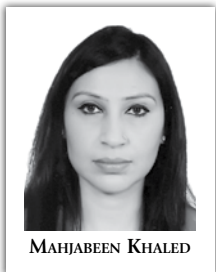


# Remembering the tragedy of November 7, 1975



MAHJABEEN KHALED

ON November 7, 1975, a turbulent and dark chapter opened up in the history of Bangladesh. On this day, Major General Khaled Mosharrar Bir Uttom, Colonel Khondkar Nazmul Huda Bir Bikrom, Lieutenant Colonel Abu Taher Mohammad Haider Bir Uttom and many of the freedom fighters' family members were brutally killed.

General Khaled Mosharrar gained eminence for his guerrilla performance during the warfare against the Pakistani Army in 1971. Leader of the Crack Platoon, which was built at his own initiative, he carried out operations in Dhaka during the Liberation War. In the documentary *Khaled's War*, produced by Granada television in the UK, General Khaled was seen as calm and self-confident while giving interviews to the journalists. He stated that this war was a resistance against injustice.

On December 16, 1971, Bangabandhu returned to an independent Bangladesh and upon his arrival, he became engaged in re-building the country. However, within a few years, on August 15, 1975, the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated, along with his family, and the power of the government was seized by Khondaker Mostaq Ahmad. Although the traitor Mostaq became President, the assassins of Bangabandhu, the Faruque, Rashid, Dalim Noor clique, were assigned with the responsibility of running the country.

Brigadier Khaled Mosharrar was a meticulous officer of high ethical values. It was impossible for him to accept those who had seized the power of the government by killing Bangabandhu, much less pledge allegiance to them. At the time, Colonel Shafaat Jamil spoke with the then Chief of Army Staff, Ziaur Rahman. However, he found that Zia expressed reluctance to take any action in this regard. Ziaur Rahman was a direct beneficiary of the situation and he was made Chief of Army following the assassination of Bangabandhu on August 15, 1975.

The first effective step towards overthrowing the assassins of Bangabandhu was taken on the

night of November 2, 1975, led by Brigadier Khaled Mosharrar and Colonel Shafaat Jamil. The Freedom Fighter officers, from both the Army and the Air Force, collaborated during the operation. On the morning of November 3, several fighter jets and helicopters kept flying in an attacking manner over Bangabhaban, Suhrawardy Udyan and Dhaka Cantonment, and Ziaur Rahman was taken into house arrest immediately. In the wake of Zia's resignation, Khaled Mosharrar took over the position of the Chief of Army.

chanting slogans aimed at confusing the people. Colonel Taher's brother and his close associate Anwar Hossain, stated in a BBC interview that numerous meetings had taken place during the nights of November 3 to November 6, 1975. He told the soldiers that they would come out with weapons in hand, and their students and workers waiting outside would become armed. This is how Colonel Taher planned the uprising of the soldiers and the people. On November 3, while under house arrest, Ziaur Rahman communicated with Colonel

of the revolutionary uprising to be held by a group in the Bangladesh Army was finalised. The Cantonment was instigated against Khaled Mosharrar. Provocative leaflets were distributed in the Cantonment area, where Khaled Mosharrar was branded as under the influence of India. In the midst of such chaos, it became apparent to everyone that a sinister force was operating.

On the night of November 7, the counter-anarchy began, and all the Sepoys were giving slogans such as, "all the Sepoys are brothers, desiring the blood of officers". Besides provoking the soldiers, they started to murder the innocent family members of loyal army officers in the name of revolution. Although Khaled Mosharrar's coup was successful, the Bengal Lancer and two Field Artillery that supported the Faruque, Rashid and Mostaq clique were not disarmed yet. Consequently, they were seen patrolling the highways of Dhaka, and these units were used for a counter-coup against Khaled Mosharrar. On the same day, Zia was freed by these forces.

On November 7, at Bangabhaban, General Khaled Mosharrar was informed about the sepoy revolt called by the JSD, but they did not have any scope of taking action against them. After hearing the news, Khaled Mosharrar contacted Colonel Nawazish Ahmed, Commander of the 10th East Bengal Regiment, and thereby, Colonel Nawazish asked them to come to his unit. However, there was chaos in the unit too, and a group of unruly soldiers, led by Major Jalil and Major Assad, point-blank shot General Khaled, Colonel Huda and Lieutenant Colonel Haider.

Till date, we have failed to bring the perpetrators of November 7 under justice. We are still allowing them to celebrate the uprising, or the National Revolution and Solidarity Day as it has been termed. It is time for Bangladeshis to free the country from such distortions, especially when we are celebrating 50 years of independence. The people of Bangladesh have the right to know the true history of November 7, and remember the Freedom Fighters who lost their lives on this dark night.

