DHAKA WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 30, 2005

Terror strikes again

The nation must unite against the scourge

HE terrorists have struck again in Chittagong and Gazipur, killing nine people. And the target once again is the country's judiciary and their members. The graduation of the scale of attacks, that involved suicide bombers should not surprise us, given that the extremists have been threatening dire consequences since the August 17 bombings. What gives rise to our concern is the fact that such fanatics have germinated in our land, motivated enough to indulge in self-destruction.

One can question the inability of the administration to provide adequate security to the judiciary; the fact is that a determined suicide bomber is very difficult to stop. But that the alertness of the law enforcing agencies can prevent bigger carnage by anticipating a suicide bomber has been demonstrated at Chittagong.

We have been unable to get to the masterminds of these acts and that is what is worrying us. The government has its work cut out. There is a need to sensitise the people to the need to remain alert because these terrorists are living amongst us. The necessity to gear up human intelligence is of utmost importance, without which, neither can we seek out the roots, nor prevent repetition of these attacks

The obligation for cutting across party line to tackle the emergency is now. We have made several calls before and we do so once again. Putting their heads together is what the people demand of our political leaders. Differences must be set aside and the most vital questions of national security must be addressed urgently.

It's little comfort for those who have lost dear ones, but we repeat that we must not cave in to these perfidious monsters who want us to believe that they are Muslims trying to further the cause of Islam. Far from being either they are a slur on the

There is also the requirement for the government to seek expertise, if needed, from abroad to fight the scourge, the vortex of which we are unfortunately thrust into. Failure to do so may see the country destined for the eventuality that some of our neighbours had been forced into.

Attuning to the changing times

C'wealth summitry leaves a positive impression

Y far the most significant resolve made at the latelyconcluded Commonwealth Summit of 53 heads of government and state is to push for a global trade agreement at the mid-December WTO talks in Hong Kong as a vehicle for lifting millions out of poverty. In a strongly-worded statement, the leaders have urged the key players and negotiators for the Hong Kong round to secure a 'time bound commitment for substantial reduction in trade-distorting domestic support and significant improvements in the market access' for LDCs.

While looking up to a bigger event for resolution of longstanding differences in the trade approaches between the rich and the poorer countries impelled by unfinished trade negotiations over time, we believe, nevertheless, that charity begins at home; the relatively more powerful members of the Commonwealth will have to open up their markets even more to the less developed within the fold. The Commonwealth boasts G-8 members like Britain and Canada, let alone some major players in the economic groupings straddling the five continents where C'wealth is spread out.

Britain and Canada have stated that they could identify gaps in their economies where they can accept temporary migrants. Quite a few C'wealth countries with higher educational traditions have had the problem of brain drain depleting their human resource in the premium category, while the employment of unskilled and semiskilled people overseas is hugely benefiting the manpower exporting countries. In-between is the issue of illegal migration which can be avoided if the natural flow of labour is accepted in the same way that natural flow of capital is welcomed by the richer

The decision to work for the elimination of all forms of export subsidy by 2010 commends itself for the huge potential it has to provide a level playing field to trade operators.

Last but not least, the leaders have committed themselves to tackling terrorism by addressing its 'subtle undercurrents' and concentrating on fostering inter-faith understanding

Confronting the so-called religious extremism

MUHAMMAD NURUL HUDA

NPRECEDENTED violent actions resorted to by the so-called religious extremists belonging to at least two outfits have now engaged the attention of every section of our society. Of all concerned that was and is affected by the mindless violence of the zealots, the government of the day does not appear as alert and proactive as desired in a democratic polity. A sudden spurt of activities by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the alleged gearing up of the agencies under its control has been made possible only after the mainstream judiciary has been the pathetic target of the perverse bigots.

It is unfortunate that doubts are still being nursed by many knowledgeable quarters that the government is not serious about fighting the so-called religious extremists because that might adversely affect its electoral prospects in the not too-distant

Resolve and appreciation Whether in fighting or controlling or

even containing the so-called religious extremism, the first step is to understand and appreciate the very prevalence of such elements in a given society and its pernicious effects on the way of life of the citizens. Unfortunately, in Bangladesh, we have been perilously late in awakening to the realities on ground. This is not to discredit anybody or apportion blame to any particular political party because the growth and muscle flexing of the obscurantist elements has not been limited to the tenure of one regime. Cumulative inaction of the regulatory authority resulting from a lack of appreciation by policy-

modus-operandi of the extremists has brought us to the present state of

We need to be clear and definite about the threat perception. This is crucial because one cannot possibly treat a disease by denying its very existence. So from vague generalities if one has to venture into meaningful specifics, one can not but make a pointed reference to our constitution. This is obvious because our constitution is still the way of life the citizens of

demands that. We must not fail.

