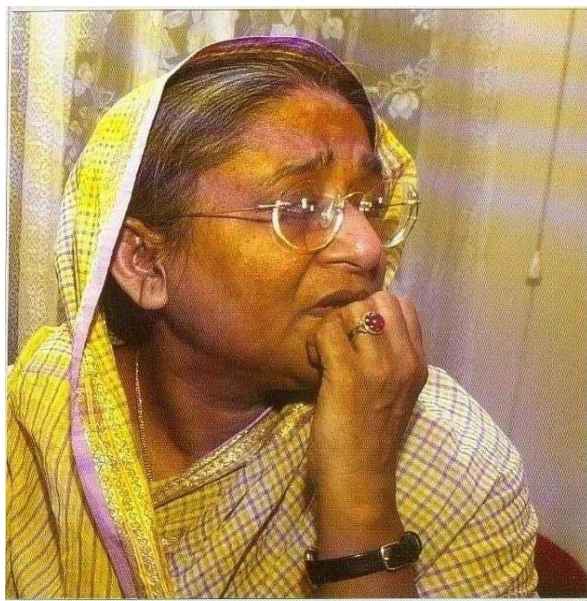


# Dhaka Genocide

21 August, 2004



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# ***Sheikh Hasina escaped death is in deep grief at the brutal killings of her dearest colleagues.***

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# **GLIMPSES INTO THE 21 AUGUST, 2004 GRENADE ATTACK UPON SHEIKH HASINA, WORST GENOCIDE, DEVASTATING VIOLENCE UPON HUMANITY, CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCES AND GOVERNMENT INACTIONS TO JUSTIFY INVESTIGATION BY U.N.O AND TRIAL BY THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.**

## **1. Introduction:**

With the passage of evolution of human civilization the whole world is committed to uphold democracy, human rights, rule of law all over the World. The people of Bangladesh firmly determined to establish a democratic nation, free from violation of human rights, exploitation, poverty, oppression, ethnical religions discrimination by upholding rule of law. But an evil force has been designing to resist the continuity of the democratic practice. In the path of their objective, they consider Sheikh Hasina, a most popular leader, President of Awami League, Leader of the Opposition, daughter of the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibar Rahman, Ex Prime Minister of Bangladesh, a committed political personality for democracy, human rights, secularism, rule of law and her all senior party leaders, workers as their prime enemy. So, they, on many occasions attempted to kill Sheikh Hasina and other senior party leaders. 21 August 2004, massive grenade Attack on the life of Sheikh Hasina and commission of genocide was the part of same sequence of that evil design of annihilation of democratic leadership.

## **2. A short description of prelude of meeting on 21 August, 2004; Grenade Attack to kill Sheikh Hasina and horrifying Genocide.**

A free and fair election was held on 12 June, 1996. On 23 June Sheikh Hasina formed Govt. with minimum numbers of cabinet members. Bangladesh is one of the poorest nation in the world. On assuming the charge of the Govt. Sheikh Hasina inherited many national and international issues besides poverty, unemployment, price hike, infrastructural problems. Her Govt. with firm determination became extremely successful to resolve Farrakka Water issue with India; according peace treaty with ethnic insurgents of Chittagong Hill Tracts ; pacification of leftist armed extremist group to surrender their arms and come back to normal life, to bring the self declared killers of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, 1<sup>st</sup> President Bangladesh to justice in the normal court by repealing Indemnity Act which was passed by military ruler Ziaur Rahman to save those killers from the process of justice. During the tenure from 1996 to 2001 the Govt. of Awami League was successful in developing infrastructure like roads, telecommunications, educational institutions, community clinics for health care, electricity, irrigation for agriculture, etc. For such successful governance the food deficit Bangladesh turned into self sufficient country, the price of daily commodities were stable, the poor old man and widows got regular monthly allowances. The Govt without any foreign aid successfully managed severe flood disaster of 1998 without loss of a single life. Bangladesh got recognition in the world forum as an emerging developing nation. For such success in a short span of time the former Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was awarded the following honor:

	<b>Award Received</b>	<b>Award Giving Organization</b>	<b>Year</b>
1.	Paul Harris Fellow Medal 1996-97	RotaryInternational Foundation	1997
2.	Doctor of Law	Boston University, USA	6 February 1997
3.	Doctor of Law	Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan	4 July 1997
4.	Doctor of Liberal Arts	Dundee Abarty University	25 October 1997
5.	M K Gandhi Award	Gandhi Foundation, Norway	1998
6.	UNESCO Peace Prize	Paris by Dr Henri Kissinger	1998
7.	Deshikottam	Viswa Bharati	28 June 1999
8.	Heads of Government Award	The International Association of Lions Club	
9.	Seres Award for attaining Food Sufficiency	Rome	2000
10	Invited as Special Guest in the D-8 Summit for speech on her policy adopted in Bangladesh as Prime Minister for alleviation of poverty and self sufficiency in food.	Rome	18 July 2001

After successful ending of the tenure of 5 years term Awami League Govt. Constitutionally handed over power to the Caretaker Government on 15 July 2001.

The Chief of Caretaker Govt. Justice Latifur Rahman and his other Advisers from bureaucracy on assuming the charge of the Govt. immediately started pre-planned conspiracy against Sheikh Hasina and her party so that Awami League can not win the next election. Just on taking the office of the Govt. by Chief Adviser the electric and telephone line of Sheikh Hasina's official residence were disconnected. Most of the senior Govt. officials were transferred and made O. S. D. Thus the care taker Govt. created panic among all Govt. officials so that they fear the new Govt. to unquestionably abide by the illegal directions of the Govt. to manipulate election against Awami League's victory. For such illegal acts, the high ups of care taker Govt. took huge bribe from B. N. P – Jamat Alliance. Besides many unwarranted illegal activities the Care Taker Govt. President, Justice Shabuddin Ahmed enacted a new Ordinance for giving arresting power to Army on election duties and unconventionally deployed army 10 days before the election.

B. N. P. was formed by Military ruler Ziaur Rahman under the patronization of Army. That is why a section of Army has allegiance towards B.N.P for which the Army was given the arresting power and longer (10 days) deployment. The Army after their deployment 10 days before the election started indiscriminate arrest, torture, criminal intimidation of the local leaders of Awami League & their supporters. The Chief Election Commissioner Mr. Abu Sayeed was also bribed a huge money. He appointed the election conducting officials in the election booth from B. N. P. - Jamat workers. Top to bottom Govt. officials were terrorized by care Taker Govt., the leaders & workers of Awami League were terrorized by Army, the election conducting officials were selected from

B.N.P- Jamat Alliance workers by Chief Election Commissioner for which the Awami League Party workers could show no resistance against election manipulation. So in the apparent eyes the election was found peaceful to local and foreign international election monitoring agencies. Because of such massive election engineering in favor of B. N. P – Jamat Alliance at least 15% Awami League voters could not cast their votes. Within so much conspiracy Awami League got 40.24% vote alone and BNP got 41.14% Jamat got 4.50% votes. Awami League got 62 seats and B.N.P got 196 seats & Jamat got 18 seats. Small difference of votes cannot result in such big deference of seats. Here also a mastermind worked in such magical distribution of seats. There is common rumor throughout the country that the money, for bribing the top ranks of the Caretaker Govt., the Chief Election Commissioner, the President, high civil, military, police officials those who were involved in election management was received by BNP-Jamat top leaders from Mullah Omar of Afghanistan, I.S.I of Pakistan & some Middle Eastern country to defeat and subsequent extinct of democratic secularist political Party Awami League, to clean the path of Taliban Type Islamic revolution within short span of time by throwing out BNP from the Govt. It is a bare fact that if Taliban Govt. could not be rooted out from Afghanistan the Islamic militant of Bangladesh trained by Al-Qaeda would have completed Taliban revolution in Bangladesh and not a single democratic leader could survive. Alliance Govt. on assuming power with so called brute majority replaced Army by their own terrorist group.

For that purpose the alliance Govt. released about 70,000 armed criminals from Jail to enhance the number of terrorist. Now with full power the alliance Govt. started terrorism in full vigor against Awami League leaders, workers and supporters. The minority communities feel themselves safe under secularist Awami League leadership for which most of them are supporters of Awami League. That is why the terrorist attack was more vigorous against them. So far 40,392 persons were killed, 72,950 women were raped, more than 100000 persons were disabled, and hundred and thousands were compelled to leave their home. The police and court did not entertain any case against those terrors. On the other hand if any victim went to police the terrorists became more violent against them. Contrary to that each and every leader and worker of Awami League is facing severe harassment by arrest. At least one dozen of false cases against each of them were lodged by the Govt. The object behind all of these terrorist activities was like **Hitler Doctrine** to abolish the main apposition political party Awami League to clear the road to remain in power permanently. But Awami League is a root based political Party through the passage of long road of their political activities. The mass popularity, political wisdom of the President of Awami League Sheikh Hasina and her political experienced senior leaders the **Hitler Doctrine** of alliance Govt. has been foiled and Awami League is becoming more organized. The alliance Govt. is certain that in free fare election the Awami League will come to power with landslide victory. Islamic militant with the patronization of BNP – Jamat alliance Govt. want to create unstable situation by misleading the concept of peaceful Islam towards terrorist activities so that with the plea of such unstable situation the present alliance Govt. can stop their opponent by waging massive oppression against them and win the next election without resistance. In the context of such blue print those militants are continuing their activities but alliance Govt. Prime Minister knowing well about them willfully accused her opponent political Party Awami League for such terrorist activities with ulterior motive to encourage the militants by evading charge against them. For such reason police is unable of proper investigation to bring the real accused to Justice. Some of such terrorist incidents are noted below:

S.L #	Date of occurrence	Place of occurrence	Target	Nature of Attack	No of death	No of Injury	Progress investigation
1	26 September 2001	Awami League meeting at Sunamgong	Awami League Meeting to kill Awami League Presidium Member Suranjit Sen Gupta M.P. & Other Awami League Leader	Bomb blast	4 (four)	10 (ten)	No Progress
2	28 September 2002	Gur Pukur Fair and cinema Hall. Sath Khira Town, Sath Khera	Cinema Hall & traditional village fair	Bomb blast	3 (three)	10 (ten)	No Progress
3	6 December 2002	Four Cinema Hall, at Mymensingh Town, Mymensingh	Cinema Hall during displaying of Cinema.	Blasting of time Bomb.	27 (twenty seven)	300 (three hundred)	No Progress
4	17 January 2003	Pagla Pir Majar (Shrine) Shakhipur, Tangail	Traditional village fair	Bomb Blast	17 (seventeen)	20 (twenty)	No Progress
5	13 February 2003	Chota Gur Gola, Dinajpur	Concert and Art exhibition	Bomb Blast	-	15 (fifteen)	No Progress
6	12 January 2004	Shrine of Hazrat Shah Jalal (R) Sylhet town, Sylhet	Traditional Annual Prayer	Bomb Blast	5 (five)	50 (fifty)	No Progress
7	15 January 2004	Mirjapur Road, Khulna town Khulna	Mr. Manike Shaha to kill the BBC correspondent Bureau Chief of Daily Sangbad, Khulna	Bomb Blast	2 (two)	20 (twenty)	No Progress
8	28 January 2004	Gola Kandhi Police Station, Rupgonj, Narayanganj	Traditional Poush Mella (Winter Seasonal Fair)	Bomb Blast	2 (two)	20 (twenty)	No Progress
9	21, May 2004	Shrine of Hazrat Shahjalal (R) Sylhet town Sylhet)	To kill Mr. Anower Chowdhury High Commissioner of U.K. in Bangladesh	Grenade attack	3 (three)	50 (fifty)	No Progress
10	21 June 2004	Awami League Meeting, at Sunamgonj.	To kill Mr. Suranjit Sen Gupta, M.P. & Presidium Member of Awami League	Grenade Attack	1 (One)	56 (fifty six)	No Progress
11	27 June 2004	Daily Janmabhum office, Khulna	To kill Editor of Daily Janmabhum & President of Khulna Press Club.	Bomb Blast	1 (one)	2 (two)	No Progress
12	5 August 2004	Cinema Hall (Three) Sylhet Town Sylhet.	Cinema Hall	Bomb Blast	1 (One)	10 (ten)	No Progress
13	7 August 2004	Gulshan Hotel, Sylhet Town, Sylhet.	Mr. Baduruddin Ahmed Kamran, Mayor City Corporation Sylhet & President City Unit, Awami League, Sylhet	Grenade Attack	1 (One)	30 (thirty)	No Progress

