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Bangladesh: Polarisation, Political Violence & an Undeclared Civil War

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1. Executive summary and recommendations

Bangladesh is in a profound crisis that has no easy resolution. Violent anti-government protests by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) led 20-party alliance, originally driven by legitimate demands, now often use insurgent style tactics to target civilians. The Awami League (AL) led government of Bangladesh and state security forces continue to act in authoritarian, excessive and illegal ways.

The protests demanding resignation of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's AL government and holding of mid-term elections under a neutral caretaker government began on 5 January 2015. The attacks by the protestors to enforce the country-wide transport strike have displayed patterns often associated with insurgent groups, such as killing of civilians including children and women in the fire-bombing of the buses, train derailments, arson etc. Thousands of vehicles have been torched or damaged. The government response has been repressive, often excessive and illegal; numerous instances of torture, illegal detention and enforced disappearance have been documented. Between 5 January and 15 February 2015, about 90 people have died¹ while more than a thousand were injured. Over 7,000 opposition political activists were reportedly detained.²

The Government of Bangladesh has the constitutional, legal and moral responsibility to ensure the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to take lawful measures consistent with its obligations under international human rights law to fulfill these responsibilities. The Government of Bangladesh has repeatedly failed on both counts.³

Opposition political parties are also duty bound to abide by the law. The BNP and its supporters have inflicted significant violence against civilians.

¹ . As per The Independent, Bangladesh as on 13 February 2015, 87 persons had died in the protest related violence. Further alleged BNP supporters Arif Hossain and Mashiur Rahman were killed respectively on 14 and 15 February 2015 in police firing. For details please refer to *Annex I: Chronology of violence* since 5 January 2015 of this report.

². Bangladesh arrests 7,000 opposition activists, BBC, 21 January 2015 available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30917345>

³. Letter from Office of the Chairperson's Office Bangladesh Nationalist Party dated 12.02.2015 received by Asian Centre for Human Rights through email on 13.02.2015. The BNP in a report, "*Two Edge Sword: Fire Bomb and Extrajudicial Killing to Eliminate the Democratic Movement in Bangladesh*" dated 12 February 2015 highlighted human rights violations by the security forces including 52 cases of extrajudicial executions in the name of "gun fights".

The ongoing crisis is not just another episode in the long-running “battle of the begums” between AL’s Sheikh Hasina and BNP’s Khaleda Zia, or simply a manifestation of the country’s immature democratic culture. The recent polarisation in the Bangladeshi polity relates to the deep rooted conflict over the events and significance of the 1971 war of liberation between the AL, which sees itself as the sole custodian of Bangladesh’s freedom struggle, and the Jamaat-e-Islami (Jamaats) which had a role in war crimes while opposing the independence of Bangladesh. Rights violations will continue unchecked and the violence will worsen as long as there is no acknowledgement, leave alone resolution, of what is in effect a civil war between the AL, which has freely used state machinery and justice systems for political ends, and the Jamaat-e-Islami, which wields influence disproportionate to its size and maintains the capacity and willingness to inflict organised violence on civilians.

The massacre of the Bangladesh Army officers deputed to the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) at the BDR Headquarters at Pilkhana, Dhaka on 25 February 2009 changed existing relationships between the political parties and the army, the power behind the throne in Dhaka, in favour of the AL for the first time since the 1975 *coup d’état* and assassination of Mujibur Rahman. This created the space for the AL to constitute the war crimes tribunals by amending the International Crimes (Tribunals) Act, 1973⁴ to try the leaders of the Jamaat-e-Islami for their involvement in war crimes. The trial of the Jamaat leaders also meets political ends of the AL as the Jamaats have attempted to marginalise, if not eliminate the AL from Bangladesh, through an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Sheikh Hasina

4. Jamaat leaders who opposed the division of what was then Pakistan are credibly reported to have participated in mass murder and systematic rape of women. In 1973, the parliament of Bangladesh enacted the International Crimes (Tribunals) Act, 1973 to provide for the detention, prosecution and punishment of persons responsible for committing genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other crimes under international law. However this Act could not be implemented. The conflict between liberation forces and the war criminals remained dormant following the assassination of Mujibur Rahman till ouster of military dictator General H M Ershad in 1990. Following the return of democracy in 1990, there was demand for the trial of the Jamaat leaders and in March 1992, the “*Ekattorer Ghatak-Dalal Nirmul Committee*” established a “*Ghano Adalat*”, or People’s Court, to conduct mock-trials of the alleged war criminals belonging to the Jamaat-e-Islami. The BNP, an alliance partner of the Jamaat-e-Islami, was not expected to take any measures during its rule from 1991 to 1996 but the Awami League (AL) which came to power in 1996 also ignored the issue until the Pilkhana massacre.

in a grenade attack on 21 August 2004⁵ and the assassination of the AL's former Finance Minister SAM Shamsul Kibria in another such attack on 27 January 2005.⁶

The BNP, lacking the ability to enforce its strikes/ hartals, relies on the Jamaat's machinery and insurgency tactics, thereby blurring the distinction between anti-government protests and the specific, violent struggle between the AL and the Jamaat-e-Islami.

The deadlock has taken on the air of a last stand, with both the AL and BNP seeing existential threat in any compromise. The BNP, substantially marginalised politically, considers it impossible to stage a comeback in four years, when the next election should take place, if its ongoing attempt to dislodge the Hasina government were to fail. The AL fears the return of the Jamaat-e-Islami on the back of the BNP and physical reprisals from the Jamaat-e-Islami.⁷ Both the fears are credible.

In this context, a midterm election as the only solution espoused by the BNP⁸ is unlikely to deliver either good democratic practice or reduce current levels of violence. Indeed, it is likely to worsen the situation.

Recommendations:

The Asian Centre for Human Rights is of the considered opinion that Bangladesh has reached a point of no return with respect to the conflict between the AL and the

⁵. Among the dead was Ivy Rahman, Women's Affairs Secretary of the AL. Rahman was married to Zillur Rahman, the 15th President of Bangladesh. "19 accused in Aug 21 grenade attack case fleeing justice", Bdnews24.com, 21.08.2014 available at <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2014/08/21/19-accused-in-aug-21-grenade-attack-case-fleeing-justice>.

⁶. Statement attributable to the Spokesman for the Secretary-General on the death of Shah Abu Mohammad Shamsul Kibria, New York, 28 January 2005 available at <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=1281>

⁷. The Jamaat is thought by the AL to have been behind an attempt to assassinate Sheikh Hasina in a grenade attack on 21 August 2004 and the subsequent assassination of former AL Finance Minister Shamsul Kibria in another grenade attack on 27 January 2005.

⁸. Letter from Office of the Chairperson's Office Bangladesh Nationalist Party dated 12.02.2015 received by Asian Centre for Human Rights through email on 13.02.2015. The BNP stated that "*The only way to stop this violence is to ensure a mid-term (election) as early as possible under a neutral caretaker government system.*"

Jamaat-e-Islami, which has the potential to culminate in tragic and disastrous levels of violence and a civil war that could spiral out of control.

The international community is concerned. India reiterated its confidence in the ability of Sheikh Hasina's government to handle the "law and order" situation in Bangladesh.⁹ The US, the UN and the EU have issued various statements expressing concerns about the prevailing situation especially the violence¹⁰ but no government supports the BNP's demand for mid-term polls. The Government of Bangladesh has been called upon to release all political detainees, ensure respect for press freedom, bring perpetrators of violence to justice and establish accountability of the security forces. The BNP too has been called upon to sever ties with the Jamaat-e-Islami, stop the violence and call off the strike.

All these are elements of a roadmap that could build stability and reduce violence. Yet, the measures are by themselves of limited significance if they are not explicitly directed at the root cause of Bangladesh's political volatility, the unfinished civil war.

The BNP will need to play a key role in this exercise. The best way out of the present crisis is for the BNP to reinvent itself,¹¹ behave responsibly, call off the on-going strike and sever relations with the Jamaat-e-Islami. The BNP is not a nondescript, marginalised, or scattered opposition or non-State actor. It is one of Bangladesh's two main political parties and has held power from 1991-1996 and 2001 to 2007. Its call for free and fair elections is also aimed at coming to power once again through a credible democratic process. The BNP must take all measures to stop violence against civilians, including by those who profess to be its supporters.

9. Indian envoy's report 'hopeful' of turnaround in Bangladesh, bdnews24.com, 12-02-2015 available at <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2015/02/12/indian-envoy-s-report-hopeful-of-turnaround-in-bangladesh>

10. A number of statements have been made by the international community including the United Nations to bring an end to the violence. On 6 February 2015, the United States expressed serious concern about an 'unconscionable' instance of firebombing. A delegation of the European Parliament's sub-committee on human rights to Bangladesh is scheduled to visit Bangladesh from 16 to 20 February 2015.

11. The BNP claims itself to be the guardian of Bangladeshi nationalism but in the context of the unfinished civil war, the AL has been prosecuting those who perpetrated crimes against humanity during the liberation war and thus appears to represent the 'nationalists', thereby creating an identity crisis for the BNP.

