

Appendices:

Appendix 1: Number of Madrasa

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Appendix 1: Numbers of Madrasa

There is no definitive figure for how many madrasa operate in Bangladesh. The statistics have to be gathered from different madrasa boards, but there are also some institutions that fall outside the purview of any board. We have tried to assemble information that's as accurate as possible from a variety of sources and collate it in a table below.

The information suggests a total number of approximately **19,000 madrasa** (*alia* and *quomi*) with nearly **4 million students** enrolled. The vast bulk of these are primary education establishments, where the number of girls is surprisingly almost at parity with boys. Some have said Bangladesh has the most feminised madrasa system in the world.³⁷⁹

In this table we chose to use the *Befaql Madarisil Arabia* figure for the *quomi* madrasa on the advice of the director of the government-run Islamic Foundation, who was adamant that other estimates were excessive. However we also cite the larger estimates below.

Madrasa Estimated Numbers

	ALIA	STUDENTS	QUOMI	STUDENTS	TOTAL
Befaql Madarisil Arabia			5,250	1,357,505	
<i>Alia</i> Stand Alone Primary	4,416	676,398			
<i>Alia</i> Primary attached to Secondary	9313	1,741,049			
Only Dhakil to Kamil	17	2,907			
Subtotal	13,746	2,420,354	5,250	1,357,505	
Total Madrasa Establishments					
Total Madrasa					18,996
Total Madrasa Students					3,777,859
On average 171 students at each alia madrasa . Estimated student nos. are in red					

The numbers shift considerably depending on how you count the primary *alia* madrasa that are attached to a secondary madrasa. Are they one madrasa or two? We have counted them as one only. If you counted them separately that would add approximately 9000 establishments to the total.

These statistics appear to suggest many of the estimates currently being used are far too high. Figures like 64,000 madrasa in Bangladesh have been cited by The International Crisis Group³⁸⁰, 54,130 derived from a Dhaka University sample survey and 40,000 by the Bangladeshi Foreign Minister, Dipu Moni recently.³⁸¹ The possible reasons for our lower figure could be:

- (i) The *quomi* madrasa authorities have exaggerated in the past to seem more powerful but now they are discussing possible recognition by the government they are no longer doing this.
- (ii) Post-9/11 an industry emerged of studies of madrasa in Pakistan and Bangladesh with donor money being used to address the militancy threat and therefore there could have been a tendency to play up that threat in terms of exaggerating the numbers.
- (iii) Other studies double counted primary and secondary establishments on the same physical location.
- (iv) Other studies included pre-primary madrasa in the total numbers.
- (v) Our available statistics may not have captured the full picture.

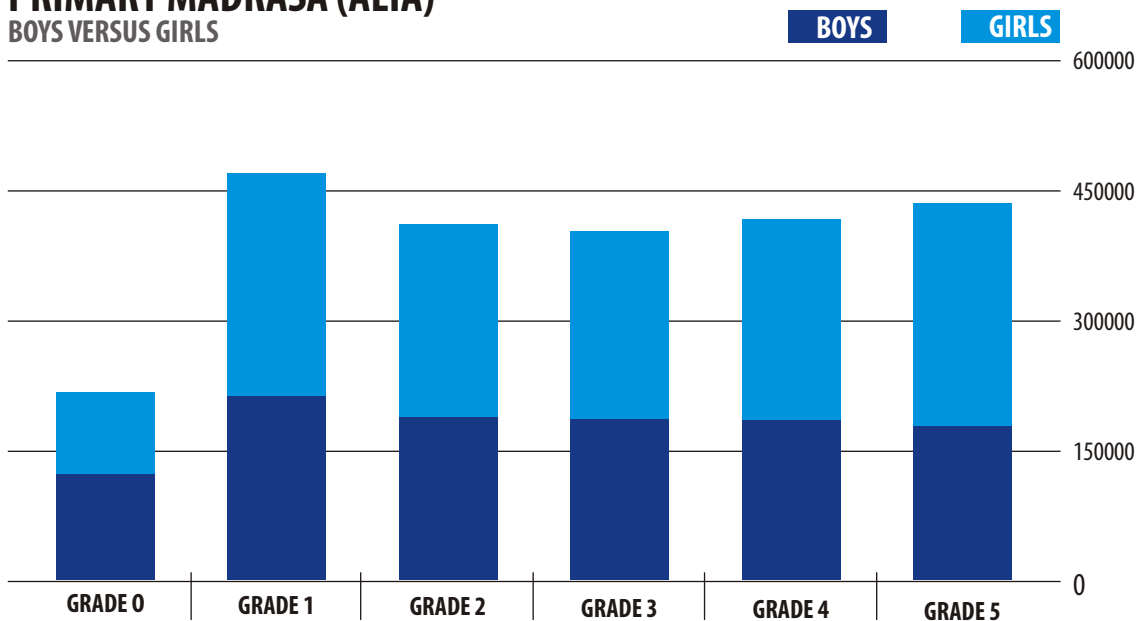
The number of 4 million students in madrasa is within a context of a total population of 16.5 million Bangladeshi children of primary age plus about 30 million adolescents (according to UNICEF)³⁸² or 42.4 million aged 5-17 years (according to *Save the Children Fund*).³⁸³

This lower than expected number is in keeping with a 2009 World Bank report that found the number of *quomi* madrasa was much lower than portrayed in the popular press. It said *quomi* madrasa accounted for only 1.9% of total primary enrolment, compared to NGO schools at 8.2%. It did note however that the share of *alia* madrasa was significant and accounted for 8.4% of primary enrolment. In terms of secondary education the study found *quomi* madrasa made up 2.2% and *alia* madrasa almost 19% of enrolment.³⁸⁴

What's clear from the chart below is that roughly equal numbers of boys and girls are attending primary *alia* madrasa in Bangladesh.

Boys versus Girls in Alia Madrasa

PRIMARY MADRASA (ALIA) BOYS VERSUS GIRLS



VARIOUS SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Alia Madrasa

A. Primary Level Madrasa

An attached Ebtadaee (primary level) madrasa is one that is attached to a senior school in the same or nearby premises. An independent one operates without any secondary or higher level madrasa - so is purely primary level.

Alia Madrasa Primary Level Enrolment, including number of girls.

ALIA MADRASA PRIMARY LEVEL ENROLMENT, INCLUDING NUMBER OF GIRLS.

TYPE OF MADRASA	GRADE - 0 (PRE-PRIMARY)		GRADE - 1		GRADE - 2		GRADE - 3		GRADE - 4		GRADE - 5		TOTAL	
	TOTAL	GIRLS	TOTAL	GIRLS	TOTAL	GIRLS	TOTAL	GIRLS	TOTAL	GIRLS	TOTAL	GIRLS	TOTAL	GIRLS
Attached Ebtadaee	86723	40314	335689	161173	307340	146248	315306	149716	333026	166315	362965	191486	1741049	855252
Independent Ebtadaee	46280	24288	191301	96710	143873	71362	119497	60941	99139	48753	76308	39699	676398	341753

INDEPENDENT EBTEDAEE DATA SOURCE: ESTIMATED FROM INDEPENDENT EBTEDAEE MADRASA SAMPLE SURVEY, 2010

B. Secondary Level

Alia Madrasa Secondary Level Enrolment, including number of girls.

FIG 4 ALIA MADRASA SECONDARY LEVEL ENROLMENT, INCLUDING NUMBER OF GIRLS

YEAR	DAKHIL		ALIM		FAZIL		KAMIL		TOTAL	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
1995	4121	358	871	33	881	5	104	1	5977	397
1996	4687	383	949	33	899	4	115	1	6655	421
1997	4795	459	983	31	955	9	118	1	6851	500
1998	4868	520	998	42	970	13	120 (3)	1	6956 (3)	576
1999	4890	609	1074	59	1017	21	141 (3)	3	7122 (3)	692
2000	5015	628	1087	61	1029	23	148 (3)	4	7279 (3)	784
2001	5391	701	1087	61	1029	21	144	4	7651 (3)	784
2002	5536	733	1105	64	1032	23	147	4	7820 (3)	821
2003	5995	847	1220	80	1030	20	165	4	8410	951
2004	6315	926	1320	86	1012	22	172	6	8819	1040
2005	6685	1017	1315	91	1039	24	175 (3)	6	9214 (3)	1138
2006	6798	1034	1345	98	1040	24	178 (3)	7	9361 (3)	1163
2008	6779	1046	1401	107	1013	25	191 (3)	8	9384 (3)	1186
2009	6771	1058	1487	114	1022	24	195 (3)	8	9475 (3)	1204
2010	6660	1031	1486	114	1021	24	194 (3)	8	9361(3)	1177
2011	6669	1028	1401	107	1056	32	204 (3)	10	9330(3)	1177

NOTE: FIGURE IN THE PARENTHESES INDICATE PUBLIC MADRASA.

SOURCE: BANBIES

C. Growth of private educational institutions in Bangladesh since 1970

Growth of Madrasa 1970-2011

GROWTH OF MADRASA 1970-2011

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	1970	1980	1990	2000	2011
SCHOOL	5,645	8,310	10,153	15,403	19,070
MADRASA	1,515	2,681	5,871	7,276	9,330
COLLEGE	362	482	650	2,176	3,475
TOTAL	7,532	11,473	16,674	24,855	31,875

NOTE: THE INFORMATION COMES FROM BANBEIS.
THESE ARE ONLY PRIVATE SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND MADRASA, NOT STATE FUNDED ONES.

D. Summary of Different Types of Madrasa:

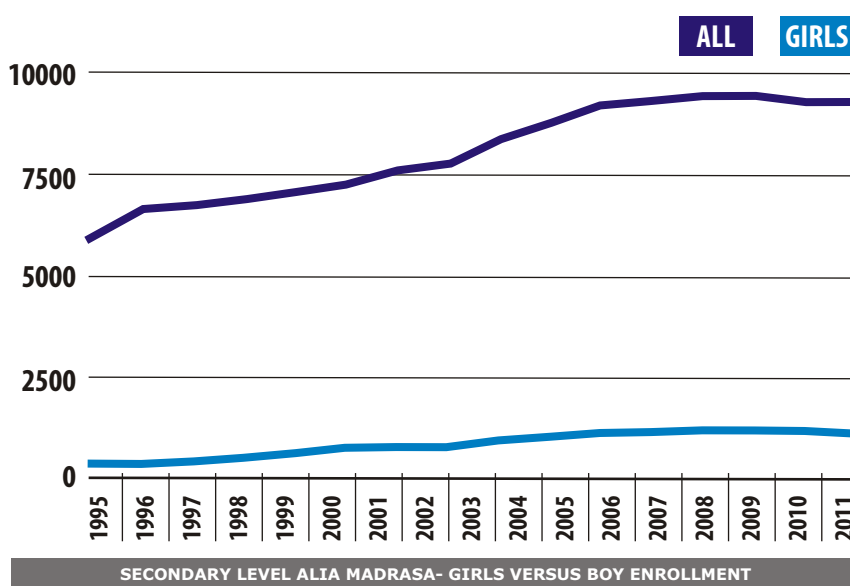
Source: BANBIES

Madrasa Broken Down by Level of Education

TYPE	NUMBER	ENROLMENT		TEACHERS	
		Total	Girls	Total	Female
Independent Ebtedaye (primary)	4416	676398	344580 [different from above]	19210	3488
Attached Ebtedaye (Primary and Higher madrasa)	9313	1741049	855252	34040	3852
Only Dhakil to Kamil	17	No Separate figure available	No Separate figure available	No Separate figure available	No Separate figure available
TOTAL	13,746				

This information can be depicted visually in this chart:

Graph Showing Growth of Madrasa



2. Quomi Madrasa

A. Number of *Quomi* Madrasa and students across Bangladesh (approximate estimate provided by Befaql Madarisil Arabia - Shafi).

LEVEL	NUMBER OF MADRASA	NUMBER OF STUDENTS (M/F)
Taqmil (Kamil, Hons)	400	16,000
Fazilat/FAzil (Fazil, Hons)	193	82,755
SanabiaUlea (Alim, Hons)	283	91,350
Mutawassitah (lower secondary, Hons)	1530	119,700
Iblidaiyah (Primary, Hons)	752	5,77,000
Hifzul Quran	2092	470,700
TOTAL	5250	1,357,505

B. Source: Member of *Quomi Madrasa Education Commission* (formed by the government) who wishes to remain anonymous:

Befaql Madarisil Arabia Bangladesh (Bangladesh Qaomi Madrasa Education Board)	Dhaka	4500
BefaqlMadarisilQuomi	Gopalganj	800
Azad DeeneeEdara-e Ta'lim Bangladesh	Sylhet	950
Anjuman-e IttihadulMadaris	Patia, Chittagong	1500
TanzimulMadaris	Bogra	575
TOTAL		8325

There are additional *quomi* madrasa boards beyond the five cited above. Altogether this source estimated the total number amounts to around 10,500 *quomi* madrasa. In addition there are some *quomi* madrasa not under any supervision that operate totally independently.

C. The Bangladesh Quomi Madrasa Education Board (*Bifaql Madaress al Arabia Bangladesh*)

This is the main board that regulates exams for *Daura* madrasa. These are *quomi* madrasa that offer the highest qualification possible – a *Daura* degree, which is equivalent to an MA degree. The Board regulates 450 such madrasa. In Dhaka City there are 70-75 *Daura* madrasa for men and 38 for women, but generally the majority elsewhere are male. Overall they estimated one sixth of students at the highest level are women. This information came from *Islami Oikyo Jote*, who indicated they used to cite much higher figures in the past.

QUOMI MADRASSA ACCORDING TO IOJ

MISHAKAT	NAHOMIR OR MUTTAWASIT	SANIBI	NAYHALEE	DAURA
Primary Level	Secondary Level	Higher Secondary	Undergraduate	Postgraduate
Ages 6/7 to 12/13	12-14 yrs	14-16 yrs	16-19 yrs	19-20 yrs
No certificate	No certificate	No certificate	Certificate	Certificate
6 years	2 years	2 years	3 years	1 years
6000-7000 of them - ie more than half of all Quomi Madrassa	IOJ says approximately 5000 madrassa in these categories			600 madrassa offer this level

D. Dhaka University Sample Survey Projections:

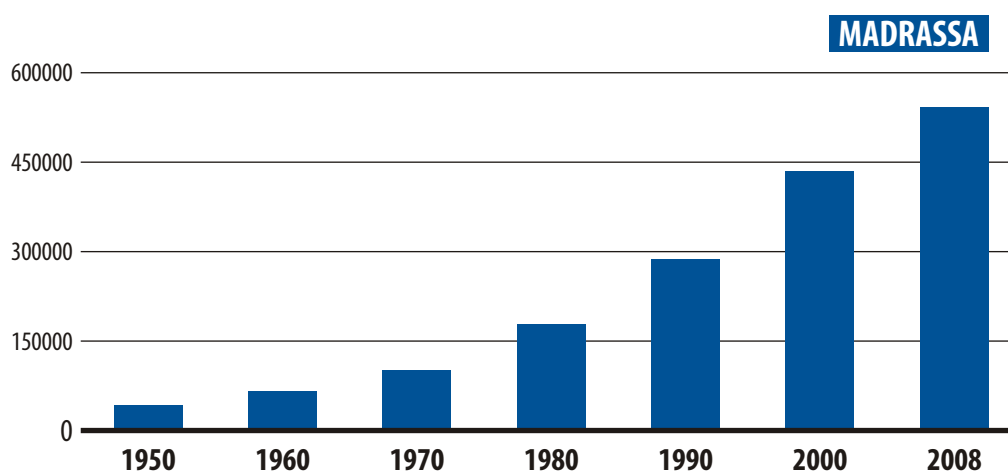
A 2008 survey³⁸⁵ of sample locations and a study of 60 *alia* and 61 *quomi* madrasa by researchers from Dhaka University and the Human Development Research Centre estimated the nationwide figure (including primary level madrasa) to be:

ALIYA	QUOMI	TOTAL	MAINSTREAM EDUCATION	MOSQUE
14,518	39,612	54,130	103,618	191,986

This is much higher than other figures, especially for the *quomi* madrasa. In addition the Dhaka University and HDRC researchers found:

- Of these, 86% were rural and 13.6% urban.
- Approximately 10 million students were enrolled.
- Almost 70% of the *quomi* madrasa were primary level
- Half of all madrasa were attached to a mosque.
- In the last 60 years the overall number has increased more than 12 times but the population only 3 times.
- Every year 10,000 madrasa are added.
- Madrasa are growing faster than mainstream schools.
- The expansion of madrasa was linked to periods of military rule.
- Mainstream schools cannot keep up with the pace of demand for education.
- On average 147 students enroll every year in each madrasa.