Mahjabeen Khaled is a Member of Parliament and the daughter of Major General Khaled Mosharrar Bir Uttom.



Major General Khaled Mosharrar, Bir Uttom (1937-1975)

PHOTO: COLLECTED

After the successful coup led by Khaled Mosharrar, the chain of command was established in the army and at the same time, Justice Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem was requested to assume the office of the President of the country. It is noteworthy here that Khaled Mosharrar did not show any interest to be in power. Although Khaled's associates repeatedly requested him to give speeches on radio and television, he never agreed to such requests and stayed determined that only the person in charge as the new president will give speeches.

Meanwhile, Colonel Taher, a retired army officer, and his organisation, the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD), became active. They had been marching around Dhaka city with their allied troops and

Taher over the phone. As per Zia's request, the team of his revolutionary army, who were aligned with the JSD, came forward to protect him.

On November 6, Khaled Mosharrar visited the Number 10 Regiment and advised the soldiers to stay patient. Afterwards, he held a meeting at the army headquarters and instructed the soldiers to deposit all of their weapons at the same meeting. But it became quite apparent that under the command of Colonel Taher, Gonobahini, the armed wing of JSD, were in the process of planning to do something inside the cantonment, when they started distributing leaflets.

During the evening of November 6, at the house of Siddique Gulshan, the blueprint

## Why COP26 will fail



MARK LEONARD

THE United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP26) now underway in Glasgow might conclude with a big international agreement. But whatever tactical successes are achieved at COP26, the results are likely to mark a strategic setback for humanity—at least when compared to the hopes of climate activists.

The world is missing target after target. This should not be surprising: while a growing number of countries have set net-zero targets, for example, very few have credible plans to meet them. And even if we did meet existing targets, that would not be enough to achieve the 2015 Paris climate agreement's main goal: limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

In fact, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's latest report warns that the planet is likely to reach the 1.5 degrees Celsius limit in the early 2030s. As long as multilateral engagement is defined by nationalism, power politics and emotion, rather than solidarity, law and science, our future will continue to grow bleaker.

At the height of the Cold War, the American television series *The Outer Limits* told the story of an idealistic group of scientists staging a fake alien invasion of Earth, in the misguided hope that they could avert nuclear Armageddon by giving the world a common enemy against which to unite. When faced with the prospect of extinction, the logic went, the Soviet Union and the United States would turn their attention from competition to shared survival.

Today, nobody needs to contrive a common cause. Climate change poses as great a threat as any alien invasion. But, far from shocking national leaders out of their petty competition, it is being wielded as a weapon in a many-sided propaganda war. From Brazil and Australia to China and the US, countries are trying to game climate negotiations in order to shift the costs of adaptation onto others. For example, the Brazilian government is trying to get the world to pay it to stop destroying the Amazon rainforest. Chinese President Xi Jinping and Russian President Vladimir Putin did not attend at all, although they sent written and video messages respectively.

Meanwhile, the advanced economies—including those that proudly claim to be committed to climate action—have broken their promise to provide USD 100 billion annually to support the climate transition in the Global South. And even if they did deliver, it wouldn't be enough.

Developed economies are finding increasingly coercive ways of shaping other countries' behaviour. Commitments by most of the Western and multilateral development banks to stop financing coal (now joined by China) restrict

and Eastern Europe with a lot to lose.

This is not to disparage coal bans, green financing and carbon pricing. On the contrary, these tools have a crucial role to play in changing how the global economy works. But that doesn't mean we can disregard the (very serious) consequences for developing economies. Instead, we need to create a new grand bargain focused on supporting adaptation in the developing world.

More broadly, we must ensure that any multilateral agreement for tackling climate change is governed by international law, rather than

was hailed as a triumph, because hopes for any agreement were so low. But it entailed a major compromise: it was based on non-binding commitments known as Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). Countries could simply pursue the energy policies on which they had already decided, while pretending they were working together to tackle climate change. Not surprisingly, current NDCs are wholly inadequate to achieve the agreement's stated goals.

To be sure, climate-change COPs have often made important—if often procedural, boring and technical—contributions to the climate fight. But showboating and power politics have stood in the way of real progress. And the media and civil-society circus that surrounds the conferences—intended to enforce accountability and transparency—has often impeded negotiators' ability to get things done.

More fundamentally, COPs have failed to produce a model of global governance that can tame power politics, let alone forge a sense of shared destiny among countries. And there is little reason to believe this time will be different.