Bangladesh have chosen for them-

selves and the constitution remains

the solemn expression of the will of

the people and the supreme law of the

Republic. Article 11 of the said consti-

tution says "The Republic shall be a

democracy in which fundamental

rights and freedoms and respect for

the dignity and worth of the human

However, as against the above

position, one of the extremist outfit's

bulletin of August 22, 2005 says that

"In a Muslim land there can be no

other law except the law of Allah ... The

constitution is composed by some

wilful sinner ... The ruler of our coun-

try is an opponent of Allah because the

procedure of selection of all organs of

the government is made by a com-

pletely non-Islamic system ... The

activists of Jamatul Mujahideen

Bangladesh are soldiers of Almighty

Allah. They have taken up arms to

establish the rule of Islam." The

person shall be guaranteed."

Bangladesh during the countrywide bombing of 17th August last.

 $the\,programme\,of\,the\,extremists\,leave$ no room for any ambiguity. While at the macro-level it may be a matter of political direction to sort out disagreements through dialogue and persuasion, the field-level operatives, both in uniform and plainclothes must have clear directives and plan of action for

preventing violent subversive actions.

This is all the more significant now

because the new enemy has an emo-

tional and religiously sensitive align-

ment with the common folks of the

country. One must not be oblivious of

the fact that the enemy combatants

are entrenched in places and institu-

tions that are traditionally respected

As part of strategy, the enforcement

apparatus should succeed in separat-

ing an act of violence from its so-

called politico-social context and thus

criminalise a certain mode of political

expression. In Bangladesh's context

this line of action would be very

appropriate because there is a greater

need to reject the religious extremists

right to legitimise violence as part of a

The so-called Jihadists must not be

bracketed with political dissenters

although such differentiation

becomes difficult from an enforce-

and revered in our society.

larger social movement.

for dealing with religious extremists should be such as to distinguish them from constitutionally oriented political elements.

The above has been emphasised upon because the mission and strategy of our crime-fighting and intelligence organisations had not been stable at least insofar as the domestic threat scenario is concerned. Those have invariably substantially changed with the change of a political government. It has been our unfortunate proscription should be such as to make it applicable across the broadest spectrum. It should be precise and unambiguous. In addition, there must be clear measurement and list of acts that would constitute support to a 'banned organisation'. The effort should be to broaden the applicability but narrow down the definition of

extremism or terrorism itself. The process of identifying an extremist should be discreet and transparent and enforcement efforts

allowed to be used as sanctuaries. In order to do that quite a number of such entities should be subjected to well-planned surveillance. Voluntary or charitable work or even religious teachings which are suspected to be used as cover by some organisations should be shadowed so

relentlessly pursuing the bigoted

mischief-makers. Religious institu-

tions or places of prayer should not be

that bonafide welfare work can be separated from malafide subversive Foreign donations whether by There is a challenge to our way of life. This must be reallised by the mainstream political parties who are pledge-

individuals or organisations must pass through government scrutiny. This must be made mandatory. Along with this there must be a complete account of all educational institutions and the areas covered in the instruction should be known to competent

Democracy has to allow the inter-

action of different shades of opinion or divergent views to ensure the vibrance of a pluralist society. However, that does not mean that there will be freedom to convert the entire country into a theocratic dispensation by application of force and intimidation and the litigant public has to approach the clerics and Muhaddes for resolution of disputes and judgement, as demanded. There is a challenge to our way of life. This must be realised by the mainstream political parties who are pledgebound to uphold, protect and preserve our constitution. Therefore, the visible enemy must be caught by the forelock and be dealt with under the law. A sovereign Republic born out of a historic struggle entailing epic human sacrifices demand that. We must not fail.

The strategy

The constitutional position vis-a-vis

bound to uphold, protect and preserve our constitution. Therefore, the visible enemy must be caught by the forelock

and be dealt with under the law. A sovereign Republic born out of a historic struggle entailing epic human sacrifices should be geared towards that. experience to witness the differing political agendas often clouding the

The patrons and harbourers

pragmatic understanding of our real

proscription

national interests.