The researchers used this graph to represent the growth in madrasa and predict that their number could treble in the next 40 years.



ATTACKS ON HINDUS 2013

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
FEB					
2/18/2013	Naliakhali, Herobhanga, Gopalpur and Goladogra in South 24 Parganas District.		More than 200 Hindu homes torched and looted in four villages. Almost two dozen Hindu shops fully damaged and looted in Joynagar police station area. The headmaster of a local school reportedly incited the mob, and soon Hindu homes began to be attacked from the early hours of February 19. 2 police vehicles destroyed & some policemen seriously injured.	Chakra News	http://www.chakranews.com/muslims-torch-and-loom-200-hindu-homes-in-west-bengal/3645
2/28/2013	Rajganj Bazar, Noakhali		Attackers set fire to 30 houses in which 76 families were living. They also set fire to a Kali temple. And Bdnnews 24 says Hindu temples at Rajganj Bazar, Thakur Barhi and Bainnabarhi areas were vandalised after Shibir/Jamaat procession. BBC said: Police reported that a Hindu temple and houses belonging to Hindu families had been attacked in Noakhali. AFP also reported attacks on Hindu homes.	Amnesty International & Reuters & BBC	http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/28/us-bangladesh-tribunal-idUSBRE91R0AN20130228
2/28/2013	Dhoppera South, Jaldi, Gunagari Banskhal, Chittagong	1	Jamaat -Shibir Activists reported to have set fire to 30 residences, 40 shops looted and vandalised and 3 Temples, 15 people injured and 1 killed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Protom Alo, Samakal and Sangbad newspapers	
2/28/2013	Chandragonj Bazar		Jamaat -Shibir activists reported to have attacked 1 house, 5 shops and 2 Temples.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Bhorer Kagoj Samakal	
2/28/2013	Cox's Bazar	1	Attack on a police camp, killing one.	Reuters	http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/28/us-bangladesh-tribunal-idUSBRE91R0AN20130228
2/28/2013	Sundarganj in Northern Gaibandha	2 or 3	Two policemen were killed when Islamists stormed a police station. "We have been virtually besieged. It's a horrible situation," station officer Manzur Rahman told Reuters. BBC said 3 killed when 2000 Jamaat supporters went on the rampage in protest at the verdict and attacked a police station. AFP quoted local police chief Monjur Rahman saying "At least 10,000 Jamaat supporters attacked us with weapons. We were forced to open fire," Rahman said, adding two protesters were shot dead NB not policemen.	Reuters & BBC	http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/28/us-bangladesh-tribunal-idUSBRE91R0AN20130228 and http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-21623170
2/28/2013	Canshat Chapainawbaganj		Attacks on 2 Temples and 1 Ashram.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Ali of 24/3/13	
2/28/2013	2/28/2013 Bainbari, Napitbari, Aladinnagar, Kalirhat, Chayani		Shibir-Jamaat activists attacked around 2 pm after the verdict, setting fire to 8 houses and vandalising and looting 46, vandaisin 15 shops and 7 temples including arson and smashing idols, stole gold, injured 50 people.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Protom Alo, and Ittefaq newspapers	
2/28/2013	Brahmanpara, Comilla		Temple attacked, 1 idol vandalised.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Protom Alo newspaper	
2/28/2013	Moheshpur, Khansama, Ciribanda, Dinazpur Sadar		Jamaat-Shibir men reportedly set fire at stalk of hay, 14 houses and vandalised business establishments.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Bhorer Kagoj 4.3.13 Sangbad 4.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
2/28/2013	Gopalpur Chigrikhali, Morelgonj, Bagerhat,		Jamaat-Shibir men reportedly attacked a Temple and vandalised. A case has been filed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo, Jugantor and Samakal	
2/28/2013	Begumganj		Jamaat-Shibir activists reported to have vandalized and torched several Hindu houses and a temple leaving six minor injured at Begumganj upazila.	Bangla News	http://www.banglanews24.com/English/detailsnews.php?nssl=8acb8082f029fa1a362d7fbff1caae5&nttl=0303201365136

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
MARCH					
2/28/2013	Ramchandrapur Union		Attackers vandalised a Hindu temple at Pingjour village at Chingrekhal union.	bdnews 24	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/02/bagerhat-barisal-hindu-temples-set-ablaze
3/1/2013	Gazipur		Hindu statue vandalised in Kashipur. Ai o Shalish Kendro says recently temple authority set up the idols of Saraswati for one year but some unidentified people vandalized the idol and damaged shed.	bdnews 24	http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=271161
3/1/2013	Bagherat		Dumuria Sharbajaneen temple in the Ramchandrapur Union set on fire. Ain o Shalish Kendro says two houses were torched and a worship pavilion and adds 1/2 March in Morelganj, Bagerhat a temple was set on fire according to Ittefaq 7.3.13.	bdnews24 & Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal on 3/3/13 and Prothom Alo 3.3.13 Bhorer Kagoj 4.3.13	http://dev-bd.bdnews24.com/details.php?id=241410&cid=2
3/1/2013	Charsita Municipality, Ramgati, Laxmipur		Set fire to a house of Nitish Chandra Das and two Temples.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo Samakal 3..3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
3/1/2013	Khewra Bazar, Kasba, Brahmanbaria.		Miscreants torched 4 shops	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo Samakal 3.3.13	
3/1/2013	Purbodhola, Netrokona		Miscreants set fire to Hindu temples at midnight.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo and Samakal 3..3.13.	
3/1/2013	Barisal		Reports from Barisal said attackers damaged and torched idols at Sarbajanin Durga Mandir in Boradi-Garangal village of Nalchira union under Gournadi upazila. Police said another Hindu temple at Nalcira union at Gauranadi upazila of Barisal was set on fire in the early hours. Mayor and lawmaker visited the area. Case has been filed. 8 idols were vandalised and the temple set on fire.	New Age & Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal (3/3/13), Ittefaq (5/3/13) and Prothom Alo (24/3/13) .	http://www.newagebd.com/detail.php?date=2013-0303&nid=41737#.UVyRU799nwy
3/2/2013	Satkania near Chittagong		100 young men holding banners in support of Jamaat looted and damaged four shops in Satkania near Chittagong and vandalised a Hindu temple in the village. •Also Niti Media says mob set fire to a Buddhist temple at Satkania upazila.	Amnesty International	https://www.niticentral.com/2013/03/02/jamaat-terrorises-bangladesh-hindus-burn-6-temples-51497.html and Daily Star on Satkania attack 5/3/13 http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/jamaat-continues-attacking-hindus/
3/2/2013	Aliganj Bazar, Hizla, Barisal.		Some unidentified people set fire after the prayer at around 3 am. One temple was torched. A case has been filed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 4.3.13.	
3/2/2013	Chandragonj Bazar, Char Ababil, Gaiyerchar Raypur, Laxmipur		Activists set on fire a Temple using petrol and torch it.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo and Sangbad	
3/3/2013	Soaid, Singra, Natore		Attack on temple vandalises idols	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 6/3/13 Ittefaq 6.3.13	

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/3/2013	Enyatpur Betil Halderpara, Rupsa Kandapara, Gopinathpur, Belkuchi, Ullahpara, Sirajganj		Attack on temple vandalises idols	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak Jugantor 5.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
3/3/2013	Lakhirpar area of Kotalipara		Six people including a Jamaat leader were arrested on charges of torching a temple in Lakhirpar area of Kotalipara on March 3.	bdnews 24	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/two-more-temples-vandalised/
3/3/2013	Rajchandrapur Bazar , Hajigonj,		Jamaat-Shibir men reportedly attacked 7 shops	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Sangbad 3.3.13	
3/3/2013	Kachua, Chandpur		Unidentified miscreants set fire to a arch which was built for a religious programme.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Sangbad 3.3.13	
3/3/2013	Jaldhaka, Nilphamari		Attacks on houses of Hindu minority.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 5.3.13	
3/4/2013	Shibganj, Chapainawbgonj		Jamaat-Shibir men led attack on a Temple and vandalised. Think this is the same attack reported by Ain o Shalish Kendro on Aliallanga Mohalla, Chapainawabganj where miscreants torched puja mandop and stole idols and attacked an ashram.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 5.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13 and Sangbad 5.3.13 and Jugantor 5.3.13	
3/3/2013	Haldia, Goalimadra, Manipara, Lowhagonj, Munshiganj		The miscreants vandalised the Kali mandir at around 10pm & set fire. A case has been filed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Jugantor 5.3.13 Samakal 6.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
3/3/2013	Jhalkathi, Kesobpur, Bawfal, Patuakhali		Jamaat-Shibir men reportedly led attacked on Bijoy Das's house. He is under open sky with his family.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Sangbad 5.3.13	
3/4/2013	Madhapur Bazar Bawfal, Putuakhali		Set fire to temple. Case filed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 6.3.13	
3/4/2013	Shalabari, Mirtiripara and Shelnari Sirajgonj		Attacks on temples.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Jugantor 5.3.13	
3/4/2013	Munshiganj		Temple vandalised and torched. Janakantha report published on 5/3/13 said attackers vandalised and torched the Monipara Kali Mandir at Goalimandra village of Louhajang upazila during hartal hours.	Daily Star quoting Jonokonotho report	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/temples-still-under-attack/
3/4/2013	Guthua, Uzirpur, Banaripaga, Bislara		Temple set on fire.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 6/3/13 Ittefak 6.3.13	
3/4/2013	Damodpur, Sadullahpur, Gaibandha		Set fire to temple, later locals doused the blaze. Set fire to a house.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo Samakal 3.3.13	

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/4/2013	Pilangkathi Nalcira, Gowrandi, Barisal		Set fire to Dulal Dutta's temple.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 5.3.13	
3/4/2013	Satkania upazila, Chittagong		In Chittagong, Hindu temple Sarbajaneen Magadeshwari Mandir at East Rupkania of Satkania upazila was torched. Bdnews24 said Khetrapal Temple set on fire around 3:30am and the idol vandalised and money taken from donation box.	Daily Star report on 6/3/13 7 Bdnews24 and Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 6.3.13 Sangbad	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/05/temple-torched-in-ctg
3/5/2013	Khulna (also on 19/3/13)		A woman and a young man were injured after a Jamaat/Shibir procession headed for a Hindu areas and attacked houses. Police arrested two Shibir activists from the area. "Two to three houses were torched and looted and about eight shops were looted during the attack," said the OC of Koyra Police Station. Superintendent of Khulna police said BNP and Jamaat-Shibir men had set fire to thatched houses and a semi-concrete structure, and vandalised 8 shops belonging to local Hindus. Ain o Shalish Kendro reports that in Amadi Bazar Kaira, Pabla, Banikpara, Dowlatpur, Khulna there were attacks on Hindus and 10 houses, 20 shops and 3 temples attacked. Two cases were filed and 2 people detained.	Daily Star & Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 6/3/13 Ittefak 6/3/13 Prothom Alo 24/3/13	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/05/temple-torched-in-ctg
3/5/2013	Kuraltala, Hijla, Chitalmari, Bagerhat.		Two temples set on fire.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 7.3.13	
3/4/2013	Lakhirpar village under Kotalipara upazila in Gopalganj		Attackers set fire to a temple of goddess Kali on Monday around 7:45pm. The fire partially gutted the temple and destroyed four idols of the goddess. The arson instantly drew protests in the area. Ain o Shalish Kendro says a case has been filed.	Daily Star and Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 6/3/13 Ittefak 6.3.13	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/jamaat-continues-attacking-hindus/
3/5/2013	Dhore Bangla, Sadar, Netrakhona		Attack on temple.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokotho Samakal 7.3.13	
3/5/2013	Baraipar, Atgharia, Panba.		Attacked from a procession of BNP and vandalised. Damage to a Temple.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 6/3/13	
3/5/2013	Natore		Attacked from a procession of BNP and vandalised. Damage to a Temple.	Daily Star	ditto
3/5/2013	Madhainagor Bazar, Kalai, Pachbibi Sadar, Jaypurhat		Attacked from a procession of BNP and vandalised. Damage to a Temple.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo and Bhorer Kagoj	
3/5/2013	Uzirpur upazila of Barisal district		Attackers tried to set fire to Guthia Sarbajaneen Kali Mandir [temple] under Guthia union. President of the temple committee said some miscreants had thrown burning torches of straw and tree branches inside the temple and fled the scene. Ain o Shalish Kendro says they set fire to Shitla Tala kali mandir and a house of an expatriate	Daily Star and Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 5.3.13	ditto
3/5/2013	Daudkandi village, south-eastern Comilla district		A Hindu temple vandalised and burned down. 5 god statues destroyed.	Amnesty International & bdnews24	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/temple-torched-in-comilla/
3/5/2013	Sadar, 6 villages of Sonagazi, Feni.		Jamaat-shibir cadres reportedly set fire to 3 villages, torching 3 houses.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Jugantor 5.3.13	

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/5/2013	Borhanuddin, Bhola		Attack on 6 houses and 1 Temple	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokotho Samakal 7.3.13	
3/5/2013	Anwara, Chittagong		8 houses and 16 shops set on fire	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 7.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
3/5/2013	Rotherpar village in Aditmari upazila of Lalmonirhat		Jamaat-Shibir men reported to have set fire to a temple of Shoair village under Singra upazila and destroyed the Hori Protima [the idol of god Hori].	UPI & Daily Star	http://www.upi.com/Top_News/Special/2013/03/06/Recent-attacks-lead-Bangladesh-government-to-consider-Jamaat-e-Islami-ban/UPI-63691362546420/ and also http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/jamaat-continues-attacking-hindus/
3/6/2013	Faridpur		Police said the Ananda Ashram Mandir of Fulbaria village under the Ballabdi Union was set on fire early morning.	bdnews 24	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/06/temple-set-on-fire-in-faridpur
3/6/2013	Comila		Some miscreants vandalized four idols of Hindu goddess in Daudkandi upazila of the district early Wednesday. In Comilla, miscreants vandalised a Hindu temple and set it ablaze at Chapatali village of Mohammadpur East Union under Daudkandi upazila early yesterday, said Abul Faysal, officer-in-charge of Daudkandi Police Station.	Daily Star & Bangla News, Ain o Shalish Kendro quotes Janokotho Samakal 7.3.13	http://www.banglanews24.com/English/detailsnews.php?nssl=9897e3714bc21152dc54740ec5f0007d&nttl=0603201365306 and http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/attacks-on-3-more-temples/
3/6/2013	Bhola		Attackers vandalised the idol of Hindu goddess Kali at a Hindu temple at Pakkhiya union of Borhanuddin upazila.	Daily Star	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/attacks-on-3-more-temples/
3/6/2013	Shailakupa Of Jhenaidah		Cocktails blasted at Sushil Karmaker house at Hindupara	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 6.3.13	
3/6/2013	Brahamnadi bazar Ward no. 8, Arihazar, Narayanganj		Three shops torched.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo Sangbad 8.3.13	
3/6/2013	Chitalmari, Bakerganj, Dadas Palli, Bagerhat.		Attack on Temple.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokontho 8.3.13	
3/6/2013	Hajigonj, Chandpur		Jamaat-Shibir reportedly attacked a Temple.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 6.3.13	
3/7/2013	East Bejgram, Hatibandha		Temple set on fire.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokontho 8.3.13	
	Nishanbarir Hindupara Dhakamoyia, Chakamoia, Kalapara, Putuakhali		Attack with 8/10 people on Tarun Sikde's house. They physically assaulted, looted, vandalised. 5 people injured including children.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Sangbad 9.3.13	

