

Naushad's eye

John A test for modern Islamic justice *MU 51.6*

His Majesty Faisal Ibn Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Al-Saud of Arabia faces a decision that holds the future of the Islamic world in balance. He opened last week's meeting of the Organization of Islamic Countries in Mecca, saying: "It bleeds the heart of a believer to see how this glorious civilization has fallen from the height of glory to the ravine of frailty and how its thoughts were hijacked by devilish and criminal gangs that spread havoc on earth". He has called upon Islamic jurisprudence to "fulfil its historic role of combating extremism". He has called for greater educational efforts to promote tolerance. "Developing the curriculum is essential to building a tolerant Muslim identity ... and to having a society that rejects isolation." King Abdullah as the head of the House of Saud is the Keeper of the Holy Places of Islam, and his calls in favour of education and against all extremism are crucial signals of the crossroads that Islam faces today. Which road Islam shall take may well be signalled by what the King decides in regard to the grant of mercy to a 34 year old worker from India, Abdul Lateef Naushad, father of two, the sole breadwinner in his family back home in Kerala.

In 2003, Naushad was evidently involved in a brawl with a local Saudi man which resulted in the latter's eye getting injured. Some weeks later, the man unfortunately lost sight in that eye. Now a lower court has ruled Naushad should lose one of his eyes. The case has been referred to an appeals court in Riyadh. In Hadith, compensation for wounds that do not prove fatal (Qisas fi-ma dun al-nafs) is applicable only when wounds have been inflicted deliberately and illegally. It excludes the wounding of someone in self-defence, and it is even permitted to strike a man in the eyes or throw something into his eyes if, e.g., he has forced his way into another's house.

The matter is entirely one of justice within the Ummah, though the whole world shall be looking to see what Saudi Arabia does. The Prophet of Islam said the blood of all the faithful is of equal value regardless of their colour or race. What King Abdullah must ensure and be seen to ensure by the whole world is that his Kingdom is not racist where one law prevails for Saudis or fair-skinned American and European Muslims and another for dark-skinned Muslims from Kerala, Karachi or Kuala Lumpur. There is no evidence Naushad inflicted any deliberate or illegal wound upon the man who tragically came to lose sight in one eye. We join the Government of India in appealing to King Abdullah to show mercy. His Majesty's enlightened words at the OIC are consonant with those of the wise Moulavi Cheragh Ali who in the 1880s while trying to reform the Ottoman Empire said: "The name of Mohammad was abused to support all manner of lies and absurdities, or to satisfy the passion, caprice or arbitrary will of the despots, leaving out of consideration the creation of any standards of test." By any criteria of Islamic justice in the modern world, Naushad should not be made to pay an inhuman unjust price.

THE STATESMAN

হয় বোরখা, নয় কোতল, জঙ্গি ফতোয়া বাংলাদেশে

ঢাকা, ৯ ডিসেম্বর: বোরখা পরতেই হবে মহিলাদের। তা তিনি মুসলিম হোন বা না হোন। নইলে মৃত্যু অবধারিত। তালিবান শাসিত আফগানিস্তানে নয়, এই ফতোয়া জারি করা হয়েছে 'সোনার বাংলা'য়। ফতোয়ার ভাষা বাংলা, লক্ষ্য বাংলাদেশের কয়েক কোটি মুসলিম মহিলার পাশাপাশি সংখ্যালঘু অমুসলিম মহিলাও।

বাংলাদেশের নিষিদ্ধ জঙ্গি সংগঠন জামাতুল মুজাহিদিনের পক্ষ থেকে এই ফতোয়া জারি করা হয়েছে। শুধু বোরখা নয়, বলা হয়েছে, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্রীরা সূর্যাস্তের পরে আর রাস্তায় বেরোতে পারবেন না।

আগামী ২ জানুয়ারি থেকে শুরু হচ্ছে ইসলামি জিলহজ্জ মাস। ওই দিন থেকেই এই ফতোয়া মেনে চলতে হবে।

বৃহস্পতিবারের আত্মঘাতী বিস্ফোরণের ধাক্কা সামলে ওঠার আগেই এই ছমকিতে রীতিমতো বেসামাল সাধারণ মানুষ, পুলিশ, প্রশাসন। মৌলবাদীদের আতঙ্কে এমনিতেই সিটিয়ে আছে গোটা দেশ। তার উপরে জামাতুলের ফতোয়ার জেরে পরিস্থিতি আরও খমখমে হয়ে উঠেছে। আজ

থেকেই ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় চত্বরে ও আশেপাশে পুলিশি নিরাপত্তা এক ধাক্কাই অনেকটাই বাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

নেত্রকোণায় উদ্দীচীর সামনে কাল আত্মঘাতী বিস্ফোরণের কয়েক ঘণ্টার মধ্যে একটি সংবাদপত্রের দফতরে লিখিত ভাবে এই ছমকির কথা জানিয়েছে জামাতুল মুজাহিদিন। মুসলিম মহিলাদের বোরখা পরার ব্যাপারে ইসলামি জঙ্গিদের ফতোয়া দেওয়ার ঘটনা নতুন নয়। কিন্তু সব ধর্মের মহিলাকেই এই ধরনের ফতোয়া দেওয়ায় বিষয়টি অন্য গুরুত্ব পেয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশে শরিয়তি আইন বলবৎ করার লক্ষ্যে গত

অগস্ট থেকেই দেশ জুড়ে একের পর এক বিস্ফোরণ ঘটিয়েছে জঙ্গিরা। জামাতুল মুজাহিদিন ছাড়াও 'জাগ্রত মুসলিম জনতা বাংলাদেশ' নামে আরও একটি নিষিদ্ধ জঙ্গি সংগঠন বিভিন্ন এলাকায় সন্ত্রাস চালাচ্ছে। বিচারব্যবস্থা বা সাংস্কৃতিক সংগঠনই এদের প্রাথমিক লক্ষ্য। কারণ, জঙ্গিদের ধারণা, বর্তমান বিচার ব্যবস্থার আমূল বদল না-করলে শরিয়তি আইন বলবৎ করা যাবে না। গত দু'মাসে বেশ কয়েক বার বিভিন্ন আদালত চত্বরে



ঢাকায় কার র্যালিতে। এ বার কি ফতোয়ার ফাঁদে? — রয়টার্স

ও আইনজীবীদের উপরে তারা হামলা চালিয়েছে। কাল হামলা হয় উদ্দীচীর সামনেও। সেখানে এক আত্মঘাতী জঙ্গি-সহ ৮ জনের মৃত্যু হয়েছে। সব মিলিয়ে গত তিন সপ্তাহে জঙ্গি হামলায় ২৮ জনের মৃত্যু হয়েছে। তার সঙ্গে যুক্ত হল মহিলাদের বোরখা পরার ফতোয়া।

উদ্দীচীর সামনে গত কালের আত্মঘাতী হামলার তদন্তে নেমে এখনও বিশেষ এগোতে পারেনি পুলিশ। বিভিন্ন জায়গায় হানা দিয়ে জামাতুল মুজাহিদিন ও জাগ্রত মুসলিম জনতা বাংলাদেশ-এর জনা তিরিশ সদস্যকে গ্রেফতার করা হয়েছে বলে পুলিশ জানিয়েছে। তবে দু'টি সংগঠনের শীর্ষ নেতাদের বেশির ভাগই এখনও অধরা।

উদ্ধার হয়েছে বেশ কয়েকটি বোমা। কিছু দিন আগেই বাংলাদেশের স্বরাষ্ট্র প্রতিমন্ত্রী লুৎফুজ্জামান বাবর জানান, প্রায় দু'হাজার মানববোমার একটি বাহিনী দেশের বিভিন্ন জায়গায় হামলার প্রস্তুতি নিচ্ছে। তার ভিত্তিতে বিভিন্ন জায়গায় তল্লাশিও চালায় পুলিশ। এর পরেও আত্মঘাতী হামলার ঘটনা ঠেকাতে ব্যর্থ সরকার। ধর্ম বিষয়ক মন্ত্রকের এক কর্তা জানিয়েছেন, এই মানববোমারা ইসলামের শত্রু। এদের এখনই থামানো দরকার। দেশের আড়াই লক্ষ মসজিদের মাধ্যমে এই বার্তা প্রচারের নির্দেশ দিয়েছে সরকার।

— রয়টার্স

10 DEC 2005

ANAND...

Vienna meet to examine Islam's global course

HD-14
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Conference of scholars, leaders to focus on outburst of Muslim anger

VIENNA (AUSTRIA): Recent displays of Muslim anger — from the seething housing projects outside Paris to the biggest Arab groundswell against Al-Qaeda — will likely sharpen the focus of a three-day gathering of political figures, scholars and researchers which began here on Monday.

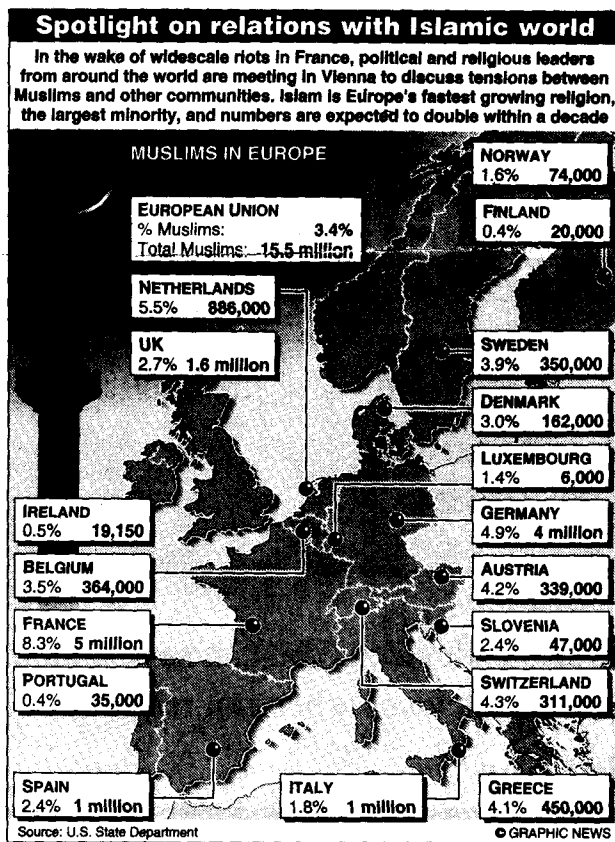
Muslim leaders, including Iraq's President and an Iranian Nobel Peace Prize laureate, have been asked to share their visions on Islam's global roles and responsibilities.

The streets have sent their own powerful messages, with recent riots across France fanned by Muslim frustration and marches in Jordan against terrorism.

Contact with moderates

The conference, hosted by Austria's Foreign Ministry, also suggests more European Union contacts with moderate Muslim forces, as well as efforts by Austria to reshape its image in the Islamic world after raising the strongest objections to Turkey's bid to join the E.U. Austria takes over the six-month E.U. presidency on January 1.

"This conference ... really highlights not only the problems but also ways how to live together and to coexist and to find the right avenues for mutual understanding and coexistence," said Ralph Scheide, director for West Asia and Africa in Austria's Foreign Ministry. The expected speak-



ers include two leaders brought to power by U.S.-led military campaigns: Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Iraqi President Jalal Talabani. They were asked to talk on Islam's ability to interact with different faiths and ideologies in a world of melting borders and interwoven interests. But they also could draw attention to a dark side of globalisation:

the international networks of Islamic radicals that feed militancies in Iraq and Afghanistan and create a growing list of places hit by terrorism — most recently the triple bombings in Amman, Jordan, on Wednesday that claimed at least 57 lives.

Also expected at the conference was Iranian human rights attorney Shirin Ebadi, winner

of the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize, and Mohammad Khatami, the former President of Iran. Mr. Khatami, who ended eight years in office in June, brought a period of liberalising reforms in Iran, encouraged greater contacts with the West and challenged the absolute authority of Iran's ruling clerics.

Increasing interaction

His successor, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, is backed by the theocracy, and critics fear he could roll back many of Mr. Khatami's social initiatives and take a harder line in negotiations with the West over Iran's nuclear ambitions. Last month, Mr. Ahmadinejad provoked international outrage after calling for Israel to be "wiped off the map."

Iran was even caught off guard by criticism from stalwart ally Russia — another example of the old order being reshaped by new rules. "In a globalised world, there are increasing points of contact between cultures and civilisations," said Austria's Foreign Minister Ursula Plassnik.

The French riots have forced European Governments to look hard at complaints from Muslim immigrants about being denied opportunities and rights.

France imposed a state of emergency on Wednesday that empowers regions to impose curfews and conduct house searches. — AP

Couple behind Jordan blasts, says Al-Qaida

Kim Sengupta
in Baghdad

Nov. 11. — The devastating Amman hotel attacks were carried out by four Iraqi suicide bombers, including a husband and wife team, Al-Qaida in Iraq claimed yesterday.

The statement in the name of the insurgent group, which identified those who carried out the blasts, came as more than 120 people were arrested in Jordan in a series of security sweeps. In an unusual move the group led by Jordanian-born Abu Musab al-Zarqawi gave what is alleged to be a detailed account of the deadly operation. The four who blew themselves up, killing 57 others, were named as Abu Khabib, Abu Muaz, Abu Omaira and Om Omaira. It said "they vowed to die and chose the shortest route to receive God's blessings."

The authenticity of the claim could not be independently verified. But it was posted on a site normally used by Al-Qaida in Iraq. It said the attacks were in response to "the conspiracy against the Sunnis whose blood and honour were shed by Crusaders and the Shi'ites". It was also "revenge for the Sunnis in Qaim", a reference to an offensive launched in that area.

The "martyrdom lovers and heavenly yearners" had selected the three targeted hotels after "a month of surveillance and information gathering" and wore explosive belts "in order to achieve greater accuracy in hitting the target..."

Those who executed the plan were able to enter the sites after passing through all the security measures of which the descendants of the traitor's [the Hashemite dynasty of King Abdullah II] were boasting.

Abu Khabib, described as the leader of the group, detonated his device at the SAS Radisson.

— The Independent

THE STATESMAN

NOV 11 2001

American occupation and the rise of Al-Qaeda

Atul Aneja

BY ALL accounts, American forces battling a determined uprising have been bogged down in Iraq. After a brief lull, violence in and around Iraq has surged dramatically. A day after American forces called off their assault on Husaybiah, a town along the Iraq-Syria border they said was an Al-Qaeda stronghold, a suicide bomber blew himself up in a restaurant in Baghdad. At least 30 persons were killed and 19 wounded in the strike on Thursday. Iraqi police forces have been known to frequent the restaurant.

Witnesses said the explosion in the city centre was so powerful it could be heard several kilometres away. The attack came after the Iraqi wing of Al-Qaeda claimed in an online statement that it would avenge the attack by the United States on Husaybiah. For five days an estimated 30,000 Iraqi and U.S. troops backed by aerial support had pounded the town. The U.S. claimed Husaybiah was the nerve centre for smuggling in weapons and Islamist militants across the border from Syria.

And, for the first time since the U.S. invasion of Iraq, a spate of bombings has rocked Jordan's capital Amman. Serial blasts shook three American-owned hotels, causing massive casualties. It is estimated that 57 people have been killed in the near-simultaneous explosions at the Grand Hyatt, Radisson, and Days Inn hotels. Nearly 300 people, mostly Jordanians, were injured.

Al-Qaeda in Iraq, led by Jordan-born Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, has claimed responsibility for the attack. "A group of our best lions launched a new attack on some dens ... After casing the targets, some hotels were chosen which the Jordanian despot turned into a backyard for the enemies of the faith, the Jews and Crusaders," the statement, on a website usually used by the group, said.

"Let the tyrant of Amman know that his pro-

Two-and-a half years of U.S. rule has converted Iraq into an Al-Qaeda hub, which has now begun to radiate violence and extremism in the region.

tection ... for the Jews has become a target for the Mujahideen and their attacks, and let him expect the worst," it added. This is not the first time the group has launched an attack in Jordan. In August, three rockets were fired at U.S. navy ships in the Jordanian port of Aqaba.

The targeting of Jordan has not come as a surprise. Amman has been the chief U.S. ally in the region in its occupation of Iraq. U.S. personnel including private "security contractors" transit through Amman in order to travel to Iraq. The United Nations also has a strong presence in Amman ever since Al-Qaeda demolished its Canal hotel headquarters in Baghdad in August 2003. Apart from providing logistical support, Jordan has been known to provide the occupation forces with intelligence. Britain has been training Jordanian Special Forces since 1997.

Islamist extremists resent Jordan for yet another reason. Along with Egypt, Jordan is the only other Arab nation that has signed a peace treaty with neighbouring Israel. Its security situation becomes all the more wobbly as a majority of its population is of Palestinian origin. The outskirts of Amman are dotted with a string of refugee camps where Palestinians displaced during the previous Arab-Israeli wars reside. Israeli high-handedness against the Palestinians therefore raises domestic tensions inside Jordan.

The two-and-a half years of U.S. presence has converted Iraq into an Al-Qaeda hub, which has now begun to radiate violence and extremism in the region. It is estimated that nearly 80 per cent

of Al-Qaeda's organisation was destroyed during the U.S. attack on Afghanistan following the destruction of the World Trade Centre in September 2001.

However, the indiscriminate bombings in Fallujah last year, the Abu Ghraib prisoners' abuse scandal, and the obvious pro-Israeli bias in the way Washington tackles the Israel-Palestine question have led to the infusion, and then consolidation, of Al-Qaeda in Iraq.

There is now a consensus among Arab, European, and American intelligence agencies that Iraq has replaced Afghanistan as the centre for training a second generation of *jihadis*. It is argued that the largest concentration of Al-Qaeda operatives is no longer in Pakistan, Yemen or Saudi Arabia, but in Iraq.

Fawaz A. Gerges, author of *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global* points out that "America's imperial endeavour [in Iraq] has given them [Al Qaeda] a new opening to make inroads, if not into mainstream Arab hearts and minds, into a large pool of outraged Muslims from Middle East and elsewhere, including uprooted, young, European-born Muslims, who want to resist what they perceive as the U.S.-British onslaught on their coreligionists."

With its base in Iraq, Al Zarqawi's group appears to be pursuing two core objectives. First, it wishes to send back *jihadis* trained in Iraq to their home bases in West Asia and Europe. Secondly, it seeks to overthrow Arab governments as a step towards establishing the Caliphate — a goal Osama bin Laden has also espoused.

Estimates of Al-Qaeda's numerical strength in Iraq have varied, with the Americans estimating that there are 1,000 Arab fighters under Al Zarqawi's command. A biographer of the Jordanian has, however, claimed the group has 5,000 full-time fighters, backed by 20,000 local supporters. Despite these numbers, it is estimated that the Iraqi resistance in nearly 90 per cent indigenous.

Sunni-Shia tensions

The open U.S. support for the Shias following the occupation has led to simmering tensions between Sunnis and Shias, which have had an impact beyond Iraq's borders. Sunnis, who have been leading the resistance, fear the new constitution of Iraq, scripted by the Americans, aims to deny them access to the country's oil. Most of the oil lies in Shia-dominated southern Iraq and the Kurdish north. Both the Shias and the Kurds have made it clear that they intend to carve out autonomous zones in their areas. Iraqi Sunnis have interpreted the move as a means to dispossess them of the country's wealth.

The fault lines between Sunnis and Shias in Iraq can get exacerbated as both the communities now have well-established militias. The Shias, for instance, have the Badr corps — an armed wing of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), which was once headquartered in Iran. Besides, Shia cleric Moqtada al-Sadr has his Mehdi army, which has revolted twice against the U.S. occupation. The Mehdi army has emerged as a powerful force that controls the streets in many Shia centres and helps provide *de facto* local level administration.

In addition, there have been reports that the U.S. military has cultivated some armed groups directly. These include the Iraqi Freedom Guard, which has recruited a large number of Shias from the south. They have been deployed against Sunnis in Anbar province, the hub of the resistance to the U.S. occupation.

The Americans have also had dealings with the Peshmerga — a Kurdish force that has its strongholds in northern Iraq. The Peshmerga's close association with the Americans has already pitted it against the Sunnis. Kurdish-Sunni relations were greatly damaged earlier when Peshmerga fighters fought alongside U.S. troops in the Sunni stronghold of Fallujah last year.

Shia militias now control the strategic southern Iraqi city of Basra, which is close to Iraq's southern oil fields.

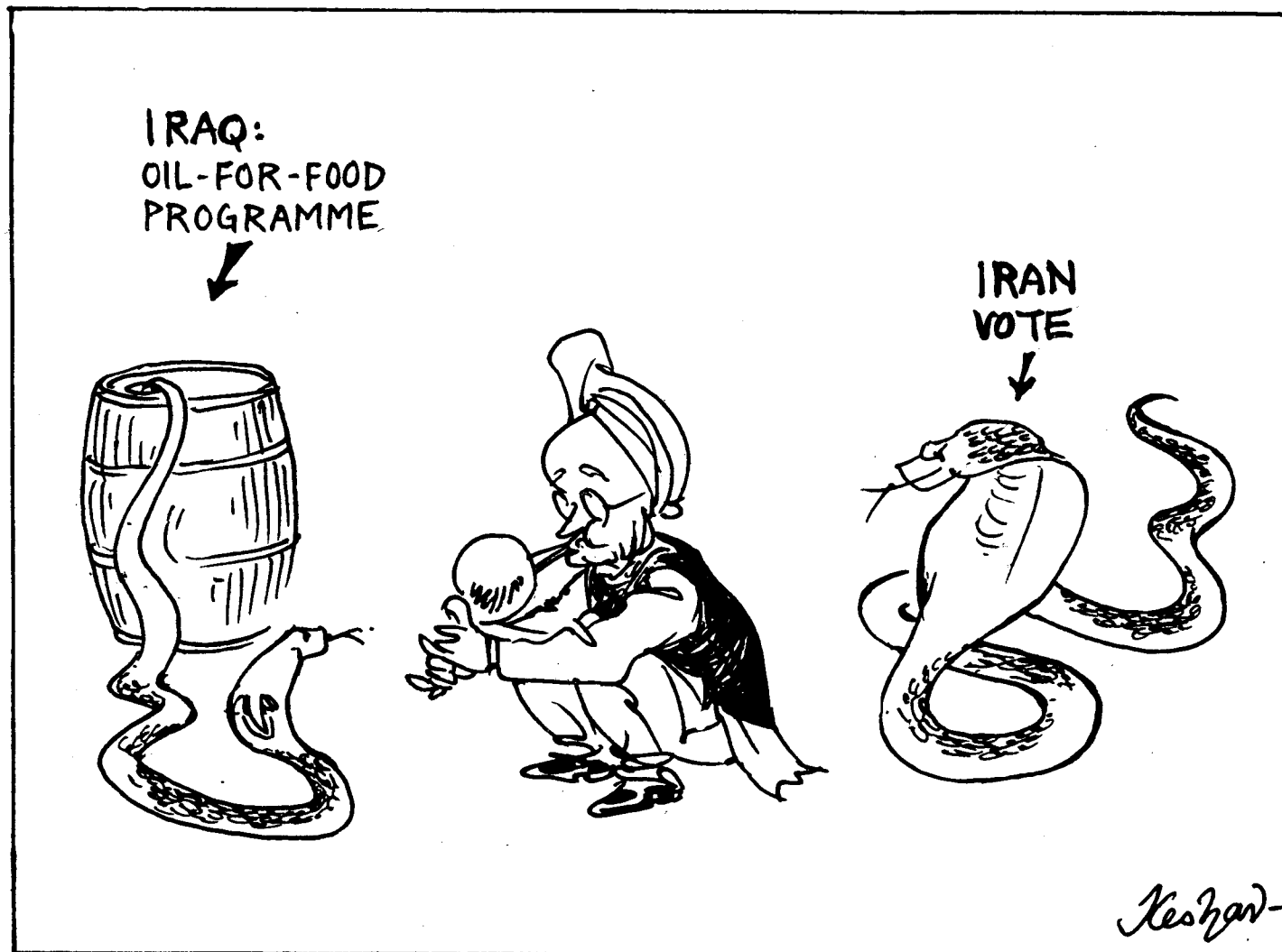
Sunni apprehensions, about their political and economic marginalisation in Iraq, have already found support in Sunni-dominated Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan. In the region, Shia domination in Iraq is seen as shadow of Iran's growing influence. These fears have grown after Iran announced its intent to build an oil pipeline from Basra to its oil city of Abadan. It is also considering establishing a rail link from Basra to Khorramshahr, a port 10 kilometres north of Abadan. Besides, Iran's newly elected President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, has said Iraqis could use Iranian ports for trade.

The growing sectarianism in the region has already damaged relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal has blamed U.S. policy for deepening sectarian tensions in Iraq, and for effectively handing over the country to Iran. Jordan's King Abdullah II has gone public in airing his fears about the rise of a Shia crescent in the region.

Many analysts are of the view that the growing sectarian divide in Iraq will have a ripple effect in Bahrain, which has a dominant Shia population, but is ruled by a Sunni monarchy, as well as the oil-rich eastern provinces of Saudi Arabia, which have a significant Shia presence. Lebanon is also likely to be vulnerable as the pro-Syria and pro-Iran Hezbollah militia exercises substantial influence there.

There is no denying the West Asia, following the U.S. invasion of Iraq, is undergoing a major transformation. But far from becoming stable, democratic, and liberal, the region appears to be sliding into anarchy.

CARTOONSCAPE



বুদ্ধ-হাসিনার ছবি ছেপে লিফলেট বাংলাভাই ছড়াচ্ছে ভারত-বিদ্বেষ

১০ নভেম্বর— আগামীকাল সার্ক বিদেশ মন্ত্রীদের বৈঠক। আগামীকালই আসছেন ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিং। শনিবার ১২ নভেম্বর থেকে সার্ক শীর্ষ বৈঠক। কঠোর নিরাপত্তা যখন ঢাকায়, তারই ফাঁকফোকরে 'জাগ্রত মুসলিম জনতা' আওয়ামি লিগ সভানেত্রী শেখ হাসিনার সঙ্গে বিভিন্ন সময়ে তোলা ভারতীয় নেতাদের ছবি দিয়ে ছড়িয়েছে প্রচারপত্র। প্রচারপত্রে শেখ হাসিনাকে 'ভারতের দালাল' আখ্যা দিয়ে বলেছে বাংলাদেশকে ধ্বংস করার চক্রান্তকারী হাসিনা। এই সেই 'জাগ্রত মুসলিম জনতা' (জে এম এম), যার নেতৃত্বে ইসলামি সম্মতবাদী নেতা বাংলাভাই। আত্মগোপন করে থাকা বাংলাভাইয়ের এই জে এম এম সংগঠনটি বাংলাদেশে সম্প্রতি একইসঙ্গে ৬৩ জেলায় ৪৫০ বোমা বিস্ফোরণের ঘটনায় প্রধান অভিযুক্ত। জে এম এমের এই বিলি করা প্রচারপত্রে শেখ হাসিনার সঙ্গে ছবি রয়েছে মনমোহন সিংয়ের, সোনিয়া গান্ধীর, জ্যোতি বসুর, বুদ্ধদেব ভট্টাচার্যের। ঢাকার আশপাশের কয়েকটি জেলায় এসব প্রচারপত্র গত দু'দিন ধরে বিলি করা হয়েছে। ঢাকাতেও দেখা গেছে কয়েকটি।

জহিরুল হক, ঢাকা

এদিকে সার্ক উপলক্ষে নেওয়া নিরাপত্তা ব্যবস্থার বাড়াবাড়িতে ঢাকার জনজীবন জেরবার। ঢাকায় দু'দিন ধরে বাইরের ট্রাক ঢাকার বারণ। ফলে নিত্য প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিসপত্র, তরি-তরকারি, মাছ-মাংস, সবজির দাম আকাশ ছুঁয়েছে। রাস্তাঘাট মরুভূমির মতো ধু-ধু করছে। রিকশার শহর ঢাকায় দেখা যাচ্ছে না রিকশা। স্কুল-

কাল থেকে সার্ক

কলেজ-বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় এক সপ্তাহের জন্য বন্ধ। রাস্তায় মানুষজন, যাদেরই দেখা যাচ্ছে, তাঁদের বৃকে বুলছে সার্কের কোনও কাজে নিযুক্ত হিসেবে পরিচয়পত্র। 'দুর্ভিক্ষ কবলিত' উত্তরবঙ্গে সফর করছেন বিরোধী নেত্রী শেখ হাসিনা। কুড়ি প্রামে জনসভায় তিনি অভিযোগ করেছেন, সার্ক নিরাপত্তার নামে খালেদা সরকার কার্যু জারি করেছে। ঢাকা বিমানবন্দরে আগামীকাল থেকে জারি

হচ্ছে 'কমলা রঙের নিরাপত্তা'। শুধু যাত্রীরাই বিমানবন্দরে যেতে পারবেন, আর কেউ নন। অভ্যন্তরীণ বহু বিমান বাতিল করা হয়েছে। সার্ক শীর্ষ বৈঠক ১২-১৩ নভেম্বর। তার আগে আগামীকাল থেকে ৭ দেশের বিদেশমন্ত্রীদের বৈঠকে ভারতের প্রতিনিধিত্ব করবেন বিদেশ রাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী ই আহমেদ। এবারের সার্ক বৈঠকে কথা উঠবে আফগানিস্তানকে সার্ক সদস্য করার। প্রস্তাবটি ভারতের। প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিং যখন কাবুল গিয়েছিলেন, তখন প্রেসিডেন্ট হামিদ কারজাই এ ব্যাপারে ইচ্ছা প্রকাশ করেছিলেন। পাকিস্তানেরও প্রস্তাব রয়েছে চীনকে সার্কের পর্যবেক্ষক করার। এ বিষয়েও আলোচনা হবে। চীন এ ব্যাপারে উৎসাহ প্রকাশ করেছে। বেজিংয়ে চীনা বিদেশমন্ত্রকের মুখপাত্র লিউ জিয়ানচাও আজই বলেছেন, দক্ষিণ এশিয়ার দেশগুলির যৌথ সমৃদ্ধির জন্য এ জাতীয় সহযোগিতায় চীন আগ্রহী। সার্ক কথা উঠবে ইউরোপীয় ইউনিয়নের ধাঁচে এক মুদ্রা ও যৌথ তহবিল গড়ার। ৭ দেশের নাগরিকদের যোগাযোগ নিবিড় করতে ভিসা ব্যবস্থা আরও সহজ করার।

17 NOV 2009

Al-Qaida owns up to blasts

Robert Fisk in Amman

Nov. 10. — Homegrown extremist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's militants, part of the Al-Qaida terror group issued an Internet claim of responsibility today for three suicide bomb attacks on Western hotels that killed at least 56 people.

It was a bloody, cruel message to the Plucky Little King Mark 2. Help the Americans, train their Iraqi policemen, entertain their Special Forces officers and you will be a new target of Al-Qaida. Not that new, of course. But 67 dead — most of them Jordanians — is a devastating blow to the man who once ran the supposedly "elite" Jordanian Special Forces and who is now king of that little sandpit which Winston Churchill created and called "Jordan".



Women mourn the death of their relatives in the attacks in Amman on Thursday. — AFP

Jordanian Prime Minister Mr Adnan Badran ordered schools and government offices closed today after the deadly blasts that rocked the city. Jordan

Iraq violence

BAGHDAD, Nov. 10. — Two attacks on Iraqi security forces one at a restaurant favoured by police, at 9:45 a.m and another on an army recruiting centre left at least 40 people dead. — AP

today said it had arrested several suspects over the bombings. Police continued a broad security lockdown and authorities sent DNA samples for testing to identify the attackers. Land borders were reopened after being closed for nearly 12 hours.

Meanwhile US President Mr George W Bush and UN Secretary-General Mr Kofi Annan today joined world leaders in condemning the "cowardly attacks" in Jordan. Hundreds of Jordanians took to the streets of their capital today, shouting "Burn in hell,

Abu-Musab-al-Zarqawi. "Death to al-Zarqawi, the villain and the traitor," shouted the angry crowd. The Amman protest was organised by Jordan's 14 professional and trade unions made up of both hard-line Islamic groups and leftist political organisations — traditionally a vocal critic of King Abdullah's moderate and pro-western policies.

Government spokesman Mr Bassel Tarawneh said the victims included 15 Jordanians, one Saudi, one Palestinian, five Iraqis, three Chinese, one Indonesian and 30 others not yet identified.

Azahari dead: Family

The family of the terror suspect, Azahari bin Husin killed by police in Indonesia, is resigned to his death adds a AP report.

— The Independent

Red Fort kingpin gets death

NAZIYA ALVI
New Delhi, October 31

A CITY court on Monday awarded death sentence to Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Tayyeba militant Mohammad Arif, alias Ashfaq, for "waging or attempting to wage war against the Government of India" and killing two army personnel and one civilian by carrying out an attack on the Red Fort in December 2000.

Two close conspirators, Nazir Ahmed Qasid and his son Farooq Ahmed Qasid, who were also held guilty of waging war against the state and criminal conspiracy along with Ashfaq, were awarded life imprisonment. Special Judge O.P. Saini said, "I direct that Ashfaq shall be hanged by neck till he is dead. This is a case where life imprisonment would be inadequate and ends of justice would be served only by awarding death sentence."

Terming the crime as "rarest of rare", Saini said, "Such dastardly acts are being committed with increased frequency these days in which many people are being killed with impunity. This needs to be curbed with a heavy hand. Death sentence is one such deterrent measure."

Ashfaq has also been sentenced to life imprisonment under the Explosives Substances Act, 10-years' RI for conspiring to wage war and seven-years' RI each for cheating and forgery, and a five-year jail term under the Foreigners Act. All punishments will run concurrently.

The other four convicts — Ashfaq's wife Rehmana Yousuf Farooqui (held guilty of harbouring him), Babar Mohsin Baghwala, Sadaqat Ali and Matloob Alam — were all sentenced to seven-years' rigorous imprisonment.

THE DAY AFTER

Season Of Shocks, Blame Games Take All By Storm

Centre suspects jihadi hand in blasts

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 30 OCTOBER

THE government has held jihadi outfits controlled by sections of Pakistani establishment responsible for the attack on Delhi. Although the Centre refrained from making public its assessment, government managers told the Union Cabinet this evening that they have clear evidence to suggest the involvement of Pakistan-controlled jihadis in the terror outrage.

"We have enough leads to build on," Union home minister Shivraj Patil is believed to have told the Cabinet. The latter resolved to use all its might to thwart jihadi subversion. Sources said the decision not to point accusing fingers at the Lashkar's handlers in the Rawalpindi establishment was prompted by its anxiety to keep the tenuous peace process on track. But the Cabinet read the sympathy sound bytes from Islamabad as a ploy to tell the world that it — currently en-



Policeman inspecting a dustbin at a sweet shop in Gole market area during red alert in Delhi on Sunday. — PTI

gaged in the reconstruction of a quake-devastated country — has no role in the blasts.

