

JAMA'ATUL MUJAHIDEEN BANGLADESH (JMB) A PROFILE

Supriya Singh

Research Assistant
Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

Background

Credited for carrying out the first suicide attack, in a country viewed as a moderate Islamic state, Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) has started a new chapter in the history of extremism in Bangladesh. Relatively newly formed, JMB is not a pan Islamic terrorist organization like the al-Qaeda and at least for the time being, its activities are limited to Bangladesh.

JMB was formed in 1998 in Palampur in Dhaka division of Bangladesh. Though the exact date of its formation is not known, it became prominent on 20 May 2002¹ when eight of its members were arrested in Parbatipur in Dinajpur district along with 25 petrol bombs and documents detailing the activities of the organization.² They were later released

on bail and the investigation was stalled as the case documents went missing in a 'mysterious' fire at the Parbatipur police station in 2003.³

The JMB is said to be the youth front of Al Mujahideen, the parent organization that began working in the mid 1990s which remains obscure even today. Other organizations, such as Jama'atul Jihad, JMB, Ahle Hadith Andolan Bangladesh (AHAB), Ahle Hadith Jubo Shangha, Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB), Harkat-ul-Jihadi-Islami (HUJI), Hizbut Tawhid, Tawhidi Janata, Islami Jubo Shangha, Islami Shangha, Al Falah A'am Unnayan Shanstha and Shahadat-e al Hiqma are believed to be part of the Al Mujahideen network.⁴

Under mounting pressure from Awami League and the secularists in Bangladesh, JMB was proscribed by the government on 23 February 2005.⁵ The catalyst for this crackdown was a donor

¹ Though Bangladesh witnessed several incidents of bomb attacks during 1998-2002, they cannot be attributed to JMB due to lack of concrete evidence. For example, a bomb explosion at a cultural program of Udichi in Jessore on 6 March 1999 killed 10 and injured about 100. The Awami League which was in power at the time did not pay heed to this warning. There was another bomb attack on *Pahela Baishakh* celebration on 14 April 2001 at Ramna Batumul that killed 10 people. For a detailed discussion, see "Terrorism: A Tragic Tale of Continued Denials," *New Age*, 27 September 2005.

² "Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB),"

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/bangladesh/terroristorganizations/JMB.htm>

³ Anwar Ali, "Jama'atul Tentacles Spread in Five and Half Years. Law enforcers' laid-back approach made it possible," *The Daily Star*, 19 August 2005.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "On the Edge of the Knife," *The Economist*, 8 December 2005, p. 34

meeting in Washington attended by representatives from the United States, United Nations, European Union and World Bank. They had expressed concerns over increasing extremist activities in Bangladesh and indicated at the possibility of suspending funds to the aid dependent nation if it failed to cap the spiralling violence.⁶

JMB has been linked to various extremist groups in Bangladesh, the most prominent being the Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) or 'Awakened Muslim Masses'. It is believed that JMJB was formed as JMB but publicly started calling itself as the JMJB after a gunfight between its cadres and the police at a secret training camp in Khetlal village of Joypurhat district on 15 August 2003.⁷ Most militants managed to escape leaving behind documents specifying their subversive plans. Eighteen militants were arrested but a few days later they were released due to inconclusive evidence. Instead, the government transferred several police officials involved in the Khetlal operations.

Ideology and Objectives

The JMB aims at propagating Sharia, thus establishing Islamic rule in Bangladesh. It is opposed to democracy as a form of governance.⁸ The group declared the following in its leaflets written in Bengali and Arabic which

were found at various bombing sites of 17 August 2005:

We are the soldiers of Allah. We have taken up arms for the implementation of Allah's law the way the Prophet, Sahabis and heroic Mujahideen have implemented for centuries. If the government does not establish Islamic law in the country after this [third] warning and, rather, it goes to arrest any Muslim on charge of seeking Allah's laws or it resorts to repression on Alem-Ulema, the Jamaatul Mujahideen [JMB] will go for counteraction, Insha Allah.⁹

Thus JMB propagates a reductionist view of the religion.