The BNP would do well to remember that international statutes apply to political parties as well as to the State. Bangladesh ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC)¹² in 2010, and the ICC's intervention following post-election violence in Kenya¹³ demonstrates that political parties cannot escape from the command responsibility for many crimes defined in the ICC statute.¹⁴

In the longer term, by cutting links with the Jamaat, the BNP will clarify its own position with regard to Bangladesh's political mainstream. The Jamaat will not help the BNP regain its political standing. Rather, the Jamaat is likely to make inroads into constituencies the BNP could have wooed. To remain relevant, the BNP needs support from India and western powers.¹⁵ As long as it maintains ties with the Jamaat-e-Islami, it has no hope of securing such support. Finally, when the Jamaat-e-Islami is not able to use the cover of mainstream political grievances, its actual role and influence may be judged more accurately by the people of Bangladesh.

2. Scale of the violations

Between 5 January and 15 February 2015, about 90 people have died¹⁶ and more than a thousand were injured in the countrywide non-stop transport blockade called by the 20-party opposition alliance led by the BNP for Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina to step down and hold mid-term elections under a neutral care-taker

¹². Bangladesh ratifies ICC Rome Statute, 24 March 2010, The Hague Justice Portal available at <http://www.haguejusticeportal.net/index.php?id=11564>

¹³. In March 2010, the International Criminal Court (ICC) opened investigation into the post-election violence in Kenya in 2007 which led to the killing of 1,100 people and displacement of over 650,000.

¹⁴. "Situation in the Republic of Kenya", International Criminal Court available at http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/situations%20and%20cases/situations/situation%20icc%200109/Pages/situation%20index.aspx

¹⁵. The BNP ought to take cognizance of the changed political reality in the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) era. Even Pakistan had to grudgingly ban the Jamaat-ud-Dawa on 15 January 2015.

¹⁶. As per The Independent as on 13 February 2015, 87 persons had died in the protest related violence. Further Arif Hossain, an alleged BNP supporter was killed on 14 January 2005 and Mashiur Rahman, another BNP supporter was killed on 15 February 2015 in police firing. For details please refer to *Annex 1: Chronology of violence* since 5 January 2015 of this report.

government. At least 650 vehicles were torched and 3,231 vehicles were damaged between 5 and 21 January 2015.¹⁷

The State security forces resorted to indiscriminate use of force including extrajudicial killings. At least eight suspected arsonists, whose family members claim they were innocent,¹⁸ were also killed in alleged gun-fights with law enforcement personnel, mainly the Bangladesh Police and the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) between 5 January 2015 and 5 February 2015 in Dhaka alone. The BNP in its report, “*Two Edge Sword: Fire Bomb and Extrajudicial Killing to Eliminate the Democratic Movement in Bangladesh*” claimed that 52 persons were extrajudicially executed in the name of “gunfight”.¹⁹ Over 7,000 opposition political activists were reportedly detained.²⁰

The protestors used insurgent style tactics by hurling fire-bombs and torching buses in which civilians including children were charred to death. At least five persons including a child were burnt to death and 31 others suffered injuries in a petrol bomb attack on a bus, which was under police protection, at Batason area of Mithapukur.²¹ On 6 February 2015, another five people, including a woman and two children, were burnt to death and 25 injured in a petrol bomb attack on a bus, under police protection, at Tulshighat in Gaibandha.²²

The details, not exhaustive, incidents of violations are provided in *Annex I* to this report.

17. Statistics as quoted by *The Independent, Bangladesh* on 22 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245215:no-respite-from-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

18. “Number of ‘extrajudicial’ killings on rise”, *The Independent*, 6 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246997:number-of-extrajudicial-killings-on-rise&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

19. Letter from Office of the Chairperson's Office Bangladesh Nationalist Party dated 12.02.2015 received by Asian Centre for Human Rights through email on 13.02.2015

20. Bangladesh arrests 7,000 opposition activists, BBC, 21 January 2015 available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30917345>

21. ‘Violence escalating’, *The Independent*, 15 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244403:violence-escalating&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

22. ‘5 killed in firebomb on Gaibandha bus’, *The Independent*, 7 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247104:5-killed-in-firebomb-on-gaibandha-bus&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

3. International reaction

The response of the international community since 5 January 2015 suggests that the AL government has made a convincing argument that the return of the Jamaat-e-Islami to power with the support of the BNP change the political course of Bangladesh towards establishing a theocratic state, which in turn would have a significant impact on regional peace and security.

India and the United States appear to be on the same page on this issue, and international perception remains the same. *The New York Times* in an editorial on 12 February 2015 called upon the BNP to “sever ties with the Jamaat-e-Islami party”.²³ While the United Kingdom may appear to have a greater tolerance for Jamaats and BNP leaders associated with Jamaat,²⁴ it too is unlikely to stray too far from the US line with respect to innocence of the Jamaat in the systematic ongoing violence. Few in the international community will be willing to doubt the involvement of the Jamaats in the systematic violence in the protests, or to accept that the BNP turns a blind eye to even the worst atrocities.²⁵ This position is unlikely to be affected despite credible allegations against the security forces of excessive force and illegal actions.

India and the Western governments recognised the AL government after the deeply flawed 5 January 2014 parliamentary elections in part because the party styles itself as religiously moderate and willing to crack down on radical groups. Western

²³ . “Bangladesh on the Brink”, Editorial Board, *The New York Times*, 12 February 2015 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/13/opinion/bangladesh-on-the-brink.html>

²⁴. BNP Senior Vice President Tariq Zia, son of Begum Zia who has been living in exile in London has rightly been allowed to carry out political activities but he has failed to condemn the violence in the ongoing protests explicitly. The British association is not without precedent – Altab Hussain, leader of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) used operate despite involvement of the MQM in illegal detention, torture and sometimes execution of dissident members of the MQM and political opponents in 1990s as recorded by none other than Amnesty International in its report, “PAKISTAN: Torture, deaths in custody and extrajudicial executions”, December 1993 available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA33/005/1993/en/77473252-ec31-11dd-8d9d-a7825928c0bf/asa330051993en.pdf>

²⁵. As per *The Independent*, Bangladesh, on 14 January 2015, at least five persons including a child were burnt to death and 31 others suffered injuries in a petrol bomb attack on a bus, which was under police protection, at Batason area of Mithapukur. On 6 February 2015, another five people, including a woman and two children, were burnt to death and 25 injured in a petrol bomb attack on a bus, again under police protection, at Tulshighat in Gaibandha.

countries as well as India face unprecedented threats of terror acts and are unlikely to support the sort of regime change being pushed for by the Bangladeshi opposition. The Jamaat's use of insurgency style tactics to target civilians supports this position.

4. Battle of the Begums or an undeclared, unfinished civil war?

a. Not another battle of the Begums

Bangladesh's post military dictatorship political dynamic is seen by many, not inaccurately, as characterised by the singular aim of Begum Khaleda Zia, widow of former President General Ziaur Rahman, and Sheikh Hasina, daughter of the founder of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, to come to or cling on to power at any cost. On the surface, the present crisis appears to be another bout of the Battles of the Begums. The palpable frustration of the international community on their inability to find a solution centers around the reading that this personalised political contest fundamentally drives all political developments in Bangladesh.

The BNP won the parliamentary elections held in 1991 following the resignation of military dictator General HM Ershad. However, the AL boycotted the next elections scheduled for February 1996 on the ground that the BNP was all set to rig the elections. A series of protests forced the BNP government to introduce a system whereby elections would be conducted - till an unspecified time in the future - by caretaker governments. The first such elections were held in June 1996 and the AL won. In subsequent elections held under a caretaker government in October 2001, the coalition led by the BNP won, but its victory was marked by unprecedented violence against Hindu minorities perceived to be supporters of the AL.

The election scheduled for January 2007 could not be held as the AL opposed the caretaker government appointed by outgoing BNP government in October 2006. The stalemate led to intervention by the military on 7 January 2007. The military propped up a caretaker government and made unsuccessful attempts to dislodge both the Begums, what it called the "minus-two solution".²⁶

²⁶. Mohammed Yunus is founder of the microcredit pioneer, Grameen Bank, and the recipient of the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize. When the military was pursuing its "minus-two" solution, Yunus was often portrayed as the ideal "neutral" leader and a credible face for Bangladeshi politics minus the Begums. This led to persecution of Yunus and Grameen Bank after the victory of the AL in the

The military backed caretaker government also launched an anti-corruption crackdown on the Bangladeshi political elite that had popular support. More than 170 senior political figures were imprisoned in Bangladesh from January to September 2007 and key BNP leaders taken into custody.²⁷ In July 2007, Sheikh Hasina too was arrested on corruption and murder charges.²⁸ In September 2007, Khaleda Zia and her younger son, Arafat Rahman, were arrested on corruption charges.²⁹ Earlier in March 2007, Khaleda Zia's elder son Tarique Rahman was arrested by army-led joint forces in a corruption case but in January 2008, Rahman complained before a court that he was blindfolded, suspended from a ceiling and physically tortured on 31 December 2007.³⁰

Considering the arrest, detention and torture of many BNP leaders including Tarique Rahman, the Bangladesh Army feared reprisals should the BNP come to power when parliamentary elections for 29 December 2008 were declared. It was widely reported that the Bangladesh Army openly supported the AL, the first time since the 1975 *coup d'état* and assassination of Mujibur Rahman that the military and the AL were so close. Public anger against nepotism and corruption in the BNP was also pervasive. Most BNP leaders faced corruption charges and Begum Zia's two sons went into exile. The AL's victory in the elections held on 29 December 2008 was thus a foregone conclusion, and the BNP, already battered by the Bangladesh Army, was not in a position to question the fairness of the elections.

elections held on 29 December 2008. This possibly indicates the extent to which Yunus was seen by mainstream politicians as seeking military support for his political ambitions.