But, the latest jihadi attack on the Capital is sure to cut out the romantic piffle in the Indo-Pak talks. The government can be expected to be tough in future interactions with the neighbour. In any case, an Opposition attack

on the government's internal security track record, in the wake of the Delhi serial blasts, will leave it with little space to offer concessions to Islamabad.

Party leaders, who held a series of crisis management meetings, are drawing satisfaction as the jihadis did not succeed in fomenting religious conflict.

BJP criticises govt on its handling of security

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 30 OCTOBER

THE Opposition on Sunday mounted an attack on the Manmohan Singh government for its inability to articulate a coherent internal security doctrine and failure to put in place stern laws to tackle internal subversions.

BJP, which supported the government's efforts to defeat terrorism, urged the Centre to rework its internal security agenda. Pointing to the need for greater political clarity, BJP general secretary Arun Jaitley said terrorism cannot be tackled by words alone.

"The Prime Minister is right when he says that terrorism will never defeat India. But will India defeat terrorism? India is concerned about the huge loss of lives at the hand of the terrorists. If India is to defeat terrorism, it cannot be by words alone," Mr Jaitley said.

The BJP also used the opportunity to drive home its larger point that lack of strong laws was making attempts at subversion quite easy. "Our national resolve to fight terror must be apparent in our action and policy," he said. The BJP's emphasis was also on the need for strong anti-terror laws. "Repeal of Pota has sent an encouraging signal to terrorists. How else would so many lives be lost in the national Capital during a tight security period?" Mr Jaitley asked.

BJP, which linked the spurt in terror activities to the absence of clarity on national security issues said soft borders are facilitating illegal infiltration both on the eastern and western borders. "This results in India being a soft target and a soft state," the BJP leader said. The Centre will find it difficult to reject BJP's criticism, as the governor of Assam too has been talking of a tighter handling of disruptive tendencies.

Deja Vu: Blasts follow familiar Lashkar pattern

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 30 OCTOBER

THOUGH the agencies investigating Saturday's serial blasts are yet to pinpoint the terror mastermind, the emerging pattern of religious symbols being targeted with a view to foment communal violence points the needle of suspicion towards the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT).

Be it the attack on the Ram temple at Ayodhya in July '05, the targeting of Raghunath and Panjabkhtar temples in Jammu in 2002 or the Fidayeen strike a year later at Akshardham temple of the influential Swaminarain sect in Ahmedabad, all of them have been traced to terrorists belonging to the LeT. Saturday's blasts, too, were obviously targeted at people shopping ahead of the festival of Diwali.

So it is no surprise that the investigators are actively working on the theory that an LeT module may have masterminded and carried out the blasts.

Lashkar-e-Toiba or the Army of the Pure, has its origins in the sprawling campus of its ideological parent, the Markaz-Dawawal-Irshad or Centre for Learning at Muridke near Lahore. Founded in 1990 to aid Afghanistan's fight against Soviet occupation, the LeT switched its jihadi operations to J&K soon after in 1993. It has since become one of the most dreaded and lethal terrorist outfits active in Kashmir, masterminding key suicide attacks both on camps of security forces as well as on minority civilian targets.

LeT operates through modules, a small group of 5-8 terrorists, which may either be "active" with a specific mission to

attack an identified target, or "sleeper" which may have to remain dormant for months before getting orders to conduct specific attacks. There is little communication between these modules. One may be completely unaware of the presence of the other. These modules may spend months arranging for the explosives and ammunition ahead of an attack, apart from conducting reces of the attack sites and finalising a well-thought out plan involving killing precision.

Months of planning and preparation go into each LeT attack. The rigorous training that the LeT recruits, most of them from Afghanistan or PoK, are put to, not only drills into them the discipline of jihad with a view to achieving a better Islamic world, but also inculcates death-defying fighting skills.

Israel declares war on Islamic Jihad

28/10 19-15
Defence Minister Shaul Mofaz approves the resumption of "targeted killings"

JERUSALEM: Israel declared all-out war on Islamic Jihad on Thursday, launching air strikes on its Gaza Strip stronghold and putting its leaders in the cross-hairs after a suicide bomber killed five persons in a marketplace.

As the funerals took place for the victims of Wednesday's attack in Hadera, officials said they were taking the gloves off against Jihad in the absence of any firm action from the Palestinian Authority.

The five dead were the first Israelis to be killed by Palestinian militants since Israel pulled its troops and settlers out of the Gaza Strip.

The pullout had raised hopes in the international community of a genuine breakthrough in the West Asia peace process but Israeli commentators warned that the public must get used to continuing attacks.

Army Chief of Staff General Dan Halutz was quoted as declaring a "war to the bitter end" against Islamic Jihad after convening a meeting of defence chiefs late on Wednesday.

Security sources said Defence Minister Shaul Mofaz gave the green light for the resumption of "targeted killing" operations



ON THE CROSSHAIRS: An Israeli border policeman stops Palestinians at the point of gun before checking their identities in the West Bank city of Hebron on Thursday. — PHOTO: AFP

against the masterminds of attacks such as the one in Hadera, Bank and Gaza Strip.

Jihad said the attack was carried out by a 21-year-old from the northern West Bank village of Qabatiya, near Jenin.

The army also announced a

general closure on the West troops at the weekend.

"We will hit Islamic Jihad very hard. We will not give them any respite," a source close to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said. Around a dozen

Palestinians, including members of Jihad, were arrested overnight by the Israeli army while the air force carried out three air strikes over Gaza without causing casualties. — AFP

Countering militant Islam in cyberspace

✓
S27
19/10

We know that the indoctrination of 30-odd homegrown Jemaah Islamiah (JI) members arrested in the past three years was done by a preacher in the privacy of their homes. But what is to stop such a "preacher" coming in by Windows or any other operating systems in the homes of the Internet-savvy?

Today, most experts agree that the Internet is not just a tool for terrorists, it is central to their operations. It is no longer used merely to recruit members, solicit funds and promote ideology, but also for tactical purposes, especially training recruits.

In the past two years, a small number of cases has emerged in which *jihadi* cells appeared to have been formed among like-minded strangers who met online, according to Intelligence officials and terrorism specialists quoted in a recent *Washington Post* report.

And there are many other cases in which bonds formed in the physical world have been nurtured over the Internet, said the experts. Indeed, Rand Corporation terrorism specialist Bruce Hoffman has described the Internet as the "ideal" medium for terrorism today: anonymous but pervasive.

Adding to the worries is the number of terrorists websites, which has shot up from 12 in 1997 to more than 4,500 today, according to terrorism analyst Gabriel Weimann. They include sites operated by well-known groups such as Hamas and Hizbollah, as well as others in South America and elsewhere.

In his 2003 work, "Islam In The Digital Age", University of Wales lecturer in Islamic studies Gary Bunt coined the name *e-jihad* to denote electronic *jihad* in its many forms, from the fights over the definition of *jihad* to the concept of on-line *fatwas*.

How Internet-savvy Muslims might get drawn into it is simple enough. Like some of the Singaporean JI members now behind bars, their journey into radical ideas might begin with a simple desire to understand the religion better. While the less Internet-savvy look for a preacher in the real world, the Internet-savvy looks for one in the cyberworld.

The experience of one netizen in search of "the truth" is instructive. He asked a Doha-based website what Islam said about the need to establish an Islamic state, and was told that the notion applied only to the times of Prophet Muhammad and his companions.

Most experts agree that Internet is not just a tool for terrorists but central to their operations. One way to protect the Net-savvy but religiously uninstructed is to counter-attack the radical arguments, writes MAFOOT SIMON



Later, another website told him that was wrong: "The evidences clearly state that *jihad* is to be conducted until Domsday."

With such diverse responses — and stated in categorical terms — what is the inquiring Muslim to do but to trawl the Net further? Clearly, the battle to win the hearts and minds of Muslims has gone onto cyberspace.

What can be done to counter the extremist threat?

The first step, said Harvard don Joseph Nye in a recent article, is for the generation of policymakers not raised with the Internet or cell phones to become more aware of the changing nature of the threat and increase investment in monitoring and surveillance.

In the USA, Internet content is essentially unregulated, unlike the airwaves. But that will soon change. The Federal Communications Commission has announced that, from 14 November, providers of Internet broadband and some voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) services must allow wiretappings by law enforcement agencies.

A grace period of 18 months is being

liferate," it said.

Singapore has its own infocomm security masterplan, involving the establishment of a national cyber threat monitoring centre, which requires companies to share information on cyber attacks.

But countering terrorism is not just a job for the security and Intelligence services. The Muslim community plays a critical role in helping to insulate its members from extremist ideology on the Net.

For a start, local Muslim lay leaders who have begun to conduct talks and forums on Islamic interpretation — featured in *The Straits Times* late last month — could take their "fight" to the Net.

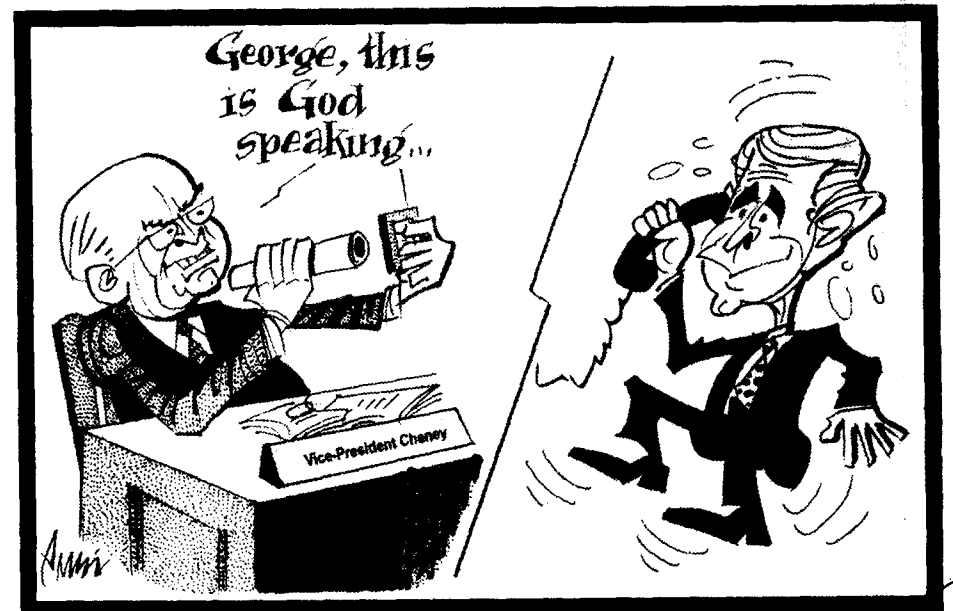
Most of them have websites they could use: Ustaz Ali Mohammed at *khadijah-mosque.org*; Ustaz Mohammed Hasbi Hassan at *Pergas.org.sg*; and Ustaz Mohd Ibrahim Mohd Kassim at *alfathhu.com*.

Rather than merely providing links to other Islamic websites, something they currently have in common, they could perhaps begin by posting the contents of their talks and forums on their websites.

And when they become more cyber-comfortable, they could make their websites more interactive by allowing Net-surfers to ask questions.

One way to protect the Net-savvy but religiously uninstructed is to counter-attack the radical arguments. Going on the counter-offensive is sometimes the best defence.

— *The Straits Times, ANN*



THE STATESMAN

Russian forces snuff out rebel fire

REUTERS
Nalchik, October 14

Russian soldiers and police combed through a city of shattered glass and bloodstains on Friday, searching for alleged Islamic militants who launched a series of fierce attacks that left at least 108 people dead.

Authorities claimed that all pockets of active fighting had been put down a day after the attacks on the Caucasus Mountain city of Nalchik began, but concern was high that fighters could have melted into the civilian population to regroup.

President Vladimir Putin promised that Russia would put down all attacks "hard and consistently," and that the insurgents could expect no mercy.

Chechen rebels have claimed involvement in the attacks.

A small group of fighters holed up in a prison administration building, believed to be the last rebel resistance, had been wiped out by security forces by Friday afternoon. "We have found so far 9 bodies of rebels but we may find some more elsewhere in the building," a colonel, who did not wish to be named, told Reuters at the scene. By midday, the head of the regional government, Genady Gubin, had announced that all rebel resistance had been suppressed and captives freed. The police are now focusing on hunting down any gunmen who may be trying to sneak out of the city, set in the foothills of the towering Mount Elbrus, by melting into the local population.



AP A police officer guards the body of an alleged Chechen rebel killed in a fight in Nalchik on Friday.

Putin praised the response by the security forces but regretted that such attacks still occurred. "It is bad that such bandit raids are still possible," he said, according to the news agency Interfax. He added, however, "it's good that this time all the law-enforcement agencies worked in coordination, effectively and

tough... Our actions must be commensurate with all the threats that bandits pose for our country. We will act as toughly and consistently as we did on this occasion," Itar-Tass news agency quoted him as saying.

Meanwhile, six of the most gravely wounded have been flown to Moscow, 870 miles to the north, for treatment, ITAR-Tass reported.

Outside Nalchik, in the suburb of Khasanya, rebels shelled a police car Friday morning, killing two riot police officers.

Bloodied corpses still lay in the streets on Friday. One was near the entrance to police station No. 2 and the regional anti-terrorist centre, where most of the windows had been blown out and even tramway lines outside

had been brought down.

Seven more bodies were sprawled across the street, most with horrific head wounds. Heavily armed police poked and kicked at the bodies, presumably those of militants, all clad in tracksuits and running shoes.

Outside the local Federal Security Service building, several heavily armed officers picked gingerly through a black backpack that had apparently belonged to a militant, pulling out a candy bar, a bottle of water and a black T-shirt.

ITAR-Tass said some rebels tried to escape in a van but crashed into a tree and were surrounded and killed. RIA-Novosti said there had been seven militants and an unknown number of hostages in the vehicle. The

hostages were rescued, it said.

The Russian President has been beleaguered by attacks that have killed hundreds of civilians and underscored his failure to bring the turbulent Caucasus under control. On Thursday, he ordered a total blockade of Nalchik to prevent militants from slipping out and ordered security forces to shoot any armed resisters.

Russian Interior Minister Rashid Nurgaliyev said 72 fighters had been killed and 31 detained till Friday. He said 24 police officers and 12 civilians in the town had also been killed. The rebels themselves contradicted these figures through their Web sites, putting their dead at 11 with four fighters missing.

Many faces of Islamism

How political Islam develops is in the hands of the West.

Soumaya Ghannoushi

ISLAM IS the second-largest and the fastest-growing religion in the world. In its heartlands in Asia and Africa, the movement of Islamisation has penetrated the fortress of the modernised elites, taking root among students, engineers, doctors, and lawyers. And where once Western dress was the mark of culture and emancipation, educated Muslim women today are more likely to don the *hijab* to assert their determination to be active citizens and express an alternative feminist identity.

Far from being a desert of stagnation, as it is often portrayed in the West, the Muslim world is in the grip of powerful change. The quest to renew Islam has always gone hand in hand with resistance to the West's military, political, and cultural hegemony over the Muslim world. This goes back to the 19th century when, amid the turmoil that accompanied the shift in the balance of power in favour of Europe, two projects of reform emerged in Muslim society.

One was represented by the men of the *tanzimat* (reorganisation), who responded to the challenge of the rising European powers by seeking to build a powerful modern army and a centralised administration capable of securing authority over the provinces of an Ottoman empire in long-term decline. But alongside these pragmatic technocrats were the Islamist reformers, led by Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh and their disciples. Much like the standard-bearers of the reformation in Christianity, they sought to reactivate Islam's innate energies through the call to return to "pristine sources" without recourse to custom or tradition. A reinterpreted Islam, adapted to the conditions of modernity, they were convinced, was the only way out of the decadence of the present. This revivalist project, with its many offshoots and variations, is dominant in today's Islam. Ironically, the mighty powers of Western modernity have neither dispensed with nor weakened the grip of the religious in Muslim society. If anything, they have acted as a catalyst for the revitalising of Islam's inner resources and as a midwife for the birth of modern Islam.

While modernisation has been wedded to secularisation in much of the world, in Muslim society it has gone hand-in-hand with Islamisation. The mass appeal of modern Islam is such that any open, free elections are bound to bring to power its representatives and sympathisers — which, in a nutshell, is the trouble with democratisation in the Muslim world for the powers that be. That the political *status quo* has stubbornly refused to budge in much of the

210-11
6/10
Muslim world has nothing to do with either culture or religion. It is all down to regional and global politics, with their crude stakes and calculations.

Islamism, like socialism, is not a uniform entity. It is a colourful socio-political phenomenon with many strategies and discourses. This enormously diverse movement ranges from liberal to conservative, from modern to traditional, from moderate to radical, from democratic to theocratic, and from peaceful to violent. What these trends have in common is that they derive their source of legitimacy from Islam, just as Latin American anarchist guerrillas, communists, social democrats and third-way Blairites base theirs on socialism. To view such a broad canvas through the lens of Osama bin Laden or Zarqawi is absurd.

Faced with this dynamic and multifaceted force across the Muslim world, the West has two options. It can deal with it peacefully, allowing it to express itself freely and opening a dialogue with it, or it can channel its energies towards violence and destructiveness.

Whatever course of action it chooses, we can be certain that the ensuing consequences will not affect Muslim societies alone. In our globalised world, crises can no longer be kept far away, left to rage in distant lands and devour obscure nations. The troubles of Kabul, Jenin, and Fallujah now spill over on to our shores, towns and cities, lay bare our fundamental vulnerability, and put an end to our sense of immunity.

George W. Bush and Tony Blair seem determined to turn the clock back to the heyday of Napoleonic and Victorian expansion. The trouble is that the world is refusing to be dragged back to the age of grand colonial conquests, atrocities and tragedies, and Muslims are no exception. London and Washington must decide which Islam they want: a peaceful, democratic Islam, crucial to any pursuit of global stability, or the anarchical and destructive Islam of Al-Qaeda and its ilk. The shape of contemporary Islam will largely be determined by the environment within which it is forced to operate.

As they ponder over how to deal with Islam, our leaders would do well to remember the lessons of history. After all, it was Europe's colonialist adventures that drove the esoteric spiritualist Mahdis of Sudan, the Sanussis of Libya, and the Qadiris of Algeria out of seclusion and on to the road of militancy and jihadism. — ©Guardian Newspapers Limited 2005

(Soumaya Ghannoushi is a researcher at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and a columnist on al-Jazeera.net.)

Qaida admits 7/7 attack

Dubai, Sept. 20 (Reuters): Al Qaida carried out the July suicide bombings in London to strike at "British arrogance," the group's second-in-command Ayman al-Zawahri said in a videotape aired on Arab satellite channel al Jazeera yesterday.

"The London attack is one of the attacks that al Qaida ... had the honour of carrying out against ... British arrogance, the aggression of the crusader British against the Muslim nation for over a hundred years," Zawahri said.

He denounced Britain for "the historical crime of setting up Israel and the continuing crimes in Afghanistan and Iraq.

"These and other attacks have revealed the true hypocritical face of Western civilisation that talks about human rights and freedom only as long as it is in its interest," he said, citing the planned toughening of British security laws after the London blasts.

A US counter-terrorism official said the tape was "al Qaida's clearest public statement to date suggesting



An image taken from CCTV footage shows London bombing suspects, Jermaine Lindsay (second from left), Shahzad Tanweer (centre) and Mohammed Sadique Khan (right) at Luton station, England. The three bombers staged a dry run to London on June 28 before they blew themselves up on the transport network on July 7. They stayed in London for four hours on that day. (Reuters)

that they were responsible (for the London attack). But that in a itself does not prove that al Qaida planned or directed the attack. They're quite happy to take responsibility for any terrorist attack."

The US official, who said the tape was still being reviewed by intelligence officials, said it was "still unclear what the nature and extent of their involvement (in London) was." Zawahri de-

nounced elections in Afghanistan, saying they were not free and were carried out under US occupation.

"These elections are a farce more than anything else," he said. Al Jazeera said the tape was prepared by al Qaida's media group al-Sahab, which distributes Islamic militant videos on the Internet, to mark the fourth anniversary of the September 11, 2001, attacks.

Blasts to avenge U.S. attacks on Iraqi town, says Al-Qaeda

Highest number of casualties in suicide car explosion in Baghdad

Atul Aneja

MANAMA: More than 150 persons have been killed in multiple strikes in Iraq where the majority Shia community has been the main target.

The highest number of casualties took place in Baghdad's Khadimiya district where a suicide bomber blew up his explosives laden car.

Around 114 persons – mostly Shias – are suspected killed during this strike, which marks the second biggest single attack since the U.S. invasion.

Sectarian tensions

The attack is likely to deepen sectarian tensions between Sunnis on one side and a combination of Shias and Kurds on the other. The Sunni militants have been blamed for most of the attacks on the Shias, who have widely supported Iraq's U.S. backed constitution.

An Iraqi police spokesman said the suicide bomber drove his minivan into a crowd of labourers who had assembled at Baghdad's Oruba Square. He first lured the workers by promising them work, and then exploded nearly 220 kg of explosives as they came near. Many of the wounded were taken to four different hospitals.

The Al-Qaeda in Iraq has posted a statement on the Internet that it had launched a nationwide bombing campaign in response to a recent U.S. backed operation in the city of Tal Afar, not far from Iraq's border with Syria.

In another incident, uniformed gunmen pretending to

be policemen shot 15 civilians dead. The assailants "arrested" their victims in the early hours in the town of Taji on the outskirts of Baghdad. The kidnapped were shot at point blank range. Most of the executed are believed to be Shias. Soon after the incident, gunmen opened retaliatory fire on a group of Sunnis in a busy marketplace in the town, killing six.

In yet another suicide car bombing, 11 persons who had gathered to fill gas canisters were killed in northern Baghdad.

The spate of killings took place just before the final draft of the Constitution was handed over to the United Nations for printing and distribution.

Japanese MPs' plea

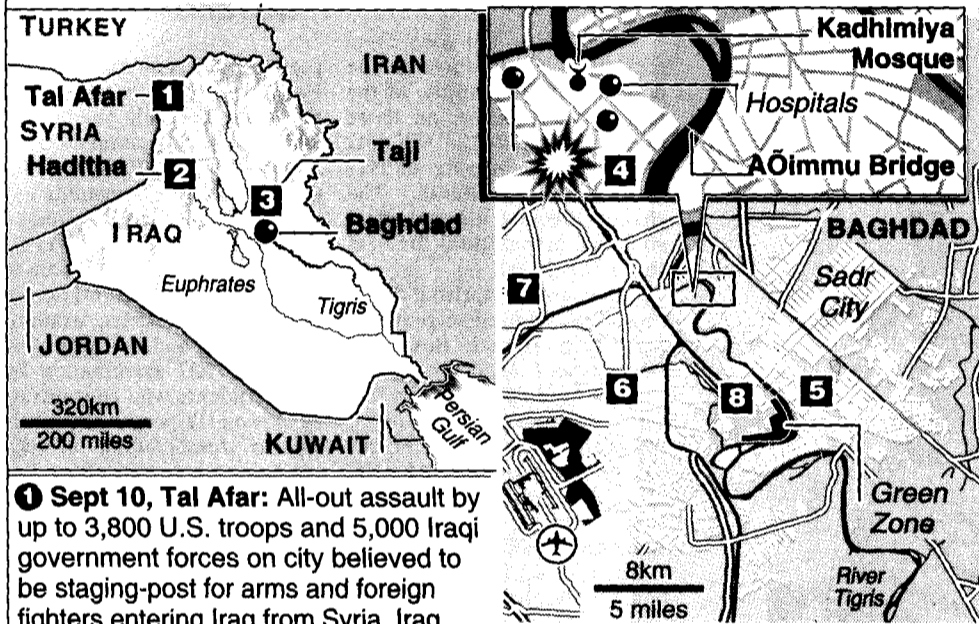
TOKYO: More members of Japan's newly elected Parliament believe Japanese troops should be withdrawn from Iraq when their mission expires in December than believe they should stay, a survey said on Wednesday.

Of the 480 lawmakers who won seats in elections on Sunday, 41 per cent said Japan should pull out its troops from Iraq, while 34 per cent said the deployment should be extended, according to the survey by the nationwide newspaper *Mainichi*.

Japan sent 600 troops to Iraq in January 2004 to aid U.S.-led reconstruction efforts. — AP

Al-Qaeda claims suicide bombing campaign

A series of deadly attacks have rocked Baghdad, killing more than 120 people. Iraq's Al-Qaeda has claimed responsibility, saying it is waging a nationwide suicide bombing campaign to avenge a U.S.-led military offensive on the Sunni rebel town of Tal Afar, near the Syrian border



1 Sept 10, Tal Afar: All-out assault by up to 3,800 U.S. troops and 5,000 Iraqi government forces on city believed to be staging-post for arms and foreign fighters entering Iraq from Syria. Iraq Government says 200 militants killed, several hundred captured

2 Sept 13, Haditha: U.S. forces widen operations, attacking militants in Euphrates River stronghold

3 Sept 14, Taji: 17 Shia civilians rounded up at dawn and shot dead

4 Oruba Square, 06.30am: At least 108 construction workers killed and 227 injured by 500kg suicide car bomb in mainly Shia *Kadhimiya* district

5 Shaab Stadium, 08.40am: Car bomb hits U.S. convoy, two American soldiers wounded

6 Al Adil, 09.40am: Suicide car bomb targets Iraqi army convoy, three Iraqi soldiers killed

7 Shula, 10:00am: Car bomb attack on Iraqi National Guard, four killed

8 Rashid Hotel, 10:00am: Attack on U.S. convoy near Green Zone leaves 14 Iraqi police officers injured

Source: Wire agencies

© GRAPHIC NEWS

9/15/05
HD-14
13/9

5 SEP 2005 THE NEWS

Clerics defend Islamic courts

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, August 28

HT 29/8

THE ALL India Muslim Personal Law Board on Sunday defended the existence of Islamic courts but made it that it did not want any confrontation with the judiciary, saying these courts were complementary and not parallel to the country's judicial system.



VIRENDRA SINGH/HT
Members of the Muslim Personal Law Board at the meeting.

Readying a reply

- An AIMPLB committee will frame reply to an SC notice on petition challenging existence of Islamic courts
- Board has inducted Islamic scholar Maulana Wali Rehmani into its legal committee

Islamic courts and their rulings. "A delegation of the board will soon meet Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and UPA chairperson Sonia Gandhi to convey our views on various issues," he said.

Asked about the Imrana case where a fatwa was issued against cohabiting with her husband following her alleged rape by her father-in-law, board member Yusuf Hatim Muchhala said, "That was not a fatwa but the personal opinion of a particular mufti."

On another issue, the board decided to request Uttar Pradesh government to club all cases related to the Babri Masjid demolition for trial in a single court. These include the case against BJP chief L.K. Advani.

"There is no question of any conflict and confrontation. Whatever rights the Constitution has provided, the Islamic courts are functioning under it. These are nothing but civil courts dealing with only family issues and don't interfere in criminal cases including rape," said the board's assistant general secretary, A.R. Qureshi.

A petition has challenged the existence of such courts, prompting the Supreme Court to serve notices on the "parallel judiciary". The board has set up a committee to frame a reply. "We haven't yet got the notice; whatever we have come to know is only through the newspapers. Yet we discussed the issue today and prepared to give an appropriate reply to the Supreme Court if and when we do receive the notice. We have constituted a committee to frame the reply," Qureshi said.

He said his board would try to clear all misunderstanding and misconception that prevailed in various quarters regarding the

29 AUG 2004 THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Al-Qaida fax threatens the Vatican

Warning in Arabic slams support to capitalist nations, justifies attacks in UK and Spain

DALE FICHS & BARBARA McMahan
Madrid/Rome, August 25

THE ITALIAN authorities are investigating a fax, allegedly signed by the al-Qaida, which makes veiled threats against the Vatican. The three-page document, written in Arabic, accuses the Vatican of supporting "the capitalist countries" who joined the war in Iraq and justifies terror attacks in Britain and Spain as "self defence against terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan".

The fax was sent in Barcelona to the offices of the Spanish conservative daily newspaper ABC and to a Spanish television station.

The interior ministry in Rome confirmed that it had been informed of the contents of the fax. "We are aware of it but we have no comment to make," a source at the ministry said. The Vatican also refused to comment.

The threats are bound to increase nerves in Italy, which has long feared it could be the next European country to be targeted by Islamists because of the government's support of the Iraq war. Italy maintains the largest contingent of

troops in Iraq. Since the London bombings Italy has been on a state of alert described as "intense and prolonged" by the interior minister, Giuseppe Pisani.

Security has been stepped up at airports, train and subway stations and at major tourist sites such as the Vatican and the Colosseum.

When Pope Benedict took a holiday in a chalet in the Italian Alps he was protected by an estimated 200-strong team of police and bodyguards.

The fax, which is also being investigated by Spanish police, criticises the Vatican for its alleged support of the invasion of Iraq. The final paragraph reads: "In the war in Iraq, the Vatican has supported capitalist countries who are only interested in Iraqi oil. The leaders of those countries will reap the harvest of their support and their killings."

The Spanish interior ministry also made no comment on the contents of the authenticity of the fax, but unnamed police sources cited by ABC, which received the fax, say it is more credible than other communications received since the London bombings.



Pope Benedict XVI greets pilgrims during his weekly general audience at the Vatican.

Zarqawi will retreat to Africa: US general

MAJOR GENERAL Douglas Lute, director of operations at the US central command, has predicted that al-Qaida fighters in Iraq will move to the "vast ungoverned spaces" of the Horn of Africa once conditions in the country become too tough for them. Looking ahead to a time when he said Iraq would be "stabilised", he predicted that Abu Musab al-Zarqawi would take the "path of least resistance" and leave for such countries as Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia but only after he put up a show of strength at the run-up to the constitutional referendum and the subsequent elections.

GNS, London

told ABC. When editors at ABC received the fax, they first thought it was a hoax but it was passed to the police for translation, said the national editor, Angel Collado.

The state television station, TVE, received the same fax two days earlier, ABC reported.

The Guardian

committed suicide.

A large part of the text received on Monday appears under the heading "the workings of the Vatican" and describes the Vatican's relationship with Nazi Germany, citing what appear to be passages copied from books on the subject and a newspaper article from 1941, police sources

Police do not believe the author is linked to an established al-Qaida cell or to the extremists behind the railway bombings in Madrid on March 11, 2004.

The sender could, however, be a "sympathiser" of Islamist terrorism, according to sources quoted in ABC. Unnamed police sources cited by *El Pais* newspaper

per said it could also be a terrible hoax.

ABC had received a credible al-Qaida threat by fax on April 3, 2004, the same day the seven authors of the Madrid tube attacks blew themselves up in a police raid. The Spanish police believe that fax was written by one of the supposed terrorists who

committed suicide.

A large part of the text received on Monday appears under the heading "the workings of the Vatican" and describes the Vatican's relationship with Nazi Germany, citing what appear to be passages copied from books on the subject and a newspaper article from 1941, police sources

Islamic tilt to Iraq draft constitution

9/12/18
11-12 29/18
**US Accused Of Ceding To Shiites,
Deadline For OK Extended Again**

Baghdad: The draft constitution for Iraq that was presented to the country's parliament on Monday would make Islam "a main source" for legislation and ban laws that contradict religious teachings, a text made available to Reuters showed. The as-yet-incomplete draft appeared to be something of a compromise after secular Kurds objected during negotiations to Islam being "the main source" of laws. It was not clear how legislation would be subjected to the test of conforming to Islamic principles.

"Islam is a main source for legislation and it is not permitted to legislate anything that conflicts with the fixed principles of the rules of Islam," said the draft, provided to Reuters by Shiite Islamist constitution panel member Ali al-Dabbagh. Other panel members confirmed the wording. Critics accused Shiite Islamists, who dominate the interim government and parliament, of planning to impose clerical rule in the style of neighbouring, Shiite Iran. They deny it.

Kurds had complained that US diplomats, who have insisted that women and minorities enjoy equal rights, had conceded to Islamists in order to meet a Monday deadline on the draft.

However, though Iraqi leaders submitted the draft to the National Assembly just before the Monday midnight deadline, disagreement with Sunni leaders and secular Iraqis left the document incomplete, with fundamental issues still in dispute. The Iraqis gave themselves three more days to close the gaps.

Shiite and Kurdish leaders said they came close to completing the constitution on Monday night, but were bogged down by a handful of issues. Most disputes pitted them against leaders of the embittered Sunni minority.

But the Sunnis were not alone

Draft Excerpt

Article Two: The political system is republican, parliamentary, democratic and federal.

1. Islam is a main source for legislation. a) No law may contradict Islamic standards; b) No law may contradict democratic standards; c) No law may contradict the essential rights and freedoms mentioned in this constitution.

2. This constitution guarantees the Islamic identity of the Iraqi people and guarantees all religious rights; all persons are free within their ideology and the practice of their ideological practices.

3. Iraq is part of the Islamic world, and the Arabs are part of the Arab nation.

Source: NYT News Service

in their opposition; they were joined on major issues by secular Iraqis led by Ayad Allawi, the ex-prime minister. Allawi's group is concerned about an Islamist-minded coalition of Shiites pushing for an autonomous region in the oil-rich south. "I haven't seen it," said Dr. Raja Kuzai, a secular Shiite leader, walking out.

The 72 hours the Iraqis gave themselves came in addition to the seven-day extension they voted for a week ago. At the heart of the dispute was the decision to largely exclude the Sunni leaders from the constitution talks, after the failure to meet the first deadline last week. That meant that any agreements struck by the Shiite and Kurdish negotiators were not complete. When the Sunnis were finally brought into the negotiations on Monday, they rejected several of the constitution's most fundamental provisions. Reuters & NYT News Service

REGISTRATION ■ Opp leader rejects move to register madarasas

Musharraf's madarsa ordinance backfires

9/2/05
9/2/05
2/18

AGENCIES

ISLAMABAD, AUGUST 23

VOICING strong Opposition over the government's ordinance on registration of all Pakistani madarasas, hardline Islamic clerics have rejected it saying it would curb the freedom that the religious schools currently enjoy.

The ordinance has sparked off stiff protest among hardline clerics headed by Maulana Fazlur Rehman, chief of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F), who has refused to register the seminaries with the government.

"We reject the madaris registration ordinance which President General Pervez Musharraf has promulgated by amending the Society Act," Rehman, also the Leader of the Opposition in the Pakistan National Assembly and general secretary of the Islamist alliance Muttahida majlis-e-Amal (MMA) said after a meeting to discuss the Ordinance.