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/6/2013	Hatibandha upazila of Lalmonirhat		Kalibari area at Chapatali village under the upazil: Sree Sree Kali Mandir is in Bejgram village was torched and idols vandalised.	Daily Star	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/temple-vandalised-torched-in-lalmonirhat/
1-7 MARCH	NATIONWIDE		MORE THAN 40 TEMPLES VANDLISED.	AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL	STATEMENT ONLINE
3/8/2013	Munshiganj		Hindu Temple vandalised; Locals found the idols, including that of the goddess Kali, totally destroyed when they went to the temple to worship.	Daily Star	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/more-attacks-on-hindu-temples/
3/8/2013	Charlaxmi, Kalma, Lalmohan, Bhola		Miscreants set fire to a gold smith's house named Minar.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokontho 8.3.13	
3/8/2013	Paduar Andharmanik Shilpara, Lohagara, Chittagong		Attacks on 3 houses	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokotho Samakal 7.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13z	
3/8/2013	N Laksham, Comila		Hindu expatriate set on fire and temple set on fire	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 10.3.13	
3/8/2013	Charlaxmi, Lalmohon Bhola.		Miscreants set fire to a kitchen!	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 10.3.13	
3/8/2013	Banglabazar Talim pur, Barlekha, Moulvibazar		Three shops torched and a temple attacked; idols vandalised	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 10.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
3/8/2013	Rangpur		"Hindu Temple set on fire; miscreants destroyed the idol of Sree Radha Govinda before setting the temple on fire at Amashu-Kukul in Rangpur city in the early hours. And also 28/3/13 according to Ain o Shalish Kendro which says miscreants set fire to a library of the temple. Attacked 5 business establishments. Mayor visited and 3 cases filed."	Daily Star & BanglaNews. Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Amardesh 9.3.13 Ittefak 10.3.13 Prothom Alo 24.3.13	ditto and http://banglanews24.com/English/detailsnews.php?nssl=aea7e72c4cca4f89df00f453becd91a&nttl=0803201365460
3/9/2013	Sansangaon Jainasar, Sirajdikhan, Munshiganj at night.		Jamaat-Shibir reportedly attacked a Kali mandir	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokontho 9.3.13 Ittefak 10.3.13	
3/11/2013	Gopalganj		In Gopalganj, six idols were destroyed at Kafilabari Durga temple in the district's Kotalipara upazila. Officer-in-Charge of Kotalipara Police Station Tuta Mia confirmed the incident.	bdnews 24 and Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 13.3.13	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/two-more-temple-vandalised/
3/12/2013	Moulavipara, Goalganj		Stealing from Temple	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 14.3.13	
3/12/2013	Barisal City		Two houses of Hindus on New Vatikhana Road were set ablaze by unknown criminals around 2:45am.	bdnews 24	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/two-more-temple-vandalised/

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/12/2013	Natore, Pakuria, Singra		Idols in Temple vandalised.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 14.3.13	
3/11/2013	Kaliganj upazila of Jhenidah		23 idols of Hindu god Shiva at a temple vandalised.	bdnews 24 and Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 13.3.13	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/23-shiva-idols-vandalised-in-jhenidah/
3/12/2013	Mymensingh, Mukhi, Gagorgaon		Attack on Temple at midnight; 20 idols vandalised. Case filed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 14.3.13	
3/12/2013	Protapur, Lohalia Sadar Putuakhali		Theft of goods used for worship from Temple	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 13.3.13	
3/13/2013	Tangail, Salla, Kalihuti		Two temples attacked.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 15.3.13	
3/15/2013	Madhabpur Mahalla, Sherpur		Attacked on ancient Madhabpur Club Puja; idol vandalised. Police visited.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 17.3.	
3/17/2013	Mymensingh, Gaforgaon		Temple set on fire.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Jugantor 19.3.13	
3/18/2013	Sadar Netrokona		Temple attacked, 7 idols vandalised and valuables burned. Local official visited.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 20.3.13	
3/18/2013	Gazipur: Sripur		Temple attacked at night and vandalised. Case filed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 20.3.13	
3/18/2013	Khulna & other places		In Khulna, over 150 people equipped with iron rods and other lethal weapons attacked Banikpara Pabla Sarbojonin Kalibari Mandir around 9:00pm Monday. The rioters also attacked Gachtala temple. Over 50 Hindu homes and shops adjacent to the two temples were vandalised and torched. Netrakona, rioters vandalised Hari Mandir in Bobahala village under sadar upazila, damaging seven idols. Monday night, vandals damaged four idols of Hindu goddesses at Kripamoyee Kali Mandir under Sripur upazila in Gazipur. In Rangpur, the house of Nilkanta Roy in Itakumary union of Pirgachha upazila was torched around 2:00am yesterday.	Daily Star	
3/19/2013	Shemnagar, Debhata, Satkhira		Vandalised and set on fire a house and looted 13 shops. Also attacked on 28/2/13	Ain o Shalish quoting Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
3/19/2013	Amuabandar, Kathalia, Jhalakathi		Attack on Temple. 4 arrested.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 22.3.13	

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/19/2013	Bogra		Gabtolli Police Station Officer in-Charge Ali Ahmed Hamshi said the temples of Sabek para, Karmakar Para, Bamunia of Sonarai Union and Kamarchatt of Rameswarpur Union were vandalised.	bdnews24	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/20/miscreants-desecrate-idols-in-4-bogra-temples
3/20/2013	Bagherhat: North Gopalpur, Dakhin Para, Kachu,		Two temples attacked and idols vandalised.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 21.3.13	
3/20/2013	Rangpur: Choto Jhinia Etakumari, Pargacha		Set a villager's house on fire and possessions torched.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 20.3.13	
3/20/2013	Bogra		"20th and 21st - mobs attacked five temples and vandalized nine statues of the Goddess. Hindus complain of police inaction. Ain o Shalish Kendro says in Bamunia, Kamarpara, East Sabekpara, Sona Ray (Modho para), Debonathpara, Ramesorpur, Gabtoli, Bogra on 3/3/13 and 20/3/13 BNP Jamaat men attacked 6 temples and vandalised 11 idols. POllice visited and security given. 3 cases filed."	Swadesh Roy and Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 21.3.13& 24.3.13	http://www.srilankaguardian.org/2013/04/attack-on-temples-everyday-awful.html
?	Noakhali		no details	Swadesh Roy & BBC	
?	Sirejganj		no details	Swadesh Roy & BBC	
3/19/2013	Netrokhona Sadar		Attackers have desecrated idols in four Hindu temples of Gabtoli upazila in Bogra.	bdnews 24	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/19/hindus-attacked-in-khulna-netrokona
3/22/2013	Gobindapur Sadar Netrokona		Hindu family attacked over land dispute. Police visited area.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Sangbad 22.3.13	
3/22/2013	Ramganj, Nilphamari		Attack on temple vandalises idols	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 22.3.13	
3/22/2013	Chowmohani, Naokhali		Attack on temple; goods looted and vandalised.	"Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak, The Daily Star24.3.13"	
3/22/2013	Kesturita, Modhapara, Baria, Gazipur		Set fire to temple at night; vandalises 4 idols. Local official visits.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 22.3.13	
3/22/2013	Gazipur, Lalmonirhat		Islamists vandalised four idols by setting fire to a temple in Sadar upazila of Gazipur district. Also says that temple which was torched was a Laxmimata temple in Sadar upazila and four idols were damaged in the arson attack.	Nitientral staff & bdnews24	http://www.niticentral.com/2013/03/23/bangladesh-live-islamists-vandalise-four-more-hindu-idols-in-gazipur-58441.html and http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/03/22/miscreants-set-gazipur-temple-on-fire

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/23/2013	Phulpadi, Madaripur		House set on fire while owner out catching fish at night. Valuables burned.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting J ohnokontho 24.3.13	
3/23/2013	Mymensingh: Haluaghat		Kali Temple set on fire	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting 25/3/13 Ittefak	
3/23/2013	Nalgora, Shibchar, Madaripur		A jubo league leader arrested as he gripped a house of hindu community people. 4 people have been missing after the incident.	"Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 23.3.13"	
3/23/2013	Tazumuddin, Shambhupur, Bhola		Hindu Family attacked after kid plucks a bean from Veg field. Forced to leave village.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Jugantor 23.3.13	
3/23/2013	Sundarganj, Gaibandha		House set on fire.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting 25/3/13 Ittefak	
3/23/2013	Companyganj, Noakhali		Valuables were stolen from temple by breaking the lock. General Dary entry made.	"Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 25.3.13"	
3/23/2013	Baralekha, Moulvibazar		Idol stolen from temple.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 25.3.13	
3/23/2013	Beanibazar, Sylhet		Attack on temple and vandalised idols	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting 25/3/13 Ittefak	
3/24/2013	Sylhet City		Jamaat-Shibir activists reportedly cut the tendon of leg of Manindra Dey, a staff of Biswanath; police went to area.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Jugantor 24.3.13	
3/24/2013	Kutubdia, Cox's Bazaar		3 temples attacked	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 24.3.13	
3/24/2013	Rajganj, Begumganj, Noakhali		Two temples vandalised - at least one while reconstructing.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak, The Daily Star but no dates given.	
3/26/2013	Satkira: Bhurulia, Shamnagar		Armed 10 member-team attacked on a family members, were sleeping at night. They kidnapped a youth of the family, who was witness of a murder case filed in 2003. The case was filed after killing a member of the same family in 2003	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 28.3.13	
3/26/2013	Noakhali: Modhom Jirtali, Jirtali, Begumganj,		set fire to a house.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Samakal 28.3.13	
3/26/2013	Hatibandha, Lalmanirhat, Nilphamari		Attack on temple, 6 idols vandalised, 15 people injured	Ai o Shalish Kendro quoting Daily Star, 25/3/13	
3/28/2013	Naogaon: Ramnagar, Manda		Temple attacked. 1 idol vandalised. Case filed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 29.3.13	

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
3/28/2013	Noakhali: Dakhin Raja Marpur, Mohammadpur Senbagh		Temple attacked. 1 idol vandalised. Case filed.	Ain o Shalish quoting Ittefak 31.3.13	
3/28/2013	Alokchedi, Baliadangi, Thakurgaon		one temple attacked; case filed	"Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Naya Diganta 29.3.13"	
3/28/2013	Rangamati: Amtali, Bazar, Baghaichari,		Attack on local Awami League leader's house over land dispute - not clear if this is Hindu issue	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo, Ittefak 29.3.13	
3/29/2013	Padmanagar, Satmora, Nabinagor, Brahmonbaria		Set fire to a temple, 4 detained	"Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Naya Diganta 31.3.13"	
3/30/2013	Bogra: Garcaitonopur Sonatala		Hindu house set on fire	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 1.4.13	
ALL MARCH		4	Hindu-Buddhist-Christian Oikya Parishad says that four Hindus have been murdered since February 28th, and 2,000 houses and 100 temples vandalised in 31 districts.	KHABAR S ASIA	http://khabarsouthasia.com/en_GB/articles/apwi/articles/features/2013/03/20/feature-01
MARCH 24 DAYS	NATIONWIDE		Attacks on 71 temples, 152 shops and 96 houses.	SWADESH ROY	http://www.srilankaguardian.org/2013/04/attack-on-temples-everyday-awful.html

APRIL					
4/1/2013	Tangail		Attackers set on fire a temple of Hindu goddess Kali at Falda of Tangail's Bhupur upazila. Case Filed.	Bdnews24 and Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Jano Kantho Prothom Alo 3.4.13 Prothom Alo 7.4.13	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/04/02/miscereants-set-tangail-temple-on-fire
4/1/2013	Putuakhali: Sutabaria, Bikani Kandi, Galachipa,		Attack on 250 yr old temple; idols vandalised. Police deployed.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo, Sangbad 2.4.13	
	Teligiti, Morelganj, Bagherhat		Temple attacked. 5 idols vandalised. Case filed	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 5.4.13	
4/2/2013	Badwalipara, 5 no Ward no Municipality		attack on temple - idols vandalised	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokantho 3.4.13	
4/3/2013	Kathalia, Jhalokathi		Hindu family temple torched. Police and local MP visit.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Ittefak 5.4.13	
4/5/2013	Radha Ballab		Attack on Temple	Ain o Shalish quoting Prothom Alo 3.4.13, 7.4.13	

DATE	PLACE	DEAD	ATTACK	SOURCE	WEBSITE
4/5/2013	Tangail: Pakulla, Jamuki Mirzapur		3 temples attacked; case filed. In Poschimpara, Batabala, Shakhipur	Ain o Shalish quoting Prothom Alo 3.4.13, 7.3.13	
4/6/2013	Shantahar, Bogra		Attacked on residences. Vandalised and looted and physically assaulted the owner.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Janokantho 6.4.13	
4/6/2013	Fulpur, Mymensingh, Kendua, Chakua		Temple attacked, 5 idols vandalised.	Ain o Shalish Kendro quoting Prothom Alo 8.4.13	
4/6/2013	Narayanganj Poschimpara, Batabala, Shakhipur		Attacked on residences. Vandalized and looted. 5 women injured. General Diary entry.	Ain o Shalish quoting Jugantor 6.4.13	
4/19/2013	Madaripur		Temple set on fire in middle of night.	Daily Star	http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/hindu-temple-torched-in-madaripur/
TOTAL: 130 INCIDENTS			AIN O SHALISH KENDRO (28 FEB-8 APRIL 2013) BUSINESSES ATTACKED: 163 HOUSES ATTACKED: 162 IDOLS VANALISED: 81 TEMPLES ATTACK: 96		

Appendix 3: LIST OF ATTACKS & HARASSMENT OF AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY IN BANGLADESH³⁸⁶

1991³⁸⁷

Khatme Nabuwwat conference calls for ban of Ahmadiyya.

1992

Noakhali District. A public protest calls for Ahmadiyya to be declared non-Muslims.

February 29. Khulna. Several hundred people attack an Ahmadiyya mosque and mission house on the Nirala Housing Estate in the city.³⁸⁸ Eight alleged perpetrators are arrested - a move Jamaat-e-Islami is said to have condemned.

October 29. Dhaka. A procession of more than 1,200 people attacks the main Bakshibazar Ahmadiyya headquarters in Dhaka. After ransacking rooms, burning hundreds of books, including many copies of the Qur'an, and looting, the attackers detonate 35 crude bombs in the building and set it on fire. At least twenty Ahmadiyya are injured. Police hold Islami Chhatra Shibir responsible for the attack.³⁸⁹ At the time the citizenship case of Jamaat leader Golam Azam is being heard in the High Court and Ahmadiyya leaders believe the party needed a scapegoat, though at the time they didn't dare blame Jamaat directly. They also now allege Pakistani Intelligence was behind the attack.³⁹⁰

November 27. Rajshahi. A group of anti-Ahmadiyya protestors attack and demolish an Ahmadiyya mosque under construction.

1993

December 24. Khatme Nabuwwat hold a conference in Dhaka to pressure the government to declare Ahmadiyya non-Muslims, ban their publications, and remove them from senior government posts. Professor Golam Azam and Maulana Matiur Rahman Nizami of Jamaat-e-Islami express their support for the conference.

1994

New anti-Ahmadiyya groups surface: Bangladesh Khilafat Andolon and Islami Shasantantra Andolon (ISA has changed its name. New name is Islami Andolon Bangladesh). They hold a protest with Jamaat-e-Islami banners denouncing Ahmadiyya as "kafirs" or unbelievers.

1995

Dhaka: a group of demonstrators attack an Ahmadiyya mosque.

1997

May 22. Dhaka. Khatme Nabuwwat holds large public meeting at the Children's Park, calling for a ban on the burial of Ahmadiyya in Muslim graveyards, and a ban on all Ahmadiyya publications, including copies of the Qur'an.

July 7. Dhaka. Khatme Nabuwwat marches to the Parliament House to submit these demands.

1998

July 23. Jhinaigati. Members of Touhid Jonota, another anti-Ahmadiyya group, attack and destroy a new Ahmadiyya office building. Three police officers are injured in the attacks.

1999

January 7. Khushtia. Jamaat-e-Islami members attack an Ahmadiyya mosque in the Koldiar-Majdiar village. Over fifty Ahmadiyya are injured.

October 8. Khushtia. A bomb kills six Ahmadiyya and injures several others attending Friday prayers.

November. Natore. Sunni Muslims ransack an Ahmadiyya mosque. In subsequent clashes 35 people are injured.

2000

April 15. Villagers at Kodda and Basudev threaten to attack all Ahmadiyya homes in the area. Over 50 Ahmadiyya evacuate their homes after some 35 Ahmadiyya homes are looted and vandalised.

April 25. Activists burn down several Ahmadiyya homes, destroy crops, and threaten the remaining Ahmadiyya in the village. They take over the Ahmadiyya mosque in the area.

2001

June 24. Jamalpur. Members of Khatme Nabuwwat attack an Ahmadiyya mosque under construction and a house next door.

2002

October 15. Gazipur. A brawl breaks out outside the courthouse where a case is being filed against members of the Ahmadiyya community. Twelve Ahmadiyya are arrested for allegedly distorting verses of the Qur'an and Hadith. Shortly after, a mob destroys an Ahmadiyya house in the area.

2003

January. Dhaka. Khatme Nabuwwat holds an international conference at which speakers call for Ahmadiyya to be excommunicated. Afterwards Bangladesh Khilafat Andolon organises a protest procession.