²⁷. These included Musaddek Ali Falu (political secretary to Khaleda Zia), Nazmul Huda (a former communications minister), Salauddin Qader Chowdhury (parliamentary affairs advisor to Khaleda Zia), Amanullah Aman (a former state minister for labour and manpower), Mir Nasir Uddin Ahmed (a former state minister for civil aviation and tourism), Iqbal Hasan Mahmood (a former state minister for power), Ruhul Kuddus Talukder Dulu (a former deputy minister for land). "Army-backed Arrests Worry Rights Groups", IPS, 5 February 2007, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2007/02/bangladesh-army-backed-arrests-worry-rights-groups/>

²⁸. "Sheikh Hasina arrested in Bangladesh", Daily News and Analysis 16 July 2007, <http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report-sheikh-hasina-arrested-in-bangladesh-1110091>

²⁹. "Bangladesh ex-PM Khaleda arrested on graft charge", Reuters, 3 September 2007, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/09/03/us-bangladesh-khaleda-idUSSP5057320070903>

³⁰. "Former Bangladesh minister jailed", BBC News, 10 January 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7180779.stm

b. Pilkhana massacre of 2009: trigger of the undeclared civil war

On 25 February 2009, a revolt broke out at the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) Headquarters in Pilkhana. BDR personnel massacred 74 people including 57 army officers deputed to the BDR.³¹

This one incident changed the contours of the battles of the Begums. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina considered the Pilkhana massacre not just an attempt to dislodge her government by playing up divisions within the army, which was traditionally pro-BNP, but as part of a plan by the Jamaat-e-Islami, whom she considers fundamentalists, to oust the relatively liberal AL from the country. This perception had its roots in the assassination attempt on Sheikh Hasina while she addressed an anti-terrorism rally on 21 August 2004 in which 24 persons were killed and over 500 injured in the grenade attacks on the said rally.³² The subsequent assassination of the AL's former Finance Minister SAM Shamsul Kibria in a similar grenade attack on 27 January 2005 cemented this perception.³³

Both these grenade attacks took place when the BNP was in power and solidified the AL's belief that it would not be allowed to rule Bangladesh and that its leaders were vulnerable to political assassination.

Though the commission of inquiry into the Pilkhana massacre did not specify the role of the Jamaat-e-Islami, the AL and the leadership of the Bangladesh Army believed the Jamaats were involved.

The Pilkhana massacre marked the renewal of the old conflict between the Jamaat-e-Islami, which opposed the independence of Bangladesh, and the AL which, led by Mujibur Rahman, spearheaded the liberation movement. It would not be wrong

³¹ . Please see, Bangladesh: Sending death squads to keep the UN's peace, Asian Centre for Human Rights, June 2014, for more details

³². Among the dead was Ivy Rahman, Women's Affairs Secretary of the AL. Rahman was married to Zillur Rahman, the 15th President of Bangladesh. "19 accused in Aug 21 grenade attack case fleeing justice", Bdnews24.com, 21.08.2014 available at <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2014/08/21/19-accused-in-aug-21-grenade-attack-case-fleeing-justice>.

³³. Statement attributable to the Spokesman for the Secretary-General on the death of Shah Abu Mohammad Shamsul Kibria, New York, 28 January 2005 available at <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=1281>

to describe the ongoing conflict since February 2009 as Bangladesh's unfinished civil war.

The war between the AL-led liberation forces of Bangladesh and the leaders and cadres of the Jamaat-e-Islami, which opposed the division of Pakistan had never actually ended. During the liberation war in 1971, members of the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in what was then East Pakistan collaborated with the Pakistani Army. They formed and joined paramilitary forces such as the Razakar and Al-Badr and participated in mass murder, including of Bengali nationalists and pro-liberation intellectuals, and in what has come to be described as the systematic rape of women. After independence or liberation, as it is known in Bangladesh, Jamaat-e-Islami was banned and its leaders went into exile in Pakistan.

The Parliament of Bangladesh enacted the International Crimes (Tribunals) Act, 1973 (Act No. XIX of 1973) to provide for the detention, prosecution and punishment of persons responsible for committing genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other crimes under international law³⁴ but the Act was not implemented.

After Mujibur Rahman was assassinated on 15 August 1975, among others, for the alleged subjugation of Bangladesh under the Indo-Bangladesh friendship treaty, the relationship between Dhaka and New Delhi – an important factor in determining the political balance of power in the country – went into a deep freeze. General Ziaur Rahman, who had seized power, lifted the ban on the Jamaats in 1978 to align Bangladesh with Pakistan and to some extent with the United States. A new party, Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh was formed. In the 1980s, the Jamaats joined the multi-party alliance for the restoration of democracy and later allied with Ziaur Rahman's BNP. The unfinished civil war remained dormant during the military dictatorship from 1975 to 1990.

Following the return of democracy in 1990, the demand for trial of the 1971 war criminals resurfaced again under the leadership of the "*Ekattorer Ghatak-Dalal Nirmul Committee*" (Committee to Eliminate the Traitors and Agents of 1971). The Committee established a "*Ghano Adalat*", or People's Court, in March 1992 to conduct mock-trials of those who were thought to have committed crimes against humanity in the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War. The BNP, an alliance partner of

³⁴ . About the International Crimes (Tribunals) Act, 1973; available at: <http://www.ict-bd.org/>

the Jamaat-e-Islami, was not expected to take any measures during its rule from 1990-1996 but the AL which came to power in 1996 also ignored the issue.

There was no change in the politics surrounding war crimes accusations between 1996 and 2010 to warrant opening of the old wounds through the War Crimes Tribunals. However, in the aftermath of the Pilkhana massacre, the AL government decided to take Jamaat leaders out of circulation. In effect, the AL leaders were setting out to inflict on Jamaat leaders what they feared would be their own fate.

In order to assuage the sentiments of the Bangladesh Army, the AL Government allowed Army personnel to take revenge against individual BDR personnel allegedly involved in the Pilkhana massacre. A total of 70 BDR personnel subsequently died in Army custody³⁵ and 152 were sentenced to death for their role in the Pilkhana massacre.³⁶

Most importantly, the AL decided to establish accountability for war crimes committed during the liberation war. On 9th July 2009, the AL government amended the International Crimes (Tribunals) Act, 1973 to provide sweeping powers to the authorities and then established the International Crimes Tribunal-1 on 25 March 2010 and the International Crimes Tribunal-2 on 22 March 2012.³⁷

Further, the AL amended the constitution of Bangladesh in 2011 to repeal the system of caretaker governments conducting parliamentary elections. The BNP could not oppose these amendments and the AL successfully mobilized the country into pro-liberation forces versus war criminals. Pro-AL civil society groups held massive protests at Shahbag Square³⁸ from 5 February 2013 demanding that life sentences on some Jamaat leaders be enhanced to death sentences. The Jamaats

³⁵. The Economist in its issue dated 9 November 2013 stated, “at least 70 suspects died while in custody—almost certainly murdered”, available at <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21589496-mass-conviction-mutineers-comes-politically-delicate-moment-mutiny-and-revenge>

³⁶ . “Navi Pillay alarmed at sentencing of 152 paramilitary personnel to death in Bangladesh”, United Nations, Geneva, 6 November 2013 available at http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B9C2E/%28httpNewsByYear_en%29/B9CE6FD44748544CC1257C1B003DEC04?OpenDocument

³⁷ . For details visit, International Crimes (Tribunals) Act, 1973; available at: <http://www.ict-bd.org/>

³⁸.”Shahbag protesters versus the Butcher of Mirpur”, The Guardian, 13 February 2013 available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/13/shahbag-protest-bangladesh-quader-mollah>

responded by organising under a new group, Hefajat-e-Islam³⁹ and in July 2013, the Supreme Court of Bangladesh banned the Jamaat-e-Islami⁴⁰ from participating in elections.

In this political mobilisation or polarisation, the BNP failed to redefine or reinvent itself and remained a mute witness. Its claim of representing Bangladeshi nationalism evaporated in the conflict between the pro-liberation forces represented by the AL and the war criminals represented by the Jammats.

Most importantly, the BNP failed to redefine its relationship with the Army after alleged torture of Tarique Rahman in the army custody on 31 December 2007. Begum Zia, as the widow of former general Ziaur Rahman, had long enjoyed the army's sympathy. After the Pilkhana massacre, the BNP's relationship with the Army suffered significantly because of the party's relations with the Jamaats.

In 2007, as per a United States diplomatic cable released by Wikileaks, then Army Chief General Moeen U Ahmed and then Directorate General of Forces Intelligence & Counterterrorism (DGFI), Brigadier General A T M Amin met the US Ambassador, Patricia Butenis to justify the army's interventions for a neutral government, among others, to conduct "fair, free and credible elections" in which all parties participated.⁴¹

Seven years later, the same Army and the same DGFI remained silent when the AL organised parliamentary elections on 5 January 2014 despite the boycott of the elections by the BNP, the main opposition party, and its allies.