JMB is also opposed to any form of entertainment and cultural functions. Several bomb attacks have taken place during cultural and theatrical events which are believed to have been carried out by the JMB or the JMJB. On 12 January 2005, bomb blasts at two separate cultural events in Sherpur and Jamalpur districts injured 25 and 10 respectively.¹⁰ Bomb blasts on 15 January 2005 at *Jatra* performances at Bogra and Natore killed two and injured over 70 people.¹¹ Newspaper reports suggest that taxes have been levied on villagers by the JMJB and women have been ordered to wear *hijabs*. Those who defy are subjected to physical abuse or their property is damaged. JMB and JMJB have already terrorised people in western and southwestern Bangladesh.

⁶ Saleem Samad & Alex Perry, "Reining in the Radicals," *Time*, 28 February 2005

⁷ Hiranmay Karlekar, *Bangladesh: The Next Afghanistan?* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005) p. 181. Also see "Patrons Still Defend Jama'atul," *The Daily Star*, 18 August 2005.

⁸ Anand Giridharadas, "Bangladesh Tipping Point is Feared," *International Herald Tribune*, 19 August 2005.

⁹ "Leaflets Ridicule Democracy, ask for Islamic Rule," *The Daily Star*, 18 August 2005. Also see "String of Bomb Blasts Rock Bangladesh," *The Bangladesh Observer*, 18 August 2005

¹⁰ "35 Hurt in Jamalpur and Sherpur Blasts," *New Age*, 13 January 2005. Also see "2 Killed, 60 Hurt in Bomb Attacks on Jatra Shows," *The Daily Star*, 16 January 2005

¹¹ "2 Killed in Bomb Attacks on Folk Opera," *New Age*, 16 January 2005

Both organizations identify anti-social elements as per their own definition and mete out vigilante justice. In most cases, they kill their victims in gruesome ways and often mutilate their bodies.

The main targets of JMB have been the following (in no particular order):

- a) Members of the judiciary: judges, lawyers. JMB intends to cripple the judiciary to stall the development and implementation of secular laws.¹²
- b) Public figures: Intellectuals, poets and activists.
- c) Leftist rebels or the *Sarbaharas*.¹³
- d) Minority groups: Hindus and the Ahmadiyya community.
- e) Symbols of public life: Courthouses, cinema theatres, NGO offices, government buildings and press clubs.

JMB's communiqués reveal a *Salafist*¹⁴ doctrine that is common across international radical Islamist

organizations.¹⁵ For example, one of their hand written leaflets recovered from a bombing site says,

'We don't want Taguti [non-Islamic] law, let Qur'anic law be introduced. Law framed by humans cannot continue and only the laws of Allah will prevail.'¹⁶

Leadership and Strength

The top leadership of JMB comprises of Maulana Abdur Rahman, Siddiqui Islam alias 'Bangla Bhai' and Dr. Mohammad Asadullah al-Galib. They form the nucleus of JMJB which further proves the link between the JMB and JMJB. The activists, supporters and infrastructure of these two organizations completely overlap each other.

Maulana Abdur Rahman was born in Charshi village in Sadar upazila (sub-district) of Jamalpur district and is projected as the spiritual leader of JMB. He was sent to Madina Islami University in Saudi Arabia in the 1980s for higher studies and the expenses were borne by Jamaat-e-Islami.¹⁷ Perhaps it was then that he came under the influence of Wahhabism. He worked at the Saudi Embassy in Dhaka from 1985-1990. He was also a member of Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS) and later joined Jamaat-e-Islami.¹⁸ He is believed

¹² For a detailed discussion see "Bangladesh: Judges under the Attacks of the Jihadis," *Report prepared by Asian Centre for Human Rights* (New Delhi: November 23, 2005).

<http://www.achrweb.org/reports/bangla/BD-0205.pdf>

¹³ 'Sarbahara' in Bengali means proletariat. It is used to describe members of Purba Banglar Communist Party or Communist Party of East Bengal.

¹⁴ The word *Salaf* is Arabic for "ancient one" and refers to the companions of Prophet Mohammed. Arguing that the faith has become decadent over the centuries, *Salafists* call for the restoration of authentic Islam and adherence to its original teachings and texts. The term *Salafist* derives from the Arabic *as-salaf as-salih* (pious forebears) and refers to the exemplary lives led by the community that existed during and immediately after, the time of the Prophet.