The best Bengali personality of all ages, Father the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman with firm determination and commitment, suffered torture, prolonged confinement in the Jail, facing imminent death in every moment, at the cost of his valuable youth life, crossing a long difficult dark road fought for blossoming laughing face and happiness of all oppressed men women of Bangladesh. His legitimate Govt. resisted the attack of Pakistan Army in 1971 and Bangladesh snatched its liberation. Her daughter Sheikh Hasina at the time of painful killing of her Father and all members of her family on 15 August 1975 was abroad. After a long years in abroad she came back to Bangladesh and elected as a President of Awami League. She being nourished and brought up in a democratic, secularist, humanist environment with her great Father, is again committed and determined to fulfill the unfinished desire of her valiant Father through establishing exploitation free Bangladesh where every body can smile with happiness and Bangladesh becomes golden as dreamt by the great poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. She never believes terrorism against terrorism. She is for nonviolent movement against violence and always seeks peaceful path followed by Mahatma Gandhi and Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

In pursuance of peaceful protest of Govt. killings, terrorism against Awami League Leaders, workers, ethnic minority communities since 1 October 2001 the Awami League organized rally and peace procession on 21 August 2004. Sheikh Hasina was its Chief guest. The govt. with a motive to discourage the program did not allow making any dias. As an alternate arrangement an open truck was used as temporary dias with wooden stair in front of Awami League Central Office, 23- B.B Avenue, Dhaka. From 3 P.M party leaders, workers and huge common masses started to assemble in the venue with placards, banners, in processions. Within 5 P.M the meeting place was filled up with more than 100,000 masses. The Presidium members of Awami League Mr Zillur Rahman M. P, Mr. Abdur Razzak M. P., Mr. Suranjit Sengupta M.P, Dr. Mohiuddin Khan Alamgir, General Secretary Mr. Abdul Jalil M. P, leaders of Dhaka city Awami League and frontal organization and many other former Awami League Ministers, senior leaders, were present. The open track stage was facing towards east on east-west road. The people assembled in the west side of the same road. There was no security cordoning around that improvised track stage in violation of mandatory job of the law enforcing agency of the Govt. A scanty numbers of Armed Police personnel were found quite far away in the east side of the stage. There were many multistoried buildings within shooting range in north and south side of the meeting place. There was no security arrangement on the floor of those multistoried buildings. The party's own security forces under Major General (Rtd) Tareq Siddique were not allowed to take post on those unguarded floor by the law enforcing agency though this was a usual practice in previous security arrangement of Sheikh Hasina's meeting place to allow the party's own security personnel to perform security duties with govt. security forces. Since the killing of the Father of the Nation in 1975 and promulgation of military rule Sheikh Hasina and her party Awami League had been protesting against military Govt. and demanding justice against the killers for which on series of occasions the killers from their hideouts with their supporters sheltered in different militant political parties had been attempting to kill Sheikh Hasina. Even while she was Prime Minister a massive attempt to kill was taken on 20 July 2000 at Kotalipara, Gopalganj district by planting huge explosive just on her route to the meeting place. Fortunately by the grace of All-mighty Allah she along with her dozens of cabinet ministers escaped death because this was timely detected. That explosive was planted by Al-Quida Trained militant returned from Afganstan. It is admitted by the national and international community that Sheikh Hasina's life is at high risk for which her security is



given prime importance both within the country and outside world. But there was sheer negligence showed by the alliance Govt. Law enforcing agency in security arrangement in this meeting. Sheikh Hasina in her bulletproof jeep with Party's own security personnel arrived at the venue at about 5 P.M and climbed on the Truck Stage by wooden stairs. In the midst of slogan, clapping of huge gathering Sheikh Hasina finished her short introductory speech explaining the purpose of peace rally at 5.25 p m and just stepped forward for joining the procession. But she was luckily intercepted by a photo-journalist for a few moments. A grenade was exploded just right side of the track stage thrown from south top building. Immediately the leaders present on the stage and personal security persons made human wall around Sheikh Hasina. About 7/8 grenades were exploded around the immediate vicinity of the truck but none of the grenades fortunately could hit directly upon the truck. Only the flying splinters were hitting those persons of human wall. After a little while explosions of grenade were found to be ceased, the Awami League leaders keeping their chief in the midst of the human wall could sit Sheikh Hasina on the right front seat of the bullet proof jeep which was brought by her courageous and dedicated jeep driver Abdul Matin just adjacent to the wooden stair ignoring the massive grenade explosion. Jeep started wheeling but it was again attacked by grenade from behind and 3 bullet shots from very close range hit straight towards her head but cannot pierce through the bulletproof glass of right front door. But the bullet and grenade hit took life of a valiant, committed, devoted security personnel Ln. Nk(Rtd.) Mahaboobur Rashid who dedicated his life and saved the nation from a great holocaust. The nation would ever remember the brave son of the soil. Sheikh Hasina, at the mercy of the Almighty miraculously escaped death but lost hearing organ inside her ear due to tremendous explosion sound from immediate proximity. Surprisingly not a single law enforcing personnel on duty were found at the place of occurrence who melted away to a safe distance just 5/6 minutes before the explosion. None of them was found to shoot a single round of bullet from their arms towards the grenade throwing spot of surrounding top buildings. Lot of dead bodies, injured masses were scattered around but no security persons on duty was found to come forward for rescue them. The bewildered masses assembled in the meeting started rescue work. About 5/6 minutes after the occurrence a police van with 5/6 police personnel with full speed from east side came beside the track stage and stopped with start position in U-turn. They picked up many dead bodies in a very hasty attitude, filled up the van and with full speed went back to same direction.

The nation could never know the destination & fate of those dead bodies. The secret source revealed that on the following day before dawn many dead bodies were buried at Dhaka, Shajhanpur graveyard near the residence of alliance Minister Mirza Abbas under close police security arrangements. Some of the dead bodies were buried elsewhere outside Dhaka.

In absence of law enforcing agency, Red Crescent, Fire brigade and other disaster management agencies of Govt, in the rescue operation while the leaders and workers of Awami League were rescuing the dead bodies and injured persons a group of armed police with riot formation in arrogant mood came to the spot and without any warning started massive teargas shelling, baton charges upon the rescue masses. Even their tear gas shelling and baton charge did not spare the injured senior leaders look shelter inside adjacent Awami League Central Office. Such unlawful and inhuman action of police obviously raised logical suspicion that they acted for safe exit of the criminals and conceal dead bodies. The rescue masses after a while could overcome their bewilderedness of illegal police action and resumed rescue operation of dead bodies and



injured victims. 22 dead bodies and more than 500 hundred severed injured with torn bodies of male and female were recovered. Those bodies were sent to different hospitals and clinic by available rickshaw, van, private car etc. But the authorities of the largest Govt. Medical College Hospital, Dhaka, refused to receive the victims and at a certain stage all most all doctors left the hospital. Those doctors were the members of alliance Govt. backed doctor association known as Doctors Association of Bangladesh (DAB). Of late on the pressure of huge mass the Medical College Hospital Authorities were compelled to receive the dead bodies and injured victims. Most of the victims, under the management of Awami League were admitted to various private hospitals and clinics for immediate treatment. Many of the grievous injured victims were sent abroad. The eldest women leader of Awami League Ivy Rahman, wife of Mr. Zillur Rahman, M.P. was sent to Combined Military Hospital in Dhaka Cantonment in unconscious position with serious injury who lost her both the legs on grenade attack just near the wooden stair of the track stage. After 3 days she died in the hospital. The total dead bodies so far reckoned were 23. Two (2) unexploded grenades with safety-pin were found in the place of occurrence and another one unexploded grenade was recovered from a toilet of southern top building. In presence of police one Army Major with his other Army personnels recovered those grenades intact. Reportedly those grenades were ARGES – 84 origin from Austria usually used in the battle field. Preservation of those grenades was mandatory as exhibits of the case as per existing law of the country. But immediately after its recovery in a hasty manner those grenades were destroyed by explosion barring the subsequent forensic examination.

Sheikh Hasina, escaping from imminent death, returned to her residence, Shudha Sadan, Dhammondi., Dhaka. She without loss of time devoted her consolidated efforts to rescuing the injured persons, their treatment and burial of the dead bodies. Surprisingly no senior concerned govt. officials, Home Minister or any Cabinet Minister at least for the sake of humanity did appear and take up any efforts. In contrary to that they were delivering false statements to shift the responsibility of grenade attacks to Awami League leaders. The Prime Minister Khaleda Zia for dirty political game was waiting for permission from Sheikh Hasina to visit her house on the following morning of 22.4.04. From the very beginning of security lapses, negligence of law enforcing agencies, illegal and inhuman action of Armed Police upon the rescue masses, and many other illegal omission on the part of Govt. agencies to meet the crisis the whole nation raised their finger towards the Govt. and its allied fundamentalist and ant-liberation elements for commission of grenade attack and genocide but the Prime Minister Khaleda Zia instead of taking any administrative and crisis management action waited for the whole night to meet Sheikh Hasina. Such unholy attitude of the Prime Minister was not at all acceptable to the whole nation and party leaders and workers. For such imminent reason of dissatisfaction against the Govt. the Prime Minister's proposed visit to the residence of Sheikh Hasina on the following morning of the occurrence was discouraged.

### **3. Negligence of the Govt. in security arrangements:**

At the time of the killing of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and all his family members present on 15 August, 1975 by Col. (Rtd.) Rashid and a few others retired and serving Army officers under the mastermind of Late Khandker Mustaque Ahmed, Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana were saved, for their stay abroad. Khandker Mostaque Ahmed and subsequently military ruler Maj. General Ziaur Rahman captured state power. Military ruler Ziaur Rahman enacted Indemnity Act to save the killers from arrest and

trial. So though Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana escaped death but their lives were always at the point of death for which they lived in Delhi, under the shelter of Indian Govt.