Of course, the problem extends beyond UN Climate Change Conferences. While economic globalisation has lifted millions out of poverty, it has fuelled increasing concentration of wealth. In this context, efforts to advance shared interests can become less appealing, because they produce asymmetrical rewards.

Add to that the psychology of envy unleashed by social media, and it becomes all the more difficult to shift people's focus from their relative position in the global pecking order to the common good. These trends have undermined faith in the power of government, and fuelled pessimism about the possibility that any solution will emerge.

The result is what social scientists call a collective action problem. Leaders and citizens alike conclude that the most rational short-term strategy is to pay lip service to the cause and hope others will solve the crisis. Meanwhile, the planet burns.

Mark Leonard is Co-Founder and Director of the European Council on Foreign Relations and the author of *The Age of Unepeace* (Bantam Press, 2021). Copyright: Project Syndicate, 2021. www.project-syndicate.org (Exclusive to *The Daily Star*)



Climate activists march through the streets of Glasgow during COP26.

PHOTO: AFP

options for grid expansion in developing countries where demand for power is growing rapidly.

Influential countries have also urged the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to attach green conditions to debt relief for poor countries, as well as to its new allocation of special drawing rights (the IMF's reserve asset). And the European Union's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism—a non-trade barrier intended to force exporters to Europe to shift to green production—disproportionately hurts small emitters in Africa

dependent on the will of individual countries. And decision-making should be driven by scientific truths, not political slogans.

The Paris climate agreement's predecessor, the Kyoto Protocol, adopted in 1997, was broadly in line with this approach: it was a multilateral treaty, with legally binding international targets determined by the world's best scientists. But the Protocol also had many flaws, and it didn't end up going far.

The Paris accord took a very different tack. It

### QUOTABLE Quote



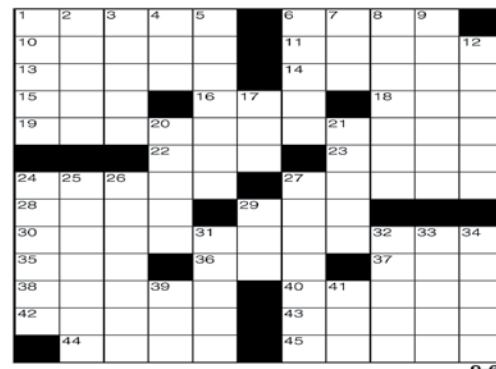
NTOZAKE SHANGE

American playwright (1948 - 2018)

Art gives us the opportunity to have clarity as well as hope that we might be able to survive a situation, or hope that we can find a way out of it without too much more injury to ourselves.

### CROSSWORD BY THOMAS JOSEPH

- ACROSS**
- 1 "Beat it!"
  - 6 Cotton-tipped cleaner
  - 10 Resort off Venezuela
  - 11 Venice sight
  - 13 Sheet material
  - 14 Confuse
  - 15 Outback bird
  - 16 Toe count
  - 18 Sprinted
  - 19 They may precede divorces
  - 22 Sewer rodent
  - 23 Paddy crop
  - 24 Lion features
  - 27 Pluto's realm
  - 28 Kitchen appliance
  - 29 Online info list
  - 30 Money paid to make amends
  - 35 Gallery fill
  - 36 List-shortening abbr.
  - 37 Congress creation
  - 38 Publicity act
  - 40 Alpine girl of story
  - 42 Madrid mister
  - 43 "Hound Dog" singer
  - 44 Band sample
  - 45 Layers
- DOWN**
- 1 Store events
  - 2 Police concern
  - 3 Incur, as debts
  - 4 Lincoln nickname
  - 5 Watchwords
  - 6 Meager
  - 7 Bankroll
  - 8 TV's Data, for one
  - 9 Account amount
  - 12 Eye parts
  - 17 Pig out
  - 20 Sports spot
  - 21 Baghdad native
  - 24 Swamp
  - 25 Turned aside
  - 26 Triton orbits it
  - 27 Chopping tool
  - 29 Diet no-no
  - 31 Fashionably dated
  - 32 Martini garnish
  - 33 Lowest point
  - 34 Reuben cheese
  - 39 \_\_\_ de plume
  - 41 Inventor Whitney



### YESTERDAY'S ANSWERS

D U M A A H A B  
 T O N E R D I C E S  
 A T B A T A M I G O  
 S E E D I N G D O N  
 T O N S E E M I N G  
 E N T R A P I C E S  
 A N T I C  
 O P E N U N E A S E  
 S E E K I N G B I D  
 A N Y S E E P I N G  
 K N O L L S E D G E  
 A E R I E T R E E S  
 D E P T S U D S

### BETLE BAILEY

BY MORT WALKER



### BABY BLUES

BY KIRKMAN & SCOTT



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