¹⁵ Maneeza Hossain & Jonathan L Snow, "Backgrounder: The Rise of Radical Islam in Bangladesh." http://www.defenddemocracy.org/publications/publications_show.htm?doc_id=328322

¹⁶ "JMB Suicide Bomber Kills 2 Judges," *The Daily Star*, 15 November 2005

¹⁷ Zayadul Ahsan, "Inside Militant Groups 7- Abdur Rahman Spawned All," *The Daily Star*, 28 August 2005

¹⁸ A. H. Jaffor Ullah, "No End to Litany of Lies by Khaleda Zia Administration on Bangla Bhai Issue."

<http://www.muktomona.com/Articles/jaffor/niza>

to have travelled to Afghanistan where he received training in jihadi activities.¹⁹ According to Maulana Rahman, JMB does not aspire for political power but will ably manage the state if given popular mandate.²⁰ His father, late Maulana Abdullah Ibne Fazal was a member of Jamaitul Ahle Hadith and suspected of collaborating with the Pakistani army in 1971.²¹ The police are seeking Abdur Rahman for masterminding the 17 August 2005 blasts in Bangladesh.

Bangla Bhai has several aliases - Siddiquil Islam, Azizur Rahman, Siddiqur Rahman, Azizur Islam and Omar Ali Litu but is popularly known as 'Bangla Bhai' or 'Brother of Bengal'.²² His existence has been repeatedly denied by the political establishment in Bangladesh. Minister of Industry, Motiur Rahman Nizami who is also the emir of Jamaat-e-Islami, had said that Bangla Bhai was a media creation as the government had found no existence of his.²³ Bangla Bhai hails from Karnipara village under Gabtoli police station of northern Bogra district but has been living for several years in Bagmara in Rajshahi district adjoining West Bengal in India.²⁴ Though there is no information available on where he received his education, he is a former

Shibir activist²⁵ and taught Bengali language at a private college.²⁶ He is believed to have taken arms training in Kandahar in Afghanistan. He was first arrested by the police in 2002 when he led a killing squad in southern Bagerhat but later released on bail due to inconclusive evidence.

Galib was a teacher of Arabic at Rajshahi University²⁷ and published *Al-Tahreek* magazine as the chief of Ahle Hadith Andolan Bangladesh (AHAB) for eight years.²⁸ In *Daoat O Jihad* (Invitation and Crusade) a book authored by Galib, he advocates armed struggle to bring about an Islamic revolution in the country. *Daoat O Jihad* is transcription of a speech delivered by Galib at an AHAB conference in 1991. He concluded the speech by saying that, 'At every village, there will be a team of mujahids committed to reconstructing the society and reforming their personal, family and social lives according to the dictums of the Holy Qur'an and Hadith.'²⁹ Founded in 1978, AHAB now has three wings for youth, women and children. It has branches at the village and sub-district levels of 42 districts³⁰ and has been used as a mass platform for JMB activities. Galib was arrested on 23 February 2005.³¹

[mi_khaleda_bangla.htm](#). Also see Julifikar A Manik, "JMJB Mentor Rahman Evades Probing Eyes," *The Daily Star*, 25 February 2005

¹⁹ Ahsan, "Inside Militant Groups-7."

²⁰ Haroon Habib, "A Threat from Militant Islam," *Frontline*, 2 July 2004, Vol.21, Issue 13. http://www.flonnet.com/fl2113/stories/20040702_000506000.htm

²¹ Karlekar, p.290

²² Habib, "A Threat from Militant Islam."

²³ "Bangla Bhai Media's Creation: Nizami Reiterates," *The Daily Star*, 23 July 2004

²⁴ Habib, "A Threat from Militant Islam."

²⁵ "State of Denial," *The Economist*, 16 June 2005. http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=4085719

²⁶ Julfikar A Manik, "Bangla Bhai active for 6 yrs," *The Daily Star*, 13 May 2005.