Sheikh Hasina being elected as the President of Awami League returned to Bangladesh on 15 May 1981. On International pressure Bangladesh Govt. was compelled to ensure her security but those killers did not cease their efforts to kill Sheikh Hasina for future obstacle-less life. Those killers in the way of their efforts of killing Sheikh Hasina always got full patronization from fundamentalists and anti liberation political elements. Under such circumstances her life has become highly vulnerable both inside the country and outside for which security of life of Sheikh Hasina always given special importance. The killers in the mean time took several attempts to kill her inside Bangladesh. Some of such incidents are cited below:

- i. Earlier the severest attack she faced was on January 24, 1988 when police in Chittagong had fired on a procession she was leading from Airport to City centre. Over 40 people were killed in Police firing. It was strongly suspected many dead bodies were either burnt into ashes or thrown in the Bay of Bengal to minimize the figure.
- ii. On August 11, 1989, a group of gunmen fired on Dhanmondi-32 house where she lived at that time. The shooting, four days before August 15 mourning day, was believed to have been carried out by Freedom Party cadres.
- iii. She also came under attack a day after the death anniversary of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on August 16, 1983.
- iv. Her house was attacked again on October 16, 1986.
- v. Sheikh Hasina was targeted several times during anti-Ershad movement and one such occasion was during Dhaka blockade on September 28, 1984. Quoting newspaper reports, her party leaders said Sheikh Hasina's life also remained at stake after the fall of Ershad following a mass upsurge on December 6, 1990.
- vi. Bullets were fired targeting her during a by-election in Dhanmondi in the capital on September 11, 1991.
- vii. Unidentified gunmen shot at the bogie of the train she was journeying by on September 23, 1994.
- viii. On December 7, 1995, her rally at Russell Square came under gun attack.
- ix. Also a bomb attack on her rally at Bangabandhu Avenue on March 7, 1996 left 30 people injured. Threats and attempts continued still after Sheikh Hasina led her party back to power after 21 years through June 12, 1996 general election under the constitutional caretaker government she fought for.
- x. One young man, Anisul Bari, was arrested along with a revolver and 23 rounds of bullets while trying to enter her meeting at Ramna on January 6, 1997.

- xi. Detectives arrested 17 Jubo Command cadres while they were holding a meeting allegedly for planning to assassinate her in the name of an iftar party on January 30, 1997. Several bombs exploded in front of the Prime Minister's Office on April 26, 1999.
- xii. 76 kg bomb was planted at her meeting venue at Kotalipara on July 20, 2000.
- xiii. As Sheikh Hasina was addressing an election meeting at Sylhet Alia Madrasa ground on 25 September 2000 a bomb blew off, killing two of her party supporters.
- xiv. Khaled, a man allegedly a cousin of Faruq Rahman, principal accused in the Bangabandhu killing case, tried to knife her while she was visiting Naogaon on March 4, 2002.
- xv. Her motorcade came under attack in Satkhira on 29 August 2002.
- xvi. In 2004, she and her party leaders came under attack at Barisal ferry ghat on February 26.
- xvii. At Gournadi she was attacked on April 2, 2004.
- xviii. She received a life threat while staying in Turkey on July 5, 2004.

After becoming the Prime Minister in 1996 her Govt. repealed the Indemnity Act in the Parliament by majority votes and tried the killers in the normal court who was awarded death sentence. But the execution is yet pending for confirmation in the Honorable High Court. The convicted killers from their hide-outs abroad with the help of their agents in Bangladesh are making conspiracy to kill Sheikh Hasina otherwise they fear that they will not become free from execution of death sentence. Again a group of AL-Quida Trained militants on their return from Afghan guerilla war dream to wage Islamic revolution to bring Taliban Style Govt. in Bangladesh and they have been organizing their followers with arms, explosive and other necessary training. Sheikh Hasina a most popular leaders, is firmly committed for western democracy and secularism is the highest obstacle in the path of Islamic militant rule in Bangladesh. For all this facts and circumstance security of Sheikh Hasina is a National and International importance. But on 21 August 2004 the Alliance Govt. showed unusual negligence in her security arrangement which are narrated below:

#### **Security lapses prior to the rally:**

- i. Safe dias was not allowed and there was no security cordoning in front of the improvised truck stage beyond the shooting range.
- ii. There were no outer cordon and inner cordon and personal security cordons by Uniform and Plain cloth Police.
- iii. There was no security guard around the venue-side top buildings floors.
- iv. The private security forces under a former Major General were not allowed to check and guard the floors of the high rise building on the both sides of the venue.
- v. Prior to the meeting no search was conducted in and around the venue.
- vi. No security forces either uniform police or plain cloth police was found within required close vicinity of the Truck stage.

- vii. In any security program it is a usual practice to arrange VEDEO Camera from Police Intelligence Branch ( Special Branch of Police). But such VEDEO camera was absent.
- viii. To detect & search the planted bomb, explosive etc prior to the meeting no metal detector, Arch-way and dog squad were arranged.

**Lapses at the time of the incident & after the incident:**

- i. Not a return shot was fired by police on duty at the grenade throwers or the probable spot from where the grenade was thrown.
- ii. Not a single man on security duty came forward to rescue Sheikh Hasina at the time of attack on her and rescue her into her bullet proof Jeep. For such omission of security personnel on duty the criminals got enough chance to shoot by short arms from close range, pointing the head of Sheikh Hasina even after taking her seat in the jeep though the shots could not pierce through the bullet proof glass.
- iii. The exit route of the criminals was not cordoned or probable places of their hide outs were not searched immediately after the occurrence. Instead of that the innocent rescuing masses were tear gassed and baton charged so that none from among the masses could chase and catch the criminals. Thus after the incident Police on duty acted to ensure the safe exit of the criminals.
- iv. The recovered unexploded grenades were not preserved as an exhibit and for forensic examination in violation of existing law of the country. Thus the subsequent investigation of the case has been carefully tempered.

**4. Stunned National and International Communities:**

Massive grenade attack and horrifying genocide on 21 August, 2004 peace really, a non violent, democratic protest against tyrannic activities of BNP Jamat Alliance and Islamic militants since 1 Oct 2001, shocked whole National & International communities. The people of Bangladesh blasted with protest. All activities came to stand still. The world leaders expressed their deep concern for the life of Sheikh Hasina and termed such attack upon democracy, secularism and human rights. They denounced such horrifying grenade attack, genocide and sent condolence messages to the bereaved family of the dead. Except the political leaders of alliance Govt. all political leaders and all Ambassadors in Bangladesh personally expressed their deep shock to Sheikh Hasina and demanded proper investigation. The world leaders, countries, International Organization who expressed their concern:

- i) The president of U.S.A George W. Bush, expressed his deep concern at the grenade attack upon sheikh Hasina.
- ii) Mr. Kofi Anan, Secretary General of U.N.O., telephoned Sheikh Hasina, expressed sympathy, condoled the death and hoped for proper investigation and trial of the perpetrators and participators.
- iii) Collin Powel, the then Secretary of State, U.S.A. telephoned Sheikh Hasina immediately after the occurrence and enquired about her health. In course of conversation he conveyed the message of concern of the President George. W. Bush. He termed the attacker as the enemy of democracy.

- iv) British Foreign Secretary condoled the death and expressed sympathy for the injured expressing hope for proper investigation and justice to be ensured by Bangladesh Govt.
- v) British House of Commons condemned the attack, took a resolution for an enquiry by U.N.O.
- vi) European Parliament condemned the attack and demanded fair investigation by the International Agencies in a resolution by a huge majority votes.
- vii) European Union condemned the attack on the rally of Opposition Leader and demanded fair investigation and Justice.
- viii) Indian Prime Minister Mr. Monmohon Singh. Opposition Leader Mr. L.K. Advani, Congress President Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, personally contacted with Sheikh Hasina over telephone, expressed their deep concern and demanded fair investigation and trial.
- ix) The Govt. of Japan condemned the attack on peace rally, condoled the death and expressed sympathy for the injured with the demand for International Investigation to uproot the terrorism from Bangladesh.
- x) Mr. Dauglas Alexander, M.P. and state Minister of Britain at the time of his visit to Bangladesh called on Sheikh Hasina, expressed his condolence and demanded fair investigation.

All Govt. of the democratic world and other world leaders expressed their concern for such barbaric attack upon a peaceful democratic rally of the Opposition Leader Sheikh Hasina in protest against sequence of terrorist activities in Bangladesh.

Leaders of all democratic political parties of Bangladesh Expressed sympathy by personally calling on Sheikh Hasina's residence and demanded proper investigation and justice against the criminals liable for such painful massacre upon the peace rally. All foreign mission heads stationed in Dhaka called on Sheikh Hasina, expressed their deep concern and demanded justice. But unfortunately not a single leaders of B.N.P Jamat alliance political parties expressed any sympathetic word at least on humanitarian ground.

### **5. Silent Govt.**

The Prime Minister, the cabinet Minister and all other leaders of B.N.P Jamat alliance govt. observed complete silence from condoling the death and voicing against the horrible grenade attacks upon Sheikh Hasina's life. On the other hand they shifted the responsibility to Awami League Leaders as if they wanted to commit suicide to put the Govt. into embarrassment. No single action was taken for negligence of duty of security forces on duty. In the Parliament the Speaker passed ruling to stop discussion in this issue though it was a National crisis against democracy. Whereas British Parliament, E U. Parliament suspending other regular proceedings discussed about the issue and look resolution. So the proposed visit of the Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia to the residence of Sheikh Hasina was nothing but a dirty political game to deceive the National and Intentional public opinion.

### **6. Unlawful step of Police in institution of case:**

As per section 154 criminal Procedure code (Cr.P.C) institution of case in any cognizable offence is mandatory on the part of police. The complainant of such case is preferred from victim or direct witness of the case. If police gets any information of commission of

cognizable offence before arrival of the proper complainant at the police station he at once make a general diary, take primary action of arrest, recovery of exhibits, rescue the injured persons & dead bodies, examining the available witness in the place of occurrence and other police action. Then they submit a primary report to Police station which is immediately entered in the General Diary. The Police then try to find out the complainant from among the victims/ direct witness/ relation of the victims instead of self institution of regular case (Suo-Motto Case). The spirit behind such lawful procedure is to ensure primary evidences to be properly reflected in First Information Report (FIR), an initial document of evidence valuable to prove the case in the trial court. But in this case ignoring all important primary police action a police complainant case with distorted fact without having any proper evidential values were hastily instituted in Motijheel Police station, Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

Mr. About Jalil, MP, General Secretary of Awami League submitted a written complain to Motijheel P.S. but was not entertained as a regular case with the plea of earlier record of police complainant case though the same police was liable for negligence of security duties on the venue of the meeting and obviously was biased to save their own guilt. All such unlawful and irregular institution of a case on an important incident with distorted fact was done with a blue print to divert the real fact and release the actual criminal from justice.

### **7. One Member Judicial Inquiry Commission:**

Justice Joynul Abedin prior to his appointment as Justice by Alliance Govt. was an active member of BNP. He was appointed Chief of One Member Inquiry Commission by the Govt. In the context of his prior political alligence with BNP and appointment as Justice by BNP Jamat Govt. his neutrality in the inquiry of 21 August grenade attack and genocide was questioned by the people of Bangladesh.