February 1. The newspaper Dainik Inqilab reports that, at a gathering in Comilla, an MP has declared Ahmadiyya non-Muslims and called for a complete halt on all Ahmadiyya activities, describing them as "satanic".

October 21. Khushtia. In the village of Uttar Bhabanipur, Islamic leaders declare 17 Ahmadiyya families "excommunicated" and hold them virtual prisoner in their own village for 25 days. HRW reports that local BNP and Jamaat-e-Islami leaders are involved. Ahmadiyya children are prevented from going to school.

October 31. Jessore. A large armed group attacks members of the Ahmadiyya community at Raghunathpur Bag under Jhikargachha sub-district. The president and local Imam of the Ahmadiyya community dies from injuries he receives. HRW writes a case study on this attack, showing local Jamaat-e-Islami involvement.

November. Dhaka. A Sunni Muslim group connected to Khatme Nabuwwat launches a campaign to pressure the government to declare Ahmadiyya non-Muslim, attempting to seize an Ahmadiyya mosque in central Dhaka.

December 20. Dhaka. Five hundred men try to storm an Ahmadiyya mosque in Nakhhalpara in Tejgaon Industrial area. The following day³⁹¹ there are two similar attacks and clashes with police, the second time with thousands of people involved. Over the next ten days anti-Ahmadiyya protests occur all over the country and demonstrations continue for months.

December 5. Dhaka. Under the banner of Khatme Nabuwwat Andolon Samannay Committee, 30,000 demonstrate in east Nakhhalpara, Tejgaon and issue an ultimatum giving the government one-week to declare the Ahmadiyya non-Muslims.

December 19. Dhaka. On this day 1,500 people take part in a demonstration organized jointly by Khatme Nabuwwat and another Islamist group, Aamra Dhakabasi.

December 26. Dhaka. Islamist leaders tell 1,500 demonstrators in Dhaka that the government should declare the Ahmadiyya non-Muslims.

2004

January 2. Dhaka. Three thousand members of Khatme Nabuwwat take part in a demonstration in Dhaka to gather support.

January 8. Government bans all publications of the Ahmadiyya community, one day prior to the deadline given by the IOJ and Khatme Nabuwwat, to declare the Ahmadiyya non-Muslims. The ban violates the requirement to uphold the right to freedom of religion and expression enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which Bangladesh has signed.

March 20. Ahmadiyya publications are listed as banned in an official circular.

April 16. Dhaka. Two thousand Khatme Nabuwwat demonstrators protest outside the Nakhhalpara Ahmadiyya mosque and police enter to confiscate banned publications.

December 21. A temporary suspension of the ban on Ahmadiyya publications comes into force.

March 14 onwards. Barguna's Amtoli sub-district. A campaign starts affecting over 1000 Ahmadiyya in the villages of Khakdan, Krishnanagar, and Kukua. On March 14 and 15, Khatme Nabuwwat organizes a religious gathering at the Kukua Hat High School and leaflets are distributed. March 26: a local group enters the land of the Ahmadiyya unofficial Imam, shouting slogans and attacking religious property. Human Rights Watch says the Imam was building a mosque on the land.

May 6. Barisal. Khatme Nabuwwat members declare that 27,000 Ahmadiyya in the Barisal and Patuakhali districts will be forcibly evicted by May 12, and those in Chittagong by May 28.

August 27. Dhaka. Police stop an attempt by Khatme Nabuwwat to take over the Ahmadiyya headquarters in Bakshibazar.

October 29. Brahmanbaria. Three hundred Khatme Nabuwwat supporters attack an Ahmadiyya mosque with axes, breaking down the doors and attacking worshippers. Eleven Ahmadiyya are seriously injured in the attack.

2005

March 11. Bogra. Anti-Ahmadiyya protestors, backed by police, hang a signboard saying, "A place of worship of the Qadianis in Bogra Town; no Muslim should be deceived into considering it a mosque." on an Ahmadiyya mosque at Seuzgari Lane.

April 17. Satkhira. Khatme Nabuwwat supporters in Jatindra Nagar attack the Ahmadiyya community, injuring at least 25 people. Witnesses see thousands of attackers brandishing sticks, machetes, and darts. Again they try to hang a sign on the Ahmadiyya mosque saying, "This is a place of worship for Kadianis, no Muslim should mistake it for a mosque." Khatme Nabuwwat supporters attack and loot many Ahmadiyya homes afterwards, beating many, including women.³⁹²

2010

June,³⁹³ August³⁹⁴ and October³⁹⁵. Chand Tara, Tangail. There are repeated attacks on Ahmadiyya who are beaten, including some women. There is looting of houses and livestock and vandalizing of property. A YouTube Video³⁹⁶ shows bloodied patients going to hospital (warning: graphic images of injuries). Ahmadiyya start constructing a mosque.³⁹⁷ Local leaders of Islami Andolan Bangladesh speak at rally before the attack. Local Ahmadiyya leaders allege that although the August demonstration had been announced over loudspeaker for two days, the local administration did not take any preventive measures.

2011³⁹⁸

February. The 87th Annual Convention of Ahmadiyya is cancelled because the government withdraws permission at the last minute and invokes Section 144, which doesn't allow any public gathering.³⁹⁹ Ten thousand devotees have already gathered for the event in a remote location precisely to avoid problems. Ahmadiyya allege some senior local police officials were involved, appearing in public in uniform to lecture against the Ahmadiyya faith, and acting with total impunity. They say the bureaucracy is now compromised because one of the police officials was promoted afterwards. "We informed the government that he was a problem and now that guy has been told to deal with the problem," said one representative. When Ahmadiyya leaders complained to the Prime Minister they say she told them there was nothing she could do because thousands might come out to attack Ahmadiyya if the event went ahead. Ahmadiyya leaders say there are only a handful of clerics who went to the local authorities and threatened to cause trouble if the event was allowed to go ahead.⁴⁰⁰ In a statement the Asian Human Rights Council call it, "a complete failure of the government to protect the freedom of religion and assembly without any substantial reason".⁴⁰¹

Local Brahmanbaria Jalsa is stopped.

March. The Islamic Foundation publishes an anti-Ahmadiyya booklet.

The *azaan* or call to prayer from an Ahmadiyya mosque is banned by police in Khudro Brahmanbaria.

An exam paper containing anti-Ahmadiyya material and questions is found in BD Government High School, Damurhuda, Chuadanga.

October. Four Ahmadiyya visiting an area near Banskhali Police Station are detained by police and jailed for three days.

There is a similar incident in Daulatpur Police Station in Kushtia District.

16 October. Ahmadiyya write to Home Minister and Education Minister protesting over exam papers in a Dhaka school, which asked children to explain why Ahmadiyya are non-Muslims.

2012⁴⁰²

Annual Convention – Ahmadiyya halve the size of their event to 6000 people and hold it in their Dhaka headquarters to avoid a repeat of the cancellation in 2011.⁴⁰³

Nakhalpara, Tejgaon, Dhaka. An Ahmadiyya man who died is not allowed to be buried in the general Muslim graveyard. The media reports that members of the Khatme Nabuwat Movement tried to exhume the dead man's body once he was eventually buried in another graveyard.⁴⁰⁴

5 October. Efforts are made to prevent an Ahmadiyya Mosque being constructed in Kisamat Menanagar in Taraganj, Rangpur. In the same area on 25 October there is an anti-Ahmadiyya rally and stones are thrown at Ahmadiyya houses, telling people to leave by 5 November or the houses will be burned down.

27 October, date of Eid ul Adha, an Ahmadiyya house is attacked and a sacrificial cow stolen.

November 7. Ahmadiyya houses and the mosque under construction are attacked, looted, vandalized and torched. Ahmadiyya and a journalist are beaten up and badly injured.

November 8. Protestors against Ahmadiyya block the Syedpur–Rangpur Highway for several hours. Ahmadiyya have not been allowed to reconstruct their mosque.⁴⁰⁵

October 16. An Ahmadiyya missionary is harassed and accused of being a terrorist and handed over to police.

October 16. Madhabpur, Habibganj. Two Ahmadiyya are caught by local people and falsely accused of carrying material that defames the Prophet Mohammad. They are handed over to the police and one is released; another has a case filed against him.

2013

February 7. A mob attacks the Ahmadiyya site for their annual national convention, which this year marks the centenary of their official establishment in Bangladesh. One report says the mob number 20,000.⁴⁰⁶ Subsequently Ahmadiyya move the venue from Gazipur to Bakshibazar.⁴⁰⁷

April 19-24. Four Ahmadiyya children, boy and girls, are prohibited from attending school in Umedpur, Jamalganj, Sunamganj. The school does not yield to the repeated requests of the Ahmadiyya families and even of the local officials. The matter is resolved only after repeated interference from high officials at Dhaka after several days.

The sudden rise of the Islamic group Hefajat-e-Islam has worried Ahmadiyya and made them feel more vulnerable. Hefajat has held two grand rallies in Dhaka so far, on 6 April and 5 May 2013, and they have put forward a list of 13-point demands, one of which is to declare Ahmadiyya non-Muslims.

Appendix 4

Comparison Constitutions

DESCRIPTION OF SECTION	2006 CONSTITUTION	AMENDED 2008 CONSTITUTION
Preamble	Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim----in Arabic language.	This is translated into Bengali.
Party Name	Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh	Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami
Added Paragraph in later version.		"Whereas independent Bangladesh is the third largest Muslim country of the world and it achieved the status of independent and sovereign nation state in the world map by the heroic struggle of the people and the freedom fighters of Bangladesh?"
	The fundamental akida (belief) of this organisation	The fundamental akida (belief) of Islam
	Explanation: In the eyes of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, Deen and Islami life-style have the same meaning in technical terminology. So, the technical word Ikamate Deen being used in holy Quran shows the actual meaning of establishing Islami life-style. The meaning of establishing Allah's deen is establishing complete deen, not part of it. Islam constitutes Namaz (prayers), Roza (fasting), Hajj and Zakat, economy, social-affairs, Tamaddun, politics and spiritualism, etc. The task of a mumin (believer) is to try and contemplate the establishment of those (elements) completely, not to divide complete Islam into different parts or leaving behind any part of it.	Dropped this Paragraph
One of the party's activities is:	To make efforts to protect the country's independence and sovereignty from all kinds of domestic and international threats and chaos through the revival of Islamic values and unity.	To make efforts to protect Bangladesh's independence and the state's sovereignty from all kinds of domestic and international threats and chaos through the revival of Islami values and national unity.
Paragraph added in later version.		To make utmost efforts to build a Bangladesh free from exploitation, corruption, and terrorism through keeping full faith and belief in Almighty Allah; uplifting the ideals of democracy, economic and social justice; and ensuring fundamental human rights and independence irrespective of religion, race, community; and ensuring food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care and security of life and materials; equal distribution of asset, national income and increase of production, and improving people's standard of living.
Jamaat's work policy:	Jamaat will maintain its systematic methods for executing its desired corrections and revolution. It means that Jamaat will correct people's mind & brain and character through organising and training and expanding invitation (dawat), and therefore form public opinion in Jamaat's favour.	Jamaat will maintain its systematic methods for its desired amendments and executing reforms. It means that Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami will form public opinion in its favour for turning Bangladesh into a welfare state and will correct people's humane and moral characteristics through expanding invitation (dawat) of Islam, organisation and educational activities.
Dawat = invitation to join (recruitment)	NB: The dawat which will be presented on behalf of the Jamaat will be towards Jamaat's Akida (belief) and towards its goals and aims not towards the Ameer's personality or towards his post (Amarat).	NB: The dawat which will be offered on behalf of the Jamaat will be towards Islam's Akida and towards the purpose and aim of Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami not towards Ameer's personality or towards his post (Amarat).

DESCRIPTION OF SECTION	2006 CONSTITUTION	AMENDED 2008 CONSTITUTION
Jamaat's permanent programme will be:	<p>1. To awaken the feelings among people of all classes the necessity of establishing Islam and following Islam in every sphere of life by explaining the real essence of Islam and purifying their intellects</p> <p>2. To organise interested and honest people in the struggle of establishing Islam in every sphere of life and train them up with the view to building efficient activists to establish Islam and prove the greatness of Islam to combat against all challenges of the ignorant Jahiliats (the age of ignorance).</p>	<p>1. To awaken the feelings among all citizens of Bangladesh about the necessity of establishing Islam and following Islam in every sphere of life by explaining the real essence of Islam and purifying their intellects.</p> <p>2. To organise interested and honest people in the struggle of establishing Islam in every sphere of life and teach them with the aim to making them eligible in establishing Islam.</p>
Duties of Members	Added later	9. Be ready to make supreme sacrifice for country's independence-sovereignty.
Paragraph Dropped in Later Version	NB: Though such changes will not happen to all Rukun (members) equally and simultaneously, but every Rukun (member) will have to have relentless effort to achieve completeness in this regard. Because the standard of these changes will determine the dignity of every Rukun (member) of Jamaat-e-Islami.	
All references to a proscribed view of the role of women as supporting their families is dropped:	<p>Duties and responsibilities of women Rukun (members)</p> <p>Section-10</p> <p>Jamaat-e-Islami's woman Rukun (members) will have to carry out the duties and responsibilities in their own work field mentioned in section-9. They will have to pay careful attention to the duties as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Present Jamaat's Akida, purpose and aim before their husband, parents, siblings, and other familiar and unfamiliar women, and urge them to accept those. 2. Enlighten the light of iman in the mind of their won children and try to make them followers of Islam. 3. If her husband, son, father and brother have amalgamated Jamaat, make them brave and optimistic with sincerity. Help them as much as possible in the work of Jamaat and be patient and firm if any danger comes in this way. 4. If her husband and seniors are drowned in Jahiliat (ignorance), earn money in forbidden ways or involve with sinning tasks, then try to correct them with patience. Keep trying to restrain yourself from the forbidden earning and their darkness and reject to obey if they order to work such work that disobeys Allah and Rasul and make them understand calmly about your inability saying in fear of punishment in Akhirat (hereafter). 	<p>Section-10</p> <p>Any citizen of Bangladesh can be the associate member of Jamaat if the citizen agrees with Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami's purpose-aim and programmes.</p>
Later Version opens the Party up to non-Muslims.	<p>Section-11</p> <p>If any person fails to carry out duties as Rukun (member) despite showing unanimity with the Akida, purpose and aim, work policy, programme, and organisational method as described in this constitution, then they can work as Jamaat's associate member with the view to participate in the struggle for establishing Deen Islam.]</p>	<p>Section-11</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Any non-muslim citizen of Bangladesh can be the association member of it (Jamaat) if the citizen agrees with Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami's politics and economic programmes. 2. Any non-muslim citizen can be the member of Jamaat by following the condition as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (Ka) Will obey Jamaat's rules and disciplines or decisions with sincerity. (Kha) Will give highest priority in executing Jamaat's decision. (Ga) Will play diligent role for preserving independence-sovereignty of Bangladesh.
Bold sections are added by Author.		