With most of the Jamaat leaders in jail or on the run, the BNP did not have the power or allies to push the AL government to hand over power to a caretaker government ahead of the polls. The AL led alliance won the deeply flawed election; the AL led alliance won more than half the parliamentary seats before the first vote was cast. The results were recognised by India and the United States immediately and soon after by others as well.

³⁹. "Bangladesh's radical Muslims uniting behind Hefazat-e-Islam", The Guardian, 20 July 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/30/bangladesh-hefazat-e-islam-shah-ahmad-shafi>

⁴⁰. "Bangladesh court rules Jamaat illegal, bars party from poll", The Dawn, Pakistan, 1 August 2013 available at <http://www.dawn.com/news/1033394>

⁴¹ . WikiLeaks: How president Iajuddin was asked to resign, Priyonews, 21/09/2011 available at <http://news.priyo.com/politics/2011/09/21/wikileaks-how-president-iajudd-37985.html>



5. Conclusion

The crisis in Bangladesh is reaching a tipping point and cannot be resolved through purely domestic means. The international community must encourage a roadmap that addresses the symptoms of Bangladesh's political failure, namely egregious rights violations. Yet, to be effective, this roadmap must also be able to tackle the central challenges to peace, stability and rule of law in the country, namely the unfinished civil war and security sector reform.

The BNP must rise to the occasion and take a leadership role in clearing the path ahead. Doing so can help it regain some international sympathy and secure its political future. Actions by the BNP would also clarify the situation and allow the fundamental political conflict to be assessed and addressed accurately.

Annex 1: Chronology of violence since 5 January 2015

Between 5 January and 15 February 2015, about 90 people have died⁴² and more than a thousand injured since the 20-party opposition alliance led by the BNP called for a countrywide non-stop transport blockade to force Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina to step down. At least 650 vehicles were torched and 3,231 vehicles were damaged between 5 and 21 January 2015.⁴³ At least eight suspected arsonists, whose family members claim they were innocent⁴⁴, were also killed in alleged gun-fights with law enforcement personnel, mainly the Bangladesh Police and the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) between 5 January 2015 and 5 February 2015 in Dhaka alone. The BNP in its report, *“Two Edge Sword: Fire Bomb and Extrajudicial Killing to Eliminate the Democratic Movement in Bangladesh”* claimed that 52 persons were extrajudicially executed in the name of a “gunfight”.⁴⁵ Over 7,000 opposition political activists were detained.⁴⁶

Asian Centre for Human Rights has been monitoring the situation. The incidents as reported in *The Independent* given below are indicative of the extent of violations of rights in Bangladesh in the context of the ongoing conflict.

42 . As per The Independent as on 13 February 2015, 87 persons had died in the protest related violence (Please see “Blockade violence continues, The Independent, 14 February 2015” available at http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247932:arson-attacks-mark-39th-day-of-blockade&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121). Further Arif Hossain, an alleged BNP supporter was killed on 14 January 2015 (Violence unabated, The Independent, 15 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=248040:violence-unabated&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121) and Mashiur Rahman, were killed on 15 February 2015 (One killed in violence, The Independent, 16 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=248182:one-killed-in-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121) in police firing.

43. Statistics as quoted by *The Independent, Bangladesh* on 22 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245215:no-respite-from-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

44. “Number of ‘extrajudicial’ killings on rise”, The Independent, 6 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246997:number-of-extrajudicial-killings-on-rise&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

45. Letter from Office of the Chairperson's Office Bangladesh Nationalist Party dated 12.02.2015 received by Asian Centre for Human Rights through email on 13.02.2015

46. Bangladesh arrests 7,000 opposition activists, BBC, 21 January 2015 available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30917345>

5 January 2015⁴⁷

- At least four persons were killed and over 180 others injured in clashes between activists of the BNP and the (AL) and law enforcers in separate incidents across the country.

6 January 2015⁴⁸

- At least 20 activists of BNP and its allies were injured in clashes with police during a procession in Khulna.
- At least 10 BNP leaders and activists were injured in a clash with police in Narayanganj.
- Three picketers and an Ansar member suffered burn injuries when the picketers were trying to set fire to police vehicle in Kadamtoli area.
- Two police constables suffered head injuries following attack by activists of Jamaat-e-Islami and BNP in Rajshahi.
- Six buses were set on fire during blockade in Dhaka.
- At least 20 vehicles were vandalised by activists of BNP-Jamaat in Alekharchar area of Sadar upazila in Comilla.

On 7 January 2015⁴⁹

- One passenger identified as Ismail Hossain (35) was killed and five others were injured when picketers attacked a CNG-run auto-rickshaw at Shyamolipara area in Ullapara upazila in Sirajganj district.

47. 'Non-stop blockade', The Independent, 6 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243288:non-stop-blockade&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

48. 'Unrest looms large', The Independent, 7 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243429:violence-triggers-concern&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

49. '3 killed in violence', The Independent, 8 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243565:three-killed-in-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Rubel Hossain (28), a businessman and Juba Dal supporter, and Mohin Uddin (30), a Shibir activist, were killed and 50 others injured in police action against a BNP procession at Chowmohani Rail Gate area under Begumganj upazila in Noakhali. The BNP supporters reportedly vandalized 30 shops and torched two CNG auto rickshaws.
- Four buses and a CNG-run three-wheeler were set on fire in Dhaka.
- A bus helper, who was sleeping inside a parked bus, suffered burn injuries, when miscreants set fire to the bus at Khajura bus stand in Jessore district.
- Four people were injured in a clash between AL and BNP supporters during a blockade in Khagrachhari.
- A cargo truck was set on fire by picketers at Challisha area on Netrakona.
- Nearly 150 vehicles including buses and trucks were vandalized by bandh supporters on the Rangpur-Dhaka highway at Palashbari upazila in Gaibandha district.

8 January 2015⁵⁰

- At least 50 passengers were injured as five carriages and the locomotive of a train bound for Chittagong derailed at Kulaura in Moulvibazar after suspected blockaders removed the fish plates.
- Four vehicles were set on fire by miscreants at Banasree, Moghbazar, Nilkhet and Matijheel areas in Dhaka.
- Two trucks carrying imported goods were torched by blockaders at Mohodipur under Shibganj upazila and Shibtala in Chapainawabganj town.
- A truck was torched by protestors at Mohodipur under Shibganj upazila. One policeman was injured when the activists threw crude bombs at a police team who arrived at the spot on receiving the news.

⁵⁰. 'Ijtima devotees suffer', The Independent, 9 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243684:ijtema-devotees-suffer&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A truck was set ablaze by blockaders who threw a petrol bomb at Shibtala around. The driver and helper of the truck were injured.
- Over 50 auto-rickshaws were ransacked by protestors at different points of Chapainawabganj town.
- At least 20 vehicles were vandalized by blockaders at Moheshpur-BRAC area in Gaibandha.
- At least 10 vehicles were vandalized and a bus was set on fire when BNP-Jamaat-Shibir activists brought out processions in Narayanganj town.
- A bus was vandalized by Jamaat-Shibir activists at Zianagar upazila in Pirojpur district.
- Three motorbikes were torched by protestors at Manuri area in Chandpur.
- Two passenger buses of SP Golden Line and Jatriseba Paribahan were set ablaze in Paturia Ghat area in Manikganj.
- A private car and a CNG-run auto rickshaw were set afire by miscreants in Chittagong. Two trucks were also vandalised at Akbar Shah area.

9 January 2015⁵¹

- At least five persons were injured and about eight vehicles vandalized when BNP supporters clash with police during a procession in Narayanganj.
- A bus was torched by BNP activists at Panchabati BSCIC Industrial Area in Fatullah.

⁵¹. See news titles 'Stray incidents mark 4th day of blockade' & 'Crude bombs hurled at law minister's house', The Independent, 10 January 2015

http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243803:stray-incidents-mark-4th-day-of-blockade&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121 &

http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243809:crude-bombs-hurled-at-law-ministers-house&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- At least 10 activists of Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal and Islami Chhatra Shibir were injured when they clashed with police while blocking the Jhenidah-Kushtia highway with burning tires near the Islamic University at Seikhpara Bazar in Shailkupa upazila in Jhenaidah.
- Two trucks were set on fire and 21 vehicles were vandalised by protestors at Maheshpur in Gaibandhga.
- Two crude bombs were hurled by unidentified miscreants targeting the residence of Law Minister Anisul Huq at Banani in the night. One security guard was injured.
- An executive magistrate identified as Abdul Qader sustained injuries in a crude bomb attack in Feni town.