²⁷ "Ghalib, 3 Other Ahle Hadith Leaders Held," *New Age*, 24 February 2005

²⁸ "AHAB Men on the Run, JMJB Flouts Ban," *The Daily Star*, 26 February 2005

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Anwar Ali, "RU Teacher with Militant Links operates in 42 Districts," *The Daily Star*, 17 February 2005

³¹ "Patrons Still Defend Jama'atul," *The Daily Star*, 18 August 2005

JMB draws its cadres from universities, madrasas and people in ordinary jobs. Media reports suggest that there are approximately ten thousand full time activists and approximately US \$1250 is spent on each cadre every month. There are also 1,00,000 part-timers and 1,000,000 trainees.³² However, these claims are highly disputable. A section of the Rohingya Muslims, refugees from Arakan state of Myanmar in Bangladesh, is another support base of JMB. They get trained in extremist activities in camps in southern Bangladesh, tolerated by subsequent Bangladeshi governments. Ukhia, a town south of Cox's Bazar has training camps that are equipped with interconnected bunkers, telephones, lecture halls and televisions.³³

Support Base

JMJB

JMJB is JMB's most important support base. The JMJB is a vigilante group which was formed in 2003. JMJB's agenda is to neutralize the left wing cadres, particularly the cadres of the Purbo Banglar Communist Party (PBCP).³⁴ The Jamaat and Islami Oikya Jote (coalition partner in the government) have encouraged JMJB since its inception and ignored its activities as it has helped the government counter the leftist insurgents.

³² Zayadul Ahsan, "Trained in Foreign Lands, They Spread Inland," *The Daily Star*, 21 August 2005

³³ Alex Perry, "Deadly Cargo," *Time*, 21 October 2002, p. 24

³⁴ ANM Nurul Haque, "Is the Nation Totally in the Grip of Militancy," *New Age*, 14 October 2005. The PBCP was formed in 1968 following a split in the Bangladesh Communist Party (BCP). It has been outlawed since the military regime of Zia-ur-Rehman.

JMJB's highest decision making body is called *Majlish-e-Shura* (central consultative committee) of which Bangla Bhai is a member and commander of the anti-*Sarbahara* venture. JMJB has a three tier system for its cadres:³⁵

Ehsar: Fulltime activists who act at the directives of higher echelons. Such members are divisional level heads.

Gayeri Ehsar: This is the second tier which comprises of part-time activists who work at the district level.

Third tier: This involves those who indirectly cooperate with the JMJB.

JMJB is believed to have a fourth tier called the 'Sathis' or 'Sudhis' comprising of comparatively younger people. JMJB was proscribed on 23 February 2005; the same day as JMB.

Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh

The political support to JMB comes from Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh which is a partner in the present coalition government. The objective of Jamaat is to achieve the 'pleasure of Allah and salvation in the life hereafter by making ceaseless efforts for establishing the Islamic social order in Bangladesh'.³⁶ The Jamaat is also inspired by the Ikhwan ul-Muslimeen or the Muslim Brotherhood which was set up by Imam Hasan Al Banna, the assassinated leader of Egypt in 1928 who aimed at bringing an Islamic revolution and creating an Islamic state.³⁷ Jamaat is led by Maulana

³⁵ Asraful Huq, "Police on Terror Trail for 7 Top JMB Leaders," *The Independent*, 22 September 2005

³⁶ Official website of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh. <http://www.jamaat-e-islami.org>

³⁷ Karlekar, pp. 184-185

Motiur Rahman Nizami. As mentioned elsewhere, top leaders of JMB and JMJB like Maulana Abdur Rahman and Bangla Bhai have been activists of either the ICS or Jamaat or both. Jamaat-e-Islami may not be directly responsible for acts of extremism; its very inclusion in government has encouraged JMB to feel protected by the government to some degree.

Areas of Influence

JMB is most active in the north and north-western region, and also in south and central Bangladesh. Bangladesh has been divided by JMB/JMJB into nine organizational divisions: Khulna, Barisal, Sylhet and Chittagong have organizational divisional office each, Dhaka has two JMJB divisional offices and Rajshahi three.³⁸

Main areas of JMB operations:

- **Rajshahi Division:** Bogra, Sirajganj, Dinajpur, Jaipurhat, Gaibandha, Naogaon, Nator, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Tahkurgaon
- **Khulna Division:** Bagerhat, Jessore, Khulna, Meherpur, Satkhira
- **Dhaka Division:** Jamalpur, Mymensingh, Netrokona, Tangail
- **Chittagong Division:** Chandpur, Laxmipur, Chittagong