The following translated documents can be found in English online
(at <http://commonwealth.sas.ac.uk/research/islamic-parties-and-elections-bangladesh>):

Jamaat-e-Islami :

1. Jamaat-e-Islami 2008 Constitution
2. Jamaat-e-Islami 2006 Constitution
3. Jamaat-e-Islami Oaths of Office
4. Jamaat-e-Islami Treasury Documents
5. Shibir Linked Coaching Centres
6. Trustees of Universities with Jamaat-e-Islami Links
7. Islami Bank Bangladesh list of shareholders as of May 2012.
8. Jamaat-e-Islami Personal Record Book
9. Jamaat-e-Islami Personal Report Card in English and Bengali
10. Ibn Sina Pharmaceuticals Directors etc.
11. Directors Islami Bank Community Hospital
12. Olama Mazhaek Leaflet

Education:

1. Nineteen Quomi Madrasa Boards
2. Composition of the Alia Madrasa Education Board
3. Quomi Madrasa Education Commission Bangladesh
4. Proposed Quomi Madrasa Education Syllabus
5. Female Enrolment in Different Types of Madrasa

War crimes:

1. War Crimes Chargesheets & Verdicts

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- ³ The Daily Star reported 9 hartal in April, on 26/5/13, print edition front page infographic.
- ⁴ 26/5/13 print edition, front page infographic.
- ⁵ 300 she said.
- ⁶ Briefing by Dipu Moni to the Commonwealth Journalists Association in London, 26/4/13. Author's notes.
- ⁷ *So many Hartal?* by Ariful Islam Mithu, bdnews24 blog, 16 June 2011. Accessed at (on 10/5/13) <http://ns.bdnews24.com/blog/en/index.php/ariful-islam-mithu/644> quoting an article researched by two Chittagong University professors.
- ⁸ *Bangladeshis Have Had Enough of Hartal*, 7 May 2012, by Syed Zain Al-Mahmood, The Wall St Journal. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) <http://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2012/05/07/bangladeshis-have-had-enough-of-Hartal/>
- ⁹ *Political unrest eroding growth*, bdnews24, 18/4/13. Accessed at (on 28/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/economy/2013/04/18/political-unrest-eroding-growth>
- ¹⁰ UNDP commented that BGMEA estimated a \$17million loss per day in 2005 and said it was possible this figure was slightly exaggerated because exporters had coping mechanisms. *Beyond Hartal: Towards Democratic Dialogue in Bangladesh*, UNDP, March 2005. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) <http://www.un-bd.org/pub/unpubs/Beyond%20Hartal.pdf>
- ¹¹ *Hartal Impact on RMG Sector; Tk 200cr production loss a day*, The Daily Star, 23 April 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/rmg-sector-incurs-tk-200cr-production-loss-a-day/>
- ¹² *Periodic Economic Update*, April 2001: 13.
- ¹³ This is disputed by bloggers who say it's discrimination. See *BDINN Admission results and madrasa students' entry into Dhaka University*, 12 Nov 2010. Accessed at (on 16/4/13) <http://bdinn.com/articles/admission-results-and-madrasa-students'-entry-into-dhaka-university/>. Interestingly the US Embassy in Dhaka has been offering two-year English language courses to madrasa students. See embassy website, accessed (on 16/4/13) at: http://dhaka.usembassy.gov/ac_pastevents_accessalumni.html
- ¹⁴ One newspaper report quoted an unsourced figure of 32% of Bangladeshi university teachers in the humanities and social sciences being graduates of *alia* madrasa but we could not confirm this. *An education: Inside Bangladesh's madrasa*, Tahmima Anam, The Guardian, 21 May 2011. Accessed at (on 6/6/13) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/21/inside-madrasa-for-girls-bangladesh-tahmima-anam>
- ¹⁵ This amounts to one mosque for approximately every 500 people. The Foundation also prints 300,000 copies of the Quran a year in Arabic and Bengali and is the largest publishing house in Bangladesh, employing 42,000 staff. Since 1978 they've published 3300 religious texts.
- ¹⁶ Some 70,000 Imams have received training of 45 days since 1979; a further 14,000 went on a short 5- day refresher course, according to The Islamic Foundation in interviews with the Author, Dhaka, May 2013.
- ¹⁷ Unfortunately the Foundation did not count the number of students attending these establishments, as their remit is only to deal with those who run them.
- ¹⁸ Interview by Author with Kushi Kabir, Nijera Kori, Dhaka, Feb 2013.
- ¹⁹ Interview by Author with Rowshan Ara, Feb 2013, Dhaka. She was one of the authors of the Dhaka University Study.
- ²⁰ In 1978 the *Madrasa Education Board* was formed under the *Ordinance for the Modernisation of Madrasa Education*. For a general explanation of the various reform efforts and problems of corruption see *Madrasa Education: An Observation*, Muzib Mehdy, 2003, Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha. Accessed at (on 2/5/13) <http://bnps.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/madrasa-education-an-observation.pdf>

²¹ *About Bangladesh Madrasa Education Board Dhaka*
Accessed at (on 5/1/13) http://www.bmeb.gov.bd/about_us.php?id=2

²² However, one study in Bangladesh found Urdu had been phased out and replaced with Bengali after 1971. It discovered Urdu was only taught as a second language even in the largest and most prestigious *Hathazari Madrasa* in Chittagong (which is run by the leader of Hefajate Islam) and elsewhere smaller madrasa had problems finding Urdu teachers. Source: *Engaging madrasa to meet the EFA targets: Evidence from South Asia*, Dr Masooda Bano, Eighth International Conference on Islamic Economics and Finance. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.iefpedia.com/english/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Masooda-Bano.pdf>

²³ *Political Economy of Madrasa Education in Bangladesh: Genesis, Growth and Impact*, by Abul Barkat, Rowshan Ara, M. Taheruddin, Farid M Zahid, Md. Badduruzzaman, Ramon Publishers, Dhaka, 2011.

²⁴ Academic Mumtaz Ahmad's 2009 study of *quomi* madrasa, found most graduates seemed to have internalised the dichotomisation between *deen* (religious life) and *duniya* (the material life) and so were less worried about money and career prospects. *Views from the Madrasa: Islamic Education in Bangladesh*, by Mumtaz Ahmad, The National Bureau of Asian Research project report, April 2009.

²⁵ This study found "those linked with the militant activities of the JMB and its affiliates primarily had Alia madrasa and mainstream education backgrounds. Among those arrested and indicted for terrorist activities during 2005-2007, only fifteen were reported to have attended *quomi* madrasa, and nine of them had attended madrasa affiliated with the Ahl-e-Hadith. But even here, the common denominator was the experience of the Afghan jihad, and not madrasa education". *Views from the Madrasa: Islamic Education in Bangladesh*, by Mumtaz Ahmad, The National Bureau of Asian Research project report, April 2009. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.iiu.edu.pk/wp-content/uploads/downloads/ird/downloads/Islamic-Education-in-Bangladesh-Third-Year-Report.pdf>

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Interview with Author, Dhaka, February 2013.

²⁸ Chapter 1, Objective and Goals of Quomi Madrasa Education.. Translated version available online as an adjunct to this document.

²⁹ Translated in the Online Appendix.

³⁰ Translated in the Online Appendix.

³¹ *Quomi Madrasa Education Commission Bangladesh*, in the Online Appendix.

³² Their website is at (accessed on 19/6/13) <http://bjm.org.bd/about-jamiat/establishment-history.html>

³³ The Female Secondary School Assistance Programme (FSSAP)

³⁴ *Going to School in Purdah: Female Schooling, Mobility Norms and Madrasa in Bangladesh*, Mohammad Niaz Asadullah Zaki Wahhaj, December 2012, Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit, Institute for the Study of Labor.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Traditionally the *burqa* has been a means for women safely to venture out into public without a male chaperon.

³⁷ *The quality of secondary school madrasa education in Bangladesh (QSSMEB)* study, World Bank 2010.

³⁸ *Views from the Madrasa: Islamic Education in Bangladesh*, by Mumtaz Ahmad.

The National Bureau of Asian Research project report, April 2009

Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.iiu.edu.pk/wp-content/uploads/downloads/ird/downloads/Islamic-Education-in-Bangladesh-Third-Year-Report.pdf>

³⁹ Tanjimul Ummah Cadet Madrasa are the only government-approved cadet madrasa. A government circular has prohibited the use of the word "cadet" for any other madrasa but there are 250 to 300 madrasa in Bangladesh, which are cadet style and many of them use the name.

⁴⁰ Education level

	Total Number of Students	Female
1 to 5	2000	300
6 to 8 (Junior Dakhil)	1200	200
Dakhil (9 & 10)	1000	100
Alim (11 & 12)	100	25
Total	5700	775

Note: Total number of students includes female students. This is from the Chairman of the Tanjimul Foundation, who said it was a rough estimate.

⁴¹ Tanjumul Ummah Foundation also operates Hifz madrasa, which are part of the *quomi* madrasa system. In the cadet version of the Hifz madrasa, it is only a 3-year course (instead of 5 years) but Bengali, English, Mathematics and Computer Studies are also taught. 1500 students attend their Hifz madrasa, including 150 female students.

⁴² Both the Awami League and the BNP blamed General Ershad for failing to curb anti-Hindu violence in the aftermath of the destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya in India.

⁴³ *Central President's Speech, Shibir President's Address to the Students and the Nation*, Bangladesh Islami Chhatrashibir website. No date given.

Accessed at (on 18/4/13) <http://english.shibir.org.bd/news/category/17/687>

⁴⁴ Translated from Bengali into English and available in the Online Appendix.

⁴⁵ *March saw 94 attacks: Govt yet to respond to HC rule*. By Ashutosh Sarkar, The Daily Star, 20 April 2013. Accessed at (on 20/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/march-saw-94-attacks/>

⁴⁶ *Two Buddhist temples attacked*, The Daily Star, 23 April 2013.

Accessed at (on 3/5/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/2-buddhist-temples-attacked/>

⁴⁷ Interview with Abdul Awwal Khan Chowdhury, Missionary in Charge, Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at Bangladesh, Dhaka Feb 2013.

⁴⁸ *Breach of Faith, Persecution of the Ahmadiyya Community in Bangladesh*, HRW report, June 2005 Vol. 17, No. 6(C).

⁴⁹ HRW estimates 20 million is possible, with concentrations in India, Pakistan, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Gambia.

⁵⁰ A leaf from history: The Ahmadi issue, By Shaikh Aziz, 27 March 2013, Dawn Newspaper, Accessed at (on 17/6/13) <http://beta.dawn.com/news/788358/a-leaf-from-history-the-ahmadi-issue>

⁵¹ *Bangladesh Bans Islam sect Books*, 9 January 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/3382931.stm

⁵² Interview with Abdul Awwal Khan Chowdhury. Author, Dhaka, Feb 2013.

⁵³ "We don't see the requirement for political power to preach or practice religion. This is mere exploitation of religion." Abdul Awwal Khan Chowdhury, Interview with Author, Feb. 2013.

⁵⁴ The Ahmadiyya say it was established in 1987. In Pakistan the Tehreek-e-Khatme Nabuwwat was formed in the 1950s.

⁵⁵ *Breach of Faith: Persecution of the Ahmadiyya Community in Bangladesh*, HRW report, June 2005 Vol. 17, No. 6(C).

⁵⁶ *Views from the Madrasa: Islamic Education in Bangladesh* by Mumtaz Ahmad, The National Bureau of Asian Research project report, April 2009.

⁵⁷ Interview with Author, Dhaka, Feb 2013

⁵⁸ Specifically the gender related development index section of the UNDP's Human Development Index.

⁵⁹ "On the whole, boys from poor households appear to be getting left behind in the gains that the country has made in educational attainment, compared to girls in poor households and boys in better-off households." *Poverty Assessment for Bangladesh: Creating Opportunities and Bridging the East-West Divide*, Para 41, Bangladesh Development Series Paper No. 26, World Bank (2008). Available Online at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/BANGLADESHEXTN/Resources/295759-1240185591585/BanglaPD.pdf>

⁶⁰ IDA report quoting (NIPORT et al. 2009: 201).

⁶¹ ICDDR,B website, Gender, Health, Human Rights and Violence against Women (Accessed 31 March 2013) <http://www.icddr.org/what-we-do/health-programmes/gender-health-human-rights-and-violence-against-women>

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⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ *Asia's Women Politicians at the Top: Roaring Tigresses or Tame Kittens?* by Andrea Fleschenberg, in Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia.

- ⁶⁷ *National Discourses on Women's Empowerment in Bangladesh: Continuities and Change*, Sohela Nazneen, Naomi Hossain and Maheen Sultan, July 2011, IDS working Paper, Volume 2011, Number 368.
- ⁶⁸ After 2004 this rose from 30 to 45 seats of the total of 345 and then in 2011 to 50 out of 350 total.
- ⁶⁹ *Case Study: Women and Politics in Bangladesh*, Pathways of Empowerment, Viewed (31 march 2013) online at http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/Women_and_Politics_in_Bangladesh_case_study.pdf
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- ⁷¹ *Women and Politics in Bangladesh* by Kamal Uddin Ahmed. Viewed (12/4/13) at [http://www.asiaticsociety.org.bd/journals/Golden_jubilee_vol/articles/H_446%20\(Kamal%20Uddin\).htm#_ftnref20](http://www.asiaticsociety.org.bd/journals/Golden_jubilee_vol/articles/H_446%20(Kamal%20Uddin).htm#_ftnref20)
- ⁷² *Bangladesh Political Party Discourses and Women's Empowerment*, Dr Sohela Nazneen, South Asian Journal. Supplied by Author.
- ⁷³ Behind India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan and Vietnam. See Figure 2/1 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament, 1990–2009, p. 13 in IDA report cited above in footnote 4. In 2001 the Inter-Parliamentary Union ranked Bangladesh 122 globally out of 184 countries with only 2% of women members in the national parliament.
- ⁷⁴ *Report on Women's Status in Electoral Process National Parliamentary Election 2008*, by Rezaul Karim Hashmi, edited by Salahuddin M. Aminuzzaman. Viewed (30/3/13) at <http://bnps.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/study-on-electoral-process.pdf>
- ⁷⁵ *Elections in Bangladesh 2006-2009: Transforming Failure into Success* by Peter Eicher, Dr Zahurul Alam, Jeremy Eckstein, UNDP. Accessed (on 12/4/13) at http://www.undp.org.bd/info/pub/Elections_in_Bangladesh.pdf
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *Report on Women's Status in Electoral Process National Parliamentary Election 2008* by Rezaul Karim Hashmi, edited by Salahuddin M. Aminuzzaman. Viewed (30/3/13) at <http://bnps.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/study-on-electoral-process.pdf>
- ⁷⁸ These appeared in the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs publication, *Jatiyo Nari Unnayan Niti 2004*, in which Articles 7, 8, 9 and 12 of the 1997 policy document were amended, according to: *Bangladesh: Women's development policy - Pushing the boundaries*, by Hameeda Hossain, 17 May 2011, Viewed (on 30/3/13) at <http://www.sacw.net/article2093.html>
- ⁷⁹ And yet equal rights for all men and women in every sphere of life have been guaranteed in clauses 10, 19 (1,2), 27, 28 (1,2,3,4), 29 (1, 2, 3-A) of the Constitution of Bangladesh.
- ⁸⁰ *Resist fundamentalist opposition and implement women's development policy in Bangladesh - reports and commentary*, Dr. Kaberi Gayen, 16 May 2011. Viewed (30/3/13) at <http://www.sacw.net/article2091.html>
- ⁸¹ *Women policy not anti-religion PM tells pro-AL religious group*, *The Daily Star*, April 21, 2011. Accessed (on 12/4/13) at <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=182487>
- ⁸² *National Discourses on Women's Empowerment in Bangladesh: Continuities and Change*, Sohela Nazneen, Naomi Hossain and Maheen Sultan, July 2011, IDS working Paper, Volume 2011, Number 368.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ Shah Abdul Hannan. Interview with Author, February 2013. He was introduced by the political party as a representative to speak on their behalf though he stressed he was a staunch sympathiser and adviser, not a member.
- ⁸⁵ This positive spin on women's rights may have been partly because he was addressing a woman author.
- ⁸⁶ *Social Laws of Islam* by Shah Abdul Hannan, Bangladesh Institute of Islamic Thought, 2010.
- ⁸⁷ *Outraged*, *The Daily Star*, Monday, April 08, 2013.
- ⁸⁸ *Women denied entry to Hifazat rally area*, Reazul Bashar, Moinul Hoque Chowdhury, Golam Mujtaba and Faizul Siddiqui, *bdnews24.com*, 6/4/13. Accessed at (on 7/4/13) at <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/04/06/women-denied-entry-to-hifazat-rally-area>
- ⁸⁹ "There are so many women everywhere – NGOs, garment factories, school and colleges. It's not possible that all will be sitting at home," Meem quoted in *Huzurs won't feed us, say women workers*, Mamunur Rashid and Quazi Shahreen Haq, *bdnews24*, Published: 2013-04-08
- ⁹⁰ Dipu Moni speaking to Commonwealth Journalists Association, London, 26/4/13, Author's notes.

⁹¹ Sources for the data used here are:

http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/only-55-women-contesting-bangladesh-poll_100130541.html and http://www.theresearchers.org/Publications/ElеObser_MonReport/Bangladesh_Election_Report.pdf but their figures don't match.

<http://bnps.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/study-on-electoral-process.pdf> says 52 women candidates competed in 57 constituencies and 19 women candidates got elected in 2008. But it was 57 according to Report on Women's Status in Electoral Process National Parliamentary Election 2008. Prepared by Rezaul Karim Hashmi, edited by Salahuddin M. Aminuzzaman. Viewed 30/3/13 at <http://bnps.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/study-on-electoral-process.pdf>. However

http://www.undp.org.bd/info/pub/Elections_in_Bangladesh.pdf says 18 women were elected in 2008. The Bangladesh Election Commission gives different figures in different places

(<http://www.ecs.gov.bd/English/ElectionResultFact.php?&electionid=8&electionName=Parliament%20Election%202001>), Bangladesh Election Commission website. But

[http://www.asiaticsociety.org.bd/journals/Golden_jubilee_vol/articles/H_446%20\(Kamal%20Uddin\).htm#_ftnref21](http://www.asiaticsociety.org.bd/journals/Golden_jubilee_vol/articles/H_446%20(Kamal%20Uddin).htm#_ftnref21) says more than 56 women candidates were fielded. This last source has some of the earlier election data for women candidates:

[http://www.asiaticsociety.org.bd/journals/Golden_jubilee_vol/articles/H_446%20\(Kamal%20Uddin\).htm#_ftnref21](http://www.asiaticsociety.org.bd/journals/Golden_jubilee_vol/articles/H_446%20(Kamal%20Uddin).htm#_ftnref21).