Outside Alliance almost all political parties, Lawyers Association, various social organizations, University Teachers Associations etc. protested against appointment of Justice Joynal Abedin as Chief of One Members Inquiry Commission to inquire into a top sensitive horrified incident. But the Govt. with ulterior motive did not pay any heed to the peoples' opinion and kept the Commission valid. Justice Jaynal Abedin in course of his enquiry confined his effort of examining some tutored witnesses and submitted his report to the Govt. which has not yet been opened to public. On quires by the journalist he disclosed that a foreign country was involved in the incident but did not quote the name of that country. He did not make any comment about many unresolved questions about the negligent and over acted role of the Govt. law enforcing agencies such as (i) negligence of security arrangements (ii) destruction of unexploded grenade without its preservation as exhibit and forensic test (iii) without prior cautionary words explaining the offence of the rescuing masses the unlawful tear gas shelling and baton charges upon them (iv) without taking primary Police action hasty institution of a regular case by Motijheel P.S Police on a distorted fact in violation of lawful spirit of first Information Report (F.I.R) (v) refusal to institute specific case by the police of Motijheel P.S on the written complaint of Mr. Abdul Jalil. M.P and General Secretary of Awami League (vi) unusual silence of the Govt. machinery in managing the distressed by rescue, treatment arrangements etc. (vii) refusal to receive the injured patient in Dhaka Medical College Hospital by the doctors who belongs to the Govt. supported Doctor Association of Bangladesh (DAB) (ix) suspected concealment of dead bodies by a police van, etc. Who

else from Bangladesh in collaboration with the reported foreign country and what was the motive behind the incident and who would have been the beneficiary if Sheikh Hasina is killed has not been mentioned by the said Inquiry Commission. The Commission played a hide and seeks game in the name of so called inquiry so it could not earn the trust of the people. Of late it has become a paper in the waste paper basket.

#### **8. Inquiry Committee by Supreme Court Bar Association:**

Dr. Kamal Hossain, Bar-at -Law, a renowned lawyer formed an Inquiry Committee to probe into the 21 August genocide. Barrister Rakanuddin Mahmood, Barrister Dr. Jahir, Barrister Amirul Islam all prominent senior lawyers of Bangladesh Supreme Court were the members of the Committee. They, in course of enquiry, became convinced that an influential section of the alliance Govt. was behind the killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina at the risk of subsequent genocide. For such connivance of the govt. without any hindrance, the participators could be successful in commission of the crime, safe exit and remaining untouched by law enforcing agencies. But Almighty at last saved Sheikh Hasina from imminent death for a miracle pause created by a photo journalist. But they could not pinpoint the actual killers and planners for lack of Govt. co-operation in questioning the suspected persons involved with the occurrence.

#### **9. Cause of failure of foreign Investigation Agencies:**

F.B.I, Scotland-yard & Interpol are obviously highly efficient in investigation and detection of case. But in Bangladesh due to inter personal dialectic barrier for difference of language it was not possible for them to intimately examine the witnesses in absence of full co-operation of the local Investing Officials. Since real investigation would reveal the involvement of the high ups of the present Govt. so the local Investigating officials did not dare to disclose real information to them. They just acted in front of the foreign Investigation Team without giving proper guidance to unearth the truth with a view to deceive the National & International communities. If those internationally reputed foreign investigating team is supported by some unbiased retired police officer it will not be difficult to unearth the truth by those team.

#### **10. Police Investigation:**

The Investing Officer Assistant Superintendent of Police Mr. Abdur Rashid of Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D) of Bangladesh took up the investigation on a distorted First Information Report (F.I.R.) of Motijheel Police Station (P.S) case no. 97 date. 22.8.04 under section (U/S) 324/326/307/302/34 Bangladesh Penal Code (B.P.C) read with 3/4 Explosive Act lodged by a police officer of Motijheel P.S who is an accused of unlawful act and omission at the time of 21 August incident. Since taking up the investigation till today no real accused has been arrested and the motive behind the occurrence could be detected. In the face of national and international pressure the Investigating Officer is playing deceiving role by arresting, coercing confessional statement by beating and giving hope of rewarding in police custody of professional criminals. In this way the Govt. is making false story to conceal the real persons from accusation. The whole nation firmly believes that under the present Govt. no investigating officer will be able to detect the real criminals.



## **11. Facts Revealed by Covert Investigation:**

The biggest horrified genocide occurred on 21 August 2004 in the history of Bangladesh since Liberation War of 1971. But the present BNP- Jamat Govt. instead of detecting the case is conspiring to save the real preparators and participators to suppress their own guilt.

Due to such dirty game of the Govt. in detection of a most heinous offence ever occurred in Bangladesh a secret investigation was initiated by deploying some of the highly experienced Investigating Officers. The secret investigation revealed the following facts.

- i. Prior to the incident on 14.08.04 in the evening there was a secret meeting in the house of Salauddin Kader Chowdhury, Political Adviser to the Prime Minister. Among 12/14 persons present in that close door meeting 1) Shamsul Islam Ex. D.I.G of SB, 2) Mizan, the son of Bangabondhu Killer Muslem 3) Giasuddin Mamun a close friend of Tarek Zia, 4) Ruhul Quddus Dulu (shelterer of Bangla Bhai of J.M.B) State Minister 5) Lutfuzzaman Babar, State Minister of Home Affairs, 6) Maj (Rtd.) Kamrul Islam, State Minister 7) Ehsanul Huq Milon, State Minister could be identified by the source. The purpose of the meeting was to make plan to kill Sheikh Hasina on 21 August as disclosed by the source.
- ii. 2/3 days before the incident the Director of National Security Intelligence (N.S.I) Brigadier Enamul held a meeting with 1) Abdul Qayyum, former Addl. I. G. of Special Branch (Chief of S. B) now I. G of Police on 2 years contract service & 2) Shamsul Islam, former D.I. G. of S.B. They decided to foil the proposed peace rally of Sheikh Hasina on 21 August.
- iii. On incident day the Director General of N. S. I. Brig (Rtd) Abdur Rahim was admitted in the Combined Military Hospital, Dhaka but in front of one member commission he deposed that at the time of incident he was in the plane on way from Singapore to Dhaka. Secret source revealed that the said Intelligence Chief from C.M.H Dhaka just after the incident asked his warless operator whether any grenade incident happened upon Peace Rally at B.B Avenue and what was the condition of Sheikh Hasina. When he knew Sheikh Hasina was alive he was frightened and in very fearing voice telephoned Gias Kader Chowdhury ( Brother of Salauddin Kader Chowdhury ) and Col. Haider Director D. G.F.I of Army and requested them to save his life. Within a short while Gias Kader, Col. Haider and one Capt (Retd.) Hasib, a Journalist of a fundamentalist daily news paper Inqilab arrived hastily to C.M. H and held a close door meeting in the hospital cabin for about one and half an hour. Another Director of N.S.I, Brig. Enamul was found in and around the place of occurrence in the evening in a very anxious and fearing attitude.
- iv. After the incident a group of young persons with anxious mood hurriedly went to the residence of Giasuddin Mamoon, friend of Tarek Zia, by a microbus and after a while left for unknown destination.
- v. One Mufti Sarder Bakhtiar Hossain, an AL- Qaida trained Afghan guerrilla, a co-accused of Mufti Hannan, another AL-Qaida trained Afghan guerrilla who was arrested and charge sheeted in the case of attempt to murder of Sheikh Hasina by planting high explosive at Kotalipara, Gopalganj on 20 July 2000 lives at Sarder Bari,

Dakkhin Khan, Dhaka. He was released on bail after BNP- Jamat Govt. took over power. In the evening after the incident on 21 August he was found very anxious. He was lamenting and saying that this time Sheikh Hasina has escaped from death but next time she will be a sure hit. This mufti Sardar Bakhtier Hossain is a member of killing squad of Harkatul Jihad Al Islami Bangladesh, an Islamic Militant Group, committed for Islamic revolution to form Taliban style Afghan Govt. in Bangladesh.

- vi. Self declared killers of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Maj (Retd.) Shariful Islam Dalim has been hiding abroad with death sentence on his shoulder. He secretly came to Bangladesh before 21 August incident and was found in a secret meeting on 18. 8.04 with alliance M.P and Chief of Islami Okkyo Jote Mufti Fazlul Huq Amini at his Lalbagh Madraasa, Dhaka. The meeting was attended by one Samsul Haq, President and Jamal Naser Chowdhury Secretary of Amra Dhaka Bashi (changed name of Freedom Party which was formed by the killers). Besides Mufti Amini some of his other party leaders Mufti Abdur Razzak, Moulana A.T.M. Hemayet Uddin, Moulana Abu Zafar Kashemi and Moulana Abdur Rab Yousuf were present in that meeting. In that meeting there was plan to kill Sheikh Hasina on 21 August at peace Rally. On 23 August Maj (Rtd) Dalim left the country. For safe entry and exit in Dhaka Airport former Aviation State Minister Mir Nasiruddin attended the arrival and departure of Maj (Rtd) Dalim at the Airport
- vii. Immediately after the occurrence in the evening 8/10 young men with anxious and fearing attitude hastily entered into the office of one Mirza Khakon at Shajahanpur, Dhaka. They were very frightened and apprehending the fall of the Alliance Govt. due to failure to kill Sheikh Hasina . Khakon immediately telephoned his brother Mirza Abbas, Works Minister of the Govt. Mirza Abbas in irritating voice said, “ I told Madam (Prime Minister) not to take such risk, now let she and her son tackle the situation.” Khakon advised those people to take shelter in a safe hide outs and observe the situation.
- viii. On explosion of the grenade only politician and common masses were injured and died but not a single person of law enforcing agency on duty was hit even by a single splinter of the grenade. This clearly speaks that exact timing of grenade throwing was well known to the law enforcing members for which they were found melted away from scene of occurrence, 5/6 minutes before, to the safe distance.
- ix. 5/6 minutes after ceasing grenade attack a speedy Police van came from north-eastern side, stopped with U-turn in starting position, picked up some dead bodies quickly and left to the same direction with full speed. After that a huge number of riot police without any pre warning jumped upon unarmed public engaged in rescue work with tear gas and baton charge. The action of riot police without pre-warning upon any unarmed peaceful masses is prohibited by Police Act and Police Regulation of Bangladesh which is also punishable as per Bangladesh Penal Code. Such unlawful act of riot police is also a major violation of the constitution of Bangladesh. Instead of participation in rescue works unlawful action against the unarmed, peaceful and frightened rescue workers clearly raise suspicion of involvement of the law enforcing agency in the incident.

- x. While the people were busy with rescue works a group of young person in frightened attitude were found near Golap Shah Mazar, west to the place of occurrence, leaving to west direction in a micro bus. None of the Police on duty near Golap Shah Mazar, intervened them. This raised suspicion that the law enforcing agency willfully created scope of safe retreat of the criminals involved with the incidents.
- xi. 2 unexploded grenades recovered from place of occurrence & 1 unexploded grenade recovered from next building were destroyed by an Army team in presence of police though it was mandatory on the part of the police to preserve those grenade as exhibit and forensic examination. Such unlawful acts also raise suspicions of involvement of the Govt. with this incident.
- xii. In the evening after the incident 5 unexploded grenade were recovered from inside the Dhaka Central Jail about 1.5 km. south east away from the place of occurrence. Here also those grenades were destroyed by hasty explosion instead of preserving without inquiry and institution of regular case by the Jail Authority. Sources informed a group of 10/12 prisoners came by microbus were allowed to enter into the Jail by illegally opening the main gate of the jail after dusk. Those same group of prisoners were taken from the Central Jail by same microbus at noon prior to the incident. Suspicious exit & entry of those young prisoners from jail, destruction of the unexploded grenades recovered inside jail premises without inquiry and institution of regular case clearly shows the involvement of the Govt. authority with the incident. It is known that the incident took place in the meeting place was linked up with the suspicious act of Jail Authority.
- xiii. On following day of the occurrence Jail Warden Shohel was found missing from Dhaka Central jail. His living barrack was searched and about 13 Lac Taka was recovered from his personal suitcase. It was known afterwards that the said Jail warden was a very low paid employee got the job not long before the incident with the recommendation of Mrs. Jahanara Begum, M. P. and Adviser of Primary School Affairs of the Govt. Secret sources revealed that the death sentenced 15 August Killer Lt.Col (Retd.) Farooq, Maj (Rtd.) Bazlul Huda and Lt. Col. (Retd) Sharior who are in the jail managed to bring those grenades inside jail by bribing that missing Jail Warden with the help of a section of Govt. high ups collected through the leaders of Amra Dhaka Bashi (Changed name of Freedom Party) who are residing around Dhaka Central Jail.