Madrasas

Madrasas have been blamed for fomenting extremism in Bangladesh and are believed to play an important role in the training and recruitment of militants.³⁹ There are two kinds of

madrasas in Bangladesh- Aliya and Quomi Madrasa systems.⁴⁰ The former is run with government support and control, while the latter function independently. Bangladesh Economic Review statistics show that while government funding for general education increased by 9.74 per cent in 2001-05, that for madrasas increased by 22.22 per cent in the same period.⁴¹

Though an attempt to establish direct link between madrasas and extremism may not stand the scrutiny of academic research, the probability of using madrasas for religious indoctrination cannot be ruled out. As Bangladeshi journalist Salahuddin Babar points out, 'passing out from the madrasas, poorly equipped to enter mainstream life and professions, the students are easily lured by motivated quarters who capitalize on religious sentiment to

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3407&l=1>. Also see, "Jihadi Terror in Bangladesh."

<http://www.achrweb.org/Review/2005/89-05.htm>

⁴⁰ There is no authoritative figure on the number of madrasas in Bangladesh. Assessments range from 24,000 to about 75,000. For more on madrasas, see Mumtaz Ahmad, "Madrasa Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh."

<http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/ReligiousRadicalism/Pages%20from%20Religious%20Radicalism%20and%20Security%20in%20South%20Asia%20ch5.pdf>. Also see, Bertil Lintner, "Religious Extremism and Nationalism in Bangladesh."

<http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/ReligiousRadicalism/Pages%20from%20Religious%20Radicalism%20and%20Security%20in%20South%20Asia%20ch17.pdf>

⁴¹ Haroon Habib, "Warning Blasts," *Frontline*, September 10 – 23, 2005, Vol. 22, Issue.19. <http://www.flonnet.com/fl2219/stories/20050923001106200.htm>

³⁸ Manik, "Bangla Bhai Active for 6 years."

³⁹ Testimony of Samina Ahmed to US Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

create fanatics, rather than modern Muslims.⁴²

After his arrest, Galib admitted to spending the fund received from Kuwait based RIHS for building mosques and madrasas, giving military style training to madrasa students and other organizational works.⁴³ Pakistani national Mohammad Sajid, who was arrested for attacking poet Shamsur Rahman on 18 January 1999, told police that he received approximately US \$3,45,000 and gave it to someone called Bakhtiar. Bakhtiar, when arrested in Sirajganj the same year, confessed to police that he distributed the money among 421 madrasas for training activists of Harkat-ul-Jihad-Islami (HUJI). Both the militants said Laden had sponsored them to develop madrasa infrastructure.⁴⁴ Back in 2001 evidence of madrasas being used as militant camps was found when the army chief of the Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO) Salamullah Selim was arrested. In his confession he admitted to have trained local madrasa students in armed combat. According to him more trainers from African and Middle Eastern countries frequently visit Bangladesh to train Islamist militants.⁴⁵

Other members of JMB are also reported to be involved in the running of madrasas and mosques. Abdur Rahman runs Al-Madina Islamic Cadet Madrasa

and a mosque in Jamalpur. Non-government organization from Saudi Arabia, namely Rabeta-e-Islam and Islami Oitijho Sangstha provided him with the financial assistance to establish those institutions.⁴⁶

External Linkages

JMB gets financial assistance from individual donors in Kuwait, UAE, Bahrain, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Libya. Reports have confirmed funding of JMB by international NGOs like Kuwait based RIHS and Doulatul Kuwait; Saudi Arabia based Al Haramaine Islamic Institute, Rabita Al Alam Al Islami; Qatar Charitable Society and UAE-based Al Fuzaira and Khairul Ansar Al Khairia.⁴⁷ The RIHS with assistance from Galib constructed over 1000 mosques, 10 madrasas, four orphanages-cum-madrasas and a kidney dialysis centre across the country.⁴⁸ The mosques and madrasas were later proved to be centres of militant activities of the JMB.⁴⁹ Some of the RIHS offices were blacklisted in 2002 by the US State Department because of links with al-Qaeda. Following the blasts in August, the Bangladesh government deported 5 RIHS foreign officials.⁵⁰ Al-Haramaine was banned by the US in 2004 and its branches in Albania, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia and the Netherlands were added by the UN Security Council to the Al-Qaeda and Taliban Sanctions

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ "Evidence, Confessions Point at JMB Hallmark," *The Daily Star*, 19 August 2005

⁴⁴ Zayadul Ahsan, "Foreign Funding, Local business Keep them Going," *The Daily Star*, 22 August 2005

⁴⁵ Zayadul Ahsan, "Extremists get Trained in Armed Combat", *The Daily Star*, 23 August 2005

⁴⁶ Manik, "JMB Mentor Rahman Evades Probing Eyes."