⁹² A gathering of people to listen to lessons on religion and spirituality.

⁹³ *Views from the Madrasa: Islamic Education in Bangladesh*, Mumtaz Ahmad, The National Bureau of Asian Research NBR project report, April 2009.

⁹⁴ Website Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://www.amwab.org>

⁹⁵ A list of such organisations can be found here: http://www.ngoab.gov.bd/Files/NGO_LIST.pdf

⁹⁶ February 2013, Dhaka, by Author.

⁹⁷ Of which 215 were foreign organisations, according to the Director.

⁹⁸ *Rejoinder, our reply*, The Daily Star, 15 July 2008. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=45828> This story stated: "Jamaat's link with BCKS is clearly evident as acting Jamaat Ameer Maulana Abul Kalam Muhammad Yousuf is its head since Liberation War period while local Jamaat unit presidents are regularly made BCKS advisers. BCKS presidents at branch levels are almost always chosen from high level Jamaat members (Rokon)."

⁹⁹ *Depositors protest shut down of Puthia NGO, demand money back*, The Daily Star, 11 March 2010, Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=129649>

¹⁰⁰ Most of the names come from Ali Riaz's Book, *Islamist Militancy in Bangladesh: a Complex Web*, Routledge, 2010. He includes Ishlahul Muslimin, Al Forkan Foundations, Jamia Toras Islami, Ishra Islamic Foundation.

¹⁰¹ *Swindling by fake NGOs*, A.N.M. Nurul Haque, 15 March 2008, The Daily Star. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=27727>

¹⁰² For example, as this website explains: (accessed 17/6/13) http://www.statelesspeopleinbangladesh.net/rabita_trust_deed.php

¹⁰³ From 2011 this website: <http://www.muslimaid.org/index.php/media-centre/press-releases/713-muslim-aid-day-28th-october-2011> - (accessed 1/5/13)

¹⁰⁴ Chowdhury Mueen-Uddin to be charged with war crimes, Andrew Gilligan, The Telegraph, 16 April 2013. Accessed at (on 18/6/13) <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/andrewgilligan/100151195/chowdhury-mueen-uddin-to-be-charged-with-war-crimes-5/>

¹⁰⁵ *500 'jihadi' books seized from Shibir-controlled room at RU hall*, The Daily Star, 28 Dec 2008. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=119598>

¹⁰⁶ List of NGOs as of 31 March, 2013. Accessed at (on 10/5/13) http://www.ngoab.gov.bd/Files/NGO_LIST.pdf

¹⁰⁷ *Grenade attackers fled by Al Markajul ambulance: Top man of Islamic NGO tells police about Aug 21*, Kailash Sarkar, 10 May 2011. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=185033>

¹⁰⁸ Darul Ihsan University website. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) http://diubd.edu.bd/index.php-file_name=shocharship.htm

¹⁰⁹ *Banned Kuwait-based NGO runs covertly*, Anwar Ali, The Daily Star, 31 March 2009. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=82101>

¹¹⁰ "After the Government of Bangladesh closed RIHS offices, RIHS-HQ funneled money into Bangladesh through another organisation to continue RIHS activities and to help shield it from scrutiny there." *Kuwaiti Charity Designated for Bankrolling al Qaeda Network*, 6/13/2008, US Department of the Treasury, Accessed at (on 6/6/13) <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/hp1023.aspx>

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² It's not the largest Islamic movement in the country though - Tabligh Jamaat, a socio-religious and strictly apolitical organisation, has far more followers and nobody knows for sure how many millions of children attend the Deobandi-inspired *quomi* madrasa.

¹¹³ Source: Copy of a writ petition filed by Jamaat's secretary general Ali Ahsan Mohammad Mujahid with a High Court bench in 2008 (during caretaker regime) challenging amendment of the Representation of the People Order (RPO) 1972 that introduced provision of reserving 33% of all committee positions for women. Original is in English.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*, Seyyid Vali Reza Nasr, IB Tauris, 1994, London

¹¹⁵ No figures for associate members were forthcoming.

¹¹⁶ Interestingly the same % of the vote as in 1970 before Independence.

¹¹⁷ A Jamaat Shura member, Shafiqul Islam Masud, claimed to The Wall St Journal that the party had 10 million members. *Bangladesh War Crimes Court Sentences Islamist Leader to Life*, SYED ZAIN AL-MAHMOO, 5 Feb 2013, The Wall St Journal, Accessed at (on 18/4/13) <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887324445904578285253762636258.html>

¹¹⁸ Copy of a writ petition filed by Jamaat's Secretary General Ali Ahsan Mohammad Mujahid with a High Court bench in 2008, challenging amendment of the Representation of the People Order (RPO) 1972. Original is in English.

¹¹⁹ Shah Abdul Hannan, Interview with the Author, February 2013, Dhaka.

¹²⁰ *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*, Seyyid Vali Reza Nasr, IB Tauris, 1994, London

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Jamaat-e-Islami website.

¹²³ Jamaat-e-Islami website, About Us section. Accessed at (on 10/5/13) <http://www.jamaat-e-islami.org/en/aboutus.php>

¹²⁴ *Jamaat charter still not proper, EC informs HC; hearing of writ petition today*, SHAKHAWAT LITON, Daily Star, 9 April 2013. Accessed (on 9/4/13) at <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/jamaat-charter-still-not-proper/>

¹²⁵ For example, Jamaat-e-Islami website, About Us section. Accessed at (on 10/5/13) <http://www.jamaat-e-islami.org/en/aboutus.php>

¹²⁶ *Political unrest eroding growth*, bdnews24, 18/4/13. Accessed at (on 28/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/economy/2013/04/18/political-unrest-eroding-growth>

¹²⁷ For example: "The blood of Muslims is being shed in different parts of the world including Afghanistan, Palestine and Kashmir etc by the Islam-hostile folks. Severe cruelty and sheer injustice are being administered to the Iraqi Muslims by the anti-Islam global quarters headed by the Yankees enthused with Zionism." From *A Brief Introduction to Islami Chhatra Shibir*. Accessed at (on 30/4/13) <http://english.shibir.org.bd/>

¹²⁸ *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*, Vali Nasr, 1994, IB Tauris, London

¹²⁹ Kushi Kabir, Nijera Kori, Interview Dhaka Feb 2013 with Author.

¹³⁰ In fact Jamaat is a separate party operating in other countries, such as Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka.

¹³¹ Was amended in 2009 and can be accessed in English at: https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:qdyV8d29lMk:www.ecs.gov.bd/MenuExternalFilesEng/154.pdf+&hl=en&gl=uk&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESg-FRrWMiLpbMGOHxQ_KqI8Ne1fhj9oacrNkho5dT2ABTqHHZvYdJcQa2wYhQpTFtX9U-0bQmGbziEpmlxMgMP3TA_4zzFz0WGsZ9GswCRnoEzqbthVcvCtMW377MMY4iUExocK&sig=AHIEtbRy0k46LJc75sJNKNZiwLTef-3_3w

¹³² *Jamaat's goals still against Constitution*, Daily Star, by Shakhawat Liton, 26 Jan 2010. Accessed at (on 22/4/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=123347>

- ¹³³ 'Democracy' Makes a Comeback after Elections in Bangladesh, Anand Kumar, Dialogue, January - March, 2009, Volume 10, No. 3 Accessed at (on 10/5/13) http://www.asthabharati.org/Dia_Jan%2009/Anand.htm
- ¹³⁴ Which issued a supportive statement regarding the war crimes trial, calling it politicised and unfair. *Muslim Brotherhood Statement on Unjust Trials for Leaders of Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami*, 8 Feb 2013, Ikhwanweb, Accessed at (on 2/5/13) <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30637>
- ¹³⁵ *Why wasn't Quader Mollah hanged?* by Afsan Chowdhury, bdnews24, 7 Feb 2013. Accessed at (on 21/4/13) <http://opinion.bdnews24.com/2013/02/07/why-was-not-quader-mollah-hanged/>
- ¹³⁶ *The Jamaat factor in Bangladesh politics*, Jyoti Rehman, 13 March 2013. Accessed at (on 10/5/13) <http://kafila.org/2013/03/13/the-jamaat-factor-in-bangladesh-politics-jyoti-rehman/>
- ¹³⁷ The Dirty Tricks of JamaatShibir, 11 March 2013. Accessed at (on 21/4/13) <http://mygoldenbengal.wordpress.com/2013/03/11/the-dirty-tricks-of-jamaat-shibir/> and *Where LIES reign supreme*, The Daily Star, by Julfikar Ali Manik, 17 March 2013. Accessed at (on 18/3/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/where-lies-reign-supreme/>
- ¹³⁸ *Photoshopped image used to instigate violence in B'desh*, The Daily Star, 4 March 2013. Accessed at (on 21/4/13) <http://www.asianewsnet.net/Photoshopped-image-used-to-instigate-violence-in-B-43511.html>
- ¹³⁹ Ananta Jalil is the movie star who received such free publicity.
- ¹⁴⁰ *NHS boss faces death penalty over charges of torture and 18 murders in Bangladesh*, The Daily Mail online, Abul Taher, 14 April 2013. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2308788/Chowdhury-Mueen-Uddin-Extradition-row-fear-NHS-chaplain-18-murder-charges.html#ixzz2S2k0hePf>
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁴² *War crimes-accused Chowdhury Mueen-Uddin 'will clear name'*, Divya Talwar, BBC Asian Network, 19 June 2013. Accessed at (on 19/6/13) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-22959927>
- ¹⁴³ According to an editor of a Bengali newspaper published in East London, Nizami's son married Imam Abdul Qayum's daughter.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Damaged Packaging*, Kamal Ahmad, Prothom Alo, 9 March 2013. Accessed at (on 19/6/13) <http://prothomalo.com/detail/date/2013-03-09/news/335000>
- ¹⁴⁵ *Bangladeshi journalists and The agonies of Bangladesh come to London*, Nick Cohen, the Observer, 17 Feb 2013. Accessed at (on 19/6/13) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/feb/17/bangladeshi-protests-reflected-londons-east-end?INTCMP=SRCH>
- ¹⁴⁶ Available in the Online Appendix.
- ¹⁴⁷ The relevant section is:
"Sources of Revenue of Baitulmal, Section -59
The following will be the sources of revenue of Jamaat's Bait-ul-Maal:
1. Receipts from Jamaat members (Rukun), workers and well-wishers:
a. Monthly Inayat (regular monthly help/ blessing/contribution)
b. Zakat (a proportion of wealth that an individual is obliged to donate each year to charitable causes) and Ushr (a tax usually paid in kind). [The money received from Zakat and Ushr will be deposited in Jamaat's Welfare Fund and will be spent according to Shariat (Islamic Law)]
c. One off donations
2. Specific monthly income from subordinate organisations
3. Profit from Jamaat's own publications."
- ¹⁴⁸ Known locally as *chanda*.
- ¹⁴⁹ Approximately £835,000. This information was given by Shah Abdul Hannan to the Author in an interview in February 2013, Dhaka.
- ¹⁵⁰ This was confirmed by a senior BNP leader, Feb 2013, Dhaka.
- ¹⁵¹ Interestingly, when Hefajat supporters were injured on May 6 2013 in the police crackdown, they chose to go to Islamic clinics and hospitals rather than state hospitals.
- ¹⁵² *Human Characters of Foundation Trainees of Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited and Its Impact on their Performance*, Islami Bank authors are M. Mizanur Rahman & A.N.M Tawhidul Islam. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) http://ibtra.com/pdf/journal/v8_n1_article1.pdf
- ¹⁵³ "In Bangladesh according to the Bangladesh Bank direction the scheduled banks have to maintain the Cash balance with Bangladesh Bank of 6% of the deposits (Total of Demand and Time Deposits) as Cash Reserve Requirement (CRR) and also have to maintain (except specialised and Islamic banks) the liquid assets to total assets

of 19% of the deposits amount as Statutory Liquidity Reserve (SLR), but for the Islamic banks this ratio is only 11.5%." *Liquidity and Profitability Study of State Owned Commercial Banks, Private Commercial Banks and Foreign Commercial Banks – Bangladesh Perspective*, Mohammad Mokter Hossain, Asian Institute of Technology School of Management, Thailand, May 2012. Accessed at (on 4/6/13) http://www.pmbf.ait.ac.th/www/images/pmbfdoc/research/report_mokterhossain.pdf

¹⁵⁴ There are now 5 Islamic banks in Bangladesh: Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited (IBBL), Al Baraka Bank Bangladesh Limited (Al-Baraka), Al-Arafah Islami Bank Limited (Al-Arafah), Social Investment Bank Limited (SIBL), Faysal Islamic Bank of Bahrain EC (FIBB)

¹⁵⁵ Said by the NGO Janipop to be of Egyptian origin, with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.

¹⁵⁶ UNDP's report says 63.92% of equity was contributed by the Islamic Development Bank.

¹⁵⁷ And 5% for the government, 15% for local sponsors and 10% for general shareholders, according to *Islami Bank denies terror finance link*, 30 March 2009, The Daily Star. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/islami-bank-denies-terror-finance-link/>

¹⁵⁸ Islami Bank Bangladesh emerges as leading private commercial bank, The Independent, 7 March 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=158801:islami-bank-bangladesh-emerges-as-leading-private-commercial-bank&catid=107:business-banking&Itemid=154. Shareholding documents for Islami Bank are available in the Online Appendix.

¹⁵⁹ *Islami Bank denies terror finance link*, 30 March 2009, The Daily Star, Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/islami-bank-denies-terror-finance-link/>

¹⁶⁰ Or in terms of market capitalisation the second biggest bank in the country according to *What should Bangladesh Bank do about Islami Bank?* by Nofel Whaid, 4 March 2013, bdnews24. Accessed at (on 10/5/13) <http://opinion.bdnews24.com/2013/03/04/what-should-bangladesh-bank-do-about-islami-bank/> (BRAC EPL 2011).

¹⁶¹ *Islami Bank contributes Tk 40b to exchequer so far*, The News Today. Accessed at (on 24/4/13)

http://www.newstoday.com.bd/?option=details&news_id=2339242&date=2013-03-11

¹⁶² *IBBL launches mobile banking service*, 28 Dec 2012, The Financial Express. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/index.php?ref=MjBfMTJfMjhMTJfMV84OV8xNTQ2NjY=>

¹⁶³ Through this programme Islami Bank has allocated about half a billion pounds (taka 63,285 million) among nearly half a million people in 15,691 villages from 1995 to 2012. According to *Islami Bank Bangladesh emerges as leading private commercial bank*, The Independent, 7 March 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=158801:islami-bank-bangladesh-emerges-as-leading-private-commercial-bank&catid=107:business-banking&Itemid=154.

¹⁶⁴ Tk 782,597 million

¹⁶⁵ According to the Islami Bank managing director, quoted in *Islami Bank Bangladesh emerges as leading private commercial bank*, The Independent, 7 March 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=158801:islami-bank-bangladesh-emerges-as-leading-private-commercial-bank&catid=107:business-banking&Itemid=154.

¹⁶⁶ For a general explanation of the difference between Islamic and mainstream micro-financing see - *Scaling up Islamic Microfinance in Bangladesh through the Private Sector: Experience of Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited (IBBL)*: UNDP, Nov 2012. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Participatory%20Local%20Development/Bangladesh_D10_web.pdf

¹⁶⁷ *Performance Analysis of Islamic Bank Microcredit Scheme in Bangladesh*, Abul Bashar Bhuiyan, Abdul Ghafar Ismail, Mamunur Rashid, PERKEM2011-1-1A5.pdf PROSIDING PERKEMVI, JILID 1 (2011) 61 – 72 ISSN: 2231-962X, Accessed at (on 23/4/13) <http://www.ukm.my/fep/perkem/pdf/perkemVI/>

¹⁶⁸ *Scaling up Islamic Microfinance in Bangladesh through the Private Sector: Experience of Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited (IBBL)* UNDP, Nov 2012. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Participatory%20Local%20Development/Bangladesh_D10_web.pdf

¹⁶⁹ *Rural development scheme of Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited - A study on its growth, effectiveness and prospect in Bangladesh*, by Professor Mohammad Saleh JAHUR, Associate professor S. M. Nasrul QUADIR, published in *Economia. Seria Management* Vol.13, Nr. 2/2010 Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://www.management.ase.ro/reveconomia/2010-2/6.pdf>

¹⁷⁰ Such as Akij Group, Noman Group, S Alam Group, BRB Group, Abul Khair Group, Shamoly Paribahan, Pacific Pharmaceuticals. According to: *Islami Bank Bangladesh emerges as leading private commercial bank*, The Independent, 7 March 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=158801:islami-bank-bangladesh-emerges-as-leading-private-commercial-bank&catid=107:business-banking&Itemid=154.