10 January 2015⁵²

- Two persons, a school headmaster and a truck driver who were injured in earlier in attacks, succumbed to their injuries
- The locomotive and a coach of Godhuli Express train was derailed after fishplates were removed from tracks near Nangolkot station in Comilla
- The car of BNP chairperson's Adviser Sabihuddin Ahmed was set on fire near at Gulshan in Dhaka.
- 25 people, including a Border Guards Bangladesh (BGB) personnel, were injured at Sirajganj and Chapainawabganj during a BNP-AL clash, action by law enforcers and a crude bomb attack.
- Six vehicles were torched in Bogra, Moulvibazar and Dhaka and over 50 vehicles vandalised across the country.
- A bus passenger sustained burn injuries as picketers set fire to the vehicle in Tejgaon area of Dhaka

⁵². 'Railways bear the brunt', The Independent, 11 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243879:railways-bear-the-brunt&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A woman (30) was injured when picketers hurled brick chips on a bus at Natunbazar, Dhaka.
- Miscreants blasted a crude bomb inside the boundary wall of the state-run BTV office.
- Three crude bombs went off in front of the AL's central office at Bangabandhu Avenue.
- At least 20 persons were injured in a clash between the BNP, AL and police in front the BNP district office in the EB Road area of Sirajganj town.
- A helper of a truck sustained severe burn injuries as blockaders at Kaharol upazila hurled petrol bombs at the truck. Three more trucks were burnt with petrol bombs in Dinajpur Sadar and Ranirbandar of Chirirbandar upazila.
- Four vehicles were set on fire and many other were vandalised in different parts by miscreants in Bogra district.
- A rickshaw-puller was injured when four crude bombs exploded at the Thanthania inter-district bus terminal.
- A CNG-run auto-rickshaw was set on fire at Koigari.
- Three auto-rickshaws were vandalised at the district bus terminal in Laxmipur.
- Three people, including a member of the Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB), were injured as blockaders threw crude bombs at trucks carrying imported goods at Kansat in Shibganj upazila.
- A bus was torched by miscreants at Brahmanbazar in Kulaura upazila in Moulvibazar.

11 January 2015⁵³

- Murad Mollah (20), a helper of a bus who sustained burn injuries when a group of picketers set fire to a bus at Jessore bus stand on January 7, succumbed to burn injuries.
- A bus was torched by miscreants in Shewarapara area in Dhaka.
- A passenger bus was set on fire by miscreants in a petrol bomb attack at Paltan area.
- Three crude bombs were hurled by miscreants at the house of BNP's Human Rights Affairs Secretary Barrister Nasir Uddin Asim at Dhanmondi.
- A police constable was injured after a group of Shibir activists hurled brickbats at a police jeep at Rahamatpur area on the Barisal-Dhaka highway.
- A bus was set on fire by alleged BNP picketers at Baghata area on the Dhaka-Sylhet highway in Narsingdi.

12 January 2015⁵⁴

- One person identified as Parvej (35) was killed and five others sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack on a bus at Kalitola village in Gaibandha district.
- At least 15 vehicles were torched and 12 others vandalised by the blockaders in Dhaka, Gazipur, Comilla, Bogra, Rajshahi, Sylhet, Gaibandha, Manikganj and Jhenidah districts.
- At least 10 people were injured in several crude bomb explosions in different places in Dhaka.

⁵³. 'Blockade disrupts life', The Independent, 12 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243999:blockade-disrupts-life&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁵⁴. 'Take to streets unitedly', The Independent, 13 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244169:take-to-streets-unitedly&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Four buses were set on fire by miscreants at Gulistan, Nadda, at Nabisco and Nawabpur Road respectively.

13 January 2015⁵⁵

- Reaz Rahman, adviser to BNP chairperson Khaleda Zia and a former state minister for foreign affairs was injured after being shot at by unidentified persons and his vehicle was set on fire in Dhaka.
- Four vehicles were torched in Dhaka.
- Eight vehicles were vandalized by blockaders at South Banashree area.
- A truck driver was killed as his vehicle lost control while he was trying to flee from a group of picketers who chased his truck near Maijdee Pauro Kalyan High School area on the Dhaka-Maijdee highway.
- One person was killed and another injured when a truck fell into a ditch after blockaders set it to fire with petrol bombs on the Dhaka-Chittagong highway in Mirsarai upazila in Chittagong.
- Two trucks were torched and 50 other vehicles vandalized by blockaders in Bogra district.
- Seven vehicles were vandalized in Chuadanga.

14 January 2015⁵⁶

- At least five persons including a child were burnt to death and 31 others suffered injuries in a petrol bomb attack on a bus at Batason area of Mithapukur. The bus was attacked despite being under police protection.

⁵⁵. 'Gun attack on Reaz Rahman', The Independent, 14 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244289:gun-attack-on-reaz-rahman&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁵⁶. 'Violence escalating', The Independent, 15 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244403:violence-escalating&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A Shibir activist was crushed under the wheels of a truck and two others sustained injuries while they were trying to set fire to the vehicle in Lohagara upazila in Chittagong district.
- Eight vehicles were set on fire by miscreants in Dhaka.
- Three crude bombs were exploded by some miscreants in front of Dhaka Medical College Hospital.
- A Juba League leader who was injured in a clash with the protestors on 8 January 2015 succumbed to his injuries during treatment in Feni.
- The office room of the Assistant Commissioner (land) was set on fire by miscreants in Sadar upazila in Faridpur.
- Three crude bombs were exploded by JCD activists targeting police personnel at Bandarbarazar area in Sylhet. Two CNG-run auto-rickshaws were damaged by Shibir activists in Choukidikhi area.
- A mini truck was torched by protestors on Ahammadpur Bridge in Sadar upazila in Natore.
- A truck and a pick-up van were set on fire by blockaders in Andarghar area in Laxmipur.

15 January 2015⁵⁷

- A bus helper identified as Tofazzal Hossain was killed when blockade supporters set fire to his bus parked on the roadside at Kaliakoir in Gazipur in Dhaka.
- A car driver identified as Abdul Hakim succumbed to burn injuries sustained on 13 January 2015 when unidentified miscreants hurled a petrol bomb on his car at Magbazar crossing.

⁵⁷. '1 more killed in violence', The Independent, 16 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244509:violence-kills-1&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A truck driver and his assistant were beaten up and the truck was torched by unidentified persons in Moulavi Bazar.

16 January 2015⁵⁸

- Matiur Rahman (22), an activist of Jatiayatabadi Chhatra Dal, who was arrested on charge of carrying out subversive activities, was killed in a gunfight with Rapid Action Battalion members at Kansat in Shibganj upazila.

17 January 2015⁵⁹

- At least 25 persons, including 13 policemen and a female student of Jagannath University, were injured in petrol bomb attacks on a police bus and six public transports in Dhaka.
- A sugar-laden truck was set on fire by miscreants at Ghopgari on the Dhaka-Rangpur highway.
- A cement-laden truck was also set on fire by miscreants in the Bosikpur area on the Laxmipur-Noakhali highway. Two trucks and 10 other vehicles were vandalised at Rakhalia, Mandari Bazarin and Motirhat area of Laxmipur.
- A goods-laden truck was set on fire by miscreants at Kanta in Gaibandha.

18 January 2015⁶⁰

- A helper of truck SM Sohag (17) was burnt to death and the driver was injured in a petrol bomb attack in the Sanuhar area in Barisal

⁵⁸. 'JCD man killed in 'gunfight' with RAB', The Independent, 17 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244648:jcd-man-killed-in-gunfight-with-rab&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁵⁹. 'Violence flares', The Independent, 18 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244684:violence-continues&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁶⁰. 'Anxiety all around', The Independent, 19 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244834:anxiety-all-around&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Two students of Eden Mohila College suffered burn injuries, while two others got hurt when they tried to jump out of the window of a bus when miscreants set fire to it in the Khejurbagan area in Dhaka.
- Five persons were injured when protestors set fire to an auto-rickshaw and vandalized at least 27 vehicles in Noakhali and Laxmipur districts during blockade and hartal.

19 January 2015⁶¹

- A staff bus of Janata Bank was torched by pickets in Motijheel. A CNG-run-auto-rickshaw was set on fire at Shewrapara and a bus was torched at Gulistan.
- Five persons were injured when a bus was set on fire by miscreants in Narayanganj. A truck was also set ablaze in the same area.
- A bus and a truck were torched by protestors in Sadar upazila.
- Crude bombs were exploded in front of the residence of JU vice-chancellor on the campus.
- An alleged arsonist identified as Nur Mohammad, 35, was injured as police shot him while fleeing after hurling a crude bomb on a bus in Shahbagh area.

20 January 2015⁶²

- A woman identified as Monwara Begum succumbed to her injuries sustained in a petrol bomb attack on a bus on 14 January 2015.

⁶¹. '15th day of blockade peaceful', The Independent, 20 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244963:15th-day-of-blockade-peaceful&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁶². 'Crisis deepens', The Independent, 21 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245077:crisis-deepens&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A policeman was injured when pickets hurled a crude bomb at a police van at Kedarganj.
- Two Dhaka-bound launches were set ablaze by miscreants in Barisal.
- Six trucks were torched by miscreants in Bogra and Rajshahi during the blockade.
- A local AL office was set on fire by miscreants at Shanir Akhra in Dhaka
- A crude bomb was also exploded by miscreants in Dhaka University's Arts Faculty building.
- A 48-year-old woman identified as Ambia Begum suffered burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack on a bus in Rajshahi.
- At least five trucks were torched by miscreants on the Dhaka-Rangpur highway at Charmatha, Matidhalir Moor, Sabgram and Gokul areas. Over 50 vehicles were also vandalized by the blockaders.
- At least four people sustained burn injuries when miscreants hurled petrol bombs on a CNG-run auto rickshaw at Daganbhuiyan in Feni.
- Faruk Hossain Titu (25), a Jubo League activist, was stabbed by miscreants at Nandanpur area.