⁴⁷ Ahsan, "Foreign funding, Local Business Keep them Going."

⁴⁸ "Terror Financing NGOs remain Unscathed," *The Daily Star*, 26 November 2005

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "Government hostile towards us: RIHS," *New Age*, 23 September 2005. Also see "Revival of Islamic Heritage Society Wrapping up," *New Age*, 7 September 2005

Committee on 6 July 2004.⁵¹ It was banned by Bangladesh the same month at the request of the United States. Though all the 14 foreign officials of Al-Haramaine left Bangladesh after the ban, four of them returned several months later and joined the RIHS secretly.⁵²

Some analysts suspect that JMB is the youth wing of HUJI-BD which is linked to Al Qaeda and not Al Mujahideen. The mission of HUJI-BD is similar to that of JMB that is to establish Islamic rule in Bangladesh. Furthermore, HUJI-BD has linkages with Pakistan based Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) a fact that came out in the open with the arrest of Aftab Ansari alias Farhan Malik, prime accused in the Kolkata American Centre terrorist attack of 22 January 2002.⁵³

JMB in 2005

JMB has been active and visible in 2005 as it carried out bomb attacks during various social, cultural and political events. Lists of major terrorist activities by JMB are as follows:

12 January: Bomb explosion during a drama festival in Chakpara village in Sadar upazila of Sherpur district injuring 10 people.

15 January: Bomb explosion during *Jatra* performance (a folktheatre form) in

Laxmikola in the Bogra district killed one and injured 40 people. Another bomb explosion during *Jatra* performance in the Natore district killed one and injured 20 people.

27 January: Former finance minister Shah AMS Kibria and four other Awami League (AL) activists were killed in a grenade attack on an AL rally at Boidder Bazar in Habiganj. The attack that injured 70 more people was very similar to the 21 August 2004 bomb attack on Sheikh Hasina's rally in Dhaka that had claimed 23 lives and left several hundred wounded.

5 February: Bomb explosion in Khulna Press Club injuring 4 people.

11 February: Bomb explosion at BRAC office in Mohimaganj of the Gaibandha district injuring three people.

14 February: Bomb explosion at the Dhaka University campus injuring 16 people including 12 Dhaka University students. Four bombs exploded in a large Valentine's Day gathering in front of DU Teachers-Students center.

14 May: Two bomb explosions during a circus show at Bagerhat stadium injuring 8.

27 May: Bomb explosion in a Cinema Hall at Sirajganj injuring 7 people.

17 August: Bomb explosions in 63 of the 64 districts of Bangladesh within 30 minutes of each other killing two and injuring over 100. In Dhaka, bombs exploded at 28 points including the high security Bangladesh Secretariat, Supreme Court Complex, Prime Ministers Office, Zia International

⁵¹ Press Release-SC/8143, "Security Council Committee Adds Two Individuals, Five Entities to AL-Qaida Section of Consolidated List." <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sc8143.doc.htm>

⁵² "Terror-financing NGOs remain unscathed".

⁵³ "Bangladesh Assessment 2003." <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/bangladesh/>

Airport etc. Only Munshiganj was spared.

3 October: Serial bomb explosions in courtrooms in three districts of Chandpur, Laxmipur and Chittagong killing two and injuring 38 others, including a district judge and a policeman.

14 November: Two senior assistant judges killed in a suicide attack while traveling to office in southern district of Jhalakati. Four persons were also injured including the suspected bomber identified as Iftekhar Hasan Al Mamun.

29 November: Two powerful bomb explosions in Ghazipur and Chittagong court premises killing nine and injuring over 70 people.

1 December: Suicide attack Ghazipur killing a government employee and injured 30 people. The suicide bomber who was in the guise of a tea-vendor was later arrested by the police in a severely injured condition.

8 December: Suicide attack in front of Udichi Shilpigosthi, a left-leaning cultural organization in Netrakona killing six people and injuring at least 46. Ten policemen were among the wounded in the bombing where the bomber rammed his bicycle into a crowd and detonated the bomb.