**In corroboration of the above facts the following further important secret information have been revealed by authentic source in course of continuation of the covert investigation:**

- a) A few days prior to the incident Jamat-e-Islami chief and Minister for Industries Matiur Rahman Nijami held secret meeting in his official residence in the evening with (1) Major General Masud, the then G O C Comilla, now G O C of 9 Division, Savar Cantonment (brother-in-law of Sayeed Iskandar M.P brother of Khaleda Zia), (2) Brig. (Retd) Abdur Rahim former Director General, National Security Intelligence (NSI) (3) Sheikh Abdur Rahman, JMB Chief (4) Siddiqui Islam (Bangla Bhai), second man of J M B.

- b) Tarek Rahman, son of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia held a secret meeting in his so-called Hawa Bhaban in one evening prior to the incident with (1) Maj. Genl. Masud (2) Sadek Hossain Khoka, Mayor of Dhaka City Corporation (3) Mosaddek Hossain Falu M P of BNP (4) Giasuddin Mamun, a friend of Tarek Rahman (5) Siddiqui Islam (Bangla Bhai).

In both those secret meetings they prepared the plan to kill Sheikh Hasina on 21 August 2004.

- (c) Mizanur Rahman Minu, Mayor of Rajshahi City Corporation, closely linked with JMB leader Siddiqui Islam Bangla Bhai brought the Afghan trained armed cadres of JMB from Rajshahi to Dhaka under the shelter of Home Affairs State Minister Lutfuzzaman Babar and Dhaka City Mayor Sadek Hossain Khoka prior to the incident.
- (d) Under the command of four Non Commissioned Army Officers about 12/13 Afghan trained J M B cadres were among the participators of grenade attack.
- (e) Tarek Rahman and Major Genl. Masud arranged those grenades and reportedly stored in the father's-in-law house of Tarek Rahman at Dhanmondi R/A, Dhaka. Those grenades were dispatched by Army vehicle from that house on the day of the incident. One three ton truck, one pick-up, one microbus from Army and one Ambulance of Padma Diagnostic Centre, Malibagh, Dhaka were used for the purpose. Owner of Padma Diagnostic Centre is one of the members of Freedom Party formed by Bangabandhu killers after 1975.
- (f) After the operation a group of armed cadres went to the DOHS Mahakhali, in the house of said Giasuddin Mamun and its neighboring Rest House from where they went away by taxi cab nos: Dhaka Metro Pa-19-7517 and Dhaka Metro Pa-17-7577
- (g) Some four persons of those armed cadres went to Prime Minister's Office in the same evening, met Senior Assistant Secretary and Assistant Private Secretary to the Prime Minister M A Matin and Sr. Assistant Secretary M A Bari and got Taka 20 lac from M A Matin.
- (h) Maj. Genl. Masud the then G.O.C Comilla often used to come to Dhaka to meet D G NSI, Brig. (Retd) A. Rahim who also used to visit Comilla to meet Maj Genl. Masud. For a few days before the incident Maj. Genl. Masud had been staying in Army VIP Officers Mess in Dhaka Cantonment.

From the facts, so far revealed from covert investigation, the involvement of the Alliance Government, Afghan trained Islamic militants and the killers of Bangabandhu in the killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina have been proved beyond all reasonable doubts.

## **12. The motive behind the killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina;**

The criminology clearly speaks that there must be a specific motive behind each killing. A killer kills a person with some physiological pursuit e.g. if the person remain alive the killer find imminent danger on his life, his property, his political ambition, and without killing the person the killer does not find any other solution. The killer takes the risk of killing when he becomes sure that at the death of the person the killer would get immediate and long-term benefit and the evidences of the act can be concealed. In that context of criminology the motive behind any killing can be ascertained from the life history of the affected person & its rivals.

The concerned killing attempt on Sheikh Hasina and other top leaders of Awami League is a cumulative affect of the sequences of past attempts by her political enemies. To open the doors in the path of ascertaining motive behind the killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina it is relevant as per law to analyze the political life of Sheikh Hasina, the goal of her political Party Awami League with its historical background and the history of her rival political persons.

### **a) The Political life history of Seikh Hasina :**

Sheikh Hasina, the daughter of the Father of the Nation, the Greatest Bangali of all Ages, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibar Rahman, is a most popular leader of Bangladesh. For more than 2 decades she is the elected President of an oldest & biggest democratic political party of this subcontinent like Congress of India. She is now the leader of the Opposition. She has been in a political family environment from where she has earned a firm commitment to establish a western type democratic, secularist and exploitation free Bangladesh. So her legacy was rooted in the creation of Pakistan, liberation of Bangladesh, killing of her father, her present and future political objectives.

Pakistan was created on 14 August 1947 on the basis of Hindu Muslim religion conflict. The two wings East and West with more than 1000 miles separation comprised Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah an Urdu speaking person, led to create Pakistan with his top leaders who were all Urdu speaking persons. They all belonged to West Pakistan. So the leadership of the Pakistan Govt. was concentrated to West Pakistan Political hierarchy and Govt. bureaucracy. They in September 1948, declared Urdu as only state language of Pakistan ignoring the mother tongue Bengali of the people of east wing though the population of east wing (East Pakistan) was more than half of total population of whole Pakistan. They also created big gap of disparity for which the people of East Wing were far behind from West Wing people in the sectors of economy, infrastructure, Govt. services, industrialization etc. Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman staged mass protest, suffering long time Jail, torture, Kangaroo trial and never could live a normal peaceful life with his wife, children and other family members.

In the face of the massive protest, demonstration the Urdu speaking Pakistan Govt. at last recognized Bengali as another state language which cost many valuable life of students, laborers, on 21 February 1952. But the Pakistan Govt. dominated by West Pakistan continued economic, administration and all other disparities. Even in the face of 1965 Indo-Pak war the East Wing was totally unguarded as if nothing would go wrong if East Wing would have been occupied.

In protest against such step-motherly attitude of the Govt. of Pakistan, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, as an elected President of Awami League, put forth demand in the form of 6-points demand in 1966 for autonomy, secularism, self-determination in economy, business, administration, Govt. Service, infrastructural development etc. which is known as historical 6-points demands. In the sequence of language movement of 1952, 6-point demand of 1966 the military ruler Field Marshal Ayub Khan handed over power to another military ruler Gen. Yahya Khan on 23 March 1969. In 1970, General Election was held and Awami League under its leadership of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won absolute majority of 167 seats out of 300 seats in Pakistan National Assembly. But the military ruler of Pakistan General Yahya Khan did not hand over power to Awami League and started conspiracy to kill Bengalis. A democratic leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in his 7 March, 1971 historical speech in a mammoth gathering at Dhaka Race Course declared a chronological steps for primary preparation and ultimate action for waging war of liberation against Pakistan Army. On 25 March, 1971 at midnight the Pakistan Army with tank, canon, machine gun and other battle field weapons attacked Bengali Army Personnel in their cantonment, East Pakistan Rifle Head Quarter, Police Line at Dhaka, Dhaka University residential halls, the politicians and common people. Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman immediately declared all-out war of liberation. On 16 December 1971, Pakistan Army under the Command of Lt. General Amir Abdullah Niazi surrendered in Dhaka Race Course. The victory was won. The 9 months war was led by a valid Bangladesh Government, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was its President. The war was participated by the whole nation and at the death 3 million masses and rape, torture of about 200,000 women the freedom was snatched from the Pakistan Military Junta within 9 month of bloody war. During the war, the fundamentalist Jamat-e-Islami & religious oriented party Muslim League organized a terrorist armed group in the name of Razaker and AL-Badar with local leaders and workers of those fundamentalist political parties. They acted as auxiliary forces of Pakistan Army and committed massive genocide, rape, looting etc. In this way Pakistan Army in one side and those local terrorists on the other side established reign of terror all over the country. Not a single family remained untouched. After defeat to the Liberation Forces the top and medium grade leader of Jamat and Muslim League fled away to Pakistan along with deported Pakistan Army. Their other followers took hiding within the country and continued their activities against Bangladesh. They maintained secret connection with their leaders who took shelter in Pakistan and worked to make blue Print to kill Bangabondhu for taking retaliation of their defeat. On 15 August, 1975 those defeated fundamentalist forces with the help of local agents and a few Rtd. and serving Army Officers killed Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, his all family members present at that time, some of his close Cabinet members and important Political leaders. Even small child Sheikh Russel, youngest son of Bangabandhu, was not spared from the brutal killing. Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana, the two daughters of Bangabandhu escaped the death as they were outside the country at that time of occurrence.

The main architect behind the murder of the President Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was Deputy Chief of Army Maj. General Ziaur Rahman. After taking over power as a beneficiary of that killing Ziaur Rahman Passed Indemnity Act to save the self declared killer from trial and rewarded them with precious posting in Govt. service and important business.

The military ruler also withdrew the ban on fundamental political parties and with the patronization of Army he formed a Political Party in the name Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Remaining in active service he was elected as President of Bangladesh in a rigged election in 1977. Again he arranged to win another planted general election in 1979 and ratified all his previous unlawful orders and ordinances by passing 5<sup>th</sup> amendment in the constitution which has recently been challenged in the High Court and Rule has been issued calling show cause of the Govt. which is pending in the Appellate Division of Supreme Court. Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana stayed outside the country for their security reasons. Sheikh Hasina was elected the President of Awami League in her absence. Under the pressure of International communities Ziaur Rahman was compelled to arrange security of Sheikh Hasina and she returned to Bangladesh 15 May, 1981. The self declared those killers became afraid on return of Sheikh Hasina as president of Awami League, a largest, most popular Political Party and planned to kill Sheikh Hasina by any means so that they can get rid of any future trial of murder. Sheikh Hasina at the will of Almighty miraculously could escape from several attempted death at the hand of those killers and became elected Prime Minister on 23 June 1996. The Indemnity Act was repealed in the Parliament and those self declared 15 August 1975 Killer were sentenced to death in a normal court. Before execution of their death sentence Sheikh Hasina handed over power as per constitution to the Care Taker Govt. on 15 July 2001.