"If we approve such amendments and the Parliament also approves them, we will be forced to introduce the government-dictated syllabus and employ government-recommended teachers in the madarasas. This is not possible for us," he said.

Rehman said JUI-F, a party headed by clerics representing their interests, would not register its 8,500 seminaries across Pakistan. He said the party has decided not to register religious schools under the Amended Society Registration Act, 1860, and also refused to repatriate foreign students studying in its seminaries.

Meanwhile, more than 300 hardline Islamic schools in Pakistan have vowed to resist the government order, a senior cleric said on Tuesday.

Representatives of the madarasas met in Islamabad on Monday and denounced the order from President Pervez Musharraf as discriminatory.

Abdul Rashid Ghazi, a senior teacher at Jamia Faridia, one of Islamabad's main madarasas, said the government enforced the law without taking clerics into its confidence. "This is a discriminatory and unilateral law. We reject it," he said on Tuesday.



Finding Musharraf's ordinance hard to digest

"Madarasas should not be singled out for registration. All private institutions and schools, some of which are preaching anti-Islamic and anti-Pakistan teachings, should also be registered. How can they expect us to talk to them and cooperate when they are conducting raids on madarasas and mosques," he added. "If they use force, then it will be responded to in the same way."

Musharraf's move came as part of ef-

forts to rein in Islamist militancy after revelations that three of the four bombers in July 7 attacks in London were Muslims of Pakistani origin, at least one of whom had visited madarasas in Pakistan.

The country saw a spectacular rise in the number of madarasas in the 1980s when the schools, backed by funding from the West and Arab countries, became recruiting grounds for Islamic volunteers fighting Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

AUG 2005

Fatwas not valid: govt

Statesman News Service & PTI

NEW DELHI, Aug. 22. — The government today told Parliament that *fatwas* issued by Islamic institutions were not valid in the eye of law.

“The process to be followed by courts in criminal cases is set forth in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973. *Fatwas* issued by Islamic institutions do not have any legal backing and they are not valid in the eye of law,” Union law and justice minister Mr HR Bharadwaj told the Rajya Sabha in a written reply.

The answer came in response to a question on procedures followed by jurisdictional courts when *fatwas* were issued by Islamic institutions or even panchayats in criminal cases at variance with the existing laws.

In another development, Islamic seminary Darul Uloom of Deoband has decided to impose a ban on issuing edicts on political matters and to take steps to streamline the process, a report adds from Muzaffarnagar.

Under attack for its decree making the wearing of veils mandatory for Muslim women entering politics, the seminary’s vice-chancellor, Maulana Marghobur Rehman, said: “All muftis have been directed not to issue any *fatwa* and not to interact with the media.” He added that clerics who had issued the edict on the participation of women in polls had been pulled up.

The seminary, on 16 August, ruled that Muslim women should not contest elections and even if they did, they must wear the veil,

House takes up Bill on domestic violence

NEW DELHI, Aug. 22. — A landmark Bill that seeks to stop domestic violence in all its forms against women by providing for punishment up to one year in jail for the culprits was today introduced in the Lok Sabha. The new Bill defines “domestic violence” as being actual act of abuse or a threat with physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or economic implications. — PTI

Details on page 3

evoking sharp reactions from political parties and human rights organisations.

As part of the new steps to streamline the process, a six-member committee has been set up to finalise the draft of a *fatwa* before issuing it to avoid any misinterpretation. Maulana Rehman said.

Also today, minister of state for law and justice Mr K Venkatapathy said the Centre had initiated a number of measures to reduce the number of pending cases in the courts of law. These measures include timely filling of the vacancies of judges, increasing the number of judges, clustering cases featuring common questions of law, constitution of specialised Benches, organising Lok Adalats and setting up special tribunals. He, however, added that there was no proposal, at present, with the government to formulate new laws for the judiciary.

Minister of state for social justice Ms Subbulakshmi Jagadeesan said 11 NGOs had been found to be diverting grants from the purposes for which they were sanctioned.

Deoband will keep politics out of fatwas

M. Tariq Khan
Deoband, August 21

HAVING DRAWN flak for its recent *fatwa* over the participation of women in panchayat polls, the Darul Uloom Deoband has decided to impose a ban on issuing religious edicts on political matters.

In an apparent damage-control move, the Islamic seminary has resolved henceforth not to entertain or give religious injunctions on matters not directly related to the 'shariat' (Islamic laws). A formal resolution in this connection is expected to be passed at a meeting of its 15-member consultative committee in October.

"I have pulled up the *muftis* who had issued the *fatwa*," said Maulana Marghoobur Rehman, vice-chancellor of the Islamic seminary. The 94-year-old Maulana told *Hindustan Times* the *fatwa* issued three days ago on the participation of women in polls was quoted out of context by the media.

"We never said that women should not take part in elections," he said. "We had only explained the stipulations laid down for



CLIMBDOWN

■ Darul Uloom Deoband won't give injunctions on matters not related to 'shariat'

■ Seminary's V-C says *fatwa* issued on participation of women in polls was quoted out of context by media

■ Sources say a journalist from Muzzafarnagar had obtained *fatwa* over participation of Muslim women in panchayat polls

women under 'shariat' on how they should dress (read *purdah*) and conduct themselves in public life."

The Islamic seminary here receives, on an average, around 200 applications seeking *fatwas* on sundry issues. Most requests are received via the internet on the university's website. According to sources, a journalist of a daily published from Muzzafarnagar had obtained the religious edict over the participation of Muslim women in the panchayat polls.

On the Supreme Court notice over the functioning of the Darul Qazas (shariat courts), the Deoband V-C said though they were yet to receive the notice, the role of these institutions was being

portrayed wrongly.

"We'll discuss the issue and work out our future course of strategy at a meeting in New Delhi on August 28," he said.

Asked what impact, if any, its *fatwas* had, Adil Siddiqui, the seminary's media in charge, said, "The sale of US food giants was adversely affected after we issued an edict urging Muslims to boycott their soft drinks and food products.

"More recently, the effectiveness of our edict was visible in the Imrana case too."

UP-CLOSE WITH FATWA

How it has bred contradictions

M. Hasan
Lucknow, August 20

TWO OF its recent controversial fatwas on women may have turned the spotlight — and some heat from within the Muslim community — on Darul Uloom Deoband, but the institution is not exactly on unfamiliar grounds.

In fact, both the Deobandis and the Barelvis are known for issuing controversial fatwas for some time now.

Earlier this year, Darul Uloom Deoband issued an edict banning watching television. "It's un-Islamic", declared Mufti Mahmud-ul-Hasan Bulandshahri. The fatwa said watching TV was forbidden since it was a source of frivolous entertainment. The edict had led to a row with a large number of *ulemas* (clerics) condemning it. "It's unacceptable in the modern world", said Naib Imam Idgah Maulana Khalid Rashid Firangi Mahali. And soon, the edict was rejected.

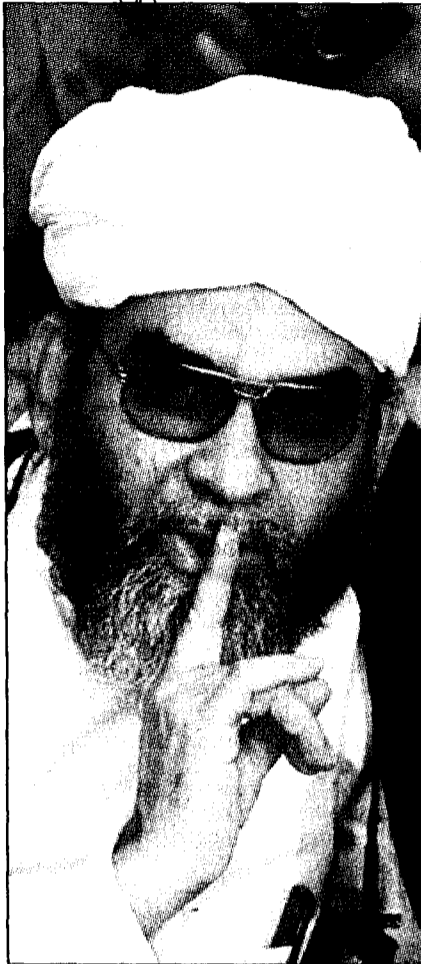
There is a feeling among the *ulemas* that the clerics of Deoband had been living in a "closed world". "They don't look beyond the high domes of Deoband", said a senior cleric here.

Right since its inception, Darul Uloom Deoband had been "anti-West" which, over the years, has turned "anti-modernity". The institution is also known for giving fatwas that affected and angered women from the community. Some, as in the cases of Imrana and Gudia, got highlighted. Others went largely unnoticed.

The book, 'Fatwa-i-Ulema Dar-al Ulum Deoband', is full of edicts against women. The Deoband scholars have not only given fatwas in real cases, but also in imaginary situations relating to women.

On talaq, the Darul Uloom Deoband had decreed that, even if a man divorces his wife in a fit of rage and later repents, the marriage stands dissolved. There are fatwas on sex with animals, too.

In 'Fatawa-i-Rizvia' of Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan Barelvi, women had been dubbed as a "packet of explosives".



Finer points

LEGAL EDICT
Fatwa is a legal pronouncement in Islam, issued by a religious law specialist called Mufti, on any issue.

ON REQUEST
Usually issued on request to settle a question where *fiqh* — Islamic jurisprudence — is not clear. There is no uniform method to determine who can issue a valid fatwa

CONTRADICTION
Where law is not based on Islam, Muslims face contradictory fatwas. In such cases, fatwa deriving from leadership of religious tradition could be honoured

NOT FOR SHIAS
With more than 90% Indian Muslims belonging to the Sunni sect, fatwas affect them only. Not Shias

Frivolous Fatwas

ON TV

Fatwa said watching TV was 'un-Islamic' and graded it as a source of frivolous entertainment. Met with stiff resistance and dumped

ON DIVORCE

Even if a man divorces his wife in a fit of rage & later repents, the marriage stands dissolved, a Darul Uloom Deoband fatwa said

ON WOMEN

Many fatwas have gone against the women of the community. One even dubbed women as a 'packet of explosives'

ON SITUATIONS

Not just in real cases, but fatwas have also been issued on imaginary, bizarre situations. There are fatwas on sex with animals too

Panchayat polls

Burqa-clad women thronged polling booths in Meerut on Saturday for the panchayat polls. In Bhawanpur village, five Muslim women are in the fray. Many voters termed the fatwa as impractical.

21-AUG 2005 THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

মাদ্রাসা নিয়ে পাক অর্ডিন্যান্স

ইসলামাবাদ, ১৯ অগস্ট: মাদ্রাসার মাধ্যমে সন্ত্রাসবাদে উস্কানি দেওয়া বন্ধ করতে আজ একটি বিশেষ অর্ডিন্যান্স জারি করেছেন পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট পারভেজ মুশারফ। এই অর্ডিন্যান্সে সরকারি খাতায় নথিভুক্তিকরণ ছাড়া ইসলামাবাদে মাদ্রাসা গঠন বা পরিচালনার উপরে নিষেধাজ্ঞা বসানো হয়েছে। ডিসেম্বরের মধ্যে সব মাদ্রাসাগুলিকে নাম নথিভুক্ত করার নির্দেশ দেওয়া হয়েছে। লন্ডন বিস্ফোরণের পরে সন্ত্রাসবাদীদের মদত দেওয়ার ব্যাপারে পাক মাদ্রাসাগুলির দিকে অভিযোগের আঙুল উঠেছিল। তখনই মাদ্রাসার বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা নেওয়ার প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছিলেন মুশারফ। অর্ডিন্যান্সে প্রত্যেক 'দিনি' মাদ্রাসাকে কাজকর্মের বার্ষিক রিপোর্ট রেজিস্ট্রারের কাছে জমা দিতে হবে। সেই সঙ্গে অ্যাকাউন্ট অডিট রিপোর্ট ও টাকা খরচের বার্ষিক খতিয়ানও পেশ করতে হবে। —পি টি আই

নাশকতায় বিদেশি

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, ঢাকা, ১৮
অগস্ট: ইসলামি আইন
গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা।

দেশ জুড়ে কালকের বিক্ষোভের
পিছনে আপাতত এই দৃষ্টিকেই মূল
বলে মনে করছে বাংলাদেশ প্রশাসন।
আর এই 'কারণ' সামনে রয়েছেই শুরু
হয়েছে জামাত-উল-মুজাহিদিন নেতা-
সদস্যদের খোঁজে তল্লাশি।

বিক্ষোভের পরে কাল দুটি প্রশ্ন
সব থেকে বিচলিত করেছিল প্রশাসনিক
কর্তাদের। পিছনে কারা এবং কেন?
বিক্ষোভের খেঁজে জামাত-উল-
মুজাহিদিনের প্রচারপত্র পাওয়ার পরে
প্রাথমিক ভাবে সংশয় কেটে যায়।
কালই এক দফা ধড়পাকড়ে পুলিশের
জালে পড়ে জামাতের কিছু সদস্য।

কারণ খুঁজতে গিয়ে পুলিশ-
গোয়েন্দারা প্রাথমিক ভাবে মনে
করছেন, আদালত বা আইন ব্যবস্থাই
রয়েছে নিষিদ্ধ সন্ত্রাসবাদী সংগঠনটির
রোষের কেন্দ্রে। সে জন্মই কাল দেশের
প্রায় সর্বত্র আদালত চত্বরে বিক্ষোভ
ঘটানো হয়েছে। এমনকী, কক্সবাজারে

জজ কোর্টে বিক্ষোভের গণতান্ত্রিক
এজলাসের ভিতরেই।

জামাতের প্রচারপত্রে প্রতি লাইনে
ছিল দেশের আইননি ব্যবস্থার বিরুদ্ধে
বিষোদগার, গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থার
পরিবর্তে ইসলামি আইন চালু করার
'দাবি'। পুলিশ ও গোয়েন্দারা মনে
করছেন, তাদের সদস্য, বিশেষ করে
তান্ত্রিক নেতা আসাদুল্লাহ গালিবকে
গ্রেফতার করে জেলে রাখার কারণেই
সংগঠনটি ক্ষিপ্ত। আসাদুল্লাহ বিরুদ্ধে
বিভিন্ন আদালতে দশটি মামলা চলছে।
বেশির ভাগই বোমা হামলা, নয়তো
হত্যা ও অপহরণের। এ মাসেই
হাইকোর্ট দুটি মামলায় তাঁর জামিনের
আবেদন খারিজ করে দিয়েছে। এই
নিয়েই জামাতের ক্ষোভ।

রোষের পিছনে আরও একটি
কারণ দেখতে পাচ্ছে এ দেশেরই
কয়েকটি সংবাদপত্র। তারা বলছে,
জামাতের আদত লক্ষ্য দেশে ইসলামি
আইন চালু করা। আরও স্পষ্ট করে
বললে, তালিবানি শাসন কায়েম করা।
এখানেই প্রশ্ন উঠেছে, তা হলে কি

জঙ্গির হাত

কোনও বিদেশি শক্তি কাজ করছে
জামাত-উল-মুজাহিদিনের পিছনে?
আজ স্বয়ং বিরোধী নেত্রী শেখ হাসিনা
ওয়াজেদ এই সন্দেহ প্রকাশ করেছেন।



শিলিগুড়ির কাছে বাংলাদেশ
সীমান্ত বরাবর গ্রহণ
সেনাবাহিনীর ১ — রয়টাস

দেখছেন হাসিনা

ঢাকার ধানমন্ডিতে আজ ভিডিও টাসা
সাংবাদিক বৈঠকে তিনি বলেন,
কালকের ঘটনায় আন্তর্জাতিক জঙ্গি
গোষ্ঠীর হাত থাকার যথেষ্ট সম্ভাবনা।
এই কারণেই আন্তর্জাতিক পর্যায়ে তদন্ত
দরকার ধারাবাহিক বিক্ষোভের।

প্রধানমন্ত্রী খালেদা জিয়ার
পদত্যাগও দাবি করেছেন হাসিনা।
এতটা সরাসরি না-হলেও, সংবাদ
মাধ্যমের একাংশ জামাতের বাড়বাড়ন্ত
নিয়ে অভিযোগের আঙুল তুলেছে
খালেদা সরকারের দিকেই। তারা
বলেছে, সরকারের শরিক মৌলবাদী
রাজনৈতিক সংগঠন জামাত-ই-
ইসলামির প্রচ্ছন্ন মদতেই এত রমরমা
জামাতে। ফেব্রুয়ারিতে নিষিদ্ধ হলেও
তাদের বিরুদ্ধে তাই কড়া ব্যবস্থা
নেওয়া যায়নি।

এই সুযোগই নিয়েছে জামাত।
সংগঠনকে রাজশাহিতে আটকে না-
রেখে ছড়িয়ে দিয়েছে অসুত ৫৪টি
জেলায়। সারা দেশে তারা ৭০০-এরও
বেশি মাদ্রাসা ও মসজিদ স্থাপন
করেছে, যেগুলি এখন তাদের

জঙ্গিদেরই বিচরণস্থল। দীর্ঘ দিন ধরেই
সরকারকে এই নিয়ে অবহিত করছিল
সংবাদপত্রগুলি। কিন্তু সরকার সবই
'অতিরঞ্জিত' বলে উড়িয়ে দিয়েছে।

জামাত আর শুধু আসাদুল্লাহর
মস্তজ্ঞার, মুন্সি আব্দুল হামান,
মুস্তাকিন— অনেকেই শক্তিশালী
করেছেন সংগঠনকে। ১৯৮৯ সালে
বাংলাদেশের মৌলবাদীরা ৭০ জনকে
আফগানিস্তানে পাঠিয়েছিলেন। এঁদের
অনেকেই ছিলেন সেই দলে। কেউ
কেউ ধরা পড়েছেন। কিন্তু বেশির
ভাগই রয়ে গিয়েছেন পুলিশের
ধরাছোয়ার বাইরে। তাঁদের চেষ্টাতেই
জামাত-উল-মুজাহিদিন এখন আর
কোনও একক সংগঠন নয়, ৫৩টি
সংগঠনের একটি মঞ্চ।

তালিবানের কাছ থেকে পাঠ নিয়ে
ফিরে বাংলা ভাইয়েরা তখনই ঠিক
করেন: চাই তালিবানি শাসন। জামাতের
কালকের প্রচারপত্র সেই ইস্তিতাই বহন
করছে। আর জামাতের এই ইস্তিতাই বহন
উক্ষে দিচ্ছে হাসিনার সন্দেহকেই।

পৃথক ফল নহে

একটি দেশে কি দুইটি বিচারব্যবস্থা, দুই রকম আইন, দুই রকম দেশের বিধান থাকিতে পারে? প্রশ্নটির মধ্যেই উত্তরের নেতিবাচকতা নিহিত। আইনের চোখে যদি সকলেই সমান হয়, তবে সকলের জন্য একই বিচার ও শাস্তিই বিধেয়। অথচ ভারতের বৃহত্তম সংখ্যালঘু জনগোষ্ঠীর অনেকেই গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের বিচারব্যবস্থার সুযোগ গ্রহণ করিতে পারে না। কেননা সম্প্রদায়ের ধর্মীয় নেতারা রকমারি ফতোয়া জারি করিয়া নিজেরাই বিচারবিভাগের দায়িত্ব হাতে তুলিয়া লন। দেশের বেশ কয়েকটি রাজ্যে মুসলিম সম্প্রদায়ের মানুষদের জন্য এ ধরনের সমান্তরাল বিচারালয় পর্যন্ত স্থাপিত হইয়া গিয়াছে। দেশের আইন এখানে প্রযোজ্য নয়, প্রযোজ্য নয় দেশের বিচারব্যবস্থা। এই সব সমান্তরাল শরিয়তি আদালতে কেবল কাজিদের রায়ই শিরোধার্য। এ ধরনের সমান্তরাল বিচারব্যবস্থা কী অবিচার ঘনাইয়া তোলে, সাম্প্রতিক কয়েকটি ঘটনায় তাহা প্রমাণিত। অস্তুত তিনটি ক্ষেত্রে স্বশুরের দ্বারা ধর্মিত মুসলিম গৃহবধুদের স্বামীকে ত্যাগ করিয়া স্বশুরের সঙ্গেই সহবাস করার বিধান দেওয়া হয়। ব্যক্তিগত আইন কিংবা সংখ্যালঘুর ধর্মচরণের স্বাধীনতার নামে এই যোর অন্যায় সম্ভব হয় সমান্তরাল শরিয়তি আদালতের কারণেই। সুপ্রিম কোর্ট বিষয়টি লইয়া কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার, সব রাজ্য এবং মুসলিম পার্সোনাল ল' বোর্ড, দার-উল-উলুম (দেওবন্দ)-কে নোটিশ জারি করিয়াছে।

সব ধর্মেই নারীর অধিকার সঙ্কুচিত। আধুনিক গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র ও তাহার আইন সেই অধিকারের সীমান্ত প্রসারিত করিয়া সমানাধিকার কায়েম করার চেষ্টা করে। গণতন্ত্রে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠের শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠা পাইলেও সংখ্যালঘুর ধর্মীয় আবেগে আঘাত না করার রীতি রহিয়াছে। কিন্তু ধর্মীয় আবেগের স্পর্শকাতরতা কিংবা ধর্মচরণের স্বাধীনতার নামে কোনও সম্প্রদায়ের প্রভাবশালীরা যদি সমান্তরাল বিচারব্যবস্থা চালু করেন, সেটা আদৌ সংবিধানসম্মত নয়। এই সমান্তরাল আদালতগুলিতে ধর্মের মতো ফৌজদারি অপরাধেরও বিচার হইতেছে এবং বিচারে অভিজুক্ত শাস্তির বদলে ধর্মিতাকে আপন স্ত্রী হিসাবে গ্রহণ করার পুরস্কারও পাইতেছে। অপরাধ ফৌজদারি আদালতের বিচার্য হইলেও সামাজিক চাপে কিংবা পঞ্চায়েতের কলকাঠিতে পীড়িত, অত্যাচারিত ব্যক্তি দেশের আইন ও বিচারব্যবস্থার সুযোগ লইতে পারিতেছেন না। সামাজিক ব্যকটের ভয়ে শরিয়তি আদালতের কাজির বিচারই মানিতে বাধ্য হইতেছেন। তথাকথিত শরিয়তি আইন বা তাহার মোল্লা-কাজিকৃত ব্যাখ্যার দাপটে নিরীহ, অসহায় মুসলিম মহিলারা নির্যাতনকেই ভবিতব্য মানিতেছেন। সর্বশেষ দেওবন্দের মোল্লারা পঞ্চায়েত নির্বাচনে অংশগ্রহণকারী মহিলা প্রার্থীদের বোরখায় আপাদমস্তক মুড়িয়া রাজনীতি করার ফতোয়া জারি করিয়াছেন। এক দিন হয়তো মহিলাদের রাজনীতিতে যোগদানকেও ইসলাম-বিরোধী আখ্যা দিয়া নিষিদ্ধ করা হইবে। সমান্তরাল এই বিচারব্যবস্থা ও তাহার ফতোয়াবাজি অবাধে চলিতে দিলে কে জানে, এক দিন হয়তো গণতন্ত্রকেও ইসলাম-বিরোধী আখ্যা দেওয়া হইবে। বাংলাদেশের জামাতপন্থী মৌলবাদীরা তো গণতন্ত্রীদের ইসলামের শত্রু শনাক্ত করিয়া সে দেশে শরিয়তি বিচার প্রবর্তনের দাবিতে সাড়ে চারশো বোমা বিস্ফোরণ ঘটাইয়াছে। ভারতও সেই পথেই অগ্রসর হইবে?

সময় থাকিতে সতর্ক হওয়া জরুরি। লক্ষণীয়, সেই সব রাজ্যেই সমান্তরাল শরিয়তি আদালত ও কাজির বিচার চলিতেছে, যেখানে মুসলিমরা জনসংখ্যার উল্লেখযোগ্য অংশ। পশ্চিমবঙ্গের দুইটি জেলাতেও এ ধরনের বিচারব্যবস্থা প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক চেহারা লইয়াছে। রাজ্য সরকার কি নিদ্রিত? সুপ্রিম কোর্ট পশ্চিমবঙ্গ, উত্তরপ্রদেশ সহ সব রাজ্যকেই জাগাইতে চায়। কিন্তু সংখ্যালঘু ভোট হারাইবার ভয়ে কোনও রাজ্যই কি প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা লইবে? মুলায়ম সিংহ যাদব ও সলমন খুরশিদের প্রাথমিক প্রতিক্রিয়া দেখিলে তেমন আশা জাগে না। কেন্দ্রীয় আইনমন্ত্রী অবশ্য দ্ব্যর্থহীন ভাষায় সমান্তরাল বিচারব্যবস্থাকে সংবিধানবিরোধী আখ্যা দিয়াছেন। ফতোয়াবাজদের রমরমা যে ভাবে বাড়িতেছে, এখনই কিছু একটা না করিলে সর্বনাশের শঙ্কা উড়াইয়া দেওয়া যায় না। নারীর অধিকার কোনও আইনেই সম্পূর্ণ সুরক্ষিত নয়। আইন থাকিলেও তাহার প্রয়োগ প্রায়শ নির্ভর করে ন্যায়বিচারপ্রার্থীর সামাজিক অবস্থানের উপর। কিন্তু এ ক্ষেত্রে প্রশ্নটি কেবল নারীর অধিকারের নয়, গণতন্ত্রে সমান্তরাল বিচারব্যবস্থার গ্রাহ্যতার। ভোট-রাজনীতির স্বার্থে সংখ্যালঘু তোষণের সবিধাবাদ ছাড়িয়া রাজনীতিকরা গণকর্ম রক্ষায় একমত হোন।

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ANANDA BAZAR PUBLISHED

বিপদ যখন পূর্বদুয়ারি

বাংলাদেশের বিস্তীর্ণ এলাকা জুড়িয়া অর্ধশতাধিক বিস্ফোরণ। ক্ষয়ক্ষতির পরিমাণ নির্ণয় করিতে সময় লাগিবে। তবে বিমানবন্দর, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় চত্বর, বাজার, হোটেল, আদালত চত্বর, প্রেস ক্লাব, ধর্মস্থান, রাস্তাঘাট— বিভিন্ন স্থানে এই বিস্ফোরণ ঘটানো হইয়াছে। বিস্ফোরণের দায়িত্ব স্বীকার করিয়াছে ইসলামি সংগঠন জামাত-উল-মুজাহিদিন, যাহারা ইতিপূর্বেও ইতস্তত শিক্ষিণ্ড বোমা বিস্ফোরণ ঘটাইয়া জনজীবন বিপর্যস্ত করিয়াছে। কিন্তু বুধবারের বিস্ফোরণ আগের সব নজির ছাপাইয়া গিয়াছে। যস্তত, কেবল বাংলাদেশেই নয়, বিশ্বের আর কোনও দেশে একসঙ্গে এত ব্যাপক ভাবে দেশের সর্বত্র এমন কাণ্ড জঙ্গিরা ঘটাইতে পারে নাই। ইহা দেখাইয়া দেয়, জঙ্গিদের সংগঠনের জাল কত দূর পর্যন্ত বিস্তৃত এবং কত বিপুল সংখ্যক কর্মী কী নির্ভুল সমন্বয় ঘটাইয়া সাফল্যের সহিত এমন অপকর্ম সাধন করিয়াছে। ইহা আরও সংকেত দেয়, ইসলামি জঙ্গিরা আর বাংলাদেশের প্রান্তিক রাজনৈতিক শক্তি নয়, তাহারা রীতিমত জাতীয় রাজনীতির মূল স্রোতে উপনীত হইবার সাধনা চালাইতেছে।

ইসলামি জঙ্গিরা বাংলাদেশের সমাজ ও রাজনীতিতে ধীর কিন্তু নিশ্চিত গতিতে ঘাঁটি গাড়িয়া চলিয়াছে। বাংলাদেশ ইসলামি রাষ্ট্র ঘোষিত হওয়ার পর তাহারা আরও উৎসাহিত হয়। পশ্চিম এশিয়ার ইসলামি রাষ্ট্রের ধাঁচে, সম্ভব হইলে তালিবানের ধাঁচে একটি ইসলামি প্রজাতন্ত্র গড়িতে তাহারা বন্ধপরিকর। নিজেদের প্রচারপত্রে সে কথা তাহারা কখনওই গোপন করে নাই। আওয়ামি লিগের জনসভায় বোমা বিস্ফোরণে বহু নেতা-কর্মীকে হত্যা করিয়া, প্রাক্তন অর্থমন্ত্রীকে গুলুহত্যা করিয়া, মসজিদে, অসরকারি স্বৈচ্ছাসেবী সংস্থার দফতর ও কর্মশালায় বোমা মারিয়া তাহারা নিজেদের অভিপ্রায় ব্যক্ত করিয়াছে। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশ সরকার দীর্ঘ কাল যাবৎ ইসলামি জেহাদিদের উপস্থিতিকে সাংবাদিকদের মস্তিষ্কপ্রসূত কল্পনা বলিয়া উড়াইয়া দিয়াছে। হয়তো সরকারে জামাতে ইসলামি ও ইসলামি এক্য জোটের অংশগ্রহণই সমাজে বর্ধমান মৌলবাদী সন্ত্রাসের অস্তিত্বকে লঘু করিয়া দেখিতে প্ররোচিত করিয়াছে। ফলে গত কয়েক বছরে এই সন্ত্রাসবাদীদের বোমারু হামলায় অন্তত শতাধিক মানুষের মৃত্যু হইলেও এক জন জঙ্গিরও গ্রেফতারি, বিচার বা শাস্তি হয় নাই। এই বছরের শুরু দিকে বিরোধীদের এবং আন্তর্জাতিক জনমতের চাপে জামাত-উল-মুজাহিদিনকে সরকার নিষিদ্ধ ঘোষণা করে। কিন্তু ওই পর্যন্তই। তাহাদের তৎপরতা দমন বা নিয়ন্ত্রণ করার কোনও আন্তরিক চেষ্টা হয় নাই। ফলে মৌলবাদীরা গোকুলে বাড়িয়াছে। সরকার অনুমোদিত মাদ্রাসার বাহিরেও অন্তত আট হাজার মাদ্রাসা গড়িয়া উঠিয়াছে, যেগুলিতে প্রধানত ইসলামি মতাদর্শ ও জেহাদের শিক্ষা দেওয়া হয়। দেশের অসহনীয় দারিদ্র অধিকাংশ শিশুকে শিক্ষার সুযোগ হইতে বঞ্চিত করায় মাদ্রাসাগুলিই হইয়া উঠিয়াছে সুকুমার মনে সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ ও ধর্মান্ধতার বীজ বপনের পাঠশালা। আজ বেগম খালেদা জিয়ার সরকার ইসলামিকরণের যে সামাজিক চ্যালেঞ্জ ও বিপদের মুখোমুখি, তাহা বহুলাংশে তাঁহার স্বখাত সলিল। তবে তিনি ইহাকে আদৌ কোনও 'বিপদ' বলিয়া গণ্য করেন কি না, তাহা লইয়া সংশয় আছে। দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয়, যে ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ জাতীয়তাবাদের ভিত্তিতে রাষ্ট্র হিসাবে বাংলাদেশের জন্ম, এ সবই তাহার মূলে আঘাত করে।

বাংলাদেশে মৌলবাদী সন্ত্রাসের এই উত্থান ভারতের পক্ষে বিপদসংকেত। কাশ্মীরে পাকিস্তান-সমর্থিত জেহাদি সন্ত্রাসের মোকাবিলাই যথেষ্ট উদ্বেগজনক। তদুপরি পূর্বের প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্রে তাহার পুনরাবৃত্তি দ্বিগুণ উৎকর্ষার। পাকিস্তানের সহিত ভারতের সীমান্ত তবু কঠোর প্রহরায় সুরক্ষিত। বাংলাদেশের সহিত ভারতের দীর্ঘ সীমান্ত তো নিয়মিত অনুপ্রবেশের অলিন্দ। অসম, ত্রিপুরা, পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সীমান্তবর্তী জেলাগুলিতে জনবিন্যাসের কাঠামোই আমূল পরিবর্তিত হইয়া গিয়াছে। অনুপ্রবেশকারীদের মধ্যে জামাত-উল-মুজাহিদিনের কর্মীরা নাই, তাহারা রেশন কার্ড ও ভোটার পরিচয়পত্র লইয়া ভারতীয়দের মধ্যে নিশ্চিন্তে বাস করিয়া জেহাদি অন্তর্ঘাতের ছক কষিতেছে না, কে বলিতে পারে? পাকিস্তান হইতে লস্কর-এ-তইবা কিংবা হিজবুল মুজাহিদিন, নেপাল হইতে মাওবাদী জঙ্গি, বাংলাদেশ হইতে জামাত-উল-মুজাহিদিন, শ্রীলঙ্কা হইতে এল টি টি ই— ভারতের রাজনৈতিক স্থিতি ক্রমেই অন্তর্ঘাতকদের বেটনীর মধ্যে পড়িয়া যাইতেছে। সতর্ক থাকা তাই জরুরি। সতর্কতার অর্থ সাম্প্রদায়িকতা নয়। প্রতিবেশীর প্রতি অনাস্থাও নয়, বিদ্বেষ তো নয়ই। সতর্কতা সতর্কতাই। অভিসন্ধিমূলক প্ররোচনার দ্বারা বিশেষ সম্প্রদায় বা জনগোষ্ঠীর বিরুদ্ধে সন্দেহ উস্কাইয়া দেওয়ার সংকীর্ণ রাজনীতির কারবারীদের সম্পর্কেও সতর্ক থাকা দরকার।

মেলাবেন ওঁরা, মেলাবেন ইসলাম = 'আমার স্বজন'?