¹⁷¹ Tk 1,82,754 million.

¹⁷² Ibid, as in footnote 2.

¹⁷³ Reports say it's paid about Tk 40 billion as tax to the government exchequer. *Islami Bank contributes Tk 40b to exchequer so far*, The News Today. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) http://www.newstoday.com.bd/?option=details&news_id=2339242&date=2013-03-11

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Since regular bonds carry interest, they have devised a system of Islami bonds. Islami Bank buys the bonds from the government but the funds are then returned to Islami Bank to invest for them under Islamic principles. This was explained by Jamaat sympathiser, Shah Abdul Hannan, who was former Bangladesh Bank deputy director and said he devised this arrangement.

¹⁷⁶ *Netrokona hundreds leave Islami Bank*, 19 Feb 2013. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/02/19/netrokona-hundreds-leave-islami-bank>

¹⁷⁷ In Bagherhat, Rajshai and Satkhira, Mysemsingh and Chittagong, according to Islami Bank.

¹⁷⁸ The Public Institute of Social Security, Kuwait Awqaf Public Foundation and Kuwait Finance House.

¹⁷⁹ *Kuwaitis want to sell off Islami Bank shares* by Shahriar.Asif, 25/03/2013, Priyo News. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://news.priyo.com/2013/03/25/kuwaitis-want-offload-islami-bank-shares-70098.html>

¹⁸⁰ *Islami Bank denies terror finance link*, 30 March 2009, Daily Star. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/islami-bank-denies-terror-finance-link/>

¹⁸¹ *US, UK banks refusing Islami Bank*, bdnews24, 11 April 2013, Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/04/11/us-uk-banks-refusing-islami-bank>

¹⁸² *US, UK banks refusing Islami Bank*, bdnews24.com 2013-04-11, Accessed at (on 23/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/04/11/us-uk-banks-refusing-islami-bank>

¹⁸³ General Manager of Forex Reserve and Treasury Management Department Kazi Saidur Rahman is the Observer for the central bank.

¹⁸⁴ Of approximately £30 million in the first 9 months of 2010.

¹⁸⁵ *Islami Bank spends 8pc profit on militancy, Says Tuku; bank bins claim*, 1 March 2011, Daily Star. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) no source given.

¹⁸⁶ *SIBL, Islami Bank clarify their positions*, 19 July 2012, Daily Star. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=242706>

¹⁸⁷ The report said: "The alleged links include that some Al Rajhi family members were major donors to al Qaeda or Islamic charities suspected of funding terrorism, established their own nonprofit organisations in the United States that sent funds to terrorist organisations, or used Al Rajhi Bank itself to facilitate financial transactions for individuals or nonprofit organisations associated with terrorism."

¹⁸⁸ *Al Rajhi Bank Statement*, 25 July 2012. Accessed at (on 25/4/13) <http://www.alrajhibank.com.sa/en/media-centre/news/pages/al-rajhi-bank-statement.aspx>

¹⁸⁹ *Islami Bank vows to battle it out*, 20 July 2010, Daily Star. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=242850>

¹⁹⁰ *Views of Islami Bank on the news relating to HSBC implicating with Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited*, bank website, Accessed at (on 24/3/13) <http://www.islamibankbd.com/news.php?ID=93>

¹⁹¹ The bank's website says: "Abdullah Abdul Aziz Al-Rajhi is a foreign director of the Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited. He was elected as a director of the Bank on 15.05.2012. He is a Saudi National and concerned with different renowned business organisation." Accessed at (on 24/4/13) http://www.islamibankbd.com/abtIBBL/abtIBBLBOD_dtls.php?BODID=154 Also <http://www.alrajhibank.com.sa/en/about-us/pages/board-of-directors.aspx>

¹⁹² At Laldighirpar Branch of IBBL on Feb. 27.

- ¹⁹³ With 8 different telex transfers from the Gazipur and Savar branches of the bank.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Campaign Against Islami Bank; What's Behind it?* by Shah Abdul Hannan, Arab News, 23 April 2006. Accessed at (on 25/4/13) <http://www.arabnews.com/node/283678>.
- ¹⁹⁵ March 29, 2006. The editor of this newspaper has been arrested by the Awami League government at the time of writing.
- ¹⁹⁶ *Campaign Against Islami Bank; What's Behind it?* by Shah Abdul Hannan, Arab News, 23 April 2006. Accessed at (on 25/4/13) <http://www.arabnews.com/node/283678>.
- ¹⁹⁷ Abd al Hamid Sulaiman Al-Mujil.
- ¹⁹⁸ See Q.I.A.225.06. Abd Al Hamid Sulaiman Muhammed al-Mujil Accessed at (on 25/4/13) <http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1267/NSQI22506E.shtml>
- ¹⁹⁹ Tk. 2520 million.
- ²⁰⁰ Islami Bank Bangladesh emerges as leading private commercial bank, The Independent, 7 March 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=158801:islami-bank-bangladesh-emerges-as-leading-private-commercial-bank&catid=107:business-banking&Itemid=154.
- ²⁰¹ Tk. 116,270,000
- ²⁰² *Review of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Initiatives in Banks (2008 & 2009)*, Bangladesh Bank, April 2010. Accessed at (on 24/4/13) <http://www.bangladesh-bank.org/pub/annual/csr/csr0809.pdf>
- ²⁰³ £83,000.
- ²⁰⁴ Islami Bank Bangladesh donated Tk. One Crore to Bangladesh Olympic Association, Islami Bank website. Accessed at (on 10/5/13) <http://www.islamibankbd.com/news.php?ID=135>
- ²⁰⁵ Documentation regarding this hospital available in Online Appendix .
- ²⁰⁶ College website. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) http://www.ibmcr.com/index.php?s=2&page_id=14
- ²⁰⁷ Website: <http://ibiscdhaka.com/index.php> (accessed on 1/5/13).
- ²⁰⁸ Dr. Khateeb died in 1995.
- ²⁰⁹ The Hospital Diagnostic Centre is named after Dr. Fouad al Khateeb.
- ²¹⁰ Several different dates are given for when the trust began in the late seventies or early eighties.
- ²¹¹ Manarat International University website, Mission Section. Accessed at (on 1/5/13) http://www.manarat.ac.bd/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=50&Itemid=58
- ²¹² The names come from the University Grants Commission. The full documents showing the trustees are available online.
- ²¹³ The two Jamaat leaders were stripped of the Press Club membership in February 2013. *Mollah, Kamaruzzaman stripped of Press Club membership*, 13 Feb 2013, bdnews24, Accessed at (on 19/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/02/13/molla-kamaruzzaman-stripped-of-press-club-membership>
- ²¹⁴ Mumtaz Ahmad says there are 35 Islamic weekly and monthly magazines published in Bangladesh now.
- ²¹⁵ Initiated by Shah Abdul Hannan, Mir Qassem Ali and Commodore (retd.) Md. Aatur Rahman, according to Jamaat sources.
- ²¹⁶ *Bangladeshi Newspaper Circulation*, 28 March 2011, Blog quoting parliament. Accessed at (on 19/4/13) <http://tahasin13.blogspot.co.uk/2011/03/bangladeshi-newspaper-circulation.html>
- ²¹⁷ For example: <http://jamaat-e-islami.org/>, <http://www.jamaat-e-islami.org/en/>, <http://shibir.org.bd/>
- ²¹⁸ <http://www.freejamatleaders.com/bangla/>
- ²¹⁹ <http://basherella.wordpress.com/>
- ²²⁰ *'Nurani Chapa' not Rajib's*, by Ahasan Lenin, bdnews24.com, 2013-02-25, Accessed at (on 19/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/02/25/nurani-chapa-not-rajibs>
- ²²¹ <https://www.facebook.com/ics.du> and this one gives updates about Jamaat & Shibir. It says its location is in London so, probably, it's maintained by Shibir supporters living in London to share updates about their organisational activities back home. <https://www.facebook.com/toprealbreaking24?fref=pb>
- ²²² <https://www.facebook.com/newbasherella?ref=ts&fref=ts>

- ²²³ <http://www.youtube.com/user/basherkella>
- ²²⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/MediaWatchBangladesh?ref=ts&fref=ts>
- ²²⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/bangladeshislamichhatrashibir>
- ²²⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/sommilitoislamimanch>
- ²²⁷ Analyzing #Shahbag, from Twitter data: Part 5, Analysing Social Network, 20 Feb 2013, Accessed at (on 21/4/13) <http://technologyandsocialparticipation.blogspot.co.uk>
- ²²⁸ <http://www.qitaltube.blogspot.co.uk/>
- ²²⁹ <http://furqanmedia.wordpress.com/> The posts on the site bear the name of an Islamic Scholar called Mufti Muhammad Jaseemuddin Rahmani , Director, Markajul Ulum Al Islami of Metro Housing, Basila Road, Mohammadpur, Dhaka.
- ²³⁰ "The site is relatively popular among users in the city of Dhaka (where it is ranked #15,129. Roughly 76% of Furqanmedia.wordpress.com's visitors are in Bangladesh, where it has attained a traffic rank of 18,873".
- ²³¹ Posted on the 22nd March, 2013.
- ²³² Posted on 27 Feb, 2013.
- ²³³ <http://mujahideenmedia.wordpress.com/>
- ²³⁴ <http://mujahideenmedia.wordpress.com/mujahideen-worldwide/>
- ²³⁵ The Arabic word used is the Arabic word ' Tahgut ' which refers to a tyrant or an opponent of the Prophet. This is the word used by Islamic revolutionaries for the Shah of Iran.
- ²³⁶ <http://qitalmedia.wordpress.com/training/>
- ²³⁷ <http://qitalmedia.wordpress.com>
- ²³⁸ <http://qitalmedia.wordpress.com/software/>
- ²³⁹ <http://islameralo.wordpress.com/2013/03/25/murtaddin-government-torturing-the-ulamaye-kiram-muslim-janta-of-bd/>
- ²⁴⁰ Posted on 23 Nov 2012. Accessed at (on 19/4/13) <http://islameralo.wordpress.com/2012/11/23/hereafter-series-of-sheikh-anwar-al-awlaki/>
- ²⁴¹ <http://dawahilallah.tk/>
- ²⁴² And has audio of a sermon from someone called Shaikhul Hadis Abu Imran.
- ²⁴³ <http://alhittin.com/2013/02/23/bangladesh-audacious-islamophobic-culture-amongst-bloggers-part-1/>
- ²⁴⁴ Alexa traffic rankings say this site has a relatively good traffic rank in the city of Lidköping in Sweden.
- ²⁴⁵ *A Brief Introduction to Islami Chhatra Shibir*, Accessed at (on 30/4/13) <http://english.shibir.org.bd/>
- ²⁴⁶ Islami Chhatra Shibir's Party Constitution available in English at <http://english.shibir.org.bd/page/content/7> (accessed 30/4/13)
- ²⁴⁷ *Shibir chief held; hartal Tuesday*, 31 March 2013, Daily Star, Accessed at (on 30/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/shibir-chief-held/> and *Police seek Delawar's fresh remand*, 21 April 2013, [banglanews24.com](http://www.banglanews24.com) Accessed at (on 30/4/13) <http://www.banglanews24.com/English/detailsnews.php?nssl=091074f44de1321aecb08696ec4bcd67&nttl=2013042107302968294>
- ²⁴⁸ *Central President*, Islami Chhatra Shibir website, Accessed at (on 30/4/13) <http://english.shibir.org.bd/page/content/16>
- ²⁴⁹ One academic put their strength on campus at 1000+.
- ²⁵⁰ Not his real name.
- ²⁵¹ Others believe it's likely most Shibir activists do go on to join Jamaat because it's the obvious party open to them and would be keen to absorb dedicated activists and receive their financial contributions.
- ²⁵² Interview with Barrister Abdul Razzak, Feb 2013, Dhaka
- ²⁵³ Age 11.
- ²⁵⁴ 'Gajarir lathi'.

²⁵⁵ Court *Hajat*.

²⁵⁶ *Bangladesh Islamist Group Banned*, BBC online, 23 Oct 2009. Accessed at (on 19/6/13) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8321329.stm> . Professor Ahmad can be seen making a speech in this YouTube video accessed at (on 19/6/13) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vs1P70HRhDI>.

²⁵⁷ According to Mumtaz Ahmad.

²⁵⁸ For a full explanation of Ahl-e-Hadith doctrine, its links to the Faraizi Movement & its C19th roots in Bengali Muslim peasant armed movements against British colonialism and Hindu landlords, see *Ahl-e-Hadith Movement in Bangladesh: History, Religion, Politics and Militancy* by Mumtaz Ahmad, May 2006, Iqbal International Institute for Research and Dialogue.

²⁵⁹ I *Ahl-e-Hadith Movement in Bangladesh: History, Religion, Politics and Militancy* by Mumtaz Ahmad, May 2006, Iqbal International Institute for Research and Dialogue.

²⁶⁰ Ibid

²⁶¹ In an interview with Mumtaz Ahmad in 2000, Dr. Ghalib "acknowledged receiving 'several lakhs of Takas' from the Revival of Islamic Heritage Society, Society for the Revival of the Sunnah of the Prophet, Al-Harmain Islamic Foundation and the Ministry of Islamic Affairs of Saudi Arabia, but maintained that these funds were intended for building dorms and providing meals to the orphans studying in his various madrassas ". (Interview with Dr. Ghalib, Rajshahi, 22 June, 2000).

²⁶² *Jamat-i-Islami of Bangladesh and the Regional Jihadi Networks* by Shahriar Kabir. Accessed at (on 9/6/13) <http://www.secularvoiceofbangladesh.org/Jamat-i-Islami%20of%20Bangladesh%20by%20Shahriar%20Kabir.htm>

²⁶³ *Excessive media coverage helps rise of militancy, says Nizami*, The Daily Star, 26/11/2005. Accessed at (on 9/6/13) <http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/article.asp?parentid=34294>

²⁶⁴ Much of this information comes from Intelligence Ministry interrogations after his arrest. Source: Tippu Sultan, Prothom Alo Newspaper & The International Crisis Group report.

²⁶⁵ Aminul sent to jail on surrender, The Daily Star, 8 July 2009. Accessed at (on 9/6/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=95894>

²⁶⁶ Mumtaz Ahmad writes: "The ICS (Islami Chhatra Shibir) leadership, especially since the country-wide bombing of August 2005, has denounced terrorism and has disassociated itself from what it describes as 'some renegade and disgruntled ICS elements' who had long been formally expelled from the organisation for 'indiscipline' ". (Interview with Shamsher Munir, President of the Dhaka University ICS, Dhaka, 7 January, 2006).

²⁶⁷ *JMB back!* The Daily Star, 3 Dec 2012. Accessed at (on 9/6/13) <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=259720>

²⁶⁸ *Al Qaeda's Inspire Magazine Praises Boston Bombings, Takes Credit For Inspiring Suspects*, The Huffington Post , by Alexandra Schuster, 05/31/2013. Accessed at (on 4/6/13) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/31/al-qaeda-inspire-magazine-boston-bombings_n_3367314.html

²⁶⁹ *British Airways worker Rajib Karim convicted of terrorist plot*, Vikram Dodd, The Guardian, 28/2/11. Accessed at (on 4/6/13) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/feb/28/british-airways-bomb-guilty-karim>

²⁷⁰ *Al-Awlaki Recruits Bangladeshi Militants for Strike on the United States*, Terrorism Monitor Volume: 9 Issue: 7 February 17, 2011. Accessed at (on 4/6/13) http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=37528#.Ua2q15VRnzI

²⁷¹ *New York Federal Reserve plot: bomber 'inspired by Anwar al-Awlaki'*, Mark Hughes, The Daily Telegraph, 18 Oct 2011, Accessed at (on 4/6/13) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/9616613/New-York-Federal-Reserve-plot-bomber-inspired-by-Anwar-al-Awlaki.html>

²⁷² This may be the thinking behind the use of machetes in the killing of Drummer Lee Rigby in London in May 2013.