In order to apprehend and to effectively punish the extremists, the definition of extremism or terrorism should be expanded to an act of association with an extremist group. The objective should be to include patrons and harbourers of the extremists and fringe supporters within the ambit of the law. The regulatory authorities should be quickly able to draw up a list of 'proscribed organisations' to which membership, funding or open support within the territory of Bangladesh shall be banned. This list should be periodically reviewed with an intention of making the fight against extremism in line with threats to internal security.

However, the extremists who use violence and the threat of violence as an instrument to propagate its view and ideology cannot be treated as political dissidents even though the roots are socio-political and governed by distinct and conflicting ideologies.

The government should attach greater importance to proscription and should be empowered to designate the extremist organisation. The objective should be to sap the extremist organisation of its material base, stopping routes of material replenishment and seizing its existing assets. In other words, the proscription could be a central feature in our attempt at fighting religious militancy.

The imperatives

Now that we know who is the selfdeclared adversary, there must not be any hesitation in the battle against the frontal attack on our constitution.

Muhammad Nurul Huda is a former Secretary and IGF

Political earthquake in Israel



RIME Minister Ariel Sharon's political somersault in leaving the Likud Party that he cofounded in 1973, was, according to an Israeli political commentator, Hannan Crystal, a "tsunami" that would reshape Israeli politics.

Israel has not seen anything like before. It is not only a new political game in the country but also has a deep impact on the peace process with

Saeb Erekat, the Palestinian chief negotiator, described the development a "political volcano" and said: "I hope that once the dust settles down in Israel, we will have a partner who is willing to re-engage in the endgame."

On November 21, Sharon (77) asked President Moshe Katsov to dissolve Parliament and call a snap election in March next year that he hopes to win as a leader of a new centrist party, called National Responsibility, intent on pursuing peace with the Palestinians.

Sharon decided to break with the right-wing party which turned on him for withdrawing Israeli troops from the Gaza Strip in September. The farright rebels is being led by former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who resigned as a Finance Minister at the time of withdrawal of troops from the Gaza Strip

Sharon told the people that Likud

Bihar polls a setback for Congress and allies

Party was unfit to run the country. Opinion polls suggest that the once dominant party will likely to be in the margins of the Israeli politics because of its opposition about removal of Jewish settlers from the Gaza Strip and infighting within the party.

Sharon has said that it was "painful" for him to leave the party but he did it for the sake of Israel's national interest. It is believed fourteen of Likud's forty lawmakers including five cabinet ministers have agreed to join him. It is speculated that Shimon

and which way his ministers will jump.

Peres of Labour Party may join the new

His dramatic decision to leave the

Likud Party triggered when the new

left-wing Labour leader, Amir Peretz

(53), wanted to leave the coalition

Shimon Peres, Deputy Prime Minister,

as a Labour Party leader. The new

Labour leader did not wish to continue

to be part of the right-wing govern-

ment, led by Likud leader, Sharon

Peretz is a Jew with roots in the Arab

world, used to be called as "Second

Israel," the first Israel being the white

Sharon is known as an "Israeli Caesar."

Sharon's personality

On November 10, Peretz defeated

government with Sharon.

centrist party, New Responsibility.

unique in his personality and his perception of the world, his approach to the rules of political game with Palestinians, his view of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and his ability to survive politically has been extraordi-

He has been the most decorated General in the Israeli army and fought every war since 1948 to 1973 with the Arabs. As a military personnel, he has shown himself to be both brilliant and

minded invasion of Lebanon, during

which Israel's Lebanese Christian

allies massacred Palestinians men.

women and children in the Sabra and

Shatilla refugee camps. Yet he sur-

Defence Minister late General

Moshe Dayan and Sharon had striking

similarities. Both were born in Israel

and came from the farming villages.

Both were audacious, imaginative,

History has it that the founding

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and

Defence Minister Moshe Dayan were

happy that they finally had Sharon as a

real fighter as an officer. Prime

Minister Ben-Gurion saw in Sharon

the realization of Israel and selected a

Hebrew name, Ariel Sharon, replacing

vived politically.

(his father Samuel and mother Vera migrated from Russia to British mandated Palestinian land in 1922).

How does the political climate change?

Yaron Etzrahi, a Political Science Professor at Hebrew University said: "What it brings to the Israeli voter is unprecedented clarity of choice between an ideological right-wing party, a left-wing Labour party and a centrist party led by Sharon." Sharon, the most popular politician

in the country, repeatedly stressed

"peace with security" for Israel.