শিবাজীপ্রতিম বসু

কথাটা নানা জায়গায় শুনেছি, পড়েওছি। দুনিয়াজোড়া 'ইসলামি' সন্ত্রাস যে এক সুতোয় বাঁধা সেটা সন্ত্রাস-বিরোধী এবং সন্ত্রাসী দু'পক্ষই তাদের কাজে, কথায় আর লেখায় প্রমাণ করতে চায়। কিন্তু মন তা মানতে চাইতে না। কারণ, ধর্মের দিক থেকে ইসলাম অন্য ধর্মের (বিশেষত হিন্দুদের) চেয়ে অনেক বেশি 'মোনোলিথিক' হলেও তার মধ্যে নানা বিন্যাস, বৈচিত্র্য আর বিভেদ সম্পর্কে চোখ বন্ধ করে থাকার চেয়ে আর এক ধরনের 'মোনোলিথিক' গোঁড়ামি, সেটাই মানতাম, এখনও মানি। তা ছাড়া ধর্মে 'এক' হলেও, ভাষা, অঞ্চল, পোশাকপরিচ্ছদ, এমনকী খাদ্যাভ্যাসে চূড়ান্ত ভিন্নতা। কী করে এক জন বাঙালি মুসলমানের সঙ্গে এক জন ইথিওপিয়া কিংবা তুরস্কের মুসলমানকে একটা খোলসে ঢুকিয়ে দেয়, আল্লাই জানেন! যখন পাকিস্তান ভেঙে ফের বাংলাদেশ হল বা ১৯৮০-র দশক জুড়ে ইরাক ও ইরান যখন প্রবল রক্তক্ষয়ী সংঘর্ষে মেতে উঠেছিল, তাতে এই বিশ্বাস দৃঢ় হয়েছিল।

তাই সম্প্রতি একটা খবরে চোখ আটকে গেল। আল কায়দার মুখোশপরা এক সদস্য টিভিতে জানিয়েছে, প্যালেস্টাইন থেকে আফগানিস্তান, কাশ্মীর, ইরাক থেকে ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় তাদের স্বজনদের যে ভাবে মারা হচ্ছে, তার বদলা তারা অবশ্যই নেবে। স্বজন বলতে এখানে যে-সব পার্থক্য নির্বিশেষে মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের কথাই বলা হয়েছে, তা বুঝতে দেরিদার সাহায্য নিতে হবে না। কিন্তু এশিয়ার পশ্চিমপ্রান্ত থেকে দক্ষিণ-পূর্বের অতি-বিস্তৃত বৈচিত্র্যময় ভূখণ্ডের মানুষ, এক কথায় আল কায়দার 'স্বজন' হয়ে গেল কোন মস্ত্রে? আর তাদের জন্মভূমির অন্য বাসিন্দারা বা দুর্জন হয়ে গেল কোন কক্ষণে? মনটা খারাপ হয়ে গেল। এই মানুষ-মারা জঙ্গিদের কাছে মানুষের 'আইডেন্টিটি' কেবল এক মাত্রার, তাতে দ্বিতীয় মাত্রার (বহু মাত্রার কথা ছেড়েই দিলাম) স্থানই নেই!

এর দিন দু-এক পর আর একটা খবরে বৃষ্টি সম্পূর্ণ হল। কলকাতার বিভিন্ন জায়গায় আরবিতে লেখা কুপন কেটে আল কায়দার নামে টাকা তোলা হচ্ছে। তুলছে ঢাকার একটি সংগঠন, যার সঙ্গে আল কায়দার ঘনিষ্ঠ যোগাযোগ আছে। কুপনে আরবি হরফে লেখা আছে 'উঠো', 'জাগো', 'তৈয়ার হো যাও'! এর পাশাপাশি অন্য একটি প্রচারপত্রে সর্বত্র 'আমাদের লোকদের' এক্যবদ্ধ হওয়ার আহ্বান জানানো হয়েছে। কীসের জন্য এই 'উত্তীর্ণত জাগত'-র ঘোষণা? আমাদের লোকেরা তবে কলকাতারও লোক? নাকি, কলকাতা বা ঢাকা, এই সব স্থানগত প্রশ্ন অবাস্তব, একটি (ধর্ম) পরিচয়ের সূত্রই সবাইকে একসঙ্গে বাঁধতে চাইছে?

পরিচয়ের এই একমাত্রিক রাজনীতির উল্টো দিকেই দাঁড়িয়ে আছে রাষ্ট্রীয়/দলীয় রাজনীতি— যা এক অর্থে প্রতিক্রিয়ারও রাজনীতি। কারণ, তা 'আমাদের লোকদের' এক্যবদ্ধ সংগঠনে বিপন্নতার সিঁদুরে মেঘ দেখছে, ফলে সরকারি প্রশাসন এবং সরকারি/বিরোধী দলগুলি— কেউ বা সংসদে ডেপুটি স্পিকারের উদ্দেশ্যে কাগজ ছুড়ে, কেউ বা (সংখ্যালঘু ভোটারের কথা ভেবে) অপেক্ষাকৃত নিচু স্বরে— অনুপ্রবেশের প্রশ্ন, সীমান্তবর্তী জেলাগুলিতে জনবিন্যাস বদলে যাওয়া, সবটাই দেখতে চাইছে ওই কুপন আর প্রচারপত্রের বাচনেরই অন্য প্রান্ত থেকে। ফলে, এই উল্টো প্রান্তের রাজনীতিও চরিত্রগত ভাবে একমাত্রিক।

একমাত্রিক পরিচয়ের ভিত্তি সাধারণের চোখে বড় হয়ে দাঁড়ায় নামকরণের সূত্রেও। বিশ্বের অধিকাংশ মুসলিম সম্প্রদায়ের মানুষের নামই তাদের মধ্যে এক ধরনের দেশকাল নিরপেক্ষ সাধারণ পরিচয় কায়ম করে। ফলে, কেউ চাইলে খুব সহজেই 'প্যান'-ইসলামি পরিচয়ের যথার্থ

প্রমাণ করতে পারে। যেমন, 'আবদুল লতিফ' বা 'মহম্মদ আমিন' স্কলে চট করে বুঝে ওঠা মুশকিল হয়— ঠিক কোন জায়গার লোক, পশ্চিমবঙ্গের না আবু ধাবির? সুতরাং বিভিন্ন দেশের নানা-ভাষাভাষী মানুষ কাজের সূত্রেও যদি এক জায়গায় থাকে, তবে প্যান-ইসলামি পরিচয়ের প্রচারকরা খুব সহজেই তাদের 'আমাদের লোক' বলে চালিয়ে দিতে পারে। তথাকথিত সন্ত্রাস-বিরোধীরাও পরিচয়ের এই অতিসরলায়ক ফাঁদে প্যা দেয়। আর এই সাদাকালোয় পৃথিবীটা ভাগ করলে, সন্ত্রাস দমনের কাজটা হলিউড/বলিউডের জনপ্রিয় হিরোদের মতোই সহজ হয়ে যায়।

এবং এই দিক থেকে ৯/১১-র জঙ্গি হানা বিশ্বে এক অভাবনীয় কাণ্ড ঘটিয়েছে। স্যামুয়েল হাষ্টিংটনের মতো এককালীন পশ্চিম 'বিকশিত রাজনীতির' প্রবক্তা রাতারাতি সাংস্কৃতিক পণ্ডিত বনে গিয়ে দুনিয়াজোড়া ইসলামি বনাম অ-ইসলামি সভ্যতাগুলির মধ্যে যে সংঘাতের ছবি এঁকেছিলেন, তা সত্যি প্রমাণ করতেই যেন আল কায়দার পৃষ্ঠপোষকতায় নিউ ইয়র্কে বিশ্ব বাণিজ্য কেন্দ্রে আত্মঘাতী বিমান হামলা! এর পর থেকেই জগৎ জুড়ে আমরা/ওরা ভাগটি সম্পূর্ণ হল। 'ওরা' = মুসলিম সম্প্রদায় = পশ্চিম আধুনিকতা/জ্ঞানদীপ্তি-বিরোধী = মধ্যযুগীয় বর্বর সন্ত্রাসবাদী। মজার কথা, 'ওরা' মানে সন্ত্রাসী ইসলামিরাও তো তা-ই চায়। যদিও নানা গোষ্ঠীতে

বিভক্ত এই সব লোকজনের অনেকেই পশ্চিম শিক্ষা ও কারিগরিতে দক্ষ, কিন্তু বিভিন্ন সামাজিক ক্ষেত্রে, বিশেষ করে মেয়েদের অধিকার প্রশ্নে তাদের যে বিশ্ববীক্ষার পরিচয় পাওয়া যাচ্ছে, তা যে চরম প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল তাতে সন্দেহ কী!

অথচ মুসলমান সমাজের মধ্যে পরিবর্তনকারী, আধুনিকমনা অংশ ছোট হলেও, ধীরে ধীরে বাড়ছে। বিশেষত, বিভিন্ন পশ্চিমী ও অপশ্চিমী অ-মুসলিমপ্রধান দেশগুলিতে শিক্ষা কারিগরি বাণিজ্যে সফল উদার মুসলিমদের মধ্যে, অর্থাৎ সমাজের ভেতর থেকেই যুগোপযোগী সংস্কারের দাবি উঠছে। যদিও এখনও এঁরা সংখ্যায় নগণ্য। সলমম রুশদি সম্প্রতি এক নিবন্ধে ব্রিটেনে প্রবাসী

মুসলিমদের কয়েকটি ভাগ করেছেন। এর মধ্যে উদারপন্থীরা যেমন সংখ্যালঘু, তেমনই কটরপন্থীদের সংখ্যাও খুব বেশি নয়। রুশদির মতে, এই অসহিষ্ণু কটরপন্থাই ব্রিটেনে গত ৭/৭-এর বিস্ফোরণের মানসিক ভিত্তিভূমি প্রস্তুত করেছে। কেবল রুশদি নন, ব্রিটেনের মুসলিম নেতা স্যার ইকবাল স্যাকরেইনও বলেছেন, আমাদের সন্তানেরাই এই জন্য দায়ী।

প্রসঙ্গত, স্যার ইকবাল কিন্তু উদারপন্থী নন, প্রথাগত (কটরপন্থী নয়) ইসলামের মুখপাত্র। ব্রিটেনের অধিকাংশ মুসলিমই তাই। সংখ্যাগুরু হলেও সংখ্যালঘু কটরপন্থীদের তুলনায় এঁরা ভীককণ্ঠ, হীনবল। ফলে যে আত্মবিশ্বাসে কটরদের রুখে দিয়ে পরিবর্তনের দাবি তোলা যায়, তা এঁদের নেই। অথচ, সংস্কার দৃঢ়মূল করতে প্রথাপন্থীদেরই বেশি ভূমিকা থাকা প্রয়োজন। কারণ, মুসলিম আমজনতার কাছে এঁদের যত বিশ্বাসযোগ্যতা, উদারপন্থীদের তা নেই।

আমাদের সময়টা প্রকৃত অর্থেই সন্ত্রাসের বিশ্বায়নের সময়। এক দিকে মুষ্টিমেয় উম্মাদ কটরপন্থীরা সমগ্র মুসলিম সামাজিক বহুমাত্রিক পরিচয় গ্রাস করে ফেলেছে, অন্য দিকে সন্ত্রাস-বিরোধী যোদ্ধারাও, বিশ্বের সমগ্র মুসলিম সমাজকেই সন্দেহের কণ্ঠগড়ায় দাঁড় করিয়ে সেই আড়াআড়ি বিভাজনেই উৎসাহ দিচ্ছে, যেমনটা কটরপন্থীদের অভিপ্রেত।

ফলে, আজ বিভিন্ন দেশের সরকার আর কেবল তাদের দেশের 'নিজস্ব' জঙ্গি দমনের লড়াই চালাচ্ছে না, তারা সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে বিশ্বজোড়া লড়াইয়ের শরিক হচ্ছে। সুতরাং, সন্ত্রাস ও তার বিরোধী লড়াই— দুইয়েরই বিশ্বায়ন ঘটছে।

এবং এই দুই কটর প্রতিপক্ষের ফাঁদে পড়ে দুনিয়ার অযুতনিযুক্ত ছাপোষা ভাল মানুষের যে হরবখত কেঁদে চলাই নিয়তি, তা আপনার আমার চেয়ে ভাল কে জানে!

লেখক শ্রীচৈতন্য কলেজে রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞানের শিক্ষক

AUG 2006

ANADABAZAR PAPER

SC notices on parallel judiciary

Press Trust of India

NEW DELHI, Aug. 16. — Alarmed by a petition pointing out a parallel Islamic judiciary handling "Imrana" type cases, the Supreme Court today issued notices to the Centre, All India Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB) and Islamic seminary Darul Uloom.

A Bench of Mr Justice YK Sabharwal and Mr Justice CK Thakker also issued notices to Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Delhi, where, according to the petition, Islamic courts have been formed posing a challenge to the judicial system

of the country.

The petitioner, Mr Vishwa Lochan Madan, seeking immediate dissolution of all Islamic and Shariat courts in India, said the AIMPLB claimed to have established *Darul Qaza* (Muslim Courts) in Thane (Maharashtra), Akola Dholiya (Rajasthan), Indore (MP), South and East Delhi, Asansol and Purulia (WB), Lucknow and Sitapur (UP).

Citing the *fatwa* issued by the Deoband-based seminary Darul-Uloom in Imrana rape case and the stand of AIMPLB, the petitioner said the criminal law was not allowed to have its natural run as the entire issue was hijacked by the clerics.

He cited the example of the case

of Asoobi in Gurgaon, Haryana, resembling the case of Imrana, where the Darul Uloom issued *fatwas* deciding the course of action in the incidents.

The petitioner sought a ban on establishment of such Islamic courts, a declaration that these *fatwas* have no legal sanctity and requested the Court to direct the Centre and the states to take effective steps to dissolve all *Darul Qazas* and Shariat courts. The petitioner also sought a directive from the court to the AIMPLB and Darul Uloom, Deoband, other seminaries and Muslim organisations asking them to refrain from establishing a parallel Muslim judicial system (*Nizam-e-Qaza*).

THE STATESMAN

Muslim groups challenge UK govt's anti-terror proposals

LONDON, Aug. 16. — British Muslim groups today challenged Prime Minister Mr Tony Blair's plans to root out Islamic extremism in the wake of the deadly London bombings and warned they could demonise the Muslim community.

The government has announced plans to deport or bar radical Islamic preachers from Britain, close mosques linked with extremist clerics, ban the radical group Hizb-ut-Tahrir, and make it an offence to incite or glorify terrorism. Some 38 Muslim groups and individuals, ranging from mainstream organisations to fringe lobbying groups, have signed a statement criticising the proposals.

"Arbitrary closure of mosques may prevent legitimate political discourse in mosques, fueling a radical sub-culture," said the statement. The joint statement was written by the Islamic Human Rights Commission and signed by moderate Islamic groups such as the Muslim Association of Britain, the Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism and the Islamic

Fresh allegations of British soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners

LONDON, Aug. 16. — Former Iraqi prisoners claimed in a BBC programme to be broadcast today that British troops abused and humiliated them in the aftermath of the US-led invasion in March 2003. The fresh allegations fueled suspicion that the army was following a policy of "systematic abuse and torture" when dealing with Iraqi detainees.

Two brothers, Marhab and As'ad Zaaj-al-Saghir, alleged they were beaten with sticks and denied water and sleep after being arrested in Basra, southern Iraq, following the inva-

sion. One said a soldier urinated on his head. BBC's *Newsnight* said the accounts were similar to numerous other claims made in a confidential report by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"They lowered me down... I was tied up, they threw me on the floor and hit me with a stick," Marhab Zaaj-al-Saghir told the programme. "You couldn't draw breath afterwards and I lost consciousness," he said. "He urinated on my head," said Zaaj-al-Saghir. — AFP

Forum Europe. "Deporting foreign nationals to countries known for gross human rights abuses is abhorrent," it added. The government has tried to build consensus among radicalise Muslim youth in Britain. — AP

States amend laws

Pak pressure on madarsas

IMTIAZ GUL

Islamabad, Aug. 16: The governments of Sindh and Baluchistan provinces in Pakistan have amended local laws making the registration of madarsas and an annual audit of their accounts compulsory.

The amended laws were announced by the governors of Sindh and Baluchistan amid strong criticism from Islamist parties over last month's crackdown on 11,000 madarsas. The laws recommend strong punishment for madarsas teaching or publishing any literature which promotes militancy or spreads religious hatred.

Analysts say that the amended laws will spark criticism from hardliners headed by the six-party religious alliance, the Muttahida Majlis-e-

Ammal (MMA). According to the MMA, the crackdown on the madarsas is an attempt by the Pakistan government to appease the US.

Speaking to the media after announcing the laws, the governor of Sindh Ishtaratul Ibad said: "We will not allow any religious institution to operate in the province without registration." He said all madarsas will have to submit annual reports to the concerned officials.

Election bar

The Pakistan Supreme Court today barred candidates who only have madarsa degrees from contesting local elections. It said candidates who do not have certificates in English, Urdu and Pakistan studies were not eligible to contest the polls.

- AUG. 1995

THE TELEGRAPH

ইসলামি বিচার নিষে রাজ্যকে নোটিস

নয়াদিল্লি, ১৬ অগস্ট: সংবিধানে ধর্মীয় স্বাধীনতার অধিকার কি বিকল্প বিচারব্যবস্থা গড়ে তোলার অনুমতি দেয়? সম্প্রতি ইমরানা বিবির ধর্ষণের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে দেওবন্দের দার উল উলুম যে ভাবে ফতোয়া জারি করে বলেছে— শ্বশুর ধর্ষণ করায় ইমরানার সঙ্গে তার স্বামীর সম্পর্ক থাকবে না— তা একটা সমান্তরাল বিচারপদ্ধতিরই ইঙ্গিত দিচ্ছে।

জনৈক বিশ্বলোচন মদন সুপ্রিম কোর্টে আবেদন করে বলেছেন, ইমরানা-কাণ্ড সাংবিধানিক সঙ্কট তৈরি করছে। তার উত্তরে আজ অল ইন্ডিয়া মুসলিম পার্সোনাল ল বোর্ড এবং দার উল উলুম-দেওবন্দকে নোটিস জারি করেছে সুপ্রিম কোর্ট। আদালত পশ্চিমবঙ্গ-সহ সাত রাজ্যকেও নোটিস পাঠিয়েছে। আবেদনে বলা হয়েছে, ল বোর্ডের তত্ত্বাবধানে বিভিন্ন রাজ্যে 'দার উল কাজা' বা ইসলামি আদালত প্রতিষ্ঠিত। পশ্চিমবঙ্গের আসানসোল ও পুরুলিয়া, দক্ষিণ ও পূর্ব দিল্লি, উত্তরপ্রদেশের লখনউ ও সীতাপুর, রাজস্থানের আকোলা জেলাকিয়া, মধ্যপ্রদেশের ইনদোর এবং মহারাষ্ট্রের ঠানেতে এ ধরনের আদালত। এই প্রেক্ষিতে কোর্ট দিল্লি, উত্তরপ্রদেশ, মধ্যপ্রদেশ, অসম, রাজস্থান, হরিয়ানাকেও নোটিস দিয়েছে।

আবেদনকারী ইমরানার উদাহরণ টেনে দেখিয়েছেন, দার উল উলুমের ফতোয়া ধর্ষণের মতো একটা অপরাধের বিচারকে ফৌজদারি আইনের স্বাভাবিক পথে এগোতেই দিচ্ছে না। পুত্রবধূকে ধর্ষণের পরপর তিনটি ঘটনা উল্লেখ করে মদন বলেছেন, প্রতিটি ক্ষেত্রেই দার উল উলুম এবং ল বোর্ড অত্যন্ত 'বেপরোয়া মনোভাব' দেখিয়েছে। তাদের ভূমিকা কার্যত দেশের বিচারব্যবস্থার প্রতি খোলাখুলি চ্যালেঞ্জ ছুড়ে দিয়েছে। তাঁর অনুরোধ, ল বোর্ড, দারউলউলুম-সহ অন্য সব ধর্মীয় প্রতিষ্ঠানকে বিচারের দায়িত্ব নেওয়া থেকে বিরত করা হোক। বৈবাহিক সম্পর্কের ব্যাপারে মন্তব্য, বিচার বা ফতোয়া জারি নিষিদ্ধ হোক। — পি টি আই

Bakri banned from Britain

VIJAY Dutt & Agencies
London, August 12

THE BRITISH home office has banned radical Muslim cleric Omar Bakri Mohammad — who fled London for Lebanon last week — from setting foot on British soil again, part of a government crackdown on Islamic preachers it fears inspire bombers such as those who attacked London in July.

Bakri had earlier said from Beirut that he was on holiday there and asserted that he intended to return to London unless the British government made it clear that he was not welcome.

Now all speculation whether he would try to return to London for a heart operation on National Health Service has ended. This has also put to an end to moves to hastily legislate new rules to ban his entry following the earlier statement of the government that it was powerless to stop him.

Home secretary Charles Clarke used existing powers to exclude the so-called Tottenham Mullah. A home office communiqué said: "The home secretary has issued an order revoking Omar Bakri Mohammad's indefinite leave to remain and to exclude him from entering the UK on the grounds that his presence is not good for the public good." His family members,



Omar Bakri Mohammad

including his wife, children and grandchildren, are, however, free to remain in Britain if they so choose.

The ban order has had a mixed reaction. Bakri's spokesman Anjem Choudhry described the order as "outrageous" and a failure of the principle of free speech. But Inayat Bunglawala of the Muslim council

of Britain said Bakri was unlikely to be missed by the vast majority of Muslims in the country.

Meanwhile, it has emerged that Syria has made an extradition request for Bakri to Beirut and the cleric could be extradited. The request mentions that Bakri is a Syrian and is wanted in that country for the many crimes he committed there.

The Lebanese foreign ministry explained that Bakri was taken into custody on Thursday as part of a routine procedure and may be held for only 72 hours.

At present, the Lebanese security forces were questioning him about how he obtained permission to enter the country. They also wanted to find out how the cleric left the UK and entered Lebanon without officials being aware of it.

Meanwhile, tough legal battles were anticipated Friday after 10 foreigners were detained on Thursday for deportation from Britain. The foreigners — said to include reputed al-Qaida "ambassador" Abu Qatada, 44, from Jordan — were rounded up in dawn raids by immigration officers. Clarke said they all faced deportation on national security grounds, but on Friday the lawyer representing seven of them, Gareth Pierce, said it was "inevitable" that there would be a legal challenge.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Talaqnama valid, says HC

Press Trust of India

MUMBAI, Aug. 10. — The Bombay High Court has ruled that a Muslim woman who wishes to marry a second time to a Hindu man can do so as the *talaqnama*, issued by the religious head, is a valid document and there is no need for a court decree.

A Division Bench comprising Chief Justice Mr Dalveer Bhandari and Mr Justice DY Chandrachud passed the order following a petition filed by Ms Shabnam Khan (name changed) who wished to marry a Hindu man.

Ms Khan's lawyer Ms Flavia Agnes said she had obtained oral talaq from her earlier husband on

26 May 2003 and subsequently the written *talaqnama* was obtained.

However, when she went to the registrar of marriages to get the second marriage certified under the Special Marriage Act, the register asked her get a court decree as the *talaqnama* was not a valid document.

Agnes said the registrar had asked her to get a court decree nullifying her earlier marriage as the *talaqnama* was not sufficient. He also asked her to convert to Hindu religion before getting married to a Hindu.

The High Court said a *talaqnama* issued by a *qazi* was a valid document nullifying a marriage and in that case a court decree is not required and that she can marry under the Special Marriage Act without changing her religion.

THE STATESMAN

Pak court bar on Islamist bill

IMTIAZ GUL

Islamabad, Aug 4: Pakistan's Supreme Court today blocked a proposal by an Islamist-controlled provincial government to introduce what critics say would be a Taliban-style judicial system enforced by religious police.

A nine-member bench of the Supreme Court, which heard the presidential reference against the Hasba or accountability bill for four days, declared at least five clauses of the bill as unconstitutional and urged the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) governor not to give his assent to the bill.

President Pervez Mushar-

raf petitioned the top court for an opinion after the controversial bill was rushed through the NWFP Assembly last month. The bill is similar to the laws enforced by the former Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

President Pervez Musharraf sought the Supreme Court's opinion on the bill that allows the provincial government to create a department for "promotion of virtue and prevention of vice", headed by a cleric or Mohtasib.

The playing of music on public transport and display of female images on advertisements and cinema billboards is already banned in the province.

Dominated by the pro-Taliban Jamiat Ulmai Islam (JUI), the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal, an alliance of religious Opposition parties, holds an absolute majority in the provincial legislature but occupies opposition benches in the federal legislature.

Reacting to the order, senior provincial minister Siraj-ul-Haq said the bill would be re-drafted and presented again in the provincial legislature after amending the five clauses. "We are democrats who believe in the supremacy of the judiciary," Haq said.

However, the lawyer for the NWFP Assembly, Farooq Hasnain, challenged the Supreme Court's jurisdiction instruct-

ing the governor not to give his approval to the bill.

Hassan argued that under the Pakistan constitution, the governor was bound to approve any legislation passed by the provincial Assembly. "We will go for a review petition to determine the constitutionality or otherwise of the order," he added.

The Hasba bill proposed powers for religious police to ensure observance of Islamic practices and values while curbing palm-reading and other superstitious customs.

The tussle over the Hasba bill is the latest in a long struggle between moderates and religious conservatives for the control of the nation's future.



Malik Zafar Azam, law minister of the North West Frontier Province government, in Islamabad. (Reuters)

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Pak Supreme Court adjourns Hisba Bill

J Man

ISLAMABAD, July 25. — Pakistan's apex court today adjourned hearing on the controversial 'Hisba Bill' introduced by the North West Frontier Province, after the local government requested time to prepare its response on the legislation that provides for a Taliban-style ombudsmen to supervise Islamic practices.

The nine-member Supreme Court Bench, hearing the case after President Gen. Pervez Musharraf referred the bill passed by the Muthahida Majlis Amal (MMA) led government in NWFP, adjourned to 1 August following the request of the provincial government's counsel for more time.

The bill was condemned by moderate political parties and human

rights groups as a legislation aimed at appointing a Taliban-style police force headed by government-appointed Islamic scholars as 'ombudsmen' at district and tehsil levels with powers to inquire allegations of "mal-administration" and "protect and watch the Islamic, values and etiquette."

The bill was passed with a comfortable majority on 14 July 14 by the Provincial Assembly after which Gen. Musharraf, who was hesitant to dismiss the MMA government, referred it to the apex court.

As the court began the hearing today, the counsel of the NWFP government, Khalid Anwer said he was engaged late by the provincial government and needed time to prepare for the case. — PTI

26 JUL 2

THE STATESMAN

Terror targets Egypt resort

Serial blasts in Sharm el-Sheikh kill over 80, including foreign tourists ■ Al Qaeda-linked group claims responsibility

TOM PERRY
SHARM EL-SHEIKH | JULY 23

AT LEAST 88 people were killed and 200 injured when car bombs ripped through shopping and hotel areas in the Red Sea resort of Sharm el-Sheikh on Saturday, at an hour when many tourists were in bars and markets in the hitherto safe resort, once called a "city of peace".

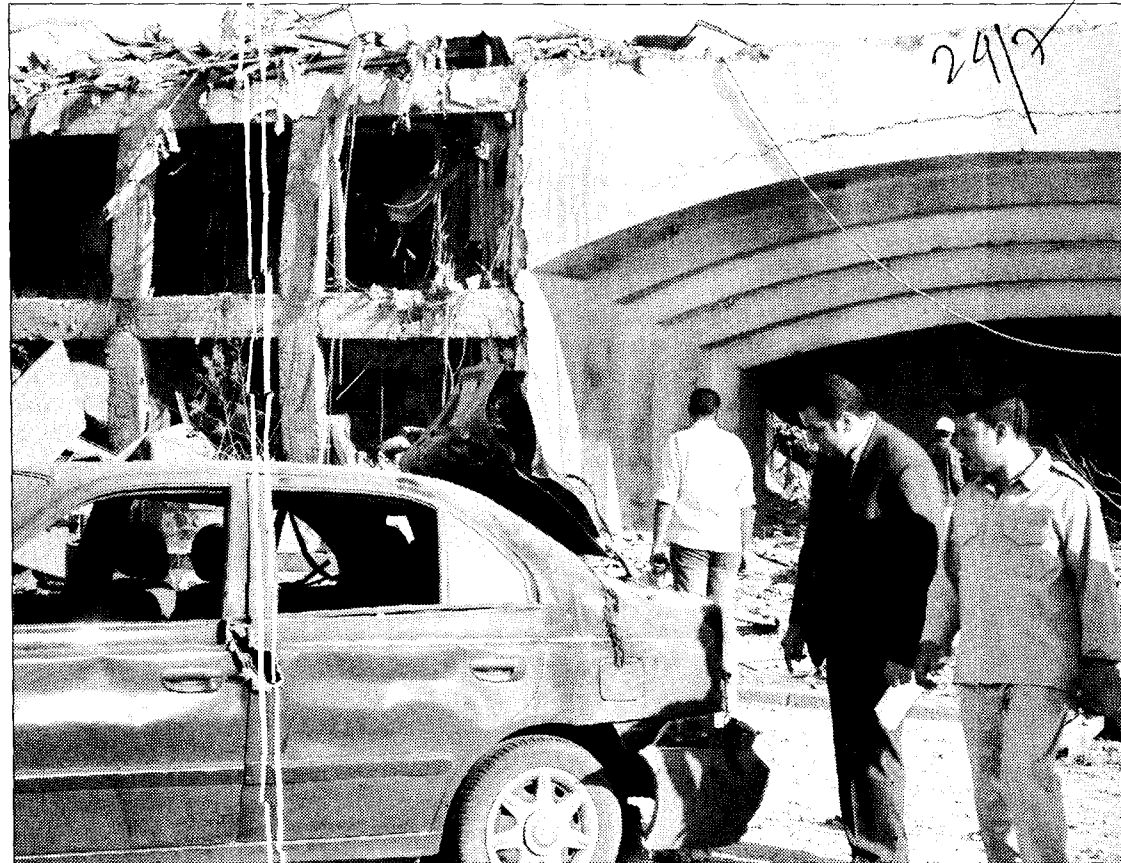
Eyewitnesses spoke of mass panic and hysteria as people fled the carnage in the early hours, with bodies strewn across the roads, people screaming and sirens wailing.

South Sinai Governor Mustafa Afifi said two car bombs and possibly a suitcase bomb had rocked the resort, popular with tourists and with diplomats who have convened world summits here.

Ahmed Mustafa, a waiter at a coffee shop near the first of the explosions, said a massive fireball tore through a shopping mall car park at about 1:15 a.m. local time on Saturday. Officials said a car had exploded there, but an eyewitness said a man had walked into a crowd with a large travel bag and announced in Egyptian Arabic: "I have a bomb." Most people thought he was joking, said the witness. Two minutes later an explosion took place where he had put the bag.

Another blast tore the front off the Ghazala Gardens Hotel and a third hit a taxi rank in Naama Bay, the site of most of the resort's luxury hotels. Sharm residents said the blasts could be felt 10 km away.

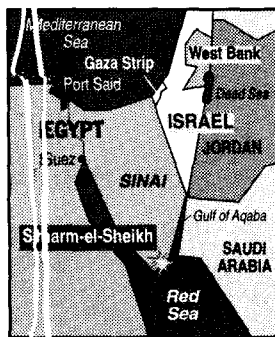
Said Abdel Fattah, the head of the ambulance service, said that 17 of the dead were burnt beyond



Egyptian security personnel and forensic experts examine a car near a hotel destroyed in the blast. Reuters

recognition. A senior security source said 23 people were in critical condition from among 35 casualties taken to Cairo for treatment.

Most of the victims were Egyptians but the Tourism Ministry spokeswoman said seven non-Egyptians were dead, including a Czech and an Italian, and 20 were injured. The injured foreigners were nine Italians, five



Saudis, three Britons, a Russian, a Ukrainian and an Israeli Arab, spokeswoman Hala el-Khatib told reporters. But the British Foreign Office in London said eight Britons were injured.

A group claiming links to Al Qaeda took responsibility for the bombings, calling them retaliation for "crimes committed against Muslims", according to an

Internet statement.

The statement, which was not carried on major Al Qaeda websites, was signed by the Abdullah al-Azzam Brigades of the Al Qaeda Organisation in the Levant and Egypt. It was not possible to authenticate the claim.

In a short statement on television, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said, "This will only make us more determined to pursue terrorism and dig it out by the roots... We will not give in to its blackmail, or seek a truce." Mubarak had cut short a holiday on the Mediter-

'OUR FIGHT IS THEIRS'

I have spoken to my colleague the Egyptian Foreign Minister to assure him of our full support and our full solidarity ... Their fight is ours. Our fight is theirs.

—British Foreign Secretary
Jack Straw

The United States stands with our friend and ally Egypt. Together we will confront and defeat this scourge that knows no boundary and respects no creed.

—US Secretary of State
Condoleezza Rice

We can defeat this blight that is repeatedly ravaging cities and carrying off innocent lives without the slightest explanation

—Spanish PM
Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero

Indiscriminate, blind terrorism
—Palestinian President
Mahmoud Abbas

anean coast to fly to Sharm el-Sheikh, officials said. Later, he also went to the rival resort of Hurghada, on the African shore of the Red Sea, to reassure tourists.

Police arrested 35 people in the Sharm el-Sheikh area, security sources said, but it was not clear if they were suspected of close links with the bombers.

Egyptian Interior Minister Habib el-Adli made an early suggestion of possible links to attacks further north last October, when 34 people were killed near the Taba Hilton on the Israeli border. Security sources said at least one car that blew up on Saturday had special plates indicating it had come over the Israeli border at Taba.

—Reuters

INDIAN EXPRESS

অন্তরে অন্তরে

দুঃখিত স্লোয়ার, 'ইনটেলিজেন্স' বা 'ভিজিলান্স' দিয়ে আঁতিপাঁতি করে খুঁজলেও এই যন্ত্রণার হদিশ আপনি পাবেন না, লিখছেন সেমন্তী ঘোষ

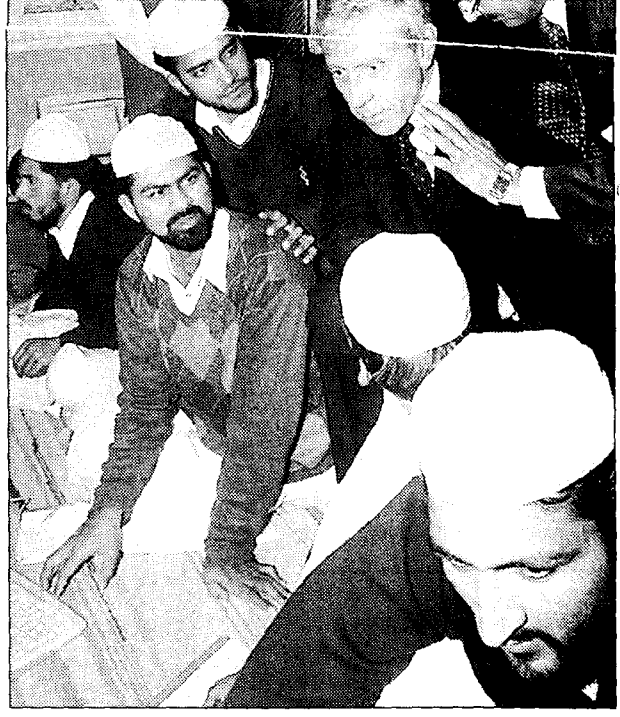
বেশি দিন আগের কথা নয়। ৯/১১ ঘটনার পরিশ্রান্তিতে নিযুক্ত এক জন মার্কিন কমিশন স্টাফ মন্তব্য করেছিলেন, আমেরিকার জোরদার সীমান্ত প্রহরা, বিমানবন্দরগুলিতে নবাগত মুসলমানদের উপর কড়া নজরদারি, সব মিলিয়ে আল কায়দার সামনে আপাতত বিরাট হয়ে উঠছে 'ট্রাভেল প্রবলেম'— 'পরিবহণ সমস্যা'। অর্থাৎ কী উপায়ে উৎসভূমি থেকে আল কায়দার জঙ্গিদের পশ্চিম দুনিয়ার টার্গেট জায়গাগুলিতে পাঠানো হবে, সেই বিষয়টি।

আল কায়দার এই বেকায়দার কথা ভেবে সেই স্টাফ এবং তাঁর কমিশন নিশ্চয়ই ভারি নিশ্চিত হয়েছিলেন। সন্ত্রাস আটকানোর নিশ্চিত পথ নিজেদের দেশের দরজাগুলো বন্ধ করা, তাই ভেবেছিলেন। জুলাই ২০০৫-এর পর তাঁরা কী ভাবছেন? 'ইনটেলিজেন্স' এবং 'ভিজিলান্স' দিয়ে এখনও জেতার আশা করছেন কি?