²⁷³ *Hifazat attacked to kill: Kabir*, bdnews24, 6/4/13. Accessed at (on 6/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/04/06/hifazat-attacked-to-kill-kabir>

²⁷⁴ *What led to Rajib's Shahbagh?* by Afsan Chowdhury, bdnews24, February 16, 2013. Accessed at (on 19/4/13) <http://opinion.bdnews24.com/2013/02/16/what-led-to-rajibs-shahbagh/>

²⁷⁵ *Shahbagh and bloggers: From allies to enemies?* by Afsan Chowdhury, bdnews24, April 3, 2013. Accessed at (on 19/4/13) <http://opinion.bdnews24.com/2013/04/03/shahbagh-and-bloggers-from-allies-to-enemies/>

²⁷⁶ "The 55 per cent of people who were not in favour of the death penalty were divided between 40 per cent who were satisfied with the life-term imprisonment, 9 per cent who thought Molla should have been acquitted, and 6 per cent who thought that he should have received a sentence which was less than a life term." *SHAHBAGH VS HEFAJAT: Where does the soul of Bangladesh lie?* 21 April, 2013, David Bergman, Reproduced on Jamaat-e-Islami's website. Accessed at (on2/5/13) <http://www.jamaat-e-islami.org/en/newsdetails.php?nid=ODEw#.UXXwg8B0Rdc.twitter>

²⁷⁷ *Bangladesh Arrests 'Atheist Bloggers,' Cracking Down On Critics*, Emran Hossain, Huffington Post, 3 April 2013. Accessed at (on18/4/13) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/03/bangladesh-bloggers_n_3009137.html

²⁷⁸ *We are plunged into a deep crisis no matter what*, Afsan Chowdury, *bdnews24*,

April 6, 2013. Accessed at (on18/4/13) <http://opinion.bdnews24.com/2013/04/06/we-are-plunged-into-a-deep-crisis-no-matter-what/>

²⁷⁹ *BNP cautiously welcomes Shahbag protests*, 13 Feb 2013, *bdnews24*. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://ns.bdnews24.com/details.php?id=240576&cid=2>

²⁸⁰ One video showed a cleric openly threatening Hindus and Awami Leaguers: "Who will talk about keeping Islam out of politics, who will insult us, then we will burn down your parliament. Not only you Awami League, Hindus, whoever is left we will burn them alive....", *Declaration of Slaughtering Shahbag bloggers in Public.mp4*, YouTube, 22 Feb 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=ngtkv6UWE1k

²⁸¹ *Article 19* put the number at 26. *Journalists and protesters injured in Bangladesh demonstrations*, Article 19, 22 Feb 2013. Accessed at (17/4/13) http://www.ifex.org/bangladesh/2013/02/22/hundreds_injured_in_clashes/

²⁸² According to RSF, *Journalists Endangered by Islamists and Authorities*, 26 Feb 2013, Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://en.rsf.org/bangladesh-journalists-endangered-by-26-02-2013,44128.html>: photographers Kutub Uddin Chowdhury of Dainik Inquilab, Rajesh Chakrabarty of Dainik Jugantor and Miah Altaf of Dainik Purbakone were injured in the attack. Also Farid Uddin and Amit Das, reporters for the ATN Bangla television network, and Sanjeeb Babu and Rabiul Hossain Tipu, journalists with Machranga Television.

²⁸³ *RSF says Abdullah Tuhin*, a correspondent for Machranga Television; Imran Tuhin, a reporter for ATN Bangla; Ferdous, a reporter for ATN News; and Mir Ahmed Miru, a photographer with Dainik Azmar Desh, were dragged into the mosque and attacked. Police eventually intervened and took the journalists to hospital. Masadur Rahman, reporter for Gazi TV, Nurul Islam of the Independent Television network and Bangladesh Television (BTV), the state network; Arifuzzaman Pias of Ekattor TV; and Sayeed Bablu of Dainik Sangbad were wounded by gunfire. Aminul Islam Bhuiyan, elected member of the executive committee of Dhaka Reporters Unity (DRU), was hospitalized after suffering a rubber bullet wound to the leg. In the north-eastern city of Sylhet, Shafiq Ahmed Sofi of Channel 24; Shihabuddin Shihab, a reporter for Boishaki Television; Alauddin of Channel S; Nurul Islam, a photographer for Dainik Uttorporbo; and Sohar Ahmad of Machranga Television were hospitalized with injuries. Islamist militants also attacked press photographers Nazmul Kabir Pavel of Bangladesh Pratidin and Sheikh Abdul Majid of Sylhet Sanglap. They were rescued by activists of an anti-Islamist party.

²⁸⁴ *Bangladesh opposition editor Mahmudur Rahman arrested*, BBC News Online, 11 April 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-22110132>

²⁸⁵ *Editor of pro-opposition daily arrested in Bangladesh*, CPJ, 12 April 2013. Accessed at (on 23/4/13) <http://www.cpj.org/2013/04/editor-of-pro-opposition-daily-arrested-in-banglad.php>

²⁸⁶ *Bangladesh harasses staff, press affiliated with Amar Desh*, CPJ, 16/4/13.

Accessed at (on23/4/13) at <http://www.cpj.org/2013/04/bangladesh-harasses-staff-press-affiliated-with-am.php>

²⁸⁷ *Dalal* in Bengali

²⁸⁸ According to Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission there are 30 million Internet subscribers and 3.2 million Facebook users in Bangladesh. Other studies put the number of Internet subscribers much lower at half a million and Internet users at 10 million (or 7%) at the start of 2013 (*Bangladesh - Internet Market and Forecasts*, 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.budde.com.au/Research/Bangladesh-Internet-Market-and-Forecasts.html>).

Mobile phones have become cheap and widely available to all. It's not surprising therefore that they are used for political mobilisation and spreading information and misinformation virally. Subscriptions reached almost 100 million by the end of 2012. *GrameenPhone* continued to lead the field with 41% of the market (*Bangladesh - Telecoms, Mobile, Broadband and Forecasts*, Peter Evans, Feb 2013. Accessed at (on17/4/13) <http://www.budde.com.au/Research/Bangladesh-Telecoms-Mobile-Broadband-and-Forecasts.html>). This is in a country with one of the most underdeveloped telecommunications infrastructures in the world, where 95% of homes lack a fixed line telephone.

²⁸⁹ *Well Known Blogger Hacked to Death on Dhaka Street*, RSF, 19 Feb 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://en.rsf.org/bangladesh-well-know-blogger-hacked-to-death-18-02-2013,44093.html>

- ²⁹⁰ For example: Shahbag Ringleaders Exposed. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://shahbagexposed.blogspot.de>. This is registered to an IP server address in the USA, as is *sonarbangla* blog.
- ²⁹¹ *Killers hacked Rajib first, then slit his throat: police*, bdnews24, 16 Feb 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/02/16/killers-hacked-rajib-first-then-slit-his-throat-police>
- ²⁹² *Bangladesh cracks down on anti-Islam blogs*, AFP, 21 Feb 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://dawn.com/2013/02/21/bangladesh-cracks-down-on-anti-islam-blogs/>
- ²⁹³ *'Nurani Chapa' not Rajib's*, Ahasan Lenin, bdnews24.com Accessed at (on 28/4/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/02/25/nurani-chapa-not-rajibs>
- ²⁹⁴ *Restriction imposed on Shahbag Movement with new tricks, twists, and tales*, Submitted by Shakeria Jahan, Priyo News, 20/02/2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) at <http://news.priyo.com/2013/02/20/jamaat-restrict-shahbag-movement-67602.html>
- ²⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁹⁷ *Bangladesh widens crackdown on atheist bloggers*, AFP, 27 Mar 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jtQXkbf0owXrPc7yxGOAgZfCbtBw?docId=CNG.050a0b0564c620ba5c22d568a1119301.2e1>
- ²⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹⁹ *Bangladesh widens crackdown on atheist bloggers*, AFP, 27 Mar 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jtQXkbf0owXrPc7yxGOAgZfCbtBw?docId=CNG.050a0b0564c620ba5c22d568a1119301.2e1> (Remove this identical ref. /insert Ibid.)
- ³⁰⁰ Netizen Report: Bloggers Under Threat in Bangladesh and Beyond, Global Voices Advocacy, 3 April 2013. Accessed at (on 20/5/13) <http://advocacy.globalvoicesonline.org/2013/04/03/netizen-report-bloggers-under-threat-bangladesh/>
- ³⁰¹ *Journalists Endangered by Islamists and Authorities*, Reporters Without Borders, 16 Feb 13. Accessed at (28/2/13) <http://en.rsf.org/bangladesh-journalists-endangered-by-26-02-2013,44128.html>
- ³⁰² *Our bloggers arrested amid crackdown in Bangladesh*, 4 April 2013, Committee to Protect Journalists Accessed at (on 5/4/13), <http://www.cpj.org/2013/04/four-bloggers-arrested-amid-crackdown-in-bangladesh.php#more>
- ³⁰³ *First Arrests of Bloggers after Creation of Anti-Blasphemy Committee*, RSF, 2 APRIL 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://en.rsf.org/bangladesh-first-arrests-of-bloggers-after-02-04-2013,44289.html>
- ³⁰⁴ *Targeted by Islamists and Officials, Bloggers Interrogated and Censored*, RSF, 26 MARCH 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://en.rsf.org/bangladesh-targeted-by-islamists-and-26-03-2013,44261.html>
- ³⁰⁵ *Four bloggers denied bail*, Priyo News, Submitted by Shahriar.Asif, 17/04/2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://news.priyo.com/2013/04/17/four-bloggers-denied-bail-72890.html>
- ³⁰⁶ Probe reports on 4 bloggers submitted, Daily Star, 18/4/13. Accessed at (on 18/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/probe-reports-on-4-bloggers-submitted/>
- ³⁰⁷ <http://www.somewhereinblog.net/blog/realAsifM>
- ³⁰⁸ *Blogger Asif placed on 3-day remand*, Star Online Report, 4 April 2013. Accessed (on 4/4/13) at <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/blogger-asif-placed-on-3-day-remand/>
- ³⁰⁹ Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <https://www.facebook.com/atheist.asif>
- ³¹⁰ *Bangladesh widens crackdown on atheist bloggers*, AFP, 27 Mar 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jtQXkbf0owXrPc7yxGOAgZfCbtBw?docId=CNG.050a0b0564c620ba5c22d568a1119301.2e1>
- ³¹¹ *Bangladeshi blogger hospitalized after being stabbed*, CPJ, 15 Jan 2013, New York. <http://www.cpj.org/2013/01/bangladeshi-blogger-hospitalized-after-being-stabb.php#more>
- ³¹² http://mukto-mona.com/bangla_blog/?author=345
- ³¹³ "What do our partisan intellectuals opine about Sheikh Hasina being a believer?" he blogged, cited in: *Bangladesh Arrests 'Atheist Bloggers', Cracking Down On Critics*, Emran Hossain, Huffington Post, 3 April 2013. Accessed at (on 18/4/13) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/03/bangladesh-bloggers_n_3009137.html
- ³¹⁴ Hefajat-e-Islam - is the official spelling we have been told by the group themselves.

- ³¹⁵ *No ban, yet virtual ban*, Daily Star, 6 April 2013. Accessed at (on 17/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/no-ban-yet-virtual-ban/>
- ³¹⁶ *Hifazat wants public mingling of sexes banned*, Bdnews24, Dhaka, 6 April 2012. Accessed (on 6/4/13) at <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/04/06/hifazat-wants-public-mingling-of-sexes-banned>
- ³¹⁷ *Hifazat men move towards Shahbagh, chased*, bdnews24, 6/4/13. Accessed (on 6/4/13) at <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/04/06/hifazat-men-move-towards-shahbagh-chased>
- ³¹⁸ *We are plunged into a deep crisis no matter what*, Afsan Chowdury, bdnews24, April 6, 2013. Accessed at (on 18/4/13) <http://opinion.bdnews24.com/2013/04/06/we-are-plunged-into-a-deep-crisis-no-matter-what/>
- ³¹⁹ *Hefajat threatens to topple govt*, The Daily Star, 20/4/13. Accessed at (on 20/4/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/hefajat-threatens-to-topple-govt/>
- ³²⁰ BNP Chairperson Khaleda Zia's younger brother, the late Sayeed Eskander, was the founding Chairman of the station.
- ³²¹ A senior Jamaat leader, Mir Quasem Ali, is the Chairman of the Diganta Media Corporation, which owns and operates The Daily Naya Diganta newspaper and Diganta TV. *Diganta, Islamic TV taken off air*, bdnews24.com, 6 May 2013. Accessed at (on 8/5/13) <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/05/06/diganta-islamic-tv-taken-off-air>
- ³²² *BNP leaders accused in cases over mayhem*, Staff Correspondent, bdnews24.com, 2013-05-07. Accessed at (on 8/5/13) <http://bdnews24.com/politics/2013/05/07/bnp-leaders-accused-in-cases-over-mayhem>. Website says 40,000 while The Daily Star says 50,000 accused.
- ³²³ *Held Hefajat leader blames Jamaat, 50,000 sued for violence*, The Daily Star, 8 May 2013. Accessed at (on 8/5/13) <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/held-hefajat-leader-blames-jamaat/>
- ³²⁴ *Unpacking the Islamist Agenda*, 1 April 2013, by Ali Riaz, The Daily Star, Dhaka.
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- ³⁵³ Abul Kalam Azad (convicted and sentenced to death in January 2013); Chowdhury Mueeuddin and Ashrafuzzaman Khan who live in the UK and US respectively.
- ³⁵⁴ Abdul Alim
- ³⁵⁵ June 2013
- ³⁵⁶ http://bangladeshwarcrimes.blogspot.com/2011/12/implementation-of-rapps-suggestions_26.html
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- ³⁶² Delwar Hossain Sayedee; Gholam Azam; Motiur Rahman Nizami; Salauddin Quader Chowdhury
- ³⁶³ <http://bangladeshwarcrimes.blogspot.com/2013/03/3-jan-2013-tribunal-skype-order.html>
- ³⁶⁴ In relation to questioning, the tribunal passed orders allowing a doctor and lawyer to be present in an adjacent room to the accused during questioning.
- ³⁶⁵ <http://bangladeshwarcrimes.blogspot.com/2013/01/abul-kamal-azad-trial-index-of-posts.html>
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- ³⁶⁷ Literally meaning "Generation 71".

³⁶⁸ Source: Profiles of the persons from 1 to 8 from the charge framing documents of Tribunal 9 (in English). A publication on life sketches of parliament members of 8th parliament in 2001 was translated and used for Nizami (6) and Sayaedee (8) because they were MPs. Salauddin Quader Chowdhury's profile comes from a parliament publication.

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³⁷⁰ *Caretaker System Abolished*, 1 July 2011, The Daily Star
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³⁷¹ One politician said more than 30 MPs were dual citizens of other countries.

³⁷² <http://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2012/05/07/bangladeshis-have-had-enough-of-Hartal/>

³⁷³ Academics however urge caution about the reliability of opinion polls based on small sample surveys in a country of up to 160 million people. They say what is needed is disaggregated data at a constituency level, not national level data.

³⁷⁴ Diplomatic sources and *Tarique Rahman gets political asylum in UK*, 4 Oct 2012, Daily Prime News Accessed at (on 4/6/13) <http://www.dailyprimenews.com/details.php?id=1244>

³⁷⁵ *A political tsunami*, Ifti Rashid, Dhaka Tribune, 17 June 2013
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³⁷⁶ From Hefajat-e-Islam Foreign Affairs: foreignaffairs@hefajate-islam.org

³⁷⁷ Certain areas of the country are known as safe seats - Gopalganj as the heartland for the Awami League, Bogra for the BNP and Rangpur for General Ershad's Jatiyo Party.

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³⁸¹ Commonwealth Journalists Association meeting in London, 27/4/13.

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³⁸⁵ *Political Economy of Madrasa Education in Bangladesh: Genesis, Growth and Impact*, by Abul Barkat, Rowshan Ara, M. Taheruddin, Farid M Zahid, Md. Badduruzzaman, Ramon Publishers, Dhaka, 2011.

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³⁸⁸ HRW 2005 report (ibid), quoting "Attack on the Qadianis in Kulna," Daily Sangbad (National Daily), March 1, 1992.

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