For confirmation of death sentence the case was sent to Supreme Court. But the Alliance Govt. after assuming power on 10 July 2001 with the plea of shortage of Judges in the Appellate Division has been hanging the decision of execution of the death sentence. Out of 10 death sentenced killers only 3 namely Lt Col (Rtd.) Farooq, Maj ( Rtd.) Bazlul Huda and Lt Col. (Retd.) Shahrier are inside Dhaka Central Jail and others have been hiding abroad. The Killers in the Prison and their Co-accused outside the country strongly believe that in a free fair next general election Sheikh Hasina again would come to power and execution of their death sentence will be imminent. If Sheikh Hasina is killed Awami League can not be able to come to power and those killers will enjoy free life. On the other hand the anti liberation forces and fundamentalists consider Sheikh Hasina a democratic & secular, most popular leader, as a strong hurdle in the path of their long desired fundamentalist revolution like Taleban of Afganistan in Bangladesh. So if Sheikh Hasina is killed there will be no hard obstacle in the path of such Islamic Revolution. Thus Sheikh Hasina by virtue of her political legacy has inherited the risk of her life.

#### **b) The life history of Khleda Zia:**

Khaleda Zia was the wife of former military ruler late Ziaur Rahman. In 1971 during 9 months war of liberation of Bangladesh she took shelter in the Pakistan Army Officer Mess in Dhaka cantonment and maintained luxurious life under Pakistan Senior Army Officers. Her husband the then Maj. Ziaur Rahman was in war against the Pakistan Army. He made a secret plan to take his wife Khaleda Zia from the shelter of Pakistan Army to him. Although Khaleda Zia got opportunity to escape but refused the proposal and preferred to stay back with Pak. Army in Luxurious Army officers Mess. After the war Ziaur Rahman refused to accept Khaleda Zia as his wife for her willful stay with Pak Army officers suspected to have compromised her personal life. Bangabandhu Sheikh Muzibur Rahman honoring her as his own daughter persuaded Ziaur Rahman to accept Khaleda Zia as his wife . Ziaur Rahman agreed. Ziaur Rahman became self declared Chief Martial Law Administrator (C.M.L A) & president as a beneficiary of 15 August



Killing of Bangabandhu who was at last brutally assassinated in another coupe in 30 June 1981. Khaleda Zia inherited the political position of her husband and became the chairman of BNP. Though Khaleda Zia is an illiterate, extravagant lady without having any idealist political philosophy got support from all anti liberation political parties like Muslim League, Jamate Islami and Mao-oriented ultra leftist underground armed political parties.

Those supporters after liberation became weak and isolated for their opposition to the war of liberation found a safe hole to penetrate into politics for their ultimate goal to form Islamic Republic like Pakistan because of lack of any specific political goal of Khaleda Zia whose only goal of life is to earn enough money by grabbing state power by any means. The Assimilation of all fundamentalist and armed ultra leftists nourished by military rulers Ziaur Rahman since 1975 could strengthen BNP with misinterpretation of Islam and muscle of armed ultra leftists to win the general election and Khaleda Zia became Prime Minister from 1991 to 1996. Remaining in state Power she and her all family members accumulated huge money. Her Govt. was forced to step down in the face of mass upsurge for her such corruption. From 1996 – 2001 as an Opposition Leader she walked out from the parliament at the first session under Speaker from her own Party Advocate Razzak Ali with a view to paralyze the parliament session in future. As opposition leader during all sessions she remained absent in most of the time except 28 days presence on different occasion to keep her parliament membership alive. In 2001 October election by unholy alliance with anti-liberation force & fundamentalists known as 4 Party Jote (alliance), offered huge bribe to high ups of the Care Taker Govt., Election commission Officials and other agencies involved in election conducting for massive rigging of the election. Winning the mass publicized rigged election and highly improbable 196 parliament seats from very small margin of 0.90 % of total casting votes the BNP formed Govt. with 22 Parliament seats of Jamat Islami & Islami Qkkoya Jote. Khaleda Zia became the Prime Minister. Just after assuming state power the Police, Administration and all Govt. Party terrorists jumped upon all leaders, workers, supporters of Awami League & liberation supported Govt. officials especially religious minority communities. About 70 thousand convicted terrorists were released from jail in the name of their political workers to engage them to attack the political rivals. All those terrorists in a body under shelter of govt. started annihilation of Awami League through killing, torture, arson, rape, ransom, uprooting from home, business and created reign of terror all over the country. The police, magistrate court did not entertain any case against those terrorist but on the other hand huge nos. of false cases were instituted against leaders, workers and supporters of Awami League. There is not a single person of Awami League who could escape false case and merciless torture. In the name of Operation Clean Hurt many Awami League leaders, workers were tortured to death and disabled forever by Army. Those responsible Army personnel have been relieved from trial and justice by passing Indemnity Act with their brute majority in the parliament. In the face of massive national and international criticism Operation Clean Hurt was stopped but another evil giant in the name of Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) appeared with police & mainly Army personnel to annihilate opposition political forces through extrajudicial killing making concocted story of cross-fire in course of encounter with the associates of the person in custody with the plea of crime control though not a single person from the so called associates except the handcuffed person in custody has ever been killed. To politicize the administrative service, Judicial service, education service, police service and all important Govt., Semi Govt. service, the Govt. has broken all age old institution including Public Service Commission, Judiciary, Army, Police etc. and the Govt. has taken pick & choose policy

from their political cadre for employment and promotion so that they can continue their power in future through massive oppression upon the main opposition political party Awami League. For such unethical deinstitutionalization of the Govt. machineries, terrorism, nepotism and corruption the state craft has been obstructed from proper functioning. The cumulative effect is unusual price hike of daily consumable goods, scarcity of electricity, hindrance in agricultural production, shortage of food product etc. and the country is going to the verge of collapse. On the other hand the Awami League Govt. under Sheikh Hasina from 1996 to 2001 was very successful in controlling crime, upholding the institutional ethical heredity above all party politics, making the country in self sufficiency of food, resolving national and international issues, stabilizing the price of daily consumable items, expanding national & international business, developing all necessary infrastructure etc. with honesty and dedication. Now in comparison Awami League has been recognized as an effective political party to lead the country towards correct dimension of 21<sup>st</sup> country under the leadership of the most popular leader Sheikh Hasina. Under this situation B.N.P is strongly convinced that in free and fair election it is impossible for them to return to power. And Khaleda Zia, her son Tarek Zia, the corrupt Ministers, M.Ps will have to face trial. So they are very much afraid of their future.

In the face of all torture, killing, false case etc the Awami League under the wise, strong and confident leadership of Sheikh Hasina instead of going back has appeared as a very organized, committed, effective political party to win back the election with landslide victory.

So Sheikh Hasina is considered as a prime enemy of B.N.P

### **c) The history of the Fundamentalist Political Party Jamate Islami and their Armed Terrorist organization.**

In 1971 Jamate Islami organized their armed cadre in the name Razakers & AL- Badar under the patronization of Pakistan Army to counter fight the war of liberation. They created reign of terror all over the country through mass killing, raping, arson, looting etc. along with occupation Pakistan Army. After the war the top and some mid level leaders left the country with their master Pak Army and took shelter in Pakistan. Bangladesh new Govt. under Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman banned the fundamentalist politics as a state policy of secularism. At the death of the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu on 15 August, 1975 the background architect and principal beneficiary of the killing, Ziaur Rahman came to state Power as chief Martial Law Administrator (C.M.L.A). He, to play a dirty political game in the name of multiple Political activities, withdrew the ban on fundamental political parties and imposed ordinance banning secularism. The chief of Jamat Islami Gholam Azam from his Pakistan shelter as a Pakistan National migrated to Bangladesh with the consent of military ruler Ziaur Rahman. He on his return to Bangladesh, organized his party in two ways- one open politics and another covert politics. The object of open politics was to form Public opinion in the name of religion through normal Political activities and the object of covert politics was to organize young cadres specially from among the students with Arm training with a view to occupy state power by armed revolution along with the support of a section of ultra religious masses like Taleban revolution of Afghanistan. For such organizational activities Jamate Islami accumulated huge money from some Islamic countries of Middlest and I.S.I. of Pakistan. They have enhanced their money flow by making many financial generating Institutions of which some Islamic Banks are in the top of the list. The neat profit per year is more

than 12,000 million taka as reported by Bangladesh Economic Association. Now with open political activities, covert armed cadre and huge financial support Jamate Islami is equipped and determined to occupy the state power by an armed Islamic revolution. Their preparation of Armed Revolution first came to light in January, 1999 through a killing attempt of a renowned secularist Bengali Poet Shamsur Rahman in Dhaka by a under ground Islamic terrorist group in the name of Harkatul Ziahd Al Islami. Since then a series of armed activities surfaced during last part of previous Awami League Govt.

On 20 July 2000 killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina and her many cabinet ministers at Kotalipara, Gopalganj, 14 April, 2001 killing of 10 persons and 27 other injured in Bangali new year day cultural Program at Ramna Ground, Dhaka; 6 March 1999 killing of 10 persons and 100 others injured in a cultural program at Town Hall ground, Jessore; 3 June 2001 killing of 10 person and 25 others injured at Baniar Char Church, Muksudpur Gopalganj created sensation. The last Awami League Govt. arrested many accused and brought then before trail. But the Jamat backed alliance Govt. not only stopped trial and released the accused but also made the principal accused of 6 March 1999 Jessore incident Mr. Tariqul Islam a cabinet Minister in charge of Forest and Live Sock Ministry. The previous Home Minister and present Commerce Minister of the Govt. Altaf Hossain Chowdhury gave shelter to another terrorist Mufti Hannan, an All- Quida Trained, returned from Afghanistan, a principal accused of killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina on 20 July 2000 by planting massive bomb at Kotalipara, Gopalganj.

The chief of BNP Khaleda Zia has no aim for the welfare of state but to prefer luxurious life and earning huge money for her all family members by exploiting the state power. Jamate Islam analyzed the psychology of Khaleda Zia and found a ray of light of sharing state power with BNP to strengthen their open politics and covert armed organization unhindered by exploiting the weakness of Khaleda Zia which ultimately would pave the way for Jamate Islami to wage Islamic Revolution and capturing absolute power in near future. With that in view Jamate Islami formed election alliance with BNP in 2001 and two top leaders Matiur Rahman Nizami and Ali Ahsum Mohammad Muzahid were included as important Cabinet Ministers of alliance Govt.