নিশ্চয়ই না। নিশ্চয়ই তাঁরা জেনে গেছেন যে যুদ্ধটা যেমন ভাবা হয়েছিল, তার থেকে অনেক জটিল, কঠিন। এত দিন তাঁরা টার্গেট ঠিক করেছিলেন পশ্চিম ও দক্ষিণ এশিয়ার মুসলিমদের। সন্ত্রাসের উৎস ও ডেরা খুঁজতে তাকাছিলেন ওই অঞ্চলগুলির দিকেই। কিন্তু আসলে যে এই 'টার্গেট'ই ভুল। 'আল কায়দা' এখন একটি সর্বব্যাপী সর্বত্র বিরাজমান মানসিকতা বা 'idea', যাতে উৎসাহী ব্যক্তি কোনও গোষ্ঠী বা নেতৃত্বের ধার না ধরেই সেই মানসিকতায় অবগাহন করতে পারে। এই অবগাহনকারীরা আজ আর মোটেও পূর্ব দিকে নন, তাঁরা আজ খোদ পশ্চিমের অভ্যন্তরে। ব্রিটেনে, ফ্রান্সে, নেদারল্যান্ডসে। লন্ডন, বার্মিংহাম, লিডস বা কোপেনহাগেনের 'রেসিডেন্সিয়াল নেবারহুড'-এ, বাড়িতে বাড়িতে। ভিজিলান্সের চোখে কী করে ধরা পড়বেন এই সন্ত্রাসবাদী? আমেরিকা বা ইউরোপের দেশান্তরে যাতায়াত করতে তাঁদের ভিসাই লাগে না, কোন পথে হবে নজরদারি? তাঁরা তো 'আউটসাইডার' নন, ইরাক, আলজিরিয়া, মরক্কো থেকে 'ট্রাভেল' করে আসা বিদেশি নন, তাঁরা যে সাক্ষাৎ ইউরোপেরই নাগরিক, 'ইনসাইডার'।

আসল কথা, দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পর যখন সবাই ভাবছিলেন 'সাম্রাজ্যের দিন তবে শেষ হল', সেই সময়েই আর এক 'বাইরের সাম্রাজ্যের' বদলে ইউরোপের দেশগুলোর পোটের ভেতরে অনলক্ষ্যে তৈরি হয়ে উঠছিল অন্য রকম এক উল্টো সাম্রাজ্য, 'প্রতিসাম্রাজ্য' বা reverse imperial-ism— অভিবাসী সম্রাজ্যের সাম্রাজ্য। ফ্রান্সে আলজিরিয়ার, স্পেনে মরক্কোর, জার্মানিতে তুরস্কের, এবং ব্রিটেনে পাকিস্তানের সাম্রাজ্য। অর্থাৎ এই সাম্রাজ্যের সিংহভাগ দখলদারই মুসলিম। আজ ওই মহাদেশে প্রায় ২ কোটি মুসলমানের বাস, মোট জনসংখ্যার পাঁচ শতাংশ। ন্যাশনাল ইনটেলিজেন্স কাউন্সিলের গণনা অনুযায়ী এই সংখ্যা দ্বিগুণে দাঁড়াতে ২০২৫ সালের মধ্যে। কিন্তু এই বিশাল মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের হিসেব রেখে ইউরোপীয় ইনটেলিজেন্স বা পুলিশের লাভ কী? এঁরা তো সবাই সন্ত্রাসবাদী নন, নব্বই শতাংশই শান্তিপূর্ণ গেরস্থ মানুষ। এতদে নিশ্চয়ই উল্লেখ্য করে অনুসন্ধান চলবে এ বার?

মানে রাখা দরকার, এখন যে 'ইসলাম'ের ভয়ে ইউরোপ ও আমেরিকা কাঁটা, সে 'ইসলাম' এক বিশেষ গোত্রের 'ইসলাম', যার ধারক-বাহকরা রাগত, বিদ্‌ক, জঙ্গিমনস্ক যুব-সম্প্রদায়। এদের সঙ্গে ধর্মপ্রাণ, গোঁড়া মুসলমানদের তফাৎ বিস্তর। যে রক্ষণশীল মুসলিম নিয়ম মেনে মসজিদে যান এবং ধর্মাচার পালনের মধ্যে মধ্যেই পাশ্চাত্য সভ্যতার স্পর্ধায় প্রাত্যহিক বিদ্‌ক প্রকাশ করেন, তাঁদের থেকে এই জঙ্গি ইসলাম অনেকখানি আলাদা। সুইসাইড বম্বারদের প্রতি তাঁরা সহনুভূতিশীল হতে পারেন, কিন্তু নিজেরা কখনওই এই ক্রুদ্ধ আঙনের পথে সামিল নন। সুতরাং যতই 'ইসলাম', বা 'রক্ষণশীল



রাষ্ট্র ও নাগরিক। লন্ডনের একটি পাকিস্তানি স্কুলে ব্রিটিশ বিদেশ সচিব জ্যাক স্ট্র। রয়টার্স

ইসলাম'-এর খোঁজে স্কটল্যান্ড ইয়ার্ড কিংবা MI-5 মসজিদে মসজিদে হানা দিন না কেন, সেখানে যে প্রকৃত প্রতিপক্ষের খোঁজ মিলবে না, এ তাঁরা এখন বিলক্ষণ জানেন। অনেক বিপজ্জনক মৌলবাদী নেতাকে ধরা হয় ঠিকই, এই তো উত্তর লন্ডনের ফিনসবেরি পার্ক-এর মসজিদে হানা দিয়ে গত বছরের এপ্রিলে ধরা হল আবু হামজা আল-মসরির মতো আঙন-ধরানো নেতাকে, কিন্তু আসল শত্রু যে ছড়িয়ে শহরের উত্তর বা পূর্বের আপাত-নিরীহ মধ্যবিত্ত বাস-এলাকাগুলির কোণে কোণে— সেই চিন্তা কি আর তাঁদের স্বস্তি দিচ্ছে?

আজ যে প্রশ্ন থেকে তাঁদের শুরু করতেই হবে, তা হল— কী চান এই যুবকরা? কোন প্রতিশোধস্পৃহায় তাঁরা আত্মবিক্রমী জিহাদে মাতেন? যে দেশে তাঁদের জন্ম-কর্ম, সেই 'মাতৃভূমি'কে বিধ্বস্ত করার স্বপ্ন নিয়ে বাঁচেন? আসলে, ইউরোপী: সলিমরা আমেরিকার মুসলিম আঁতাদীদের মতো সমাজে প্রতিষ্ঠিত নন, অর্থনৈতিক ভাবে সুরক্ষিত নন। সে ফ্রান্সের 'অ্যাসিমিলেশন' বা একীকরণ আই হোক, ব্রিটেনের 'মাল্টিকালচারালিজম' বা বহুসংস্কৃতিবাদই হোক, আর জার্মানির 'সেগ্রিগেশন' বা পৃথকীকরণের দর্শনই হোক, ইউরোপের প্রতিটি দেশের মুসলিমের কেবল নামমাত্র প্রথম বিশ্বের নাগরিক সামাজিক বা সাংস্কৃতিক ভাবে মূল সমাজ থেকে তাঁরা সম্পূর্ণ বিচ্ছিন্ন। হৃদয়ে যাদু সমাজে প্রতিষ্ঠা পাওয়ার উদগ্র স্বপ্ন, বাস্তবে শহুরে 'গোটোয় ক্লির দিন্যাপন: এই তাঁদের সর্বসংসার।

এই বৈপরীত্যের কষ্ট যদি বা মেনে নিয়েছিলেন প্রথম প্রজন্মের অভিবাসীরা, তাঁদের সন্ততিদের মধ্যে সেই মেনে নেওয়ার লেশমাত্র নেই। সরকারি দক্ষিণোই ছোটবেলায় স্কুলেউঠে নিয়মমতো স্কুলে যাওয়া, পাড়ার পার্কে বিকেলে দল বেঁধে ফুটবলক্রিকেট খেলা, দরাজ সরকারি বেকারগতায় জীবন অতিবাহান। আর এ সঙ্গে মধাই প্রত্যহ ব্রিটিশ বা ফ্রেঞ্চ বা ডাঃ সাদা সমাজের সঙ্গে নিজেদের অবস্থা তুলনা করে জ্বলে বিক্ষত হওয়া বাড়ির কোণে কোণে তারুণ্যের

জ্বালা, জাতিবিদ্বেষের যন্ত্রণা, সামাজিক পক্ষপাতের দেখে প্রতিহিংসা— এই 'এলিয়েনেশন' এবং 'ডিসক্রিমিনেশন'ের খোঁজ রাখা কি ইনটেলিজেন্স সংস্থার? সাদায়-কালোয় মেসো সমাজে লতিয়ে ওঠা যন্ত্রণা কী ভাবে আরও প্রকাশ্য ভাবে দেখা দেয় বহির্বিদ্যে: আফগানিস্তানে, ইরাকে, চেকনিয়ায়, আর এক ঝটকায় একাকার হয়ে যায় ভেতর বাইরের সব বাস্তব, সাদা রাষ্ট্রপুরুষরা জানেন সে কথা? মনে পড়ে মনিকা আলির 'ব্রিক লেন'-এর গল্প। কিংবা ব্রিটিশ-ভারতীয় পরিচালক উদয়ন প্রসাদের চলচ্চিত্র 'মাই সন, দ্য ফ্যানাটিক'। সে সব কাহিনীতে দেখিনি কি আমরা, কী ভাবে জীবনের স্বাভাবিক ছন্দ খুঁজে না পেয়ে যৌবনকে আশ্রয় নিতে হয়েছে আঙনের ভাষার কাছে, কী ভাবে খ্রীষ্ট ধর্মভীরু সুনাগরিক বাবা উগ্রপন্থী-বনে-যাওয়া ছেলেকে বুঝতে পারেন নি, কিন্তু নিভৃত তরু কষ্টকে সমর্থন করেছেন? দুঃখিত মিস্টার স্লোয়ার, ইনটেলিজেন্স বা ভিজিলান্স দিয়ে আঁতিপাঁতি করে খুঁজলেও এই 'এলিয়েনেশন'ের যন্ত্রণার হদিশ আপনি পাবেন না, তার চেয়ে বরং এই সব শিল্পচন্দ্র দ্বারা হয়ে বোঝার চেষ্টা করুন, সমাজ-সীমান্ত কী ভাবে অমোঘ ভাবে আলাদা কেন রেখেছে এই 'নাগরিক'দের, কেন তাঁরা শপথ করেন নিজেরই বাসভূমিকে ৯/১১ এনে দিতে, 'ডে অফটার ডে অফটার ডে'।

এই প্রচ্ছন্ন পরিবাপ্ত জঙ্গি আদর্শের সবচেয়ে বড় বন্ধু কিন্তু ওয়েব বা ইন্টারনেট। সত্যিই, 'দি ইন্টারনেট হাজ রিগ্রেসড আফগানিস্তান'। কোনও মোল্লা-মৌলবি নয়, ওয়েবই আজ তাঁদের শেখায় যে লন্ডনের বোমায় নিহতদের জন্য ঝরে সারা বিশ্বের অশ্রু, আর ফালুজায় যাঁরা মরছেন, তাঁদের খবরও কেউ রাখে না। যন্ত্রণা-বিকৃত মনগুলোর কাছে জীবিত বা মৃত নেতাদের বাণী পৌঁছে দেয় ওয়েবই, পৌঁছে দেয় শারীরশিক্ষা থেকে গেরিলা ট্রেনিং। হাত ধরে পৌঁছে দেয় সুইসাইড বম্বার শিবিরে। এতই নীরব যৌবনের সে অমোঘ যাত্রা, পরিবার কিংবা প্রতিবেশীরাও টের পান না, আর টের পাবে কিনা জাতীয় ইনটেলিজেন্স?

সুতরাং স্লোয়ার বাহিনী— আপনারা আজ প্রাণ খুলে স্বীকার করুন: সন্ত্রাস এখন আর যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রের বিপক্ষ নয়, ঘরের কলসাপ। সন্ত্রাস এখন আর আল কায়দা, কাশ্মীর, প্যালেস্তাইন নয়, সন্ত্রাসের ঠিকানা এখন ইউরোপীয় সমাজ। ভেতর আর বাইরের সহস্র রাগ সেই সমাজে আজ মিলেমিশে বোমা হয়ে ফাটছে। মেরুহীন বিশ্বের দ্বিতীয় মেরু এই ভাবেই গোকুল থেকে বেরিয়ে আসছে। ইনটেলিজেন্স আর পুলিশের দিন তাই চলে গেছে, দেশের দরজা বন্ধ করে ভ্রমটাকে রোখার দিন চলে গেছে। এখন আপনারদের সামনে একটাই পথ: সমাজ ও রাজনীতির দর্শন নতুন করে ঢেলে গোছানো, ভেতরকার যন্ত্রণার কটাগুলো একটা একটা করে তোলা। নয়তো...

সন্ত্রাস এখন আর আল কায়দা, কাশ্মীর, প্যালেস্তাইন নয়, সন্ত্রাসের ঠিকানা এখন ইউরোপীয় সমাজ। ভেতর আর বাইরের সহস্র রাগ সেই সমাজে আজ মিলেমিশে বোমা হয়ে ফাটছে।

24 JUL 2005

'Islamic' terrorism: media's role

Salil Kader

29/7
Islam 10-17

THE LONDON'S 9/11 has once again brought the danger that terrorism presents to world peace to the forefront of academic and media debates. Once again Islam, its teachings and the demeanour of Muslims have become the most sought after themes for debate and discussion in academic congregations and editorials. Quite dismayingly, Islam despite being one of the fastest growing religions of the world is being seen as suffering from an image problem.

Distorted understanding

The demonisation of Islam has acquired such proportions that the world today sees it as 'dogmatic, intolerant and confrontational.' It is being perceived as providing the ideological and intellectual foundation for the perpetrators of violence in the garb of jihad across the world, setting the stage for a "clash of civilisations." As things stand today, there is no religion more misunderstood and misinterpreted than Islam. And the most distressing part is that some groups of Muslims themselves have contributed to this distorted understanding of Islam.

The word 'Islam' is derived from the root 'salaam,' which means 'peace.' However, the greatest paradox in the Islamic world today is that Muslims are committing acts of violence by invoking the name of Islam. To make matters worse, writers like Daniel Pipes and Samuel Huntington, to validate their claims of Islam being a belligerent religion, are resorting to selective quoting from the Holy Quran and a prejudiced understanding of jihad has become their favourite *alibi* in this exploit.

The truth is that Islam strictly prohibits all forms of aggression. The Holy Quran says: 'If

you do stretch your hand against me to slay me, it is not for me to stretch my hand against you to slay you: for I do fear Allah, the Cherisher of the Worlds.' (Chapter 5, verse 28)

There can be no two ways about the fact that those indulging in violence in the name of Islam are totally ignorant of the injunctions of the Holy Quran. Such people do justice neither to the word nor spirit of the Book. The Holy Quran explicitly proscribes acts of suicide and self-destruction (Chapter 4, verse 29). It also forbids the killing of any innocent person. According to it, killing one innocent person is

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**SUBVERSIVE ACTS
COMMITTED BY
RECALCITRANT
ELEMENTS OF A
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COMMUNITY**

.....

tantamount to killing the whole humanity and saving the life of one innocent person amounts to saving the life of the whole humanity (Chapter 5, verse 32).

The only time a Muslim is permitted to resort to violence is when the same is foisted on him and even this aggression has to be within limits. The Holy Quran says: Fight in the cause of Allah (with) those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors (Chapter 2, verse 190). Such are the commandments of Allah to His people.

Every community has its share of radicals who indulge in violence for a cause, imagined or real, that they believe in. However the terror attacks of the Irish Republican Army were never called Catholic or Christian terrorism; the sarin gas attack of Aum Shinrikyo, which derives inspiration from Hinduism and Buddhism, was never associated with its mother religion. Why is not the mindless violence unleashed by supporters of the Sangh Parivar in Gujarat called Hindu terrorism?

Violence by the Palestinian Hamas is called Islamic terrorism. By the same logic, the bombings of Gaza by the Israeli army that kills and maims innocents everyday should be called Jewish terrorism. Together these groups have been responsible for the killing of thousands of innocent people. Why then has only Islam been singled out for this indignity? Everyone talks of the 'Islamic bomb.' Ever heard of a 'Christian bomb,' 'Hindu bomb' or a 'Buddhist/Shinto bomb'?

Unsavoury situation

The truth is that subversive acts committed by recalcitrant elements of a community or faith cannot be held against the entire community. Muslims today are facing the same unsavoury situation, which the Sikhs faced in the decade of violence in Punjab. It is imperative that the media around the world endorse the fact that no faith encourages violence and that acts of radical or extremist groups do not represent their true faith but stem from a misinterpretation of their religions. An overdose of rhetoric can only worsen matters and does no good.

The bottom line is that neither does Islam nor its teachings have anything to do with violence and killing of innocents nor does it in any way bar Muslims from living pacifically with non-Muslims.

2 JUL 2005

THE HINDU

POTA court sends Qaeda man Afroze to 7-year Ri

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
MUMBAI, JULY 22

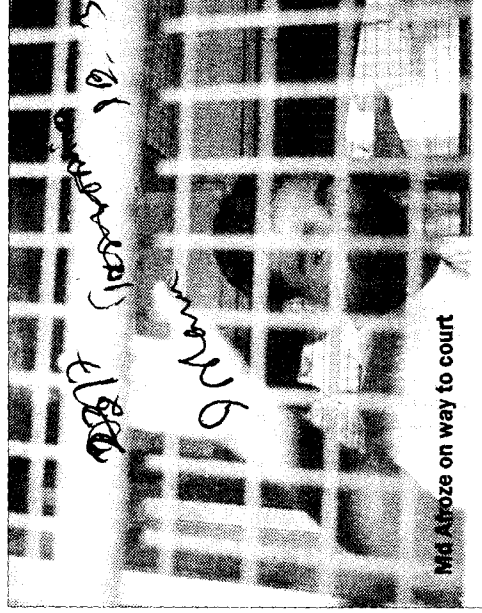
SUSPECTED Al Qaeda operative Mohammad Afroze was today sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment on the charge of developing terrorist links to engineer explosions world-wide, including Parliament House.

Afroze was found guilty of conspiracy and committing depredation on territories of power at peace with the Government of India. On this count, he was given five years' rigorous imprisonment.

Afroze was also found guilty under Section 467 (forgery of valuable security)

and Section 471 (using forged documents). On this count, he was sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. The sentences would run concurrently.

Designated judge A.P. Bhangale, however, acquitted him from the charge of conspiring to wage war against the nation. His brother Mohammad Farooq Abdul Razaq was acquitted as the police could not produce evidence against him. He was charged with helping Afroze to go abroad to join Al Qaeda and undertake pilot training on the basis of forged documents to accomplish their mission of bombing important places.



Md Afroze on way to court

The court also asked the government to seek extradition of Afroze's uncle Mubarak Musalman who is based in London. According to prosecutor Ujjwal Nikam,

Afroze was part of the conspiracy hatched by Mubarak to blow up important places abroad. Mubarak is absconding. This was between 1997 and September 2001.

Police said they planned to hijack passenger planes and dash these in populated buildings and important places like House of Commons and the Indian Parliament. Afroze learnt flying in Mumbai, Australia, USA and UK in order to execute the plan, police said.

Police had initially invoked POTA against him but since the crime had taken place before the Act came into effect, the charges were later dropped, and he was tried un-

der the IPC. Afroze was arrested on December 3, 2001.

The public prosecutor sought maximum punishment of life imprisonment for Afroze in the backdrop of the recent bombing incidents in London saying it would send a strong message to the society.

However, defence lawyer Mubin Solkar argued that Afroze has been falsely implicated. He urged the court that Afroze was a reformed man and had a family to look after. He refuted the charge that Afroze had terrorist links.

Outside the court, Solkar told reporters he would challenge the verdict in the High Court.

BRITAIN CRACKS DOWN ON ISLAMIC EXTREMISM

Osama 'ambassador' faces deportation

Andrew Grice in London

July 21. — A Muslim cleric who has been described as Osama bin Laden's "spiritual ambassador in Europe" faces deportation to Jordan under a crackdown on Islamic extremists in the wake of the London bombings.

Mr Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary, announced today that he is taking new powers to deport or exclude from Britain people who who incite others to commit terrorist acts by preaching, running websites or writing inflammatory articles.

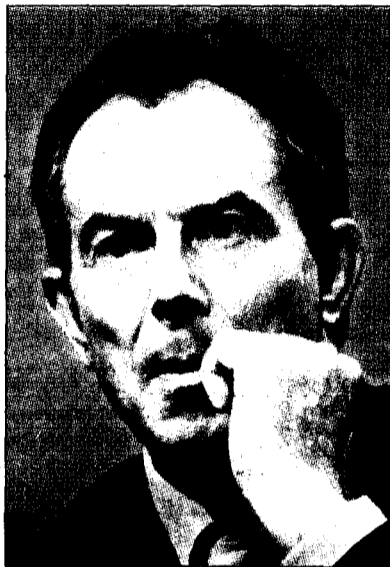
Jordanian-born Abu Qatada, who fled to Britain claiming persecution, was held in Belmarsh Prison without charge after the 9/11 attacks in America and is currently the subject of a control order. Tapes of his sermons were found in a Hamburg flat used by some of the 9/11 hijackers and he is believed to have inspired the shoe bomber Richard Reid. He has been convicted of terrorism in his absence in Jordan and several European countries are believed to be trying to extradite him.

The government will try to deport Qatada under an agreement struck with Jordan which guarantees that deportees would not be mistreated in the country.

The process could take years as he could still challenge his removal in the British courts. But yesterday's agreement reduces the prospects of the court's ruling that deportation could breach the European Convention on Human Rights.

A second Jordanian man previously held at Belmarsh, Abu Rideh, could also face deportation after the deal is formally signed shortly.

However, the agreement will not affect other high-profile Muslim extremists accused of inciting terrorism such as Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammed, who has blamed the London bombings on the British people because they re-elected Mr



The British Prime Minister has set his sights on rooting out extremism.

Tony Blair on May. Dubbed "the Tottenham Ayatollah", he was granted exceptional leave to remain in Britain. But he has joint Syrian and Lebanese nationality and no similar agreement exists with these countries.

The memo of understanding with Jordan is the first of its kind struck by Britain but ministers hope to conclude similar agreements with countries such as Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia so that up to 20 known Muslim extremists could eventually be deported.

In practice, they are more likely to be prosecuted under a new law to be pushed through before Christmas, which will outlaw indirectly inciting others to carry out a terrorist act.

This could be used against people who support suicide bombings in Israel as well as those who defend the London attacks but would not be retrospective.

Blair plans meet on terror

Also today, Mr Tony Blair announced plans to host an international conference for countries

affected by Islamic extremism.

The British Prime Minister said he was considering calling an international conference on rooting out Muslim extremism, and Islamic leaders proposed a wide-ranging probe of the suicide bombers' motives.

The proposed international conference, Mr Blair said, would focus on the possibilities of taking "concerted action right across the world to try to root out this type extremist teaching". He said 26 countries had been attacked by the Al-Qaida and associated groups, "so there is obviously a huge well of support and understanding for the problems that we have faced in this country just recently".

Arrest in Pakistan

In Lahore, a senior intelligence official said: "We have an important man in our custody. I am not in a position to disclose his name right now, but the maximum that I can tell you is that he has some direct links with the London attacks." The official declined to say when the man was arrested or elaborate on his alleged links with the London bombings. Pakistani police had earlier reported detaining seven people.

In a related development, British Islamic leaders today called for a judicial inquiry into what motivated the London suicide bombers. "The scale of disenchantment amongst Muslim youth is very clear to see," said Mr Inayat Bungalwala of the Muslim Council of Britain.

"Various factors are at play: underachievement in education; a high rate of unemployment; discrimination in the workplace; social exclusion, and also the government's own policies, especially in Iraq," Mr Bungalwala said.

"The process of how we get four homegrown suicide bombers must be understood and that is why we are calling for an inquiry," the Muslim leader added. — **The Independent** (With inputs from agencies)

পাকিস্তানে মাদ্রাসা থেকে আটক ২০০ প্রচারক, ছাত্র

ইসলামাবাদ, ২০ জুলাই: সন্ত্রাসবাদের আঁতুড়ঘরের তকমাটা যত তাড়াতাড়ি সম্ভব খসিয়ে ফেলতে চায় পাকিস্তান। লন্ডন কাণ্ডের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে এ বার দেশ জুড়ে সন্ত্রাসবাদ দমনের লক্ষ্যে নেমেছে মুশারফ প্রশাসন। লন্ডন বিস্ফোরণের হামলাকারীদের মধ্যে এক জন যে মাদ্রাসায় যেত, সেটি-সহ দেশের বিভিন্ন প্রান্তের মাদ্রাসায় অভিযান চালিয়ে অন্তত দু'শো জন প্রচারক ও ছাত্রকে আটক করেছে পুলিশ। এদের প্রত্যেকের বিরুদ্ধেই সন্ত্রাসবাদী উস্কানি দেওয়ার অভিযোগ আনা হয়েছে। পাক প্রশাসনের হাতে গ্রেফতার হয়েছে ৭/৭-এর হামলার সঙ্গে যুক্ত সন্দেহে হারুন রশিদ আসাদ নামে এক ব্রিটিশ মুসলিমও। গত সপ্তাহে লাহোর থেকে তাঁকে গ্রেফতার করা হয়। যদিও পাক তথ্যমন্ত্রী শেখ রশিদ আহমেদ এই খবর অস্বীকার করেছেন। আসাদের কাছ থেকে বিস্ফোরক, একটি ব্রিটিশ

পাসপোর্ট ও প্রচুর অর্থ উদ্ধার হয়েছে। মাদ্রাসার যোগাযোগের সঙ্গে সামনে চলে এসেছে সন্ত্রাসবাদী সংগঠন লস্কর-ই-তইবা-র নামও। লন্ডন বিস্ফোরণের ষড়যন্ত্রে তারা রয়েছে বলে খবর হওয়ার পরেই সতর্ক হয়ে গিয়েছে জামাত-আল-দাওয়া। এই মৌলবাদী সংগঠন থেকে লস্করের উৎপত্তি। জামাত-আল-দাওয়া-র তরফে বলা হয়েছে, পঞ্জাবে তাদের সদর দফতরে পাকিস্তানের তথ্যমন্ত্রকের কর্মীদের সঙ্গে ছাড়া কোনও বিদেশি সাংবাদিক প্রবেশ করতে পারবেন না।

হামলার আশঙ্কা। সৌদি আরবে মার্কিন নাগরিকদের সতর্ক করে দিল মার্কিন প্রশাসন। বিশ্বের বৃহত্তম তেল উৎপাদক এই দেশের উপরে জঙ্গিরা অচিরেই বড় ধরনের হামলা চালাতে পারে বলে সতর্ক করে দেওয়া হয়েছে। তবে হামলার উদ্দেশ্য বা সম্ভাব্য সময় জানাতে পারেনি রিয়াদের মার্কিন দূতাবাস। — পি টি আই

21 JUL 2005 ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

মাদ্রাসায় সন্ত্রাসের পাঠ, মানেন মুশারফও

ইসলামাবাদ ও লন্ডন, ১৮ জুলাই: সন্ত্রাসবাদের শিক্ষা দেওয়ার কাজে যে পাকিস্তানের কিছু মাদ্রাসা জড়িত, কবুল করলেন স্বয়ং পারভেজ মুশারফ। লন্ডন বিশ্বফোরামকে ইসলাম-বিরোধী অ্যাখ্যা দিয়ে পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট বলেছেন, কিছু জঙ্গি সংগঠন তাদের মতাদর্শ জোর করে অন্যদের উপরে চাপানোর চেষ্টা করছে এবং সন্ত্রাসবাদী কাজকর্মের সঙ্গে কিছু মাদ্রাসার যোগাযোগ রয়েছে। মুশারফের এই কড়া সূরের সঙ্গে সঙ্গতি রেখেই পাকিস্তানে জইশ-ই-মহম্মদ ও লস্কর-ই-তইবার নিয়ন্ত্রিত মাদ্রাসাগুলির বিরুদ্ধে জোরদার তদন্ত শুরু হয়েছে।

মুশারফ আজ একটি জাতীয় যুব সম্মেলনে বলেছেন, “ইসলামের নামে লন্ডনে বোমা নিয়ে হামলা চালানো মোটেও ইসলামের কাজ নয়।” জইশ-ই-মহম্মদ, সিপাহ-ই-সাহাবার মতো নিষিদ্ধ জঙ্গি সংগঠন তাদের আদর্শ অন্যদের উপরে চাপানোর চেষ্টা চালাচ্ছে বলে অভিযোগ করেন মুশারফ। লন্ডন-কাণ্ডের সঙ্গে এই সংগঠনগুলির যোগাযোগ আছে, এমন কোনও মন্তব্য করেননি তিনি। তবে লন্ডনের ঘটনার সঙ্গে পাক মাদ্রাসার যোগসূত্র নিয়ে যে হইচই চলছে, সেই প্রসঙ্গে মুশারফ বলেন, “কিছু মাদ্রাসা সন্ত্রাসবাদের সঙ্গে যুক্ত।” শিক্ষাবিদ, ডাক্তার, ইঞ্জিনিয়ার গভার মতো প্রথাগত ভূমিকাই ধর্মীয় প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলির থাকা উচিত, এই পরামর্শ দেন তিনি।

পাক পুলিশ সূত্রের খবর, লন্ডন-কাণ্ডের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে জইশ, লস্করের মতো নিষিদ্ধ জঙ্গি গোষ্ঠীর পরিচালিত মাদ্রাসাগুলির বিরুদ্ধে তদন্ত চালানো হচ্ছে। ইসলামাবাদ ও রাওয়ালপিন্ডির গ্রামীণ এলাকার ডজনখানেক মাদ্রাসার কর্মীদের জিজ্ঞাসাবাদ করা হলেও

কাউকে গ্রেফতার করা হয়নি। প্রসঙ্গত, সরকারি তথ্য অনুযায়ী পাকিস্তানে ৭৩০০ মাদ্রাসা রয়েছে। বেসরকারি মতে সংখ্যাটা ১৫ হাজারের বেশি।

পাকিস্তানের সব বিমানবন্দরে নিরাপত্তা বাড়ানো হয়েছে। ইসলামাবাদ, রাওয়ালপিন্ডির গির্জাগুলিতে সতর্কতা বাড়ানো হয়েছে। ব্রিটিশ কূটনীতিকদের নিরাপত্তাও জোরদার করা হয়েছে।

ইসলামের নামে জঙ্গিপনা ঠেকাতে মুশারফের কড়া বক্তব্য বা পাক প্রশাসনের তৎপরতা সত্ত্বেও পাক প্রেসিডেন্টের দিকে আঙুল উঠছে। প্রাক্তন প্রধানমন্ত্রী বেনজির ভুট্টো যেমন বলেছেন,

তালিবান এবং আল কায়দার

ঘনিষ্ঠ লোকজনকে মুশারফ প্রশাসনে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পদ দেওয়া হয়েছে। লন্ডন থেকে নিজস্ব প্রতিনিধি জানাচ্ছেন, মুশারফের প্রধান গোয়েন্দা অফিসার এক সময় মুজাহিদিনদের প্রশিক্ষণ দিতেন, মুশারফের তথ্যমন্ত্রী জঙ্গি শিবির চালাতেন— এই তথ্যগুলো মনে করিয়ে দিয়েছেন বেনজির। সেই সঙ্গে বলতে ছাড়েননি, তিনি ক্ষমতায় থাকলে মুজাহিদিন ও আফগান জেহাদের সঙ্গে সম্পর্কিত সব লোককে পুরোপুরি উৎখাত করে ছাড়তেন।

লন্ডন ও অযোধ্যা-কাণ্ডের সঙ্গে পাকিস্তানের নাম জড়িয়ে যাওয়ার পরে কূটনৈতিক স্তরেও পরিস্থিতি সামাল দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করছে ইসলামাবাদ। দিল্লিতে পাক হাই কমিশনার আজিজ আহমেদ খান বলেছেন, সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে আন্তর্জাতিক লড়াইয়ে পাকিস্তান দায়বদ্ধ এবং কেবল ‘দোষারোপ’ করে সেই কাজকে কঠিন করে তোলার মানে হয় না। — রয়টার্স, পিটিআই

লন্ডন-বি

Bombing 'un-Islamic', Gen points to madarsas

REUTERS

ISLAMABAD, JULY 18

Fatwa against attacks

BIRMINGHAM: Britain's largest Sunni group on Monday issued a fatwa condemning the July 7 terror bombings in London. The Jamaat-e-Ahle-Sunnat said the bombings were against Islam, adding that any type of suicide attack was against the Koran. "Leaving aside the atrocities being committed in Palestine and Iraq, the attacks in London have no Islamic justification... We condemn those who may have been behind the masterminding of these acts... who incited these youths... to further their own perverted ideology," the fatwa said. —PTI



Denouncing the London bombings as "un-Islamic", Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf on Monday accused banned militant groups of forcing their ideology on others, adding that some Islamic schools were involved in terrorism.