21 January 2015⁶³

- At least five people sustained burn injuries in Feni and Barisal during a blockade. Miscreants torched two vehicles in Dhaka, two in Gazipur, two in Feni, one in Noakhali, one in Barisal, one in Chittagong and one in Mymensingh during the hartals.
- A bus was set on fire by miscreants at Kalyanpur. A bus of Jagannath University teachers was also set on fire in front of the new building of the university.

⁶³. 'No respite from violence', The Independent, 22 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245215:no-respite-from-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Three persons, including a college student, sustained burn injuries when unidentified attackers set fire to the bus they were travelling at Ashulia in Gazipur.
- A car was set ablaze by picketers in Harinal area of Gazipur city. A pick up van was also torched by activists of Islami Chhatra Shibir during a procession from the Agricultural Research Institute gate area.
- Ten passengers were injured in a petrol bomb attack on a passenger bus from Dhaka.
- Manik Mujumder, Councilor of Feni Municipality was injured when a group of picketers hurled crude bombs at his car at Lalpul area.
- At least 10 passengers were injured when a group of picketers torched a goods-loaded truck and vandalised at least 12 CNG and battery-run auto rickshaws at Chowmohani West Bazar area in Noakhali.
- At least 10 vehicles were vandalized by blockaders during a procession at Alia Madrasa area Laxmipur.
- Seven CNG-run auto rickshaws were vandalized by picketers in Raipur upazila under Laxmipur district.
- At least three persons sustained burn injuries when protestors hurled petrol bombs on a glass-loaded truck in Kaharol upazila in Dinajpur.
- Two persons sustained severe burn injuries when two trucks were torched by miscreants at Raniganj area under Ghoraghat upazila.
- A passenger was injured as miscreants hurled a petrol bomb on an express train in Gouripur upazila.

22 January 2015⁶⁴

- Two persons identified as Sanjid Hossain Ovi (19) and Mahbubur Rahman Bappy (28) who were injured in separate bomb explosion on 21 and 14 January, succumbed to their injuries.
- Several crude bombs were exploded during a procession by leaders and activists of Islami Chhatra Shibir in Shahjadpur area under Gulshan Thana in Dhaka.
- Four vehicles were torched during a hartal enforced by BNP-led 20 party alliance in Dhaka and Khulna divisions.
- Three buses were set on fire by miscreants at Khaleque Motors ground in Gabtali area.
- A vehicle was set on fire by miscreants near Abul Hotel in Khilgaon area.
- Three people including a truck driver received burn injuries in petrol bomb attack at a truck carrying furniture in Noongola area of Bogra Sadar Upazila.
- Two police personnel were injured after miscreants hurled cocktails at them at Sherpur road of the town.
- A female apparel worker was injured by brickbats hurled by blockaders in a factory at Muradpur area in Chittagong.
- Three persons were injured when a group of blockaders attacked a convoy of goods-carrying trucks at Dori-Khorbona in Rajshahi.
- A cement-laden truck and a passenger microbus were torched by picketers at Bholail area in Narayanganj.
- Two passenger buses and two auto-rickshaws were torched by miscreants at Shreerampur and Hilalpur areas in Sylhet.

⁶⁴. 'Economy loses Tk 36,445cr', The Independent, 23 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245338:economy-loses-tk-36445cr&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Two passengers were injured when blockaders torched seven CNG-run rickshaws in Bogadia on Dhaka-Sonaimuri highway. A courier van was torched by blockaders at Maijdee court town hall area.
- Seven Shibir activists were allegedly beaten by Bangladesh Chhatra League activists at Modina Housing area in suspicion of creating subversive activities in Laxmipur.
- The AL District Office was torched by miscreants on the Chandpur-Comilla Road in Chandpur.
- An unidentified boy, who sustained burns in arson attack on a bus at Savar on 20 January, succumbed to his injuries.

23 January 2015⁶⁵

- At least 29 people received burn injuries when assailants hurled petrol bombs on a moving bus in Jatrabari area, Dhaka.
- An auto-rickshaw driver, Shahjahan Miah, 30, was killed and two passengers were injured when a truck crashed into a three-wheeler in its bid to escape when a petrol bomb was hurled by attackers at the Chhatak-bound truck at Lamakazi in Biswanath upazila
- Abdul Rahim Moral, a victim of a petrol bomb attack on 22 January, succumbed to his burn injuries.
- Eight passengers including women and children sustained burn injuries when unidentified attackers torched two buses in separate incidents in Poba and Tanore upazilas in Rajshahi.
- A van and a CNG-run auto-rickshaw were set on fire by assailants in front of Rampur Nasir Memorial College and at Shahid Shahidullah Qaisar Road in Feni city.

⁶⁵. 'An act of brutality, 29 burned in city arson attack; 9 critical', The Independent, 24 January 2015,

http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245325:an-act-of-brutality-29-burned-in-city-arson-attack-9-critical&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- At least two people sustained burn injuries when miscreants hurled petrol bombs on a goods (banana) -laden truck in front of Chatkhil PG High School at Halima Dhigir Para in Noakhali.
- At least 10 people, including women and children, sustained burn injuries when Shibir cadres torched a passenger bus at Tanore upazila sadar in Rajshahi.

24 January 2015⁶⁶

- At least 14 people, including women and children, sustained burn injuries in violence.
- A car was set on fire by a group of miscreants at Shyamoli.
- At least 19 vehicles, including five trucks, were vandalised by alleged Shibir activists at Chhamir Munshirhat and Shebarhat areas.
- A passenger bus was torched and a truck was vandalised by alleged Shibir activists at Kashipur Dewanbari area in Narayanganj.
- A car was set on fire by protestors on the Chandpur–Comilla highway at Ghoserhat area under Chandpur sadar upazila.
- A truck driver and his helper sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack by miscreants at Bhushibandar area under Chirirbandar upazila in Dinajpur.
- At least 10 battery-run three wheelers were vandalised and a BNP office was set on fire in Jamalpur.
- Two passengers of a bus sustained injuries in a petrol bomb attack at Sukhia in Pakundia upazila in Kishoreganj.
- A passenger bus was torched by miscreants at the Nathllabad central bus terminal area in Barisal.

⁶⁶. '36-hour hartal from today', The Independent, 25 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245316:36-hour-hartal-from-today&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Three trucks were set on fire by miscreants on the Rangpur-Dhaka and Rangpur-Gangachara highways in Rangpur.
- A lentil-loaded truck was torched by miscreants on the Chapai-Sonamasjid highway under Sadar upazila in Chapainawabganj.

25 January 2015⁶⁷

- Two passengers sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack in Kishoreganj.
- Three people, including a truck driver, were injured when miscreants hurled a petrol bomb at their vehicle in Natore.
- At least seven vehicles were torched in Rangpur, Comilla, Barisal, Chapainawabganj and Kishoreganj during the ongoing blockade and hartal enforced by the BNP-led 20-Party Alliance.
- Three persons, including the driver of an onion-loaded truck, were injured when the vehicle fell into a roadside ditch after being attacked by miscreants who hurled petrol bombs at the vehicle at Gazir Beel area in Sadar upazila in Natore.
- A truck was set on fire and at least five other vehicles vandalized by miscreants at Haydarpul area on the Dhaka-Chittagong highway at Chowdogram in Comilla.

26 January 2015⁶⁸

- Abdul Malek (45), a petrol bomb attack victim on 23 January, succumbed to his burn injuries.

⁶⁷. 'Sporadic violence, arrests mark first day of hartal', The Independent, 26 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245646:sporadic-violence-arrests-mark-first-day-of-hartal&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁶⁸. 'Stray incidents mark 21st day of blockade', The Independent, 27 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245622:stray-incidents-mark-21st-day-of-blockade-24-hr-hartal-in-rajshahi-division-tomorrow-khaleda&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- At least six persons sustained injuries in crude bomb attacks in Rajshahi, Thakurgaon, Savar and Sirajganj.
- At least four vehicles were torched in Rajshahi, Thakurgaon and Dhaka, while 16 vehicles were vandalised in Chapainawabganj, Sunamganj and Khulna.
- A vehicle of a private television channel was attacked with two crude bombs by miscreants in Dhaka.
- Two people were injured in crude bombs attacks by miscreants on two buses on the Dhaka-Aricha highway in front of Dairy Gate of Jahangirnagar University.
- A pick-up van driver sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack at 29th Mile area under Sadar upazila in Thakurgaon
- A trader was injured when blockaders hurled crude bombs near Sajghor Departmental store in Sirajganj.
- A truck driver and his helper sustained burn injuries when blockaders torched their truck at Charchat upazila in Rajshahi.
- At least 10 trucks were ransacked at Shantimore in Chapainawabganj.
- Two battery-run easy-bikes and a three-wheeler were vandalized by picketers in Khulna.
- Four vehicles were vandalized by Shibir activists during a procession in Mohammadpur area in Sunamganj.

27 January 2015⁶⁹

- Two arson victims Bakul Debnath (35) and Abdur Rashid (38) who suffered burn injuries on 20 and 24 January respectively, succumbed to their injuries.