BNP Chief Khaleda Zia firmly believes that she could not come to power in 2001 election and never would go to power without alliance with Jamate Islami. So Khaleda Zia always wants to please Jamate Islami leaders at any cost. Jamate Islami has taken full opportunity of this situation and tremendously enhanced their all sorts of open and underground political activities with the dream of Islamic revolution under their huge financial support and secret leadership. Already many Islamic terrorist groups in various names are active in Bangladesh since Oct. 2001. J.M.B; J.M.J.B; Ahle Hadit; Harkatul Zihad Al Islami; Al Markazul Islam are some of such underground armed terrorist Islamic group. About 3000 members of Jamat Student front, Islamic Chattra Shibir, went to Afghanistan, took training from Al-Quida, participated in Afghan war under Usama-bin-laden and Mollah Omar. Reportedly 24 persons died in the war and remaining members returned to Bangladesh. Jamate Islami has engaged those armed, explosive trained persons to terrorist training program in various Madrasha (Islamie School) which is financed by them. Till now in 61 districts 250 such madrasha have been identified. The recent reports published in deferent media have revealed that at least 72 including Harkatul Zihad Al Islami; J.M.B; J.M.J.B; terrorist organization have been formed by Jamat leaders and members in different identity with the same financial flow. By now Jamate Islami is convinced that they are fully equipped in all respect to achieve their goal of Islamic revolution. As a

rehearsal of their preparation the Jamat terrorist members in the name of J.M.B & J.M.J.B exploded 500 bombs in 63 out of 64 districts of Bangladesh simultaneously in a particular time from 11.00 hrs to 11.30 on 17 August, 2005. They mainly targeted Court Offices, Administrative Offices and Police Offices to show their strengths. About two persons died and 179 were injured including police personnel at that massive bomb explosions all over the country. With every explosions a leaflet was circulated with the demand of Islamic law instead of man made law. In the sequences of that rehearsal, explosions of suicide bombers appeared in deferent technique with more powerful explosive and killing capacity. On 3 October, 2005 simultaneously 3 suicide bombers exploded bombs in Chittagong court ( 3 injured), Lakshmipur Court (1 dead 15 injured) and Chandpure court (1 dead, 3 injured); on 18 Oct 2005 one suicidal bomber exploded bombs upon a judge Biplob Gosshami in his residence at Sylhet town; on 14 November, 2005 two senior assistant Judges Shohel Ahmed and Jagannath Pare died by suicide bomb explosion; on 29 November 2005 in simultaneous suicidal bomb explosion 2 police died & 12 Police were injured in Chittagong court premises and 10 persons died and 70 persons were injured in Gazipur bar library; after only 48 hours on 1 December 2005 in same Gazipur Deputy Commissioner office the suicidal bombs explosion killed 2 persons and 30 were injured; on 8 December, 2005 in front of the office of a cultural organization Udichi Netrokona, the suicidal terrorist exploded bombs in which 8 persons died and 60/70 were injured. The only object of series of explosions, killing & injuring the huge number of innocent persons was to create unstable situation so that secularist democratic political forces can not raise voice against the Govt. Willing or un willing acts or omissions of patronization of those evil forces by the Govt. was to divert the normal politics to curb the political activities of their opposition democratic political party in the name of unstable situation of the country. In such disturbed situation and political environment B.N.P thinks it would be easy for them to come back to power. On the other hand Jamate Islami thinks they would be able to pave the way towards fundamentalist environment to clear the road to ultimate Islamic revolution like Taleban of Afghanistan.

But Sheikh Hasina, a top to bottom secularist democratic political personality, with her towering popularity and organizational wisdom has strong domination over the masses of Bangladesh. So in her presence with her grass rooted political parties and several wise, dedicated leaders and workers, Jamate Islami does not find confident ground to fulfill their cherished goal of Islamic Revolution even with full exploitation of Khaleda Zia's psychological weakness to state power for self affluence.

So Sheikh Hasina is a number one person of their hit list. In many previous occasions Jamat top leaders threatened Sheikh Hasina by saying "There would be another horrifying killing incident like 15 August 1975".

#### **d) The History of killers of Bangabandhu Sheik Muzibur Rahman on 15 August 1975.**

The retired Army officers Col (Rtd.) Rashid, Lt. Col (Retd.) Farooq, Maj (Rtd.) Bazlul Huda, Maj (Rtd.) Noor and some other Military & Civil Officials in collaboration with anti-liberation forces killed the Father of the Nation, President of Bangladesh, Bangabandhu Sheikh Muzibur Rahman with all his family members present with him in the residence of 32 – Dhanmondi on 15 August, 1975.

The two daughters Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana escaped the brutal killing for their stay outside Bangladesh. The architect behind the brutal killing the then Deputy chief of Army Maj. General Ziaur Rahman on assuming state power as a beneficiary of that killing passed Indemnity Act to stop trial of those killers. Even those self declared killers were rewarded with important Govt. Job and business in home and broad by the military ruler. They were allowed to form political party in the name of freedom party with the mission of killing Sheikh Hasina under the shelter of Political activities. They arranged recruitment of many youngster from Bangladesh and training in Libya under the care of killer Col (Rtd.) Rashid who had a construction firm there and close liaison with Col. Gaddafi, the president of Libya. Those trained persons were sent to Bangladesh with huge payment to each of them and instruction to wait for opportune moment & direction to execute the mission of killing Sheikh Hasina. They selected 5 August 1984 for execution their mission at Dhaka Airport or Mohakhali residence of Sheikh Hasina on the day of her arrival from London to Dhaka by British Airways. Before that they tried to smuggle arms to equip their trained personnel already staying in Bangladesh in different district with mission to kill all top and mid-level leaders of Awami League and other pro-liberation forces simultaneously so that killers would not face subsequent resistance. To achieve the goal successfully Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Farooq, Maj (Rtd.) Bazlul Huda in disguise arrived Bangladesh to take necessary prior preparation. But their smuggled arms and ammunition en-route to Bangladesh were caught in the last week of July in Suez Canal and Rome. The mission plan was intercepted by National Security Intelligence (NSI). Lt. Col. (Retd.) Farooq, Major (Retd) Bazlul Huda, Honorary Captain (Retd) Moslem were arrested who confessed about their mission but for unknown reason the another Military ruler H.M. Ershad did not allow to institute any regular case against them. They continued to execute their mission of killing Sheikh Hasina on number of occasions. They took attempt upon her life on 15 August, 1992 at 32 Dhanmondi, residence, 11 September 1991 at Green Road Dhaka, March 1995 at Pantha Path meeting, march 1996 on way to her residence by grenade and rifle shots.

On assuming state power Awami League repealed the Indemnity Act and killers were brought to justice in normal court. Most of them were sentenced to death which was referred to high court for confirmation of execution of death sentence. Before confirmation order Awami League as per constitution handed over power and the subsequent BNP Jamat alliance Govt. instead of execution of the death sentence is making blue print to let the killer free from charges for which the confirmation order is delayed to pass the time for an opportune situation. 3 of the death sentenced killers Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Farooq, Major (Rtd.) Bazlul Huda and Lt. Col. (Rtd) Shriar are in Dhaka Central Jail and other have taken shelter in other countries, They are apprehending that in free & fair election Awami League under Sheikh Hasina would definitely return to Govt. and execution of their death sentence will be imminent. But in her absence there may be leadership crisis and it will be difficult for Awami League to come back to power and there will be no obstacle on the way of their exoneration from death sentence. They have formed another Political party in the name of Amra Dhaka Bashi a replica of Freedom Prty under the leadership of some fundamentalist religious persons with the hope to maintain close liaison with Khaleda Zia the true successor of their main harborer Military Ruler Ziaur Rahman and other Islamic terrorist group active against Sheikh Hasina.

### **13. Identification of probable enemies of Sheikh Hasina from analysis of the Political Life history in the context of criminal science.**

The following facts have been revealed to identify the enemies of Sheikh Hasina:

- a) Sheikh Hasina by virtue of her birth as the daughter of the Greatest Bangali National Hero, Bangabandhu Sheikh Muzibur Rahman with same political philosophy of Bengali nationalism, secularism, democracy has inherited enmity of antidemocratic fundamentalist forces inside Bangladesh.
- b) Sheikh Hasina in pursuance of her patriotic commitment like her greatest father was very successful to manage total economic aspects for people of all walks of life especially the poor masses in her tenure as prime Minister from 1996 – 2001. Now the present B.N.P. Jamat Govt. in pursuance of accumulating illegal wealth, through corruption, has miserably failed to stabilize financial, institutional and administrative management since Oct. 2001 up to date. In comparison of the two regims almost 80% of the total population want Sheikh Hasina come to power as Prime Minister. The present political situation has panicked the BNP - Jamat alliance for apprehension of their trial after loosing state power. The only way of their survival remains within continuation of state power which, they believe, is possible by killing Sheikh Hasina. That is why Sheikh Hasina is in the top of hit list of Khaleda Zia and Jamat leaders.
- c) The killers of Bangabandhu, Convicted with death sentence, are afraid for apprehension of Sheikh Hasina's return to power in next general election. So they want to get rid of Sheikh Hasina and her top political leaders by killing them.

### **14. Unearth the circumstantial evidences for primary identification of the offenders in the context of section 8 of Evidence Act through analysis of previous, present and subsequent conduct of the offenders.**

As per section 8 of evidence Act this is relevant as evidence to identify the previous, present and subsequent conduct of probable offenders relating to fact- in- issue to prove the circumstantial evidences. On analysis of those conducts of the law enforcing agency on duty, the intelligence department, the investigating police officers in the process of recording the case and following investigation, the Home Minister & Prime Minister the following bare facts have been revealed.

- i. Sheikh Hasina's life is always under threat since 15 August, 1975 for which both at home and abroad special security measures are arranged for protection of her life. But on the day of occurrence her security arrangement was exemplary insufficient. The normal security measures of Inner Cordon and Outer Cordon were absent. The law enforcing personnel present there suspiciously did not allow her private security personnel to perform outer cordon duty in contravention of previous practice. This proves that the negligence of duty was pre planned to create scope to the criminals to kill Sheikh Hasina.
- ii. 5/6 minutes prior to grenade explosion all the police security personnel on duty took shelter from explosion range for which not a single of them got hurt among so many dead and injured persons. This speaks of their prior knowledge of incident.

- iii. 5/6 minutes after the ceasing of grenade attack police arrived in a speedy police Van and hastily took away lot of dead bodies. They did not come back again to participate in rescue operation. This clearly speaks of concealing the dead bodies having prior arrangements and prior knowledge of the incident.
- iv. A group of riot Police without announcing any prior cautionary words jumped upon the innocent, bewildered rescue masses with tear gas and baton charges from which some injured senior Awami League leaders inside adjacent Awami League central office were not spared. This clearly speaks of prearranged action plan to create safe exit of the offenders from the hands of the victim masses.
- v. The unexploded grenades, recovered from the place of occurrence, was destroyed unlawfully. This clearly speaks of pre planned destruction of material evidence to conceal the identification of offenders from figure prints and other forensic tests.
- vi. A most horrifying genocide occurred in Bangladesh since the war of liberation bewildered the whole nation and the outside world. But not a single high ranking concerned Govt. officials, Home Minister or Prime Minister did visit the place of occurrence, any victim or made rescue and treatment arrangement. On the other hand the Prime Minister tried to play dirty political game by proposed meeting with Sheikh Hasina on the following morning. Sheikh Hasina, miraculously escaping from imminent death and witnessing death, injuries of her dearest Political colleagues, shocked with grief but instead of succumb to it she was managing the treatment of the injured and burial of dead bodies. So it was not a proper environment to receive the Prime Minister in her residence while all nation pointed their fingers towards the Govt. for such brutal killings. For such subsequent conduct of the Govt. machinery and the Prime Minister it clearly speaks of their pre planned connivance with the incidents.
- vii. Motijheel Police station of Dhaka Metropolitan Police hurriedly selected a police officer to institute a case on fabricated story without giving the opportunity to any victim or direct witness from public. Even they refused to entertain the complaints from general secretary of Awami League Mr. Abdul Jalil a sitting Member of Parliament. This subsequent conduct of Police in registering a regular case on tutored stories clearly speaks of the preplanned arrangements of the concerned Govt. machineries of concealing the evidential facts at the time of investigation. This also speaks prearranged connivance of the police authorities with the incidents.
- viii. The Govt. did not take any administrative action like dismissal, suspension, departmental proceedings for negligence of duty of the security personnel of law enforcing agency on duty. Instead of that many police officers were rewarded with promotion and better posting. This clearly shows that under the instruction of the concerned Authorities of the Govt. those officials willfully loosened the security in cool blooded preplan to kill Sheikh Hasina.
- ix. Director General of N.S.I. Brig (Rtd.) Abdur Rahim in a statement to the one member Inquiry Commission of Justice Joynul Abedin told that at the time of incident he was not present in Dhaka. He was in the plane on his way back from Singapore to Dhaka although at that time he was very much present in C.M. H, Dhaka cantonment and held closed door meeting in his hospital cabin to save himself from the hand of public resentment. This conduct of giving false alibi clearly proves that he had deep connivance with the incident.