Addressing a youth conference in Islamabad, Musharraf said that nothing in the Koran justified the July 7 London attacks that killed at least 55 people. "Launching bomb attacks in London in the name of Islam is not Islam," he said.

He also asked Punjab Chief Minister Pervaiz Elahi to crack down hard on religious extremist groups and those inciting disturbance in the province. He accused banned militant organisations Jaish-e-Mohammad and Sipah-e-Sahaba of forcing their ideology upon others, although he did not link them to the London bombings. He also took aim at Islamic schools that have been accused of helping to inspire the London attacks.

"Yes, today some madarsas are involved in extremism and



A boy takes a break at Jamla Binori madarsa in Karachi on Monday. Reuters

terrorism," he said.

Musharraf's comments came after an intelligence official named one of five militants detained by security forces at the weekend as Qari Usman, a Jaish-e-Mohammad bomb expert who may have been involved in a plot to kill Musharraf in 2003.

The militants were detained in Faisalabad as part of a crackdown launched after the London bombings. "These people have been arrested because they are militants," the official said. "We are trying to establish if they had any links with those involved in the London blasts."

The intelligence official said Usman was a close associate of Amjad Farooqi, a key planner of a December 2003 attempt on Musharraf's life and an associate of its Al Qaeda mastermind, Abu Faraj Farj al Liby. While Pakistan has yet to confirm that three of the London bombers visited the country before the attacks, Pakistani officials said they entered Pakistan via Karachi last year.

'Bombings not linked to UK support on Iraq war'

PAUL MAJENDIE
LONDON, JULY 18

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Jack Straw today dismissed statements by an influential thinktank that backing the US in Iraq put Britain more at risk from terrorist attacks.

Security experts said the Iraq war had boosted recruitment and fund-raising for Al Qaeda. The report was issued as Britain's Interior Minister, Charles Clarke, met Opposition party leaders to seek a consensus in drawing up tougher anti-terror legislation, such as outlawing acts preparing or inciting acts of terrorism.

The report from the respected Royal Institute of International Affairs said



Britain had suffered by playing "pillion passenger" to Washington.

"The UK is at particular risk because it is the closest ally of the US," said security experts Frank Gregory and Paul Wilkinson. "Riding pillion with a powerful ally has proved costly in terms of British and US Military lives, Iraqi lives, military expendi-

ture and the damage caused to the counter-terrorism campaign," they said.

"The time for excuses for terrorism is over," Straw countered. "The terrorists have struck across the world, in countries allied with the US, backing the war in Iraq, and in countries which had nothing whatever to do with the war in Iraq... They struck in Kenya, in Tanzania, in Indonesia, in Yemen, they struck this weekend in Turkey which was not supporting our action in Iraq."

Blair, whose trust ratings plummeted due to the Iraq conflict, has always refuted the notion that Britain's role in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has made the country less safe. —Reuters

£900 worth of scent, aftershave went into bomb

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
LONDON, JULY 18

DAYS before the 7/7 London attacks, one of the suspected bombers, Jamaican-born Germaine Lindsay, bought designer perfumes and aftershaves as a deadly mix for the home-made devices used to trigger the explosions, Monday's *Mirror* daily quoted police as saying.

Lindsay (19) spent at least £900 at three shops on dozens of bottles of scent. Among his purchases were 10 Gaultier perfumes whose metal containers would have splintered into lethal shrapnel in an explosion.

"The active ingredient in any perfume is alcohol which can be used in creating devices. The effect would be more incendiary, like napalm... (and) would create more fire and therefore more burn injuries," explained terror expert Dr Andrew Silke of the University of East London.

Detectives are also investigating whether Lindsay bought peroxide, an ingredient in the acetone peroxide—also known as TATP or "Mother of Satan"—used in the London attacks.

Lindsay's spending patterns had already aroused

the suspicion of his bank, causing it to bring in private detectives. Noel Hogan, of investigators Hogan and Co. International, said, "We were aware of this man's movements in the immediate run-up to the London bombing," adding that they had passed on their findings to the anti-terrorism branch.

Until about two months ago, Lindsay worked as a

'The active ingredient in perfume is alcohol...the effect would be more incendiary, like napalm'

fitter for Haddenham Carpets in Aylesbury. While there, he called himself Gemal Lindsay, joining his real name with his Islamic name, Abdullah Shaheed Jamal. Around the time he left the job, he stopped making his accustomed weekly telephone calls to his father, Nigel, in Jamaica.

A shocked Samantha Lewthwaite (21), the mother of Lindsay's year-old son, said, "I never imagined he was involved in such horrific activities."

ব্ল্যারের মুখেও আল কায়দার নাম, জড় আছে পাকিস্তানও

শ্রাবণী বসু • লন্ডন

১৫ জুলাই: লন্ডন বিস্ফোরণের পরেই সন্দেহের কেন্দ্রবিন্দু হয়ে উঠেছিল একটি নাম। 'আল কায়দা'। ব্রিটিশ বিদেশমন্ত্রী জ্যাক স্ট্র আগোই হামলার ধাঁচে আল কায়দার ছাপ থাকার কথা জানিয়েছিলেন। এ বার ব্রিটেনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী টনি ব্ল্যার বলেন, বিস্ফোরণের কায়দাকানুন আল কায়দারই। তাঁর বক্তব্য, আল কায়দা শুধু একটি সংগঠন নয়, 'কাজে'র একটি ঘরানাও বটে।

আল কায়দার পাশাপাশি বিস্ফোরণের সঙ্গে পাকিস্তানের যোগসূত্র নিয়ে নতুন করে বিতর্ক দেখা দিয়েছে। বিস্ফোরণের চার আত্মঘাতী জঙ্গির মধ্যে অন্তত দু'জন পাকিস্তানে প্রশিক্ষণ নিয়েছিল বলে জানা গিয়েছে।

এর পরেই ব্রিটিশ বিদেশমন্ত্রী জ্যাক স্ট্র মন্তব্য করেছেন, পাকিস্তানের মাদ্রাসাগুলোতে কী শিক্ষা দেওয়া হয়, তা দেখা দরকার। এরই মধ্যে আবার পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট পারভেজ



মুশারফ ফোনে টনি ব্ল্যারকে তদন্তে যাবতীয় সাহায্যের প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছেন। রাজনৈতিক মহলের বিশ্লেষণ, পরিস্থিতি সামাল দিতেই আগ বাড়িয়ে সাহায্যের কথা বলেছেন মুশারফ। শুধু আশ্বাস দেওয়াই নয়, যাবতীয় নিষিদ্ধ জঙ্গি সংগঠনের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযান চালাতে রাতারাতি পাক প্রশাসনকে নির্দেশ দিয়েছেন মুশারফ। ব্রিটিশ পুলিশও লন্ডন-কাণ্ডে সন্দেহভাজন জঙ্গিদের তালিকা দিয়েছে ইসলামাবাদকে।

যে দু'টি মাদ্রাসার সঙ্গে তনবির ও হাসিবের যোগাযোগের কথা বলা হচ্ছে, তারা অবশ্য অভিযোগ অস্বীকার করেছে। ইতিমধ্যে তদন্তে জানা গিয়েছে, লন্ডন-কাণ্ডে ব্যবহৃত বিস্ফোরক ছিল নেহাতই ঘরে তৈরি। একটি মার্কিন চ্যানেলের খবর অনুযায়ী, বিস্ফোরক তৈরির কাজে মূল অভিযুক্ত এক মিশরী কায়রায় ধরাও পড়েছে। আত্মঘাতী জঙ্গিরা সব ব্রিটেনের বাসিন্দা এবং ব্যবহৃত বিস্ফোরক স্থানীয়

সূত্রে পাওয়া, এই দুই তথ্য সামনে আসায় পরিষ্কার হয়ে গিয়েছে যে, দেশের মধ্যেই বিস্ফোরণের গুছিয়ে প্রস্তুতি নেওয়া হয়েছিল।

আত্মঘাতী জঙ্গিদের মধ্যে শেহজাদ তনবির ও হাসিব হুসেন পাকিস্তানে গিয়ে মধ্য শিক্ষা নিয়েছিল বলে তদন্তে জানা গিয়েছিল। সেই তথ্যের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতেই বিদেশমন্ত্রী স্ট্র বলেছেন, সে দেশের মাদ্রাসায় কী চলছে, দেখা উচিত। পরিসংখ্যান অনুযায়ী, পাকিস্তানে প্রায় ১৩ হাজার মাদ্রাসায় কমবেশি ১৭ লক্ষ ছাত্র আছে। ব্রিটেনে

জন্মনো বহু মুসলিম ২০০১ সাল পর্যন্ত শ্রায়ই পাক মাদ্রাসায় পাড়ি দিয়েছে বলে জানা গিয়েছে। এর মধ্যে পেশোয়ারের মাদ্রাসা দার উল উলুম হাক্কানিয়া-টনি ব্ল্যার অফ জেহাদ' বলা হয়। স্বভাবতই মাদ্রাসা সম্পর্কে

প্রশ্নটি ব্রিটেনে লন্ডন পুলিশ ইতিমধ্যে হাসিব হুসেনের ছবি প্রকাশ করে জনগণের কাছে আরও তথ্য চেয়েছে। পিঠে বিরাট রুকস্যাক নিয়ে লুটন টিউব স্টেশনে ঢোকান মুখে হাসিবের ওই

আবছা ছবি ধরা পড়ে স্টেশনের ক্যামেরায়। তিন পাক-বংশোদ্ভূত ভরণ ছাড়া চতুর্থ জঙ্গির নাম লিন্ডসে জার্মেইন। জামাইকান-বংশোদ্ভূত এই ব্যক্তি বাকিংহামশায়ারে থাকত। বিস্ফোরণের ষড়যন্ত্রের অভিযোগে গত বছর ব্রিটেনে ধৃত আট পাকিস্তানির সঙ্গে এই তিন জঙ্গির কোনও যোগসূত্র আছে কি না, খোঁজ নেওয়া হচ্ছে।

পুলিশের সিদ্ধান্ত, অ্যাসিটোন পারঅক্সাইড বা ট্রাইঅ্যাসিটোন ট্রাইপারঅক্সাইড থেকে বিস্ফোরক তৈরি করা হয়েছিল। এই রাসায়নিক অত্যন্ত সহজলভ্য এবং 'শু-বন্দার' রিচার্ড রিডও এই জিনিসই জুতোর তলায় রেখেছিল। বিস্ফোরক তৈরির দায়ে যে মিশরীয় ধরা পড়েছে বলে খবর, সেই মাগদি এল নাশারের লিডসের ফ্ল্যাট থেকেও বিস্ফোরক মিলেছিল। লিডস বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় থেকে জৈব-রসায়নে পিএইচ ডি পেয়েছিল নাশার, তাই সেই বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে খোঁজখবর নিচ্ছে পুলিশ।

16 JUL 2005

ANADABAZAR

Ayodhya to UK: It's Lashkar all the way

Attackers trained by Pak-based militants

HT Correspondents

Ayodhya/Lucknow/London, July 15

WIDE APART in space but coming almost back-to-back in time, the July 5 attack in Ayodhya and the July 7 London bombings have a shared attribute: both happened under the long, sinister shadow of the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba (LeT).

Ten days after the terror strike on the disputed complex in the temple town, Uttar Pradesh DGP Yashpal Singh on Friday announced a major breakthrough in the case, identifying all five men, who had tried to storm the complex, as LeT militants from Pakistan.

In London, too, investigators have found conclusive evidence that during his trip to Pakistan in December, Shehzad Tanweer, one of the three bombers from Leeds, had attended a madrassa co-founded by Osama-bin-Laden and run by the LeT near Lahore.

In Lucknow, the DGP said the Ayodhya attackers, who had set up camp in Delhi, had been remote-controlled by the LeT's J&K area commander Mohammad Kari. Identifying two of the slain militants as Yunus and Arshad, he said efforts were on to identify the other three men. In Delhi, the militants had stayed at two different locations — Kishangarh and Deoli village. Farooq and Nadeem, two young men arrested from the Mendhar area of Jammu's Poonch district, had served as their couriers, helping them ferry their arms and ammunition. These two men, had been arrested following the recovery of a mobile phone on one of the slain militants, the DGP said.

Farooq, he said, had come to Srinagar in the third week of May. There, he got a special cavity made in his Tata sumo to conceal five AK rifles and loads of ammunition. He drove the vehicle to Panipat, in Haryana, himself.

But the Chinese-made guns had been provided by Kari, the LeT's J&K area commander. The weapons were taken to Delhi via Panipat by Farooq and then handed over to the militants, who carried them to Faizabad and Akbarpur in the last week of June.

Yunus, one of the two identified militants, used to stay with Mehmood, another LeT activist. Yunus posed as a cloth-and-vegetable merchant while Mehmood joined a private institute for English learning in Munirka where he attended classes till January 15.

The UP police said the militants, who split into two groups, visited Faizabad near Ayodhya several times in June. On July 5, they used tri-nitro-toulene (TNT) explosives — not RDX — to blast their way into the temple complex. The dialect some eyewitnesses heard them speaking was either Sindhi or Baloch, they added.

The UP police have evidence that the militants who tried to storm Ayodhya had links with the LeT's J&K area commander. The UK cops too said at least one of the London bombers had attended an LeT-run madrassa

See also Page 13

Arrested



Farooq Ahmed
Worked at Rajouri shrine. Drove one of the jeeps



Mohd Naseem
Belongs to a Poonch village. A key LeT contact man



Abdul Aziz
Also belongs to Poonch. Offered vital logistical help



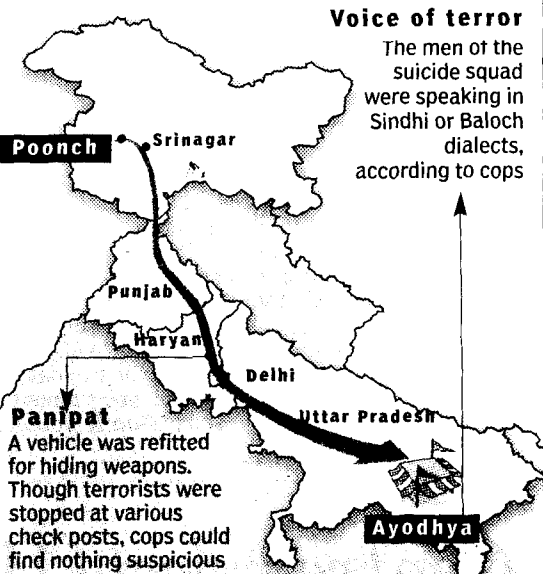
Shakeel Ahmed
Got Rs 80,000 from LeT. Drove another jeep with attackers



Mushtaq Ahmed
Another LeT man based at Poonch. Offered logistical help

Terror trip across five states

How group of eight got down to business and succeeded — well almost



Weapons	Vehicles	Hideouts	Contacts
AK rifles, grenades & rockets	Tata Sumo JK12 0951, JK12 0267	Srinagar, Akbarpur & Ayodhya	LeT cell including women

They couldn't ride the waves

■ A 'destroyed' mobile offered clues with its unique IMEI (International Mobile Equipment Identity), no. intact. Calls traced from Ayodhya to Jammu

■ Farooq had got in touch with Pak-based LeT on a sophisticated wireless set on July 5. It was intercepted by a central security agency

Graphic: DEEPAK H. & VINEY

Absconding



Mohd Akbar
Police are probing his links with Pak-based Lashkar



Abu Usman
LeT man who travelled with attackers to Ayodhya



Abu Salam
Helped attackers with logistical support in Uttar Pradesh

ইমরানা-ফতোয়ার প্রতিবাদে পথে মৌলবিরাই

৯/৮/০৫ অনল আবেদিন • সমশেরগঞ্জ

ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ বিদগ্জন মহল, মুসলিম সমাজের 'আলোকপ্রাপ্ত' অংশও যখন নীরব, তখন উত্তরপ্রদেশের চরখাওলের গৃহবধু ইমরানার উপর দেওবন্দ-এর উলেমাদের ফতোয়ার প্রতিবাদে পথে নামলেন মৌলবিদেরই একটি অংশ।

ধর্ষণকারী ঋশুরকে শাস্তি না দিয়ে ধর্ষিতা ইমরানাকেই 'হারাম' ঘোষণা করা এবং তাঁকে স্বামীর ঘর ছাড়তে বাধ্য করার ওই ফতোয়ার বিরুদ্ধে মুসলিম মধ্যবিত্ত সমাজ, এমনকী, মুসলিম বুদ্ধিজীবী মহল এখনও সে ভাবে সোচ্চার হয়নি। এমন পরিস্থিতিতে ঝাড়খণ্ডের সীমানা লাগোয়া মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলার সমশেরগঞ্জ থানা এলাকার ভাসাইপাইকড়ের এক দল মৌলবি ইমরানার প্রতি অন্যান্য-অবিচার করা হয়েছে বলে প্রচারে নেমেছেন। ইতিমধ্যে তাঁরা কয়েকটি ধর্মীয় সমাবেশে ইমরানার বিষয়ে দেওবন্দ-এর ফতোয়া জারির বিরোধিতা করেছেন। সেই ফতোয়ার কেন বিরোধিতা করা হচ্ছে তা ব্যাখ্যা করে ছাপানো প্রচারপত্র বিলি করারও তাঁরা সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছেন। প্রচারপত্রের খসড়া তৈরি হয়ে গিয়েছে।

ধর্মের নামে 'অধর্ম'-র বিরোধিতায় তাঁরা অবশ্য হাতিয়ার হিসাবে বেছে নিয়েছেন কোরান ও হাদিশ-কেই। তাঁদের বক্তব্য, ধর্ষিতা নিষ্পাপ, সে অত্যাচারিত। বিভিন্ন উদ্ধৃতি তুলে ধরে তাঁরা বলেন, কোরান-হাদিশে ধর্ষিতার বিরুদ্ধে শাস্তির কোনও বিধান নেই। ধর্ষণকারীকেই শাস্তি দেওয়ার বিধান আছে কোরান-হাদিশে।

এমনকী, ধর্ষণকারীর জন্য ধর্মীয় বিধানে মৃত্যুদণ্ডের কথাও বলা আছে।

ফরাক্কা ও সমশেরগঞ্জ, এই দু'টি থানা নিয়ে গঠিত 'জমঈতে আহলে হাদিশ কমিটি'-র ভাসাইপাইকড় শাখার পক্ষ থেকে তৈরি খসড়া প্রচারপত্রে তিরমিজি, বোখারী ও মিশকাত নামের তিনটি প্রামাণ্য হাদিশের উল্লেখ করে বলা হয়েছে, "ধর্ষিতার জন্য ইসলামে শাস্তির কোনও বিধান নেই, ধর্ষকের জন্য শাস্তি বিধান রয়েছে। অথচ ইমরানার মতোই ভুল ফতোয়ার কারণে আড়াই বছর আগে



হরদৌলির বাসিন্দা রানি বেগমকে (ঋশুরের দ্বারা ধর্ষিতা) স্বামীর ঘর ছাড়তে হয়েছে। সমশেরগঞ্জ ও ফরাক্কা থানার জমঈতে আহলে হাদিশের পক্ষ থেকে ওই ফতোয়ার বিরুদ্ধে তীব্র প্রতিবাদ জানাচ্ছি।"

ইমরানার দাম্পত্য জীবন সম্পর্কে দেওবন্দ-এর ফতোয়া, 'স্বামী-স্ত্রী আর এক সঙ্গে থাকতে পারবে না। এ বার থেকে ইমরানাকে থাকতে হবে তাঁর ঋশুরের সঙ্গে।' ওই ফতোয়ার বিরোধিতা করেছেন ধুলিয়ান হাই মাদ্রাসার অবসরপ্রাপ্ত প্রধান শিক্ষক তথা জামঈতে আহলে হাদিস কমিটির ভাসাইপাইকড় শাখার সম্পাদক আলহাজ মহম্মদ নাজিরুদ্দিন। কোরানের সূরা আনিসার ২২, ২৩ এবং ২৪ নম্বর আয়াত উদ্ধৃতি করে তিনি বলেন, "কোনও অবস্থাতেই ঋশুরের সঙ্গে পুত্রবধুর বিবাহ হতে পারে না। কখনও এ রকম হলে তা ইসলাম ধর্ম মতে হারাম (পাপ) কাজ হবে।"

ভাসাইপাইকড়ের জমঈতে আহলে হাদিশ কমিটির অন্যতম সদস্য তথা এর পর নয়ের পাতায়

প্রতিবাদে পথে মৌলবিরা

প্রথম পাতার পর

দোগাছি জামা মসজিদের ইমাম মওলানা ফাইজুদ্দিন সালাফি বলেন, "ওই বিষয়ে হজরত মহম্মদের নির্দেশ ব্যাখ্যা-সহ লেখা আছে ফাতহুল কাদিরের দারাকুতনি গ্রন্থে। সেখানে লেখা আছে, 'লা যু হারিমুল হালাল, অর্থাৎ হারাম কাজের দ্বারা হালালকে (ন্যায়) হারাম করা যায় না।' অর্থাৎ ঋশুরের দ্বারা ধর্ষিতা পুত্রবধু পুত্রের পক্ষে অপবিত্র হতে পারে না।" ব্যাখ্যা দিলেন আহলে হাদিশ কমিটির ভাসাইপাইকড়ের সভাপতি মওলানা আনওয়ারুল হক ফাইজি।

ধর্মের নামে ইমরানার প্রতি অবিচারের বিরুদ্ধে মওলানা আনওয়ারুল হক বিভিন্ন ধর্মীয় অনুষ্ঠানে প্রথম সোচ্চার হন। দিন পনেরো আগে মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলার নওদা থানা এলাকার ত্রিমোহিনী

হাইমাদ্রাসায় ইসলাম ধর্ম সংক্রান্ত একটি আলোচনাসভার অন্যতম বক্তা মওলানা আনওয়ারুল হক-এর কাছে ইমরানার বিষয়ে ধর্মীয় ব্যাখ্যা জানতে চেয়েছিলেন এক শ্রোতা। আনওয়ারুল বলেন, "ইমরানাকে তালাক দিয়ে ধর্ষণকারী ঋশুরের সঙ্গে তাঁর বিয়ে দেওয়ার দেওবন্দী ফতোয়া জারি অন্যায় হয়েছে।" এ কথা শ্রোতৃমণ্ডলীর সকলেই মেনে নিয়েছেন বলে জানিয়ে তিনি বলেন, "তার দু'দিন পর ঝাড়খণ্ডের গুমানি এলাকার শ্রীকুন মাদ্রাসার আলোচনাতেও সকলেই এ বিষয়ে একমত হয়েছেন।" বহুডাগাছি হাইস্কুলের শিক্ষক আব্দুল ওদুদ বলেন, "তারপরই প্রচারপত্র ছাপিয়ে বিলি করার সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া হয়েছে। ইমরানার ঘটনা মানবতার লজ্জা। ইমরানা-কাণ্ডের পুনরাবৃত্তি রুখতে মুসলমানদেরই এগিয়ে আসা উচিত।"

15 JUL 2005

ANADABAZAR DATEIKA

14 JUL 2005

CAPITAL STORY ■ UK harbouring thousands of Al Qaeda sympathisers, says document commissioned by PM Tony Blair

London the 'most important' city for radical Islam

DON MELVIN
LONDON, 14 JULY

NOW that police allege the four men who detonated bombs on the London transport system last week were native-born British Muslims, the country may have a particularly combustible mix: strong networks of radical recruiters and a large population from which to recruit.

Britain has a relatively large Muslim population, spread in various areas throughout the country. No one doubts that the vast majority of British Muslims are law-abiding and patriotic.

But as a small percentage of Muslim youth around the world have become, over the last 15 years, more susceptible to appeals from radicals, so too have British youth.

"There are a large number of Muslims who are relatively unassimilated and unintegrated into British society," said Jonathan Stevenson, a counter-terrorism expert with the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. "So that makes it a fairly ripe recruiting ground."

According to a document com-

missioned by British Prime Minister Tony Blair after the train bombings in Madrid last year—and leaked last weekend to the *Sunday Times*—a network of "extremist recruiters" is circulating on British campuses. The document said Britain may now be harbouring thousands of Al Qaeda sympathisers.

With its teeming diversity and what were regarded, until recently, as lenient asylum laws, London has become in recent decades a center for Middle Eastern research institutes, political foundations and a host of Arab news organizations.

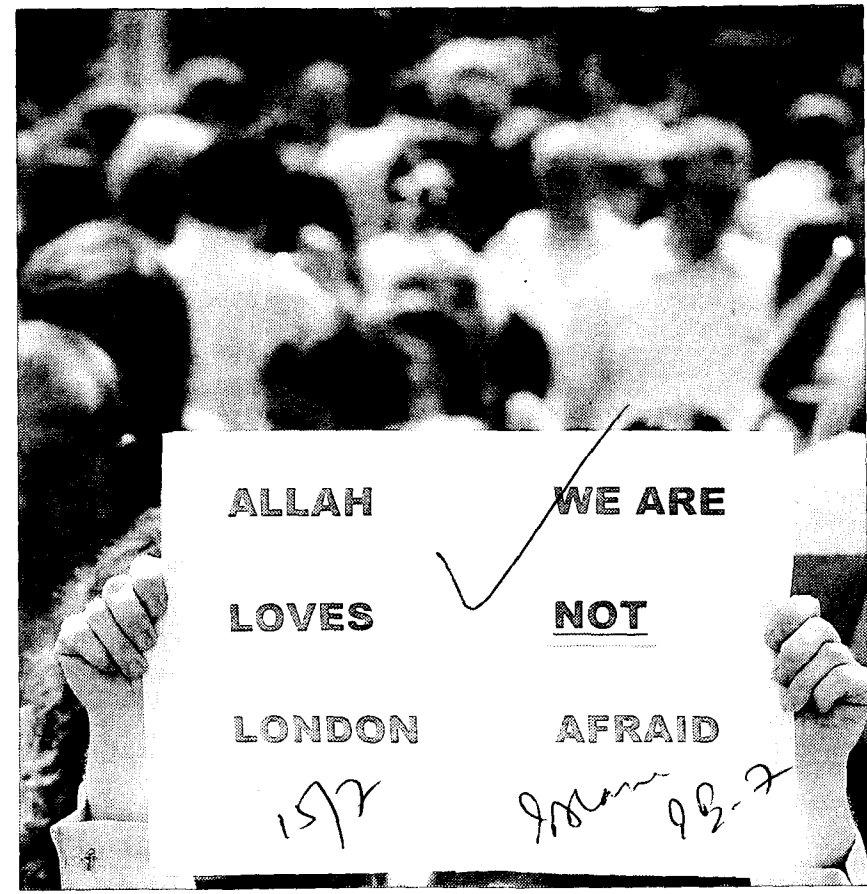
In the process, it also turned into a center for radical Muslim politics.

And many notorious terrorist crimes have had links to London. Zacarias Moussaoui, the only person in the US charged in connection with the September 11 attacks, attended a London mosque led by the radical cleric Abu Hamza Masri.

So did Richard Reid, the "shoe bomber," who tried to blow up an airliner in December 2001.

The list goes on.

French officials, who felt the British were too free in allowing radical Islamists to operate, took to calling the city "Londonistan".



A sign is held up as members of the public observe a two-minute silence in Trafalgar Square, in memory of victims of the London serial blasts. Reuters

London silent, remembers the many who were felled

PAUL MAJENDIE
LONDON, JULY 14

OFFICE workers streamed onto the streets and traffic ground to a halt as London paused in silent tribute on Thursday, a week to the day since at least 52 people were killed in suicide bomb attacks.

The chimes of Big Ben boomed across the city to mark the start of a two-minute silence that was widely observed elsewhere in Europe. Black cabs and double-decker buses pulled over as an eerie silence descended on the capital.

At the four sites where suspected Islamic militants struck underground trains and a bus, Londoners bowed their heads in grief on a swelteringly hot day. Some wiped away tears.

"I just lost one of my best mates—but two minutes ain't going to bring him back," said

Declan O'Hora, 22, contemplating the death of his childhood friend Ciaran Cassidy at King's Cross station.

All landings and take-offs were briefly suspended at Heathrow airport and financial markets paused to remember the dead.

Queen Elizabeth stood in silence at Buckingham Palace, while Prime Minister Tony Blair observed the tribute at his Downing Street residence.

In Trafalgar Square, a giant banner declared "One City, One World." The sombre scene was in sharp contrast to last week's celebrations of London being picked to host the 2012 Olympics.

Dr Amjad Ali, standing outside the Regent's Park Mosque in London, said the bombings were a tragedy.

But he added: "How many minutes of silence would you

have to observe if we had a minute's silence for people who died in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Palestine?"

In Spain, Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, who came to power in an election three days after the March 11, 2004 Madrid train bombings people, joined the two minutes of silence during a visit to Valencia. On Indonesia's tourist island of Bali, about 150 people placed candles at the monument marking the site of the October 2002 night club blasts that killed 202 people.

Pope Benedict prayed for an end to terrorism during his holiday in the Italian Alps.

In Paris, President Jacques Chirac's annual Bastille Day address was put back so the French could mark the moment. Chirac stood silent on the steps of the Elysee Palace.

—Reuters

INDIAN EXPRESS

The intangible network

Abdul Rahman Makdad, the man who organised two bus bombings in Jerusalem which killed 19 people, calmly described how he and the 23-year-old bomber Mohammed Za'ul had eaten a hummus breakfast before Za'ul set out on the first mission in January last year.

In an interview with *The Independent* in April 2004, he said they had had "ordinary conversation" as Makdad prepared the explosives the previous night. He added coolly: "There was no need at all to convince this man to carry out the operation. He himself chose to be a martyr. The easiest thing [about such operations] is to find a martyr. In our nation we have thousands of people who want to be martyrs."

It is during the Israeli Palestinian conflict over the last five years, that the phenomenon of suicide bombing has been most studied.

On the one hand the Israeli experience provides some answers — not least through the frequent arrests and interrogation of failed suicide bombers and the despatchers and organisers of successful ones — to the still deeply disturbing question of why young men, or, increasingly, among Palestinian militants at least, young women, are prepared so readily to sacrifice their lives — even for a national cause in which they passionately believe.

On the other, that research — extensive though it is — may give many fewer clues in what motivated the quite different West Yorkshire cell which now appear to have perpetrated the London bombings.

It's true that techniques like the videos made by Palestinian — and in some cases — Iraqi suicide attackers before a mission, or the last dinner enjoyed by their Tamil Tiger counterparts with a revered idol from the movement may be ways of locking the bomber in, and preventing second thoughts.

All the evidence, however, is that most attackers approach their missions with relatively light hearts and confident of its absolute rightness, in the way that Makdad described.

That doesn't of course mean that suicide bombers in different countries are motivated in the same way. Nevertheless Boaz Ganor, the head of the Herzilya Institute of Policy Research for Counter Terrorism, believes that counter-intuitively the bomber has taken "an entirely rational" decision. It is based on his indoctrination in a version of Islam which bars suicide but which encourages "martyrdom" and which explicitly ensures that the martyr will go straight to paradise-bringing,

A group like Al-Qaida is unlike the Palestinian factions which have a focussed national goal and yet the former has the power to kill innocent civilians on a global scale, writes

DONALD MACINTYRE in Jerusalem



Armed jihadi militants from the Gaza Strip refugee camp of Rafah. Fired by revenge, they are the inspiration for suicide-bombers, including those of Al-Qaida. — AFP

at least in the Palestinian case, honour among his peers of his name in the process.

And although there is little tradition of martyrdom in Sunni Islam, religion, and the concept of a translation from a frequently miserable earthly world for a heavenly one, certainly plays a central part in many cases. It is a totemic fact that a note left in an airport car park from Mohammed Atta, the leader of the suicide bombers who in September 2001 did most to change the world order, exhorted his comrades to remember the 72 virgins they would encounter in paradise.

But most of the recent literature on the subject — and three books on the subject have been published in the last few months — shrinks from providing one simple explanation for suicide bombing. The earthly benefits of money for the "martyr's" family from the Palestinian armed

factions — and until his toppling, Saddam Hussein — may be part of the explanation on occasions.

You didn't have to stay long at the pitifully dilapidated home in the West Bank village Rantis of the 17-year-old militant who bombed a bus stop outside Tel Aviv on the single day in September 2003 which saw two bombings in quick succession — to realise that the family — the mother deeply grieving, the aunt less convincingly professing her "pride" in her nephew's sacrifice — was poor.

But that, too, is no more than one of many elements of the story even among Palestinian militants — and is unlikely to figure at all in the machinations of Al-Qaida.

In an attempt to render the multiple complexities of a suicide bombers' motivation two recent authors, Anne Marie Oliver and Paul Steinberg, suggest: "What the

rank-and-file [of Hamas] seemed to live and die for, in the end, was neither hospitals nor politics nor ideology nor religion nor the Apocalypse, but rather an ecstatic camaraderie in the face of death on the path of Allah."

Another expert, Louise Richardson, executive dean at Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University explained that among suicide bombers there was often "more interest in the dying than the killing, as evidenced by the sometimes remarkable lack of attention to deploying the suicide bomb to maximum effect."

Though this is no doubt true on occasions, the terrible flip side is often an apparent indifference to the death of victims in cases like last week's where the bombers have tried to maximise the killing.

Abdul Rahman Makdad was at

his most chilling 15 months ago when he claimed he could not even remember the numbers of the buses whose bombing he had organised in Jerusalem in January and February 2004.

But Ms Richardson — controversially — questions whether the motivation for suicide bombing is really as unique as it is made out to be, adding: "In all our societies we reserve the highest honours for those who have given their lives for their country."

Having read these studies one is left wondering whether suicide bombers are so different. Had the members of the Hamas cell whose final videotape is depicted by Oliver and Steinberg ever learnt Latin, and had an eye for dramatic effect, one could imagine them ending their video reciting in unison Horace's ode into the camera: *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*.

And yet this does nothing to explain, much less confront, a network, if that's what it is, like Al-Qaida which unlike the Palestinian factions do not even have a comprehensibly focussed national goal and yet which has the power to kill innocent civilians on a global scale. Much less could it help with the rootless individuals who may be connected to extremist organisations by the Internet as depicted by Dr Rosemary Hollis since last Thursday's carnage.

Nor, finally, does it do justice to the disturbing crises posed to free societies by the suicide bombers — problems that can be described as unique. They cannot easily be described as "cowardly" — the word routinely used to describe the Irish Republican bomber who slips a carrier bag under a chair in a pub before making his escape; or "evil" when he may think he or she is doing something good. They cannot be "hunted down" by the forces of law and order when they have died with their victims and when their names may even be proudly proclaimed by their comrades.