⁶⁹. 'Blockade takes hefty toll', The Independent, 28 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245887:blockade-takes-hefty-toll&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A bus was set on fire at Bhadraghat on the Sirajganj-Nalka road.
- At least three people sustained burn injuries in Chittagong and Sirajganj.
- At least five vehicles were torched in Bogra, Sirajganj and Chittagong, while two were vandalised in Sirajganj during the ongoing blockade.
- A truck driver and his helper sustained burn injuries as miscreants hurled a petrol bomb on their truck on the Dhaka-Chittagong highway in Sitakunda upazila in Chittagong.
- One person was injured when a bus was set on fire by blockaders at Bhadraghat in Sirajganj. A CNG-driven auto-rickshaw was also vandalized at the same area at that time.
- Two passengers were injured when blockaders attacked a Sirajganj town-bound auto-rickshaw and vandalised it near Bohuli Bazaar area on the Sirajganj-Raiganj regional road.
- Three vehicles were set on fire by a group of unidentified miscreants on the Bogra-Dhaka and Bogra-Natore highways.

28 January 2015⁷⁰

- A 20-year-old Islami Chhatra Shibir activist, who was injured while hurling crude bombs in Chittagong, succumbed to his injuries.
- Motaleb Hossain (40), a truck helper, died at Ghoshairhat while trying to escape a petrol bomb attack in Chandpur.
- Asaduzzaman (35), a judge, was seriously injured in a crude bomb attack at Kalshi in Mirpur area of Dhaka.
- A bus was set on fire by protestors in front of the passport office in Comilla.

⁷⁰. 'Two more die as blockade violence continues', The Independent, 29 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=245977:arsonist-dies-as-blockade-violence-continues&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Six shops were torched by arsonists in a market in Begumganj upazila in Noakhali.

29 January 2015⁷¹

- Nowshed (35), who had sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack at Kalipal area in Feni town, succumbed to injuries.
- At least eight people including students were injured in crude bombs attack at New Market in Dhaka.
- At least eight buses were torched by miscreants in various places of Dhaka.
- At least five persons were injured during clashes by activists of Jubo league and Chharta Dal at Abeer Para Bazar under Sonaimuri upazila in Noakhali. Five shops were also vandalized in the area.
- A double-decker bus of Dhaka University was torched at Chankharpool in Dhaka

30 January 2015⁷²

- Nine passengers were injured in a petrol bomb attack on a bus by miscreants at Kasidbari in Laxmipur Sadar upazila.
- Three buses were torched and several crude bombs blasted in Dhaka.
- Five persons suffered burn injuries in an arson attack on a bus at Khilgaon in Dhaka.
- Two persons sustained splinter injuries as protestors blasted a crude bomb in Mirpur-11.

⁷¹. '12,000 Ansar men to guard highways', The Independent, 30 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246091:12000-ansar-men-to-guard-highways&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁷². 'Situation worsens', The Independent, 31 January 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246168:situation-worsens&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Two persons were injured when miscreants blasted four crude bombs in front of Bangla Academy.
- A bus was set ablaze at Tantibazar intersection.
- Two passengers were injured when suspected blockaders set fire by hurling a petrol bomb to Dhaka-bound launch in Hosnabad area of Gournadi upazila in Barisal.

31 January 2015⁷³

- Ganesh Das, a CNG-run auto-rickshaw driver, was burnt to death and five others sustained injuries in a petrol bomb attack by alleged blockaders in Sirajganj
- Sumon (35), bus driver, who sustained burns in a petrol bomb attack on his bus on 30 January, succumbed to his injuries.
- Seven vehicles including a cement-laden truck were torched by miscreants in the Jakshin area in Noakhali.
- At least four people sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack in the Subhani Ghat area in Sylhet.
- Three passengers were injured when a bus was set on fire on Johnson Road in near National Medical College Hospital.
- A bus was set on fire in the Bhulta area of Rupganj upazila in Narayanganj.
- A bus driver sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack in Feni.
- A truck driver was injured in a crude bomb attack in Sadar upazila in Jessore

⁷³. 'Two more die in blockade violence', The Independent, 1 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246304:2-more-die-as-blockade-violence-continues&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

1 February 2015⁷⁴

- Nur-e-Alam, who sustained injuries in a bus attack earlier, succumbed to his injuries.
- Five people, including a policeman, were injured in a clash between law enforcers and BNP activists in Brahmanbaria.
- One person sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack in Feni and another came under a crude bomb attack in Jessore.
- At least six vehicles were torched in Bogra, Comila and Feni.
- A Juba Dal leader received bullet injury on both of his legs while setting fire on a passenger bus at New Market area in Dhaka.
- At least five people were injured in a clash between the BNP-led alliance and police at rail gate area in Brahmanbaria.
- Two buses were set on fire in Syedpur area of Burichong upazila in Comilla.
- A truck was torched and nine other vehicles were vandalized by miscreants on the Dhaka-Chittagong highway and Takia bazaar area.
- Three goods-laden trucks were torched by a group of miscreants at different places in Bogra.

2 February 2015⁷⁵

- Liton (34) who was injured in a petrol bomb attack on an auto-rickshaw earlier succumbed to his injuries.

⁷⁴. 'No light at the end of tunnel', The Independent, 2 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246455:no-light-at-the-end-of-tunnel&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁷⁵. 'No respite from violence', The Independent, 3 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246616:no-respite-from-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- Five train passengers were injured when a train came under bomb attack in Gazipur.
- At least eight vehicles were torched in different areas in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi. Five were vandalised in Gaibandha and Chittagong.
- At least 15 people were injured when two bogies and the engine of Nasirabad Express veered off the tracks following removal of fishplates from railway tracks in Mirsarai upazila of Chittagong.
- A petrol bomb was hurled by miscreants at the Chittagong Court.
- Two auto-rickshaws and a micro-bus were set on fire by miscreants at Sholoshahar area in Chittagong.
- A pick-up van was set on fire and three auto-rickshaws were vandalized by miscreants at Fateyabad area in Hathazari upazila in Chittagong.
- Two people were injured when picketers blasted at least eight crude bombs at Johnson Road near the Judges' Court area in Dhaka.
- A passenger bus was torched by miscreants at Doyaganj.
- Jamaat leader Saidur Islam succumbed to his injuries sustained in police firing on 1 February at Ullapara.
- Two persons were injured when a passenger bus was attacked with crude bombs at Baneshwar petrol pump area on the Rajshahi-Dhaka highway.
- Two trucks were torched by miscreants at Katakhalia area.
- Two truck drivers were injured when Jamaat-Shibir activists vandalised the trucks at Saitantola area under Sundarganj upazila in Gaibandha.
- A car driver of Municipality Mayor sustained burn injuries when miscreants hurled petrol bomb at the car in Feni.
- Two truck drivers and a helper suffered burn injuries following a petrol bomb attack by unidentified blockaders on two trucks in Rajshahi.

- At least three crude bombs exploded inside the Rajshahi University (RU) campus.

3 February 2015⁷⁶

- At least seven persons were killed including women and minors, and 16 injured when miscreants hurled a petrol bomb on a bus at Jogmohonpur in Chauddagam upazila of Comilla on the Dhaka-Chittagong Highway.
- Three persons were also killed in Jessore and Noakhali.
- Three persons including Abdul Hamid alias Sayem, an activist of Islami Chhatra Shibir, were injured when police had to open fire during a procession by Jamaat-Shibir activists in Japan Bazar area in Dhaka.
- Three persons were injured when miscreants blasted crude bombs at Chawk Bazar and Malibagh.
- A bus was torched at Chowdhury Para in Malibagh area and a passenger bus was set on fire by miscreants at Gabtoli. Another passenger bus was set on fire by miscreants in front of Hazrat Shahjalal International Airport.
- A CNG-run vehicle and human hauler was torched at Chhagalniya upazila on the Dhaka–Chittagong highway.
- A pick-up van driver identified as Kamal Hossain, who had sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack on his vehicle on 2 February, succumbed to his injuries.

⁷⁶. 'Seven burnt to death in Comilla arson attack', The Independent, 4 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246738:seven-burnt-to-death-in-comilla-arson-attack&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

4 February 2015⁷⁷

- Two persons, allegedly involved in acts of sabotage, were killed in a gunfight with Rapid Action Battalion at Matuail in Dhaka.
- Rashedul Islam (40), who sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack at Chouddagram in Comilla earlier, succumbed to his injuries.

- At least six passengers suffered burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack on a bus in Gazipur.

- A government primary school was set ablaze by some miscreants at Jolagachchi village of Kaukhali upazila in Pirojpur.

- One person who hurled a petrol bomb at police was injured in police firing while trying to flee in the Amtala area of Khilgaon, Dhaka.

- A passenger bus was set on fire by miscreants in the Diabaria area of Mirpur-1.

- An office of Olama League was set on fire at Ranimahal in Demra.

- At least 10 people, including six policemen, were injured in a clash between law enforcers and Shibir activists in the Krisnapur area of South Sadar in Comilla

- At least four vehicles were vandalized by Islami Chhatra Shibir activists during a procession in the Madina market area in Sylhet.

- A truck was torched by miscreants at Parair Chawk in South Surma.