- x. On the following day of the incident 5 grenades were recovered from Dhaka central Jail of which 1 grenade was found in a drain and 4 grenades were recovered from the Jail warden barrack of one Jail warden Shohel. That Shohel was found missing after the occurrence reportedly left for Italy. On searching his personal suitcase in the barrack a sum of 13 lac taka was recovered. Those 5 unexploded grenades were immediately destroyed by explosion though as per law it was mandatory to preserve those grenades as a material evidence for identification of its carrier from finger prints and forensic test. Even no regular case was registered to initiate investigation to unearth the truth of illegal entry of those prohibited substance inside the security zone like Central Jail. As regards recovery of such huge sum of money from a very law paid Jail Warden and his instant departure from Bangladesh was not inquired by the Govt. Authorities. Such subsequent conduct of the Jail warden it proves that he was directly involved in supplying the grenades to the place of occurrence in exchange of huge money from the planners behind the incident. The safe exit of the same Jail Warden was possible with the help of Jail Authority and Home Ministry. Such subsequent conduct clearly proves that the Jail Authority and Home Minister (Prime Minister) Khaleda Zia and State Minister of Home Lutfuluzzaman Babar had connivance with the occurrence.
- xi. The one member commission of Justice Zaynul Abedin expressed in front of various media that a foreign country with the help of local agents was responsible behind that deadly occurrence but the Investigating officer of C.I.D. A.S.P. Mr. Abdur Rashid in course of investigation, in contravention of the opinion of the judicial commission, has been arresting the normal professional criminals, extorting false confession by their usual practice of torture and coercion under their prolonged custody in the name of remand. The difference of opinions between Judicial Commission and Investigating Officer in finding out the truth naturally raise question of doubt about the truthfulness and sincerity of those two findings of Commission and Investigating officer. Such conduct of the fact finding authorities clearly proves that those authorities could not work independently under illegal pressure of the Govt. which leads to the conclusion that highest authorities of this Govt. for their direct connivance with the incident did not want to unearth the truth for fear of their own trial.
- xii. The Investigating Officer in pursuance of correct investigation and searching out the real criminals consults the previous records. He mandatorily interrogate and arrest those criminals on the basis of those previous records. Before the incident of 21 August on several occasions Sheikh Hasina escaped from killing attempts. On many times the fundamentalists leaders including former Jamat Chief Gholam Azam, Islami Utkyo Jote Chief Fazlul Huq Amini, Freedom party's many leaders, openly threatened to repeat 15 August 1975 occurrence to kill Sheikh Hasina. One Mufjt Hannan Al-Quida Trained terrorist, the principle accused of killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina, was given shelter by former Home Minister with the hope to exonerate from all case against him.

The Investigating officer, ignoring the basic principle of searching out the principal accused in consultation with past record of same type of occurrence, has been trying to save those accused because of their political intimacy with the Govt. This conduct clearly Proves that the Govt. hierarchy had convenience with the incident.

### **15. Immediate Beneficiaries at the killing of Sheikh Hasina.**

In the context of criminology it is relevant to ascertain the immediate beneficiaries of an occurrence to identify the persons involved with the same occurrence. From the facts and circumstances as discussed earlier the following persons and organizations would get personal and political benefits out of the killing of Sheikh Hasina.

- i. B.N.P : In absence of Sheikh Hasina Awami League will become destabilized for a longer period and B.N.P will come to power again. This will ensure Khaleda Zia, her family members and other leaders to enjoy the illegal money & properties without facing future trial.
- ii. Jamate Islami: This Fundamentalist party with their terrorist underground organization will be able to reach their goal of Islamic Revolution for ascending to state power without hard obstacle in absence of Sheikh Hasina.
- iii. Killer group of 15 August, 1975: The killers, convicted with death sentence, will be able to get rid of the death sentence if Awami League does not come to power which is only possible if Sheikh Hasina is killed.

### **16. Findings:**

From the description of the incidents, political backgrounds of Sheikh Hasina, Khaleda Zia, Bangabandu Killers, prior and subsequent conduct of the Government, identification of the immediate beneficiaries and all other circumstantial evidences it is ascertained beyond all reasonable doubts that the Government in collaboration with fundamentalist terrorist organization and the convicted killers of 15 August, 1975 were involved in killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina and commission of the horrifying genocide on 21 August, 2004.

### **17. Some Suggestions of steps to be followed in fruitful investigation of the case to identify the real offenders and bring them to justice.**

- i) To collect the list of police personnel and intelligence agency personnel who were on duty at the place of occurrence to ascertain names of those persons on duty on the day of incident.
- ii) To examine all inmates in and around the place of occurrence to search out chance witnesses.
- iii) To examine injured persons who directly witnessed the incidents.
- iv) To take drastic action against the security in charge and other security personnel by dismissal, suspension & department action for negligence of duty. After taking such drastic administrative action those personnel to be interrogated separately in close door. In such circumstances of interrogation many security personnel will be broken down to state the reasons of illegal act & omission with the name of actual authorities under whose direction they were compelled to do those acts against their professional ethics. The sequences of interrogation will unearth and pinpoint the mastermind behind the blue print.

v) To interrogate the police complainant of the case and other officers present in Motijheel P.S. to identify the ground of hastily recording the case in contravention of existing law and usual practice. On close interrogation separately it will be possible to detect the person/ authority under whose direction police on their self complain instituted the case hastily to suppress the evidential facts from the First Information Report without giving scope of lodging regular case to any direct witness from public or any victim.

vi) To interrogate Inspector General of Police; Police Commissioner, Dhaka Metropolitan Police; Additional Inspector General, Special Branch and Director General, National Security Intelligence of that period, to ascertain as to why they did not take any departmental action against their under- command for their failure and negligence of duty at the place of occurrence. The close and separate interrogation of those officials will definitely detect the mastermind behind the blue print.

vii) To interrogate the present Investigating officer Assistant Supernatant of Police Abdur Rashid and supervising officer Superintendent of Police Ruhul Amin both of C.I.D. to ascertain as to why and under whose direction they are diverting the path of investigation from reality. Close and separate interrogation will detect the mastermind behind the blue print.

viii) To arrest the Director General of N.S.I. Brig (Retd) Abdur Rahim for deposing false statement before the Judicial Commission. From his suspicious conduct in C.M.H just after the incident his complicity in this incident is relevant as per Evidence Act section – 8. After his arrest on close interrogation his own involvement and involvement of others as mastermind will definitely be detected.

ix) To detect the sources who carried the grenades inside Dhaka Central Jail and why those were destroyed unlawfully and why no case was instituted in such cognizable offence. The detection can definitely be possible by thorough, close and separate interrogation of Jail wardens, prisoners, other jail officials after drastic departmental action like dismissal & suspension against the concerned personnel for their failure to ensure the security of the jail. During such interrogation many jail security personnel will come forward to disclose the actual facts by which connections of those grenades can be linked up with the incident.

x) To detect sources from which a poor paid jail warden could get a huge amount of money and collect grenades and how he could leave the country for abroad just after the occurrence. Detection of the fact will unearth the clue regarding supply of grenade for commission of the incident.

xi) Among the convicted killers of 15 August 1975 Lt. Col. (ret'd) Farooq, Maj (Ret'd) Bazlul Huda and Lt. Col (Ret'd) Sharier are confined in Dhaka central Jail. The leaders of Amra Dhaka Bashi, Changed name of Freedom Party, have been residing in and around Dhaka Central Jail. They are suspected of maintaining close liaison with the Bangabandhu Killers inside Dhaka Central Jail and hiding abroad. The leaders of Amra Dhaka Bashi should be closely and separately interrogated which may lead to find out the clue of collection and supply of grenade inside Dhaka Central Jail and its use in commission of the incident.

xii) To collect the names of all the offenders who were involved in previous attempt to kill Sheikh Hasina on many occasions, interrogate them, ascertain their whereabouts and activities before the incidents, at the time of the incidents and after the incident. This will obviously unearth important clues to detect the case.

In course of investigation on those subjects enumerated above many valuable facts will be revealed and those will definitely lead to pinpoint the real offenders.

The criminal science has proved that it is easier to detect those cases in which more offenders are participated and more violence are committed. So on close and sincere efforts of investigation of the present mass participated violent incident it will not be difficult to detect the case within a short time.

#### **18. Recommendations for investigation by Security Council of United Nations Organization.**

The circumstantial evidences proved beyond all reasonable doubts that the B.N.P-Jamat alliance Govt. in collaboration with fundamentalist political forces and killers of the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Muzibur Rahman were directly involved with the killing attempt of Sheikh Hasina by massive grenade attack on 21 August 2004 on a peace rally causing death of 23 valuable lives, few hundred men and women were permanently disabled and more than 500 persons are living with splinters of grenades. Sheikh Hasina's life was a miraculous contribution and kindness of the Almighty due to a momentary pauses on her way created by a photojournalist as if a message from the heaven came for her salvage.

Since the previous Govt. with the present Govt. machinery is strongly suspected, so this Govt. under no circumstances can allow the investigation to reveal the truth for fare of their own trial and punishment. With that in view the Govt. has been exerting their all efforts since the occurrence till today to suppress the facts and divert the investigation by making concocted stories. At such situation the offenders are encouraged to continue their more organized efforts to kill Sheikh Hasina and her life obviously is more at stake. Her vacuum in the politics of Bangladesh at the critical transitional juncture of democracy and fundamentalism will surely drown Bangladesh into fundamentalist dark era. The Govt. & people of the free, democratic world in tune with the democracy loving majority people of Bangladesh can not afford, in pursuance of global policy of upholding democracy and human rights, to throw Bangladesh into the holocaust at the hand of illiterate religious extremists like Taleban of Afghanistan. So this is a prime necessity for the international communities all over the free world to come forward to ensure safety of the most important and popular democratic leader of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina. The United Nations Organization is the main pioneer on behalf of the peace loving people for upholding democracy, human rights and rule of law all over the world since its inception after devastating Second World War. In that context the Excellencies United States Senators Mr. Edward M. Kennedy, Mr. John E. Sununu, Mr. John F. Kerry, Mr. Lincoln D. Chafee and United States Representatives Mr. Barney Frank, Mr. John W. Olver, Mr. Richard E. Neal, Mr. James P. McGovern, Mr. John. F. Tierney, Mr. Edward J. Markey, Mr. Michel E. Capuano & Mr. Charles F. Bass jointly submitted a written appeal on 23 June 2005 to the Honorable Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State, U.S.A. to initiate a proposal for a Resolution in the United Nations Security Council calling for an independent, international investigation, which would send a clear signal that the international community will not tolerate a climate in which political violence flourishes in Bangladesh. On behalf of the people of Bangladesh this is our earnest appeal to his Excellency, the Secretary General of U.N.O to form a probe body of Security Council to investigate into the genocide of 21 August 2004, Grenade Attack, at Bangabandhu Avenue, Dhaka to bring the offender before International court of justice as it has been initiated in case of Rafique Harire, Ex Prime Minister of Lebanon.