They cannot be subject to punishment, let alone vengeance, for the same reason. Dr Ganor rightly points out that almost all modern suicide bombings are organised rather than the alternative of what he calls "personal initiative attacks", and argues that it is the organisations which therefore have to be confronted. True though that may be, it is far from clear how easy that is going to be in the case of the slaughter in London's first suicide bombing.

— *The Independent*

Beware the hype about a backlash

Barring a few stray incidents there is no anti-Muslim backlash post-7/7.

Hasan Suroor

110-11 7/7
ANYONE WATCHING some of the Indian television channels might be led into believing that a full-blown anti-Muslim backlash is brewing in Britain after last week's train bombings. The truth is that barring a few stray incidents of intimidation and stone-throwing the situation has remained unexpectedly calm.

Despite real and widespread fear, nothing that would even remotely fit the description of an organised "backlash" has happened nearly a week after the July 7 carnage. Much worse incidents of "Paki-bashing" and racism have taken place in more normal times than those reported after the bombings.

This is not to ignore these incidents or deny that a climate of fear exists. Worshipers at a north London mosque were reportedly abused by passers-by as news of the blasts spread, and the Muslim Council of Britain reported receiving some 30,000 abusive and threatening email within hours of the explosions. There have also been reports of incidents at mosques outside London, and a mysterious fire broke out at gurdwara in Kent after apparently being mistaken for a place of Muslim worship.

But given the level of Islamophobia in Britain at the best of times, this is minor stuff – isolated acts of individual fanatics. Condemnable though they are, hyping them is likely to fuel passions among Muslim hotheads outside Britain who do not know the facts, and create panic among families and friends of British Muslims in other countries.

This is already happening. A number of Muslims have said that their relatives in India got extremely concerned after seeing media reports of an alleged anti-Muslim backlash.

"They were surprised when I told them that no such thing was happening that Muslims were quite safe," one Muslim academic said.

It is easy to see why some of the reporting in the Indian media, particularly on television, has tended to be alarmist. It has "modern journalism" written all over it – young reporters parachuted into situations of which they have little background. The temptation to dramatise in such situations is strong – not with the intention to mislead but to catch the headlines, and to be seen to justify the expenses and confidence placed in them by their bosses.

Coming back to the "backlash," as someone who witnessed the virulent anti-Muslim mood in Britain after 9/11, I find the post-7/7 climate surprisingly less hostile. Despite finger-pointing and a lingering suspicion of Muslims, there is not the sort of pressure they faced in the wake of 9/11. In a large measure, this is because Britain's Muslim community has learnt a few lessons in the past four years.

And the biggest lesson it has learnt is that it must come out openly and clearly against extremists acting in the name of Islam. It has realised that simply saying that Islam does not permit violence would not do; and no amount of condemnation of terrorists would sound convincing if it is always accompanied by airing of Muslim grievances, which many



STANDING UP TO BE COUNTED: A representative of the Muslim community in London speaks at a gathering on Saturday to remember the victims of 7/7. – PHOTO: AFP

OUT OF LONDON

interpret as a qualified condemnation.

It is significant how quickly and sharply Muslim "leaders" and ordinary Muslims reacted to the July 7 attacks. Within hours, they were on television looking angry, and sounding angry at what had happened. Statements from Muslim organisations started pouring into newspaper offices offering help in tracking down those behind the bombings.

Refreshingly, there was no reference to any Muslim-related issue in any of the reactions and the revulsion seemed genuinely felt and expressed.

As *The Guardian* noted even in places like Luton, regarded as a hotbed of Islamic extremism, the anger was palpable – and denunciation unambiguous.

In a sign of how much the mood has

changed, activists of the radical Hizb-ut-Tahrir group were seen handing out leaflets outside a mosque declaring that Islam did "not allow the harming of innocent civilians." This from an organisation that in the past has hailed terrorist attacks.

Not only have leading Muslim scholars and religious figures made common cause with other faith communities in denouncing terrorists, there is even talk of issuing a *fatwa* against those who kill in the name of Islam.

The fact that a number of Muslims have also been killed or injured in the attacks has created an overwhelming sense of unity with victims of other faiths.

Public face of the tragedy

Indeed, a young British Asian Muslim girl has become the public face of the July 7 tragedy – a symbol of how it has affected every community.

The family of 20-year-old Shahara Akhter

Islam, who is feared dead, is quoted as saying that she has been killed "in the name of the religion that she loved."

This is how *The Independent* profiled her in a front-page splash:

"Shahara Akhter Islam was a devout Muslim with all her life before her ... And now this young woman, who so confidently straddled the twin cultures of her mosque and her city is ... feared dead, a victim of the horrific violence wreaked on London this week, almost certainly by terrorists of Al-Qaeda, murdering and maiming in the name of her faith."

Barring the usual suspects on the Right, the British media has acted with great restraint this time and, more importantly, highlighted the apparent change in the Muslim attitude – the community's willingness to stand up and be counted against fellow Muslims abusing Islam. This makes some of the breathless reporting in the foreign media even more jarring.

13 JUL 2005

Muslims fear backlash after hate mail deluge

London, July 8 (Reuters): Muslim leaders called on worshippers to pray today for the victims of the London bombings blamed on radical Islamists, as fears of an anti-Muslim backlash were fuelled by a deluge of abusive messages.

The Muslim Council of Britain said it had received 30,000 messages of hate via e-mail, jamming its computers.

The Islamic Human Rights Commission warned London Muslims to stay at home to avoid retaliation. London police chief Ian Blair said the authorities were in touch with Muslim leaders and those of other faiths to protect symbolic buildings.

"We are aware of one or two very minor incidents across the country but so far, as I would expect, Britain, with its liberal and welcoming approach to people, is taking it in its stride," Blair said.

Prime Minister Tony Blair condemned bombers who "act in the name of Islam" but said the majority of Muslims, both in Britain and abroad, were decent people who hated terrorism.

Many in London's Edgware Road — close to one of the underground stations that was attacked and home to scores of Lebanese, Iraqi and



A boy yawns during prayers at the Regent's Park mosque in London. (Reuters)

Egyptian businesses — condemned yesterday's attacks but feared there would be a knee-jerk revenge reaction.

"The whole world now will point at me and say I am an Arab and Muslim terrorist," said Zakaria Koubissi, a 29-year-old manager of a Lebanese restaurant.

"We expect to be harassed. It is a natural reaction, but people should know that Islam does not tell or allow us to kill innocent people," he added.

A previously unknown group, "Secret Group of al

Qaida's Jihad in Europe," claimed responsibility for the attacks that targeted a bus and three underground stations.

Despite the appeal for solidarity from moderate Muslims, Imran Waheed of Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, a radical Muslim group dedicated to building an Islamic caliphate worldwide, said it would continue to speak out against the West.

"Despite the intense scrutiny that our community will find itself under after these attacks, it is imperative that the

9/11
1-3 9/7
Muslim community is not silenced about the colonialism of western governments, the group said.

The group that claimed responsibility said in a website posting the attacks were in response to what it described as the "massacre carried out by Great Britain in Iraq and Afghanistan".

Many Muslims regard the US-led 2003 invasion of Iraq, where Britain has troops despite broad public opposition, as a campaign against their faith. They also accuse the West of supporting Israel in the dispute with the Palestinians.

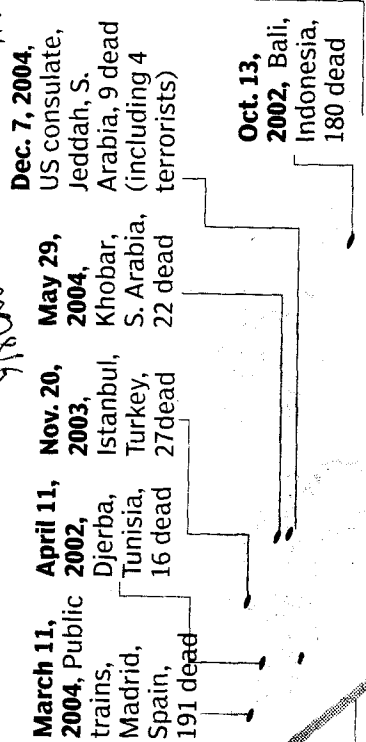
Speaking of the London bombers, Ahmed al-Merri, a 27-year-old government employee visiting from the United Arab Emirates, said: "They want to stop the killing of people in Iraq and Afghanistan, so they come to kill innocent people here and ruin ordinary Muslims' lives."

09 JUL 2005

THE TELEGRAPH



Recent attacks by



Revenge for Iraq and Afghanistan'

MARK TRAN & DONALD MACLEOD
London, July 7

A GROUP called 'The Secret Organisation of al-Qaida in Europe' has said it carried out the series of blasts in London in retaliation for Britain's involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The statement appeared on a website popular with Islamic militants, according to *Elaph*, a secular Arabic-language news website, and *Der Spiegel* magazine in Berlin, both of which published the text on their sites.

The statement, which also threatened attacks against Italy

and Denmark, said: 'Rejoice, Islamic nation. Rejoice, Arab world. The time has come for vengeance against the Zionist crusader government of Britain in response to the massacres Britain committed in Iraq and Afghanistan.'

The authenticity of the message could not be immediately confirmed, but al-Qaida in Europe also claimed responsibility for the last major terror attack in Europe: a string of bombs that hit commuter trains in Madrid in March 2004, killing 191 people.

The group appeared to boast that it had spent some time plan-

ning the attack. "We have repeatedly warned the British government and people. We have fulfilled our promise and carried out our blessed military raid in Britain after our Mujahideen exerted strenuous efforts over a long period of time to ensure the success of the raid," the posting read.

Michael Clarke of King's College, London, said four bombs would mean at least 16 people were involved in planting them in a targeted operation.

The fact that London was hit when security resources were focused on the G8 summit in Glastonbury showed thoughtful prepara-

tion by terrorists.

"It will have been quite a big plot and months in the planning," said Prof Clarke, who declined to speculate who was behind the attacks at this stage.

The danger of further explosions during the day could not be ruled out, he added. "The way to really bring a city to a halt is to explode more bombs when rescue services are running around."

Last month, Ken Jones, the chairman of a police terrorism committee, had said Britain would remain a prime target for terrorists.

The Guardian

How can Islam work best in favour of women? Leading women of the Muslim community comment on the Imrana case and argue for the correct interpretation of what they see as a humane system of law

Women under one God

MEHBOOBA MUFTI

BORN and raised under the influence of a grandfather who lived Islam in its true essence, I am appalled at the way Islam is misinterpreted and misused by a handful of people who claim to be authorities on the Shariat. I saw my grandfather living the Shariat in the way he treated women, be it my grandmother or his daughters or daughters-in-law, my sisters or me. The way he loved and respected everyone had a striking similarity to the stories we had heard about the Prophet's way of life. It seemed that he was living the Koran, Hadith and

Shariat in spirit and in practice.

I now wonder how my grandfather would have reacted to the plight of women such as Shah Bano, Mukhtara Mai in Pakistan, Gudia and Imrana. His first concern would have been to address the pain, humiliation and shock of these women. He would then have wanted to deliver justice to these hapless victims of violence. Koran, Hadith and the Shariat are not ordinary pieces of literature that can be taken and applied literally. To understand them it is not enough to know their meaning word for word. What one requires is purity of thought, as well as an adherence to humanity, justice and equality that

are the pillars of Islam. Was it humane for Shah Bano to be deserted by her husband without any support, at the fag-end of her life? What is just for the rapists of

Women's rights, polygamy, jihad... where will the misinterpretation of Islam end?

Mukhtara Mai to be released from jail? What will happen to Imrana, caught between her estranged husband, her accused father-in-law

and a hostile society? What hurts me, as a Muslim and also as a woman, is that unjust and inhumane diktats are passed in the name of Islam and the Shariat.

The idea of four marriages for a man under Islam is routinely maligned and misunderstood without regard for historical context. Nowadays, jihad is the most talked about and most used/ misused aspect of Islam. The misinterpretation of jihad has overtaken everything that Islam stands for. In my opinion, a jihad is needed to clear the disinformation against the very word 'jihad' itself!

Looking at the pathetic scenario of women, it would be the greatest

service to Islam to propagate the teachings of the Prophet about women, be it the right to property, the right to choose her husband, or indeed any other right. Islam is perhaps the only religion in the world which has made the right to education a duty for all, be it a man or a woman. "*Talebul allima, farizatum alla kulli muslimmena wa mulsima*" ("It is the duty of every Muslim to get education"). The Prophet has also emphasised that a husband should treat his wife affectionately and never be rough with her. It is said in Islam that besides God, if a Muslim were to bow before anyone else it would have to be a mother. This speaks volumes about the status of women in Islam. To propagate this aspect of Islam would be the real jihad.

I still firmly believe that the Shariat is the most just law and if immediate steps are not taken to interpret it in its true sense, then Muslims would be allowing others to encroach upon their beliefs.

The writer is President of the PDP

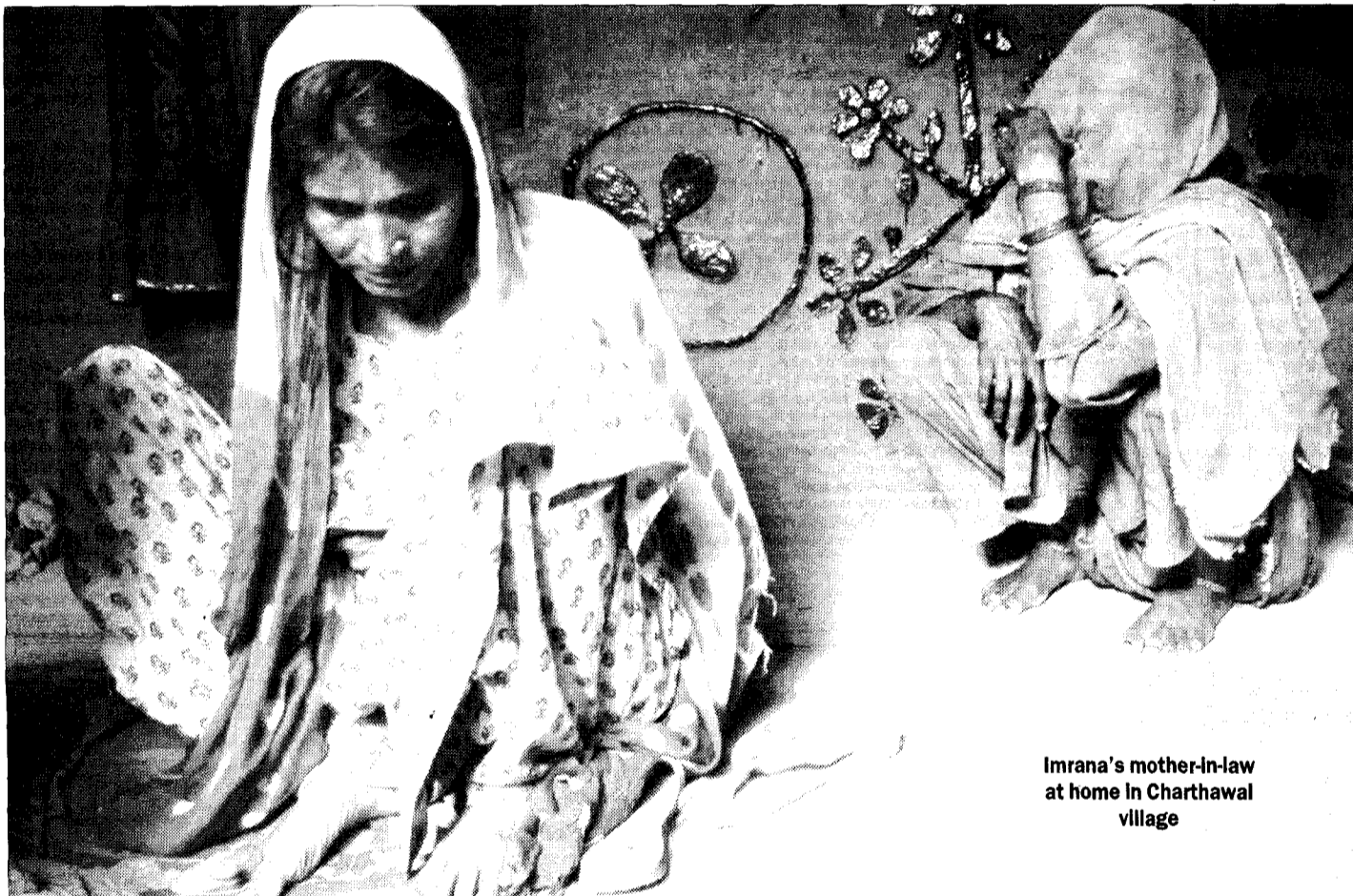
In law, beware the difference between an opinion and a decree

before incorporating this completely incredible and distorted version as the fatwa in his article.

The fatwa in fact is not a decree; it is an opinion of the Islamic scholar about the implication of Islamic laws in certain situations. It's like asking a judge as to what would be the punishment of a person committing murder, and the judge replying that he would get life imprisonment. The judge did not give his "judgment" here, nor is it an order to execute. This opinion is subject to the accused getting a fair trial at an appropriate court where an order to execute the punishment is passed by a competent judge.

To take a fatwa as equivalent to a decree or a court order is inappropriate. Fatwas do not even contain names. The fatwa in this case was obtained based on the hypothetical case of a woman raped by her father-in-law. The fatwa (i.e., learned interpretive opinion) as per the Hanafi School is that such a woman does not remain the wife of her husband and becomes haram for him. What happens to Imrana, specifically, however, depends on whether she was in fact raped by her father-in-law, not on the letter of this fatwa.

The writer, a member of the Muslim Personal Law Board and Executive Director of the Iqra Education Foundation, can be contacted at uzmanaheed99@yahoo.com



Imrana's mother-in-law at home in Charthawal village

Flexible law, inflexible justice

UZMA NAHEED

IMRAWNA is unfortunate not so much because of the heinous crime purported to have been committed against her, but because of her victimization by the media. We don't know for sure if she was raped by her father-in-law, since the case is under investigation. But one thing we do know is that the media has raped her repeatedly.

In other such cases where revealing the real identity could embarrass the victim and her family, it has invariably been kept secret by the media. Of course Imrana, Gudia and others like them are exceptions to this golden rule. It is common practice to make an issue of stray social

problems or criminal incidents in Muslim society. Child marriage of Hindus is rampant in Madhya Pradesh. Sati is still practiced in Rajasthan. Hindu Undivided Family laws have taken away the right of inheritance of Hindu women altogether. But these are not issues highlighted by the media. TV channels, while making a hue and cry about Imrana, are remarkably reticent about these other ills in India. What they really need is the pretext of a Gudia or an Imrana to have debates, discussions, and big or small fights on TV, so that Islamic Law can be subjected to criticism.

The irony is that this is being done without bothering to get authentic knowledge of either Islamic Law or

the case itself. Even when the facts of the case are drastically changed after investigation, there is not a word of penitence, apology or regret. Naturally, all Muslims are united in the view that the suspect, if proven guilty, should be awarded the most stringent possible punishment. The fact is that no law should be studied in isolation, as it forms an integral part of jurisprudence as a whole.

Since Deoband represents the Hanafi school, the fatwa in question naturally reflects Hanafi fiqh. There are four major schools of thought available to Muslims. Islamic laws have an inherent elasticity to suit various situations; it is time that Muslims took advantage of this legal elasticity.

It is sad that an eminent lawyer like Soli Sorabjee too was so carried away by media coverage that he simply ignored the basic principle of justice; the accused should not be treated as a perpetrator of crime unless proven guilty. He gives his verdict in "Imrana and the Fatwa" (The Indian Express, July 2): "A young woman was raped by her father-in-law". According to Sorabjee, the fatwa of Darul Uloom Deoband states that Imrana has become *haram*, is not fit to live with her husband, and instead should live with her father-in-law. I don't know his source for this version of the fatwa. I am sure he must not have seen the text of the fatwa (or its copy), nor must he have bothered to check it

Don't drag in Uniform Civil Code'

PRESS Trust of India
Muzaffarnagar, July 2

THE ISLAMIC seminary Darul-Uloom on Saturday declared that the Uniform Civil Code issue should not be dragged into the Imrana case. "The Uniform Civil Code should not be raised in the case," Mufti Ajaz Arshad Kasmi of the Deoband Darul-Uloom said.

"There is no conflict between the law of the land and the Shariat law in the case," Kasmi said, adding that the future relationship of the victim with her in-laws would come within the ambit of 'sharia'.

The police have already started proceedings against accused Ali Mohammad, he added.

Meanwhile, the Shariat Court on Saturday said it was willing to hold a special sitting in the case before its scheduled hearing in August, provided the victim or her parents appear in court.

"If Imrana or her parents appear before the court to pursue the case, the case may be heard in a special sitting of the court," Mufti Iqbal, one of the nine members

of the court, said. Conventionally, the Shariat court is convened on the first Friday of every month and the next hearing in the case is to take place on August 5. Imrana, who was allegedly raped by her father-in-law, failed to appear before the religious court to present her case on Friday.

Don't politicise case, BJP told

The All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat (AIMMM), too, condemned the BJP for "exploiting" the Imrana case politically and said the personal law aspect of the issue should be decided by consensus among various schools of Islamic law.

The AIMMM "condemns the political exploitation of the Imrana case by the BJP to promote its long-cherished agenda, of religious assimilation of the Muslim community through imposition of a common civil code," its president Syed Shahabuddin said in a statement here.

He said the move was totally "illogical and misconceived" as no



Imrana Bibi: 'Spare me'

civil code can eliminate such relationships in society.

"Many such cases in the Hindu community are reported off and on, though it violates Hindu code," Shahabuddin said.

He said the criminal aspect, the alleged rape of Imrana, should be dealt with by the law of the land, but on the question whether the *nikah* between a Muslim woman

THREE VIEWPOINTS

WALKING THE MIDDLE PATH

Steering clear of any controversy over personal laws, the Uttar Pradesh Women's Commission said Imrana should be given the right to take her own decisions

IT'S UN-ISLAMIC

Rampur Imam Maulana Mufti Mehboob Ali said those sympathising with Imrana were 'un-Islamic'

FATWAS IRRELEVANT: CONG

Congress spokesman Abhishek Singhvi said when it came to dealing with a heinous crime, fatwas become irrelevant

and her husband stands dissolved after a rape by her father-in-law, different schools of Islamic jurisprudence have different opinions.

The AIMMM also appealed to the Muftis "to refrain from issuing *fatwas* on live and sensitive situations unless approached by the parties concerned and without investigating the circumstances."

Before Imrana, there was Rani

Muzaffarnagar, July 2

TWO YEARS ago, a woman wronged and raped was cast into the oblivion of her parents' house. But, when Rani appeared before National Women's Commission chairperson Girija Vyas on Saturday, she would settle for nothing but justice. And the cause of the awakening? She had heard of Imrana.

Rani, married to one Istikhar of Hudoli village in Bulandshahr about 10 years ago, alleged her father-in-law Istiaque raped her about two-and-a-half years ago when Rani was alone at home. She brought the matter to the knowledge of her husband and another family member but they insisted on hushing it up. With the promise that he would soon separate from his family, Istikhar sent Rani to her parent's house. When he did not come Rani filed a case under Dowry Act.

HTC

01 JUL 2005

I'll separate from my husband if ordered to: Imrana

Muzaffarnagar: Imrana, whose marriage was annulled by Muslim religious leaders after she was raped by her father-in-law, on Thursday said she would abide by the fatwa and expressed confidence that she would get justice from the court of law.

"I will abide by the Shariat," the 28-year-old mother of five said in an interaction with mediapersons in the presence of Girja Vyas, chairperson of the National Commission for Women (NCW). She, however, said the fatwa had not been communicated to her. She said she would separate from her husband if it was ordered by the religious court. Imrana also said she had immense faith in the law of the land and demanded strictest punishment for her father-in-law, now in jail.

Refusing to be drawn into any controversy over the edict, Vyas said, "The issue should not be publicised but treated on humanitarian grounds. We are bound by the constitution." She also demanded a speedy trial—on the lines of a fast track court in Rajasthan which pronounced the sentence in 16 days.

Meanwhile, activists from the All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) staged a demonstration in Muzaffarnagar to protest the edict issued by the Darul-Uloom Deoband. Led by AIDWA president Subhashini Ali, the protesters demanded stern action against Imrana's father-in-law. "The fatwa is irrational and against the principles of natural justice as it punishes the victim, not the culprit," Ali said.

However, several members of the Muslim community led by local leader Maulana Madani took out a procession in support of the fatwa. In a memorandum to President A P J Abdul Kalam, they demanded compensation for Imrana and punishment for the accused, but said interference in the Shariat would not be tolerated.



President of the All-India Muslim Women's Personal Law Board Shaista Amber holds a meeting on the Imrana case in Lucknow on Thursday

'Punish those behind fatwa'

Lucknow: Reflecting a divide within the community over the future of Imrana, who was raped by her father-in-law, the All-India Muslim Women's Personal Law Board (AIMWPLB) on Thursday rejected the edict of the Islamic seminary ordering her to separate from her husband.

Rejecting the fatwa issued by the Darul Uloom Deoband, a panchayat organised by the AIMWPLB said it would make efforts to ensure that those who pronounced "wrong" verdict are tried under the Indian Penal Code. "The panchayat has rejected the fatwa issued by the Darul Uloom. Imrana has the right to live with her husband and children," AIMWPLB chief Shaista Amber said. Rejecting the All-India Muslim Personal Law Board's backing of the fatwa, Amber said it had been based on the "wrong interpretation" of the Koran and was "unacceptable".

Cong, Mulayam playing vote-bank politics: BJP

Chandigarh: Accusing Uttar Pradesh chief minister Mulayam Singh Yadav and the Congress of playing vote-bank politics over the Imrana rape case, the BJP on Thursday demanded reforms in religious personal laws to bring them in conformity with the constitution.



Arun Jaitley

"Mulayam is supporting a retrograde step where an innocent victim is being punished for no fault of hers. The Congress and some of its allies are ducking the debate on the issue and have not clarified their stand. This is a cruel example of vote-bank politics," BJP spokesperson Arun Jaitley said, adding that there was a need to

bring the country's personal laws, where religion was the basis, in conformation with constitutional requirements and guarantees. Claiming that the BJP had started a national debate on the incident, he said Imrana's case highlighted how a woman's right to equality and living with dignity had been eroded.

"It's time the constitution prevailed where personal laws are in conflict with it," he said.

Welcoming the CPM's call for reforms in the personal laws, Jaitley regretted that the Congress was refusing to clarify its stand despite having a woman president—Sonia Gandhi.

Shah Bano spectre in Imrana storm

OUR BUREAU

Lucknow/New Delhi, June 29: Uttar Pradesh chief minister Mulayam Singh Yadav today backed the controversial fatwa annulling the marriage of Imrana, who was raped by her father-in-law.

The Samajwadi Party chief's stand, which set the stage for the tragedy to be politicised, bore echoes of the way the Rajiv Gandhi government had kowtowed to Muslim clerics in the Shah Bano case two decades ago.

"The decision of the Muslim religious leaders (of the Darul Uloom of Deoband) in the Imrana case must have been taken after a lot of thought," Mulayam Singh told reporters in Lucknow. "The religious leaders are all very learned and they understand the Muslim community and its sentiments."

The chief minister's remarks came after the state women's commission wrote to him, asking him to step in and grant the 28-year-old mother of five permission to stay with her husband.

Imrana was raped at her home in Muzaffarnagar early this month, following which she was asked to quit her village by local Muslim leaders.

The local panchayat issued a fatwa saying her relations with her husband were automatically terminated, for she had become a sort of mother to him.

Imrana and her husband Noor Ilahi defied the fatwa

till the powerful Deoband theologians yesterday passed theirs. Now she finds herself virtually on the streets.

The Congress, still haunted by the Shah Bano case of the mid-eighties — when it used its overwhelming majority in Parliament to pass a bill that overturned a Supreme Court judgment and denied alimony to divorced Muslim women — has played it safe. The party has said the matter is best left to the judiciary.

"We believe the process of the country's law should not clash with any personal law of any community. If it did, the law of the country will prevail," state Congress chief Salman Khursheed said.

The BJP today sought to draw mileage from the discomfiture of the Congress, accusing it of playing "vote-bank politics". The party has again raised the demand for a common civil code.

The CPM, the Congress's ally at the Centre, has demanded a crackdown on the panchayats that are playing with the lives of the rural poor. Its general secretary, Prakash Karat, condemned the fatwas against Imrana as a serious violation of human rights and the law.

"If the personal law of any community infringes on the rights of women, the law of the land should take centre stage and impart justice," Karat said.

The National Commission for Women will start a camp in Muzaffarnagar tomorrow.

30 JUN 99 THE HINDU

Pervez justice

BRK (U) 7 20/6
Islamabad, June 29 (Reuters): Pakistan wants to ensure gang-rape victim Mukhtaran Mai finds justice, President Pervez Musharraf said today, as he invited women from around the world to come and tell of their abuse and recommend solutions.

Mai, 33, was gangraped on the orders of the traditional village council in 2002 after her brother — who was 12 at the time — was judged to have offended the honour of a powerful clan by befriending a woman from the tribe. The rape and subsequent acquittal of five of the six men convicted of attacking her provoked an international outcry and focused attention on the plight of women in rural Pakistan.

“I have always condemned in the strongest possible terms the actions of powerful groups to seek revenge on those who are weak by humiliating their women,” Musharraf said in a statement posted on his website (www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk).

“The government remains committed to all the victims of such offences, including Mukhtaran Mai, in their quest for justice according to law,” he said. Mai has lodged an appeal with the Supreme Court against the acquittal of the men convicted of attacking her. The court yesterday ordered the re-arrest of 13 men accused of involvement in the gang rape.

30 JUN 2005

Re-arrest Mai rape suspects: Pak SC

K J M VARMA
ISLAMABAD, JUNE 28

OVERTURNING the acquittal of 13 suspects in the internationally condemned Mukhtar Mai gangrape case, the Pakistan Supreme Court today accepted the victim's plea and ordered their re-arrest.

The three-judge bench of the Supreme Court ordered that non-bailable arrest warrants be issued against the 13 men accused of raping Mai in 2002 on the orders of a Punjab province village council as a punishment for her brother's alleged affair with a girl from an influential rival clan.

In 2003, a trial court had convicted six of the accused and released eight others. It had sentenced four to death and awarded life imprisonment to two. Of the six, the Lahore High Court released five



earlier this month and commuted the death sentence of the sixth to life imprisonment, drawing strong criticism from human rights groups.

The Supreme Court ruling came a day after 34-year-old

The court ordered that non-bailable arrest warrants be issued against the 13 men accused of raping Mai on orders of a Punjab province council

Mai appealed the acquittals at the apex court. "I am very happy. I hope those who humiliated me will be punished," she told reporters outside the court.

Defence counsel and senior leader of the opposition Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), who appeared for Mai, said the court order covered all the 14 accused and it quashed all previous judgements. This meant that the court could be hearing the case afresh, he said.

Meanwhile, the Pakistan government also returned Mai

her confiscated passport. "I have received the passport late (last) night," she said.

The government came under flack recently for putting Mai on the Exit Control List (ECL) to prevent her from going to the United States to address rights groups.

President Pervez Musharraf said he himself ordered her name to be put on the ECL as her campaign could damage Pakistan's standing in the international community. The decision, however, turned out to be a publicity disaster as it hit headlines all over the world, and caused US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to express concern and even offer Mai a visa.

Pakistan removed Mai from the ECL after she dropped plans to visit the US and withdrew her visa application. —PTI

63 JUN 2005 INDIAN EXPRESS

Ex-Guantanamo detainees describe 'Koran abuse'

Freed Pakistani Men Say US Interrogators Would 'Tear It Into Pieces, Throw It In Urine'

Lahore: Pakistanis freed from Guantanamo Bay claimed they saw American interrogators throw, tear and stand on copies of Islam's holy book, and one former detainee said naked women sat on prisoners' chests during questioning. The Pentagon has denied the accusations and said Al Qaeda training manuals instruct prisoners to make such false charges.

The men acknowledged that they were aware of the international furor caused by previous reports about Koran desecrations. Such reports triggered protests across the Islamic world and deadly riots in Afghanistan last month.

Seventeen Pakistanis were freed on Monday from a jail in this eastern city where they had been held since their release nine months ago from the US prison for terror in Cuba. A Pakistani official said each had been "declared innocent by America" and cleared of involvement in terrorism by Pakistani intelligence.

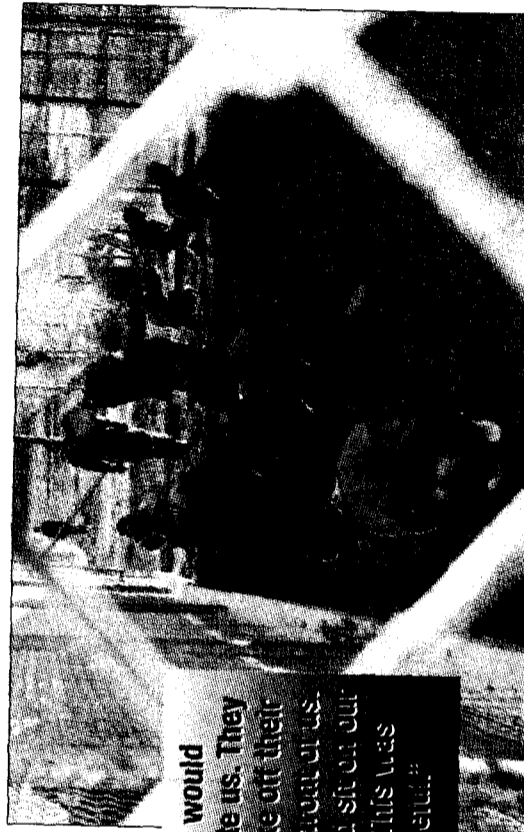
The claims of the men, who spoke to reporters after joyful family reunions outside the jail in Lahore, could not be confirmed independently. AP briefly interviewed six of the men separately, sometimes interrupted by

Pakistani officials who appeared anxious to keep the men from making the allegations. All six said they were arrested in Afghanistan after going there to fight the US-led coalition that ousted the hardline Taliban regime in late 2001 for harbouring Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network.

"During interrogation, whenever I would make a reference to the Koran they would hit me in the face with a copy (of it). They would tear it into pieces. They would tell me that Koran teaches us terrorism," said Salahuddin Ayubi, a 31-year-old from Rajanpur in eastern Pakistan.

"They would throw the Koran against the roof, which would tear it into pieces and they would say, 'This is the real source of terrorism,'" Ayubi said. "This happened several times in my interrogation."