Israelis know that he had fought

always for security of the new state and

they trust him so far security is con-

cerned. He has strong security creden-

tials and that is why his centrist party is

Israel's Haaretz newspaper

reported that in a third term as the

Prime Minister after March, he would

seek to evacuate isolated Jewish

settlements in the occupied West

Bank, while retaining bigger enclaves

Sharon's departure would weaken

Likud party and so also the West Bank

Jewish settlers because they harnessed

Likud's strength over the past three

decades to exert a power over Israeli

in a new peace deal with Palestinians.

likely to redraw the political map.

BOTTOM LINE

By opting to abandon his right-wing Likud party and set up a centrist party of his own, Sharon hopes to confound his

political enemies and reinvent Israeli politics. Sharon, the master gambler in politics and battlefield has taken a bold

and risky decision. Furthermore, the precedent for starting breakaway party in Israel is not encouraging. Founding

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion failed miserably when he tried, before slipping from the political scene. Much

depends on the coming months, when it will become clear how much of the Likud's centre chooses to go with Sharon

coalition with the Labour Party. Labour lawmaker, Yuli Tamir reportedly said: "The camp that wants to reach negotiations with Israelis just got bigger." Sharon hopes that his new centrist

As the head of a new party, Sharon

will be free to pursue peace moves

with the Palestinians and form a stable

party will be able to defeat the rightwing Likud and left-wing Labour Parties in the March election and with the assistance and support of the US administration, he would pursue

plans to end conflict with the

Palestinians, without having to battle

party, bringing in some Labour mem-

bers, would leave Sharon neck and

neck with Peretz, with Likud pushed

Palestinians fear Sharon's aims to

set a border unilaterally along the lines

of the 720-kilometre wall being built

deep inside the West Bank (the World

Court in July, 2004 declared that the

wall is illegal and should be disman-

tled) and which Israel says stops

suicide bombers. Palestinians call it a

land grab and argues that unilateral

boundary between Israel and

Palestinian territory is against the

roadmap for peace," envisaged by the

over the Volcker Commission report

that forced him to step down as exter-

nal affairs minister. Both houses of the

US, Russia, Europe, and UN.

Recent polls suggest that a new

Likud hardliners.

into third place.

The election is likely to be held on March 28, 2006. No political party is likely to emerge from the election with an outright majority because of system of proportional representation in the outcome of election, not the system of first past the post, as in Britain or in Bangladesh. This means that possibly weeks of horse-trading will follow in an effort to put together a

Two facts may, however, go against Sharon. First, the aggressive new Labour Party leader, the left-winger Amir Peretz, could vet prove a better campaigner than his tired predecessor, the ousted Shimon Peres, and is publicly rejecting a coalition government. Second, the Likud party could also retain its key asset, the loyalty of Israel's Sephardic Jews, leaving Sharon in the cold

By opting to abandon his right-wing Likud party and set up a centrist party his political enemies and reinvent Israeli politics. Sharon, the master gambler in politics and battlefield has taken a bold and risky decision.

Furthermore, the precedent for starting breakaway party in Israel is not encouraging. Founding Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion failed miserably when he tried, before slipping from the political scene.

Much depends on the coming months, when it will become clear how much of the Likud's centre

chooses to go with Sharon and which way his ministers will jump. The Sydney Morning Herald in an

editorial recently summed up aptly when it wrote: "What is at stake for Mr. Sharon is a

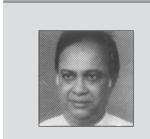
place in history. For the stateless Palestinians, however, it is a place of their own.'

Barrister Harun ur Rashid is a former Bangladesh

forces, and the leftist and other

secular parties have already

There has never in Israel's history his original name Arik Scheinerman policies far in excess of their numbers. among the member countries. been a man such as Ariel Sharon. He is



ZAGLUL AHMED CHOWDHURY

HE result of the state assembly elections in the important Indian state of Bihar has come as a setback for the ruling Indian National Congress and its allies. However the outcome has delighted the opposition National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The polls in Bihar, population wise the second largest state of India only after the Uttar Pradesh, were a matter of interest and curiosity since the voting was largely seen as a test of popularity for the centre-ruling United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and the opposition

NDA. The BJP and its ally Janata Dal (U) have romped home and already formed a government in the state, but the extent of their victory has surprised even the winners.

