was recovered from the spot of blast. In this letter, JMB demanded the replacement of Islamic Law with Democratic one in Bangladesh.

A List of Much-Talked Killings

- Miscreants killed 3 AL MPs in 1973.
- MP Golam Kibria was shot dead by some miscreants on December 25, 1974. He was saying his prayer in a religious gathering place on Eid Festival Day in Kumarkhali. He was an MP in Kumarkhali and Khoksha Thanas under Kushtia District.
- Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party President Shiraj Shikder was shot dead by police on January 2, 1975.
- President Sheikh Mujib and his 21 family members were assassinated in the military coup of August 15, 1975.
- 4 AL frontline leaders - Tajuddin Ahmad, Syed Nazrul Islam, Captain Mansur Ali and Kamruzzaman - were killed without trial in Dhaka Central Jail on November 3, 1975.
- An insurgent soldiers' group, led by Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) Operational Leader Colonel Taher, executed counter-coup at mid-night on November 6, (counted as November 7), 1975. In that night, then State-Head Major General Khaled Mosharraf was assassinated. They also killed Colonel Huda and Lieutenant Colonel Hawladar on November 7. Again, 12 army officers including Captain Anwar, Major Azim, Lt. Mustafizur Rahman, Dental Surgeon Karim and Army Lady Dr. Cherry were killed on November 8, 1975. Both JSD and General Zia brought the allegation of 8 November's killing against each other.
- Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal Operational Leader Colonel Taher was sentenced to death after a prompt trial in the court martial on July 17. Without having the right of an appeal to public court, he was hanged on July 21, 1976.
- President Zia was assassinated in the military coup of May 30, 1981.
- Major General Abul Manzur and some other army officers were provoked to make a plot for assassinating President Zia. Police arrested absconding Major General Abul Manzur and his associates - Lt. Colonel Matiur Rahman and Lt. Colonel Mahbubur Rahman - at Fatikchhari in Chittagong on June 2, 1981. On that day, they were shot dead without trials. The then working police officer submitted a charge-sheet of Manzur murder case to Chittagong City Magistrate Court on June 28, 1995. This charge-sheet said then Lt. General H.M Ershad had sent an order of killing Manzur to Brigadier Abdul Latif.

- During the regime of General H.M. Ershad, the general courts-martial sentenced 12 army officers to death after a secret and prompt trial inside Chittagong Jail for their alleged involvement in the assassination of President Zia. These officers were hanged in different jails on September 23, 1981. There were allegations that they were hanged on the false charge.
- While oppositions laid a siege to Dhaka for the fall of autocrat H M Ershad, Nur Hossain was shot dead by a police on November 10, 1987.
- Joint Secretary of Bangladesh Medical Association (BMA) Dr. Shamsul Alam Milan was shot dead by ruling affiliated Niru-Abhi group at 10 am near TSC, Dhaka on November 27, 1990.
- The most violent clash took place in the history of Rajshahi University on February 6, 1993. Sporadic clashes of Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS) took place with Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD), Ganatantric Chhatra Aikya and Bangladesh Chhatra League. 2 JCD Bishwajit and Natun, 1 Chhatra Union Tapan and 2 ICS Rabiul and Mostafij were killed in this incident.
- During an AL-called countrywide half-day strike on February 10, 1993, a police-van drove through an AL procession while tires crushed a person that caused his death in Dhaka.
- City Corporation Elections were held in four cities on January 30, 1994. After election victory in City Corporation, AL arranged a meeting at Nawabganj Bazar in Lalbag Thana, Dhaka on January 31, 1994. BNP Leader Abdul Aziz was a defeated candidate for ward no 56 commission in Dhaka. His terrorist private force fired into the meeting desperately from sten-guns and cut rifles that caused the death of 7 AL workers.
- Aganagar Union Parishad Chairman and Ring Leader of Toriq Terrorist Group Toriqullah alias Toriq (40) was shot dead while returning home, located at Aganagar in Keraniganj District on January 3, 1998. Toriq group caught hold of rival group members Nurul Islam Commander (42) and Karim for retaliation at Ambagicha at dusk, the same day. This group beat them mercilessly, entered them into sacks and set fire to them. Both burnt alive and died.
- AL Worker Sumon and his retinue kidnapped two youths named Sayem (22) and Mahsin (22) from Sutrapur, Dhaka on September 15, 2000. Kidnappers killed them, dismembered their bodies into 12 pieces and threw those pieces into the fifteen feet deep hole of a sewerage line that was under construction at Gendaria, Dhaka.

- Former BNP MP of Brahmanbaria named Shahjahan Hawladar Sujon (30) was stabbed to death in Dhaka on July 3, 2001. His family claimed his political rival BNP Leader Dr. Rawshan Alam was the mastermind of this killing, as he had attempted to murder him more than once before.
- Militants attempted to kill the outspoken and liberal writer Professor Humayun Azad on February 27, 2004. They repeatedly chopped him with sharp weapons that caused his fatal injuries and later death.
- 10-12 armed terrorists fired at AL MP of Gazipur-2 Constituency Ahsan Ullah Master on May 7, 2004. He died at 'Sammilita Samarik Haspatal' (Combined Military Hospital) in Dhaka at 3.30 pm on that day. Criminal Investigation Department (CID) submitted a charge-sheet on July 10, 2004. This charge-sheet claimed Juba Dal Leader Nurul Islam Sarkar as the mastermind of this murder.
- On July 15, 2004, Sumon Ahmed Mazumdar (21) died from RAB's tortures. Sumon was vice-president of Ward No.10 Unit Juba League in Tongi Thana and witness no. 1 in the murder case of former AL MP Ahsan Ullah Master. There was an allegation that he was killed for weakening the case of Ahsan Ullah Master.
- AL Leader and Former Minister of Finance Shah A. M.S Kibria and other 4 persons were killed by a bomb-attack on January 27, 2005. There was an allegation of BNP's involvement in this incident.

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