- At least seven CNG auto-rickshaws were vandalized by miscreants at the Sonaimuri bus-stand in Noakhali.

⁷⁷. See news reports 'No respite from violence' & '2 killed in 'gunfight' with RAB', The Independent, 5 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246841:sporadic-violence-mark-blockade-hartal&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121 & http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246842:2-killed-in-gunfight-with-rab&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A microbus was torched by miscreants at Niamatpur upazila in Naogaon.

5 February 2015⁷⁸

- Shamim (26), a police constable, succumbed to his injuries sustained during a petrol bomb attack on a police van in Matsya Bhaban area on 17 January.
- Two persons died and another critically injured when miscreants hurled a petrol bomb on a truck in Bogra.
- A truck helper was killed in a crude bomb attack in Puthia upazila of Rajshahi.
- A train was set on fire at a railway junction in Joydebpur.
- Three persons were injured in a crude bomb explosion in front of the Nawabganj police camp area at Lalbagh.
- A bus was set on fire by miscreants at Koshaibari area in Uttara, Dhaka. Helper of the bus sustained burn injuries as he had fallen asleep in the bus.
- A truck was set on fire by miscreants in Natore.
- At least eight vehicles were vandalized by blockaders in Noakhali.
- At least 10 persons were injured in a clash between AL and BNP activists during a procession at Doyal intersection area in Noagaon.

6 February 2015⁷⁹

- At least five people, including a woman and two children, were burnt to death and 25 injured in a petrol bomb attack on a bus at Tulshighat in Gaibandha. The bus was attacked despite being under police protection.

⁷⁸. 'Violence hangs on', The Independent, 6 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=246962:violence-hangs-on&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁷⁹. '5 killed in firebomb on Gaibandha bus', The Independent, 7 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247104:5-killed-in-firebomb-on-gaibandha-bus&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- A suspected Jamaat-e-Islami member was killed and another injured in an explosion when they were allegedly making crude bombs at a farm house in Ataikula upazila in Pabna.

7 February 2015⁸⁰

- At least three persons were killed in a firebomb attack on a truck at Mahilara in Barisal.
- Two persons succumbed to injuries sustained in an arson attack on a bus on the Gaibandha-Palashbari road in Sadar upazila on 6 February 2015
- One passenger was critically injured in a petrol bomb attack at Tejgaon.
- Five persons were injured in a crude bomb explosion near the Institute of Fine Arts of Dhaka University.
- Three persons sustained burn injuries in a petrol bomb attack on a bus stand at Tangail in Mymensing.
- Three persons were injured in a petrol bomb attack by miscreants on a goods-laden truck at Shahjahanpur in Bogra.
- A passenger bus was set ablaze by miscreants at Bhatara in Moulvibazar.
- A rice-laden truck was sent on fire by miscreants, injuring the driver and the helper, in the Kanchon area in Narayanganj.
- Two persons were injured when a car was attacked by miscreants in the Shaktala area in Noakhali.
- A CNG-run auto rickshaw was set on fire by picketers and six other vehicles vandalized in the Pauro Kalyan High School.

⁸⁰. 'Violence escalates', The Independent, 8 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247188:violence-escalates&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

8 February 2015⁸¹

- A truck helper was killed and three others were injured in a firebomb attack in Shajahanpur upazila in Bogra district.
- Abul Kalam succumbed to his burn injuries sustained in a petrol bomb attack in Gaibandha on 6 February.
- At least seven people sustained burn injuries in separate incidents in Mymensingh, Noakhali and Feni, while at least seven people were injured in Dinajpur and Noakhali during the blockade and hartal. At least 10 vehicles were set on fire/damaged in these areas.
- The Dhaka-bound 'Maitree Express' train from India was attacked with petrol bombs at Ishwardi Railway Station in Pabna.
- A crude bomb exploded on the roof of the Noakhali judge court during court proceedings

9 February 2015⁸²

- Two persons who had suffered burn injuries earlier in arson attacks succumbed to their injuries
- Three buses were set on fire by miscreants at Mirpur-11, Sayedabad and Savar.

⁸¹. 'Stray violence continues', The Independent, 9 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247302:stray-violence-continues&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁸². 2 more blockade victims succumb, The Independent, 10 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247443:stray-violence-continues&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121 & 2 bodies found in capital, Comilla, The Independent, 10 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247448:you-th-killed-in-shootout&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121 & 7 ruling party men killed in 10 days, The Independent, 10 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247440:seven-ruling-party-men-killed-in-last-10-days&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

- At least two people were injured in a crude bomb attack on a rickshaw at Lalbagh area.
- At least two people, including a photo journalist, were injured when police fired rubber bullets at a procession at the foothill of the 6th Bangladesh-China Friendship Bridge at Muktarpur in Munshiganj
- A truck driver, Harun, was injured when miscreants hurled a petrol bomb on the vehicle at Jamaldi Bus Stand area of Gazaria.
- A bus was set on fire by miscreants at old ferry ghat of Louhajang.
- A pick-up van was set on fire by picketers by throwing petrol bomb on the vehicle on the Poysharhat-Gopalganj road in Barisal.
- A truck was set on fire by miscreants in Khoyersuti upazila in Pabna.
- Two goods trucks were set on fire by unidentified attackers on the Dhaka-Natore highway in Bogra.
- At least 10 people were injured in a clash between AL and BNP activists in front of the upazila hospital in Naogaon.
- At least nine passengers were injured when a bus was torched by miscreants in a petrol bomb attack in Mymensingh.
- At least five vehicles were torched in separate incidents in Noakhali.
- A driver and a labourer were injured in separate incidents of arson and crude bomb attacks in Feni
- An alleged arsonist identified as Rasel Akter was killed in a 'gunfight' with members of the Detective Branch (DB) of Dhaka Metropolitan Police at Jatrabari in Dhaka.
- Two AL leaders were killed in separate incidents in Bogra and Noakhali.

10 February 2015⁸³

- At least 11 people were injured in petrol bomb attacks in Feni and Netrakona
- At least eight people were injured in stray incidents of violence in Jhenaidah, Bogra, Rajshahi and Dhaka.
- A truck was torched by miscreants at Sadullahpur in Gaibandha.

11 February 2015⁸⁴

- An AL office was set on fire by a group of miscreants at ward No 6 at Basherpur area in Demra.
- Two policemen suffered injuries in a crude bomb attack by miscreants at Mamud Nagar area on the Gouripur-Ramgopalpur road in Gouripur upazila in Mymensingh. One person sustained bullet injuries when the police opened fire in retaliation.
- A passenger bus was set on fire by miscreants in Chittagong
- Three persons including an auto-rickshaw driver sustained burn injuries when unidentified miscreants hurled crude bombs at Gulzar intersection in Chawkbazar area.
- Two vehicles were set on fire by picketers at Dawadpur Bridge area in Feni town.

⁸³. Hartal extended until 6am Friday, The Independent, 11 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247578:hartal-extended-until-6am-friday&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁸⁴. Stray violence continues, The Independent, 12 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247671:stray-violence-continues&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

12 February 2015⁸⁵

- At least 26 people were injured in crude bomb attacks in Noakhali, Khulna, Chapainawabganj, Narsingdi, Dhaka, and in Savar.
- At least 12 vehicles were torched, attacked, and vandalised in Laxmipur, Noakhali, Moulvibazar, Chapainawabganj, and in Dhaka.

13 February 2015⁸⁶

- About 150 telephone connections were snapped due to the petrol bomb attack on Sarda exchange in Charchat upazila of Rajshahi.
- At least five people were injured when miscreants hurled petrol bomb on a passenger bus in Jocksin bazaar area under Begumganj upazila in Laxmipur.
- A straw-loaded truck was attacked with petrol bombs by miscreants in Jhenidah, leaving the helper of the vehicle injured.

14 February 2015⁸⁷

- A suspected arsonist, Arif Hossain was killed and four others sustained bullet injuries during a clash between blockade supporters and law enforcers in Nunachora area of Sitakunda in Chittagong.
- Suspected blockaders removed fishplates from the rail track in Rajshahi disrupting train communications.
- A bus came under a petrol bomb attack at Bahadderhat intersection.

⁸⁵. No end to violence, The Independent, 13 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247815:no-end-to-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁸⁶. Blockade violence continues, The Independent, 14 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247932:arson-attacks-mark-39th-day-of-blockade&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121

⁸⁷. Violence unabated, The Independent, 15 February 2015, http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=248040:violence-unabated&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121



- At least 14 people including a couple were injured in separate crude bomb blasts in Dhaka.
- At least three passengers were injured in a bomb attack on a bus of Ananda Paribahan at Jakshin Bazaar on the Laximpur–Noakhali road in Laximpur.

15 February 2015⁸⁸

- A local BNP leader, Mashiur Rahman was killed as police opened fire during a clash between BNP-Jamaat activists and law enforcers in Shatokhali area of Shalikhha upazila in Magura.
- At least 30 people including five policemen were injured and dozens of vehicles torched in violence across the country.
- Two coaches of a Dhaka-bound train caught fire following petrol bomb attacks in Rail Gate-2 in Narayanganj.

⁸⁸. One killed in violence, The Independent, 16 February 2015,
http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=248182:one-killed-in-violence&catid=129:frontpage&Itemid=121