The Rastriya Janata Dal of the

heavyweight of Bihar politics for last fifteen years, Laloo Prasad Yadav, and its partner Congress headed by Sonia the loss was somewhat beyond commount any stiff resistance to the BIP-243-member legislature. The development sent jubilation in the opposi-

Laloo is probably considered as the

Gandhi not only tasted the defeat in the crucial state after many years, but ruling UPA only after chairperson prehension as their alliance could not Jatana Dal (U) combine, which easily secured an absolute majority in the tion camp in New Delhi and was greeted with dismay in the UPA circles. What is more important is that the outcome of the elections has brought an end to the fifteen years uninterrupted ascendancy of Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar and the curtain was rung down in "Laloo era" in the state at least for the time being.

second most influential leader in the

MATTERS AROUND US

The election results will have ramifications in all India politics as well since the NDA finds it a shot in its arms. The development is particularly disturbing for the UPA since it has come close on the heels of the controversy surrounding K. Natwar Singh over the Volcker Commission report that forced him to step down as external affairs minister. The victory of the BJP and its partner has also raised fears of revival of the domination of communal forces.

Sonia Gandhi and he is also a senior minister in charge of the important railway ministry. Although his party is confined mainly in the Bihar state, Laloo has been playing an important role in the national politics as much as Sharad Pawar of Maharastra, Jayaram Javalalitha of Tamil Nadu Chandrababu Naidu of Andhra Pradesh even though their parties are basically regional and have not national following. In fact, barring the Congress and the BJP and to an extent the leftist CPM and the CPI, India had hardly other political organisations with some strength to reckon with at the national level.

tion, the supremos of the regional parties often call shots in shaping the national politics and Laloo Prasad Yadav appears to be most important of them. His RJD is a key ally of the Sonia Gandhi's Congress and both as partners of the UPA along with several other regional parties unseated the BJP-led NDA from power in India in polls early last year. Bihar was considered as a bastion for the UPA because of onetime near unassailable dominance by Laloo's RJD but now the scenario is just the opposite since the RJD and Congress cut a sorry figure in Laloo's rise in politics has been

As a logical corollary to this condi-

unmatched. His simple life, noncommunal politics and populist approach brought him very close to the people as the erstwhile Janata Dal leader. But as chief minister he was embroiled in a scam and had to guit the official position. However, his popularity was such that he managed to bring his essentially housewife spouse Rabri Devi as his successor while he moved to federal politics and later set up the RJD breaking away from the mainstream Janata Dal. His wife remained the chief minister till February this year, when the polls gave fractured verdict warranting

meteoric in Bihar where his appeal to direct rule from New Delhi, and when the common people was almost the new voting took place their party along with the Congress have been beaten decisively. The wish of RJD and the Congress to remain in power in the state turned misnomer and thereby the UPA suffered its biggest setback since coming to power. Nitish Kumar of the Janata Dal(U) has become the new chief minister ending the long Laloo-Rabri Devi chapter The election results will have

ramifications in all India politics as well since the NDA finds it a shot in its arms. The development is particularly disturbing for the UPA since it has come close on the heels of the controversy surrounding K. Natwar Singh

Indian parliament recently witnessed pandemonium over Mr. Singh, who remains a minister without portfolio, and also the Congress party itself, as the Volcker Commission had found both as beneficiary of the "food for oil" project in Iraq during Saddam Hussain regime. Indian government has constituted two high powered commission to find out the truth, but the opposition is demanding resignation of the Congress-led government and also actions against Mr. Singh in the wake of the controversy. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh has said that his government would not spare anybody if found guilty but stressed that only the report of the two commissions will reveal the truth. The NDA is obviously happy that the Bihar elections win has come at a time when the UPA government is already facing The victory of the BIP and its

partner has also raised fears of revival of the domination of communal

expressed their anxiety. They said the outcome of the Bihar assembly polls in no way reflected the mood of the people at the national level since it is fundamentally an anti-incumbency verdict as the RJD was in power there for many years. True, antiincumbency factor played a key role in the polls but it is also correct to some extent to say that the result will encourage the communal forces to flex muscles in a bigger manner in the national politics. The BJP-led NDA had suffered unexpected shock defeat in the last Lokshaba polls. The UPA government is otherwise faring well. And the results of Bihar polls will have no direct bearing on the rule by the UPA, which relies on the support of the leftists. But certainly the reversal in Bihar has put pressure on the federal government which is now on the weak ground.

Zaglul Ahmed Chowdhury is Foreign Editor of BSS.