Hafiz Ahsan, a 26-year-old Lahore tailor, who said he was arrested three years ago in southern Afghanistan during the "jihad" against America—



"Girls would interrogate us. They would take off their clothes in front of us. They would sit on our chests. This was shameful!"

He claimed he saw interrogators stand on the Koran and throw the book in urine. "Our interrogators would stand on the Koran and they would ask, 'Call your God and ask him to rescue you,'" he said. "They would throw Koran in a bucket of urine. They would tear the Koran and throw it at our faces. All this happened in front of our eyes. It was a routine."

The freed detainees said they had

He claimed inmates staged a hunger strike in protest, and were then tortured with electric shocks. Lt Cmdr Flex Plexico, a Pentagon spokesman, said: "That these detainees are now making allegations of abuse at Guantanamo seems to fit the standard operating procedure in Al Qaeda training manuals."

learned about the controversy from other inmates and prison officials.

A Pentagon report has confirmed five cases in which guards at Guantanamo mishandled the Koran. The report said no guard flushed the Koran down the toilet—an allegation that surfaced in Newsweek magazine. The magazine retracted the report.

Tahir Ashrafi, a religious affairs adviser for Punjab province, said the 17 men had been cleared by Pakistani intelligence agencies and "have not been found to be involved in any kind of terrorist activity".

However, one of the freed men, Khalil-ur Rahman, 21, said he would not hesitate to fight again. "If I get a chance to fight jihad again, I will definitely go," he said.

Rahman claimed female interrogators at Guantanamo stripped in front of prisoners despite pleas for them not to—echoing allegations leveled by other inmates, although not by the other five inmates who spoke to AP.

"Girls would interrogate us. They would take off their clothes in front of us. They would make different poses in front of us and they would sit on our chests," said Rahman. "This was shameful." AP

Imrana rape splits Muslim board

RASHEED KIDWAI

June 28: The alleged rape of Imrana, a mother of five, by her father-in-law has split the All India Muslim Personal Law Board, the apex decision-making body of the community, along sectarian lines.

Followers of the Hanfi school (named after Imam Abu Hanifa) are firm that the rape victim's marriage stands automatically annulled because father-son relations are "sacred", while followers of the Shafai school argue that she cannot be punished further.

In India, most of the Sunni population belongs to either of the two schools.

Board chief Maulana Rabey Nadvi, who is in Muam-

bai, yesterday spent a busy day trying to put a lid on the controversy. The rector of the Nadwa school of theology spoke to some senior office-bearers, wondering why the board was being dragged into a matter that should be dealt with according to criminal justice proceedings.

Word has been sent to board members not to issue statements on the Imrana rape case as it falls beyond its mandate.

The board, Nadvi said, is primarily meant to protect Shariah law in civil matters. Prima facie, Imrana's case has serious criminal and legal implications that should take precedence over other matters.

Yesterday, a board member had said in Lucknow that Im-

rana must separate from her husband. But that was an individual view, not the board's stand.

Nadvi is of the view that fatwas in such matters lower the prestige of local panchayats and theological schools.

First, fatwas issued by theological schools have no locus standi since there is no mechanism to ensure their implementation. Secondly, those issuing fatwas lack basic information such as the sequence of events, statements, cross-examination, necessary to impart justice.

Imrana was allegedly raped by her father-in-law at Muzaffarnagar in western Uttar Pradesh. The village's Islamic panchayat asked her to abandon her husband Noor Il-

lahi but a defiant Imrana initially refused to obey the order.

Yesterday, after the Deoband school of theology said in a fatwa that Imrana's marriage with Noor Ilahi is nullified and they must split, the rape victim said in Muzaffarnagar that she and her husband would obey the order. The Deoband muftis also ruled out the possibility of Imrana marrying her father-in-law, pointing out that under Islamic law, he should face death penalty.

The lone woman board member, Begum Naseem Iqtedar Ali Khan, said in Lucknow yesterday that she agreed with the muftis' order. But some board members feel this case should not be seen as a Muslim issue. Board

member Kamal Farooqui said: "It was a heinous crime that should not have occurred in a civilised society. The culprit must be punished in the most severe manner possible. That is it. As for future of Imrana, it should be her decision." He clarified that this was his personal view.

Legal experts in the board are also asking how a rape victim's name is being banded about when a Supreme Court verdict has strictly prohibited this.

Coming barely few months after the agreement on the model *nikahnama* in Bhopal and creation of parallel women, Shia and Barelvi law boards, the Imrana controversy has again shaken the fragile unity within the board.

'Terror training in Pakistan goes underground'

JOSH MEYER

WASHINGTON, JUNE 25

US COUNTERTERRORISM authorities say the detention of a Lodi—a California-based group of Pakistani men—this month underscores a serious problem: The Islamabad Government's failure to dismantle hundreds of Jihadist training camps.

Long before the FBI arrested Hamid Hayat and his father, Umer Hayat, and accused the son of attending one of the camps, law enforcement and intelligence officials were watching the Pakistan-based training sites with increasing anxiety. Since the post-September 11 military strikes on Al Qaeda strongholds in Pakistan's tribal territories, the Jihadist training effort has scattered and gone underground, where it is much harder to detect and destroy, US and Pakistani officials said in interviews.

Instead of large and visible "camps", would-be terrorists are being recruited, radicalised and trained in a vast system of smaller, under-the-radar Jihadist sites. And the effort is no longer overseen by senior Al Qaeda operatives as it was in Afghanistan, but by at least three of Pakistan's largest militant groups, which are fueled by a shared radical fundamentalist Islamic ideology.

The groups themselves—Harkat-ul-Mujahedin, or HuM; Jaish-e-Mohammed; and Lashkar-e-Taiba—have officially been banned in Pakistan since 2002 and have been formally designated as terrorist organisations by the US Government. That has prompted occasional crack-downs by Islamabad, but the groups merely change their names and occasionally their leadership and resume opera-

tions, authorities say.

US officials also accuse them of complicity in many of the terrorist attacks against US and allied interests in Pakistan and other assaults in the bitterly disputed Kashmir region. Many US officials say it's not surprising that Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf hasn't cracked down harder on the militant groups and what they describe as their increasingly extensive training activities. For years, the ISI itself has worked closely with the groups in training Pakistan's own network of militants to fight ongoing conflicts in Kashmir and elsewhere, and to protect the country's interests in neighboring Afghanistan.

The militant groups also derive tremendous influence from their affiliations with powerful fundamentalist political parties in Pakistan. Until recently, the

US did not press the issue with its ally, be-

From LA Times

lieving that those trained in the Pakistani camps would be sent only to fight in Kashmir and other regional conflicts. But that's not the case anymore, according to US and South Asian intelligence agencies. US military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan have caused many Pak-based terrorists to redirect their rage toward US targets.

"There is tremendous overlap, and that is the problem, between bin Laden and Al Qaeda, the Pakistani authorities and the Kashmiri groups," said Bruce Hoffman, chairman of Rand Corp. and a counter-terrorism consultant to the US Government.

"Pakistan military and intelligence are well-aligned with the radical fundamentalists," said a senior US counter-terrorism official.

"Musharraf, he's in (a) pickle... he's trying to play it at both ends." —LATWP

Prez-elect wants 'modern Islamic' Iran

Agencies

Teheran, June 25

IN HIS first public statement since his landslide victory, Iran's President-elect Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has said he seeks to create a "modern, advanced and Islamic" role model for the world. The Tehran mayor — a hard-line conservative who has said Iran should embrace the principles of the 1979 Islamic Revolution — was declared the winner of Iran's presidential election early on Saturday, garnering almost 62 per cent of the votes, the interior ministry said.

His taped statement, broad-

cast on state-run radio and reported by The Associated Press, appeared aimed at easing worries that his ultraconservative views would clash with Iran's attempts to expand its economy and international ties.

Ahmadinejad won 61.6 per cent of the vote while his more moderate rival, former two-term President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, received nearly 35.9 per cent, according to final results announced on Saturday on state television. The rest of the ballots were deemed invalid.

An estimated 23 million votes were cast, or nearly 49 per cent of Iran's 47 million eligible voters

exercised their franchise. In last week's first round of the presidential election, the turnout was close to 63 per cent. The Associated Press had reported.

The election has been marred by allegations of voter fraud. On Saturday, an official with Iran's interior ministry accused Iran's Guardian Council of election fraud and said he was placed under arrest when he objected to voting irregularities, Iran's official news agency said.

But Ahmadinejad's landslide win over Rafsanjani, who was largely seen as the front-runner, marked a remarkable comeback. Ahmadinejad had not been ex-

pected to even make it into the runoff, but he managed to pull off a surprising second-place finish in last week's balloting, putting him into the showdown with Rafsanjani.

Polls closed in the presidential runoff about 11:30 pm on Friday after several extensions were issued to allow late voters to cast ballots.

Many analysts say Ahmadinejad's victory will deal a blow to those throughout the country who have fought for democratic and economic reforms — even if supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has the last word in matters of state. The race be-

tween Rafsanjani and Ahmadinejad set up a striking choice for Iranians. Rafsanjani had softened his stance in recent months, calling for improving Iran's strained ties with the West — including the US, which has had no formal diplomatic ties with the country since the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Ahmadinejad called for embracing the principles of the revolution. He had the support of many vigilantes and popular militias, as well as many poor people. He has said he wants to turn some cultural institutions, created in recent years, into mosques.

Insurgents scan Europe for recruits

PETER Beaumont
London, June 19

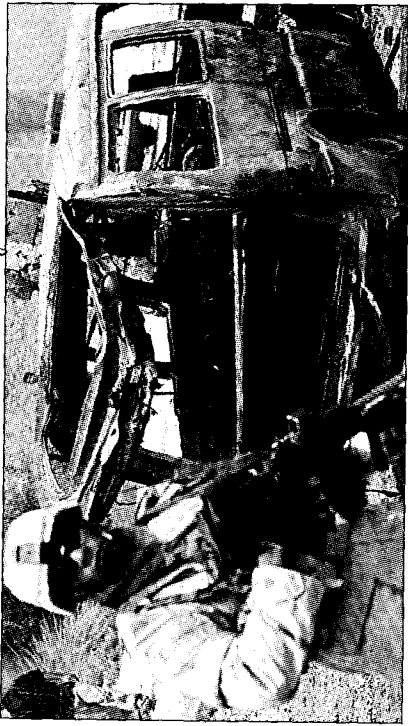
ISLAMIC MILITANT networks are on a recruiting drive across Europe for potential suicide bombers in Iraq, according to US and European police and security sources. The claim comes amid evidence that the high number of recent attacks is forcing terrorist leaders into a drive for new volunteers. Analysis of recent patterns of activity, based on tracing the identities of suicide bombers killed in Iraq, indicates that Europe is experiencing the sharpest growth in the recruitment of suicide bombers in comparison with North Africa and Asia, although those areas still supply the largest numbers of *jihadis*.

Evidence of the rise in recruitment in Europe has emerged as concern grows that sympathy for the conflict is

spreading to mainstream Islamic communities that have thus far rejected violence. There are fears of an 'Afghanistan effect' in a new generation of young men, inspiring them to fight the Americans in Iraq in the same way that a previous generation flocked to fight the Russians.

In the past six months, old and dormant networks — including some that had been concerned with violence in North Africa, some with the war against Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and others in criminality — have been reactivated across Europe. Some intelligence sources believe that there are now up to 21 networks active in Europe, some of them linked to more than 60 groups in the Magreb area of north Africa, involved in training and recruitment of volunteers, many for suicide bombing missions in Iraq.

Some analysts argue that there is a general 'waxing and



A US soldier at the site of a car bomb explosion in Baghdad. Militants are now recruiting suicide bombers from Europe.

waning' of activity as networks come together and then are broken up — but all agree that recruitment in Europe is increasing, with 'talent spotters' taking a particular interest in those

with European passports who find it easier to travel. It is believed that some networks may actually hold a 'register' of those who have expressed an interest and who are gradually being

'tapped up' for missions.

Analysis of the *jihadis* who have travelled to Iraq and have either died — the majority — or have been picked up also shows worrying trends. A typical volunteer is a well-educated, upwardly mobile man in his mid-to-late twenties — European volunteers are on average aged 25 — from a middle-class background and a stable family, and without a strong religious upbringing. Many spoke several languages and were technologically literate. Almost two-thirds — including Europeans — were married. The most common route to joining the jihad is through groups of friends — often experiencing similar feelings of isolation. There is a suggestion that several volunteers from central Europe appear to have been brought up as Christians.

"The most worrying thing at the moment is that there are new

sources of *jihadis* being activated in countries where you would not expect them to come from. That added to the fact that some old networks in existing areas of concern, such as Spain and France, have been reactivated has rung alarm bells in the Western intelligence agencies," said a senior US intelligence official.

Academics specialising in Iraq and West Asia, such as Rosemary Hollis at Chatham House, say they have also identified a recent change in the 'atmosphere' of how the insurgency in Iraq is viewed by a wider Islamic audience. "The region is both in transition and in crisis," she said last week, "and that has meant that there is now no longer any will in Muslim communities to isolate or undermine what the extremists are doing while this moment of transition is being played out."

Guardian/News Service

U.N. sanctions on Islamic Jihad

UNITED NATIONS: The United Nations has imposed sanctions on the Islamic Jihad Group which is active in Central Asia, saying it has links to the Al-Qaeda.

The U.N. Security Council committee in charge of anti-terrorism sanctions against Al-Qaeda and remnants of Afghanistan's former Taliban rulers added the group to its sanctions list on June 1, according to an announcement circulated late on Friday.

Sanctions require all 191 U.N. member states to impose a travel ban and arms embargo and to freeze the financial assets of all those on the list. With the latest change, the list now includes 325 individuals and 117 groups or "entities."

According to Central Asian terrorism experts, the Islamic Jihad Group is believed to have 350 to 400 members, about a quarter of whom have undergone militant training.

In late May, the United States designated the Islamic Jihad Group as a global terrorist group. The designation enables the U.S. Government to block travel to the United States by any of its members and freeze any assets in the country. U.S. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said the group coordinated bombing attacks against the U.S. and Israeli embassies in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. — AP

7 JUN 2005

THE HINDU

US admits Quran abuse

Washington, June 4 (Reuters): The US military for the first time today detailed how jailers at Guantanamo mishandled the Quran, including a case in which a guard's urine splashed through a vent onto the Islamic holy book and others in which it was kicked, stepped on and soaked in water.

US Southern Command, responsible for the prison for foreign terrorism suspects at the naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, described five cases of "mishandling" of a Quran by US personnel confirmed by a newly completed military inquiry, officials said in a statement.

In the incident involving urine, which took place this past March, Southern Command said a guard left his observation post, went outside and urinated near an air vent, and "the wind blew his urine through the vent" and into a cell block.

It said a detainee told guards the urine "splashed on him and his Quran." The statement said the detainee was given a new prison uniform and Quran, and that the guard was reprimanded and given duty in which he had no contact with prisoners. Captain John Adams, a spokesman at

Guantanamo, said the inquiry deemed the incident "accidental."

Southern Command said a civilian interrogator apologized in July 2003 to a detainee for stepping on his Quran. The interrogator "was later terminated for a pattern of unacceptable behaviour, an inability to follow direct guidance and poor leadership," the statement said.

In August 2003, prisoners' Qurans became wet when night-shift guards threw water balloons in a cell block, the statement said. In February 2002, guards kicked a prisoner's Quran, it added.

In the fifth confirmed incident of mishandling a Quran, Southern Command said a prisoner in August 2003 complained that "a two-word obscenity" had been written in English in his Quran.

Southern Command said it was "possible" a guard had written the words but "equally possible" the prisoner himself had done it. It did not offer an explanation of the detainee's possible motive.

"Mishandling a Quran at Guantanamo Bay is a rare occurrence. Mishandling of a Quran here is never condoned," Brigadier General Jay Hood, commander of the

Guantanamo prison who headed the inquiry, said in the statement released after business hours last night.

Hood disclosed on May 26 that the inquiry, announced May 11, had turned up five cases of "mishandling of a Quran" by US personnel at Guantanamo, but declined at the time to describe the incidents other than saying they did not involve flushing one down a toilet.

Southern Command launched the inquiry after a May 9 *Newsweek* article, later retracted by the magazine, that stated US interrogators at Guantanamo had flushed a Quran down a toilet to try to make detainees talk.

Violent protests erupted in some Muslim countries following the article's publication and at least 16 people died in rioting in Afghanistan.

In the statement, Hood reiterated that the inquiry found "no credible evidence" that a member of the military joint task force at Guantanamo ever flushed a Quran down a toilet.

Chief Pentagon spokesman Lawrence Di Rita, said Southern Command's policy on proper handling of the Quran was "serious, respectful and appropriate."



A shop owner leafs through the pages of a large Quran at his bookshop in Baghdad. (AFP)

JUN 2005

JUN 2005

Pak Islamic law review

Islamabad, May 24 (Reuters): A government-appointed panel plans to review strict Islamic laws in Pakistan which rights activists say discriminate against women.

The Islamic Hudood Ordinances were passed in 1979 under the military rule of General Zia-ul-Haq.

One of their most controversial provisions is that a woman must have four male witnesses to prove rape, or face a charge of adultery herself.

Men and women found guilty of adultery also face stoning to death or 100 lashes, although such punishments have never been executed after being handed down by a court.

The Islamic Ideology Council, a government body

made up of clerics and lawyers charged with ensuring that laws confirm with Islam, has decided to review the controversial legislation.

Its chairman, Mohamad Khalid Masood, said the council would consult scholars from Muslim countries attending a conference on Islamic criminal law this month in Islamabad.

"We have the power to review laws in the country. We have reviewed many other laws and we plan to look into these laws as well," he said.

He said the council would make recommendations to the government but any change in legislation would be a matter for parliament.

President Pervez Musharraf, who espouses a moderate and modern Muslim state,

has long called for a review of Islamic laws but has faced stiff opposition from powerful religious groups.

Secular political parties, civil rights and women's groups say the numbers of rapes and violence against women have soared since the laws were passed.

Women's groups say many rapes go unreported, partly because of the difficulty of proving the crime under the Hudood laws.

The government has moved to reduce violence against women by toughening up laws against so-called "honour killings" and prescribing the death penalty for such crimes.

25 MAY 2005

THE TELEGRAPH

Amazon finds itself in a Koran row

Anti-US rage all over Muslim world: Study



An Iranian cleric shouts anti-US slogans during a demonstration at a seminary in Qom, 120 km south of Teheran

Los Angeles: A US Muslim group on Wednesday demanded a public apology from Amazon.com over the delivery of a desecrated Koran to a shocked customer, even as many across the Muslim world remained unconvinced by Newsweek's retraction of an article claiming the Koran was desecrated by American interrogators at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

In Los Angeles, graduate student Azza Basarudin told journalists she received the Koran with the words "death

to all Muslims" and a profanity-laced statement scrawled across the inside cover.

Muslim lobby group, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, said that while Amazon had apologised for its part in delivering the desecrated Koran, it needed to do more.

"An apology isn't enough because an apology recognised that there was a mistake, made but we have received no guarantees that this mistake won't be repeated," MPAC spokeswoman Edina Lekovic said.

MPAC is demanding Amazon conduct a probe, issue a condemnation, establish zero-tolerance policy toward sellers and employees and support MPAC's hate crime prevention programme.

Amazon.com's Patty Smith said it has apologised, refunded Basarudin's money, and sent a copy of the Koran from Amazon and a gift certificate.

Meanwhile, in many countries, politicians sceptical of Newsweek's about-face demanded the US should make

public details of its probe.

"We call on the American administration to investigate in the incident," Jassem al-Kharafi, the parliament speaker in Kuwait.

"In Guantanamo they're throwing Muslims into the garbage... To flush their holy book down the toilet is the easy part," said Walid Kazzaha, a political science professor at the American University in Cairo. "It is easy for (the Americans) to humiliate the Koran, for them it is just a book," said Fatma el-Hefny, an AUC student. AP

New York: Anti-American feelings are widespread in the Muslim world and extend to US consumer brands, according to a newly released report. It suggested the US burnish its image with a change in tone and by publicising aid programmes.

The United States should emphasise its development aid to Muslim countries rather than try to persuade Muslims to support US policies in Iraq or in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, according to the Council on Foreign Relations report.

The report, by Charney Research, is based on 14 focus groups conducted last December and January among college-educated men and women in Egypt, Morocco and Indonesia. Anger at US foreign policy and at the US government dominated spontaneous reactions in all three countries.

Many young Muslims said



A student jumps over a burning tyre during a protest in Indonesia

also were noted. Focus group members saw the US and Israel as synonymous and estimated the proportion of Jews in the US population at up to 85%; it is 2%.

The report found negative opinions of the US are taking a toll on US companies, and that amounts of US aid were massively underestimated; not even one person in any focus group knew the US is the world's largest donor by dollar amount.

"Most Egyptians and Indonesians put US support for their countries over 10 years in millions; the correct figures were \$7.3 billion and \$1 billion, respectively," the study said. AP

BELIEF
Proportion of Jews
in the American
population is 85%
fact: It is 2%

they admired Osama bin Laden, while views of President George W Bush were uniformly negative. All focus group members rejected US views of the war in Iraq, saying the US invaded on a false premise to further its regional goals.

Anti-Semitic stereotypes

'Abuse of Koran was routine in Guantanamo'

Islamabad: An Afghan who spent three years at the Guantanamo Bay detention centre said Tuesday that interrogators frequently desecrated the Koran there, which had prompted a hunger strike and even a US apology. Abdul Rahim, 40, said during an interview on APT Khyber television, a Pashtu-language private channel, that abuse of the Muslim holy book was routine.

"Abuse of the Koran was done routinely particularly in the early days of detention," Rahim said. His claims could not be independently verified.

"They would throw the holy book on the ground, trample upon it and tell the prisoner under interrogation no one could stop them from doing that. The news of sacrifice sent shockwaves among the prisoners and all of us went on a hunger strike. We declined to participate in the interrogation and also did



Pakistani boys read the Koran at a madrasa in Karachi on Tuesday

not eat anything for many, many days," he said. Rahim, according to the interviewer, said that the hunger strike ended only after top American officials apologised for the desecration.

"All of us ended the hunger strike except for a Palestinian. It was due to our

efforts and sacrifices that we restored the honour of the Koran," he said.

The interview came after Newsweek on Monday retracted an article which said interrogators had thrown a Koran into a toilet to rattle Muslim prisoners at the detention facility in Cuba.

The report sparked protests throughout the Muslim world. In Afghanistan 14 people were killed.

Rahim said he was captured in Peshawar by Pakistani intelligence in 2001, handed over to US custody and held at Guantanamo's Camp X-Ray before his release and return to Pakistan, via the Afghan capital Kabul, in mid-April.

He now owns a small business in Peshawar and is an author.

His brother, Badaruzzaman, was also in Guantanamo Bay prior to his release in October last year. He has returned to Pakistan.

Rahim said prisoners were kept in harsh conditions and in cages.

"The cages were made of steel and also the beds on which we used to sleep. At times we created lots of noise by thumping the steel cages that would disturb the Americans."

He said the interrogators did not physically torture him but used other methods to squeeze information.

Rahim said often when Americans walked between the cages prisoners would spit on them. One prisoner threw urine on them, he said.

More than 500 detainees, most captured in Afghanistan or Pakistan following 9/11 are held as "enemy combatants" at Guantanamo. *AFP*

Newsweek retracts Koran report

1875

Press Trust of India

NEW YORK, May 17. — Under fire from the Bush administration for its article alleging abuse of the Koran by US troops, *Newsweek* magazine has retracted the story that led to widespread protests in the Muslim world.

"Based on what we know now, we are retracting our original story that an internal military investigation had uncovered Koran abuse at Guantanamo Bay," *Newsweek* editor Mr Mark Whitaker said in a statement issued here.

In interview with the *New York Times*, Mr Whitaker said the magazine was retracting that part of the article saying sources told *Newsweek* that a coming military report would say interrogators had flushed a holy book down the toilet to unnerve detainees. As it turned out, *Newsweek* now says, there was one source. And Mr Whitaker said because that source had "backed away" from his original account, the magazine could "no longer stand by" it. "I did not want to be in the position of splitting hair... to look like we were being evasive or not fully forthcoming," he added.

Newsweek had published the item in its 9 May issue and in issue released this week, it had reported that its senior government source had backed away from his initial story and Mr Whitaker wrote that "we regret" the story was wrong.

But it was only yesterday that the magazine completely retracted the story after the Bush administration officials called for it.

In an interview on the PBS Newshour last night, Mr Whitaker said the problem stemmed from "one detail... This is the one detail everyone is concerned about, and we are prepared to retract that."



TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE? A protester holds a Koran at a demonstration in Beirut. Protests in Afghanistan, where more than a dozen people died and scores were injured in rioting, and demonstrations in the Muslim world were blamed on the *Newsweek* article. — AFP

More needs to be done...

Associated Press

WASHINGTON, May 17. — The White House says *Newsweek* took a "good first step" by retracting its story, but it wants the magazine to do more to repair damage caused by the report. *Newsweek* yesterday retracted the report in its 9 May issue after officials in the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department criticised its publication.

"The report had real consequences," Press Secretary Mr Scott McClellan said. "People have lost their lives. Our image abroad has been damaged. There are some who are opposed to the USA and what we stand for, who have sought to exploit

this allegation. It will take work to undo what can be undone."

The State Department has also directed all US ambassadors to make the case that America is a religion-tolerant nation. In a cable sent tonight, the department told the ambassadors to assure the host governments and local media of "US respect for religious tolerance" and that "we condemn all acts of incitement".

In Wellington, Pakistan's foreign minister said the *Newsweek* report has damaged the image of the USA among Muslims. *Newsweek's* retraction "will definitely help" defuse some of the anger in the Muslim world, but "unfortunately some damage has been done", Mr Khursheed Kasuri told reporters.

কোরান-কাণ্ডে হিংসা রুখতে আজি রাইসের

ওয়াশিংটন, ১৩ মে: কোরান অবমাননার অভিযোগ ঘিরে দ্রুত বাড়তে থাকা উত্তেজনা সামাল দিতে আসরে নামল আমেরিকা। গোটা দুনিয়ার মুসলিমদের প্রতি আজি জানিয়ে মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস বলেছেন, তাঁরা যেন হিংসার পথে না-যান। কোরান অবমাননার মতো 'জঘন্য' ঘটনা আমেরিকা সমর্থন করেনি এবং ভবিষ্যতেও সমর্থনের প্রশ্ন নেই। অস্ত্রাঘাত সত্য প্রমাণিত হলে দ্রুত ব্যবস্থা নেওয়া হবে।

তবে মার্কিন প্রশাসনের আশ্বাস সশ্বেও বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন প্রান্তে প্রতিবাদ-বিক্ষোভ চলছেই। আফগানিস্তানে বিক্ষোভ হিংসাত্মক চেহারা নেওয়ায় ইতিমধ্যে ১৪ জন মারা গিয়েছেন। আজই প্রতিবাদ মিছিল হয়েছে পাকিস্তানের বিভিন্ন শহরে, জাকার্তায় সাপ্তাহিক প্রার্থনা সারতে এসে প্রতিবাদে মুখর হয়েছেন মানুষ।

সম্প্রতি একটি মার্কিন পত্রিকায় খবর বেরিয়েছিল যে, গুয়ানতানামো বে-তে কয়েদিদের জেরার সময়ে মার্কিন অফিসারেরা কোরানের অবমাননা করেছেন। জেলের শৌচাগারে কোরান রেখে দেওয়ার

মতো দু'একটি ঘটনার কথা উল্লেখ করেছিল পত্রিকাটি। এর পরেই দুনিয়া জুড়ে মুসলিম সমাজে তীব্র প্রতিক্রিয়া শুরু হয়। আফগানিস্তানে যেমন বিক্ষোভে হিংসা ছড়িয়েছে, তেমন আবার সৌদি আরবের মতো মার্কিন-মিত্র দেশও ঘটনার নিন্দা করেছে। সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে লড়াইয়ে আমেরিকার সহযোগী পাকিস্তানের বিদেশমন্ত্রী খুরশিদ মেহমুদ কাসুরি পর্যন্ত বলেছেন, দোষী প্রমাণিত হলে মার্কিন সেনা-অফিসারদের বিরুদ্ধে কড়া ব্যবস্থা নেওয়া উচিত।

এই প্রসঙ্গে মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব বলেছেন, "সারা পৃথিবীতে মুসলিম বন্ধুদের কাছে শুনেছি, তাঁরা অত্যন্ত উদ্ভিগ্ন। তাঁদের উদ্বেগ আমরাও বুঝি। দুঃখজনক ভাবে প্রতিবাদ কর্মসূচিতে কিছু লোকের প্রাণ গিয়েছে।" তবে মার্কিন সেনা-কর্তা রিচার্ড মায়ার্স জানিয়েছেন, গুয়ানতানামোয় কোরান অবমাননার কোনও প্রমাণ এখনও পাওয়া যায়নি। গুয়ানতানামোয় গিয়ে এক জন মার্কিন সেনা অফিসার কয়েদিদের জেরা সংক্রান্ত নথিপত্র দু'দিন ধরে খতিয়ে দেখেছেন। সেখানে এমন কোনও ঘটনার কথা এখনও জানা যায়নি। — রয়টার্স, এ এফ পি

17 MAY 2005 ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

Anti-desecration stirs rock Islamic world

Agencies

RIYADH/ SYDNEY/
WASHINGTON/ JEBALIYA (Gaza Strip), May 13. — Saudi Arabia has expressed deep indignation over reports that a *Koran* was desecrated at the US detention centre at Guantanamo, asking Washington to quickly investigate and discipline the perpetrators.

The statement yesterday by Saudi Arabia, a close US ally and a nation that considers itself the protector of Islam and its holiest sites, was the first by a West Asian government over the reported desecration, which US officials say they are investigating.

However, top US military officer Gen. Richard Myers, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said that no evidence has been found yet to back allegations that a *Koran* was put down a toilet at the Guantanamo Bay camp.

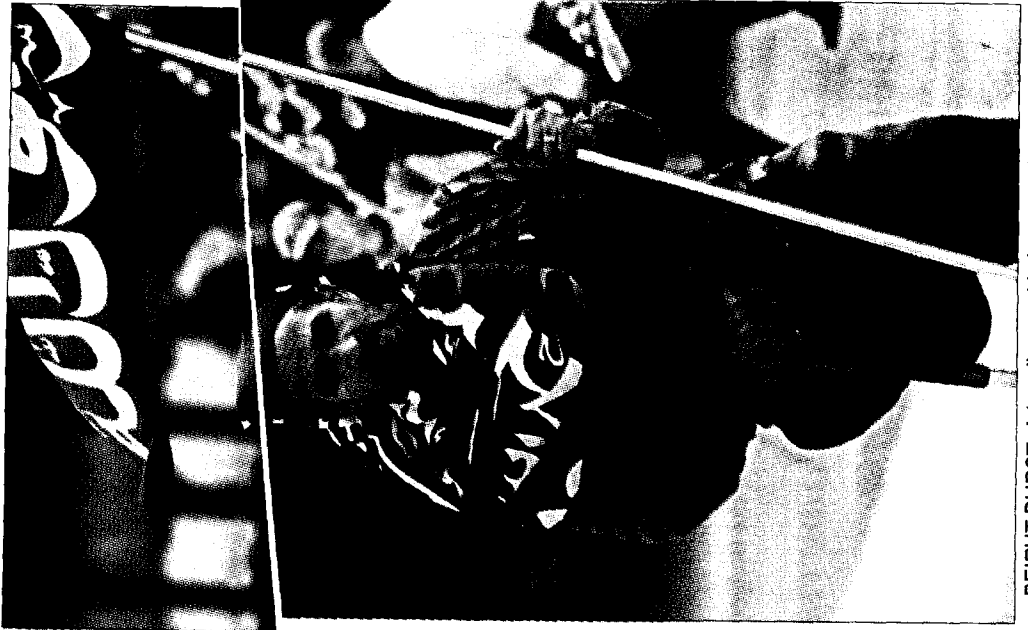
Many of the 520 inmates being held at the US Naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba — where the USA holds terror suspects — are Saudis. In Jordan, the

Islamic Action Front, the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, denounced what it called "the heinous harming of the book of God".

In Sydney, Pakistan's foreign minister Mr Khurshid Kasuri today called for severe punishment for US soldiers if the allegations of desecration were proved true. Coming on a three-day visit to Australia, Mr Kasuri said the allegations had provoked outrage throughout the Islamic world. "Yes, it's abominable," he said following a speech to an independent think-tank, the Lowy Institute. "I have no doubt that the entire Muslim world is outraged."

Muslim clerics lashed out at the USA in sermons across Pakistan today. "They have challenged our belief. If we don't give them a strong message today, they will do it again," a cleric said.

In Jebaliya, hundreds of Hamas activists staged a rare anti-US protest today in response to the alleged desecration. Similar protests in Afghanistan sparked clashes with police killing at least seven persons.



BEIRUT BURST: A handicapped Lebanese takes part in an anti-US stir in Beirut on Friday. — AFP

Muslim world erupts in anger

Kabul, May 13 (Reuters): Angry protests raged across the Muslim world from Gaza to Indonesia today over a report US interrogators at Guantanamo Bay had desecrated the Quran, with calls for retaliation and a rising death toll.

Governments demanded investigations and thousands took to the streets in outrage over a *Newsweek* magazine report that interrogators at a US military prison in Cuba had put the Muslim holy book on toilets, in at least one case flushing it down.

In Afghanistan, at least nine people were killed in protests over the report on Friday, bringing the country's death toll to 16 this week in its worst anti-American demonstrations since the fall of the Taliban.

Hundreds of people held a peaceful protest in Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim nation.

In Gaza, several thousand Palestinians marched through a refugee camp in a protest organised by the militant group Hamas. Several hundred Palestinians also marched in the West Bank city of Hebron.

"The Holy Quran was defiled by the dirtiest of hands, by American hands," a pro-

tester shouted at the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza, where US and Israeli flags were also burned.

Muslims consider the

Pak demand

Islamabad, May 13: Hundreds of religious activists took to the streets throughout Pakistan today to demand an unconditional apology from the US for the alleged desecration of the Quran at Guantanamo Bay, while the national legislature adopted a joint resolution against the act.

Activists of various religious-political parties held protest rallies in Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, and Quetta after the weekly Friday congregations and called on the government to sever diplomatic relations with the US and expel its ambassador.

Quran the literal word of God, treating each book with deep reverence, and the episode has embarrassed the US, which has sought closer ties with Muslim allies as it wages its war on terrorism.

In Afghanistan and Pakistan, desecration of the Quran is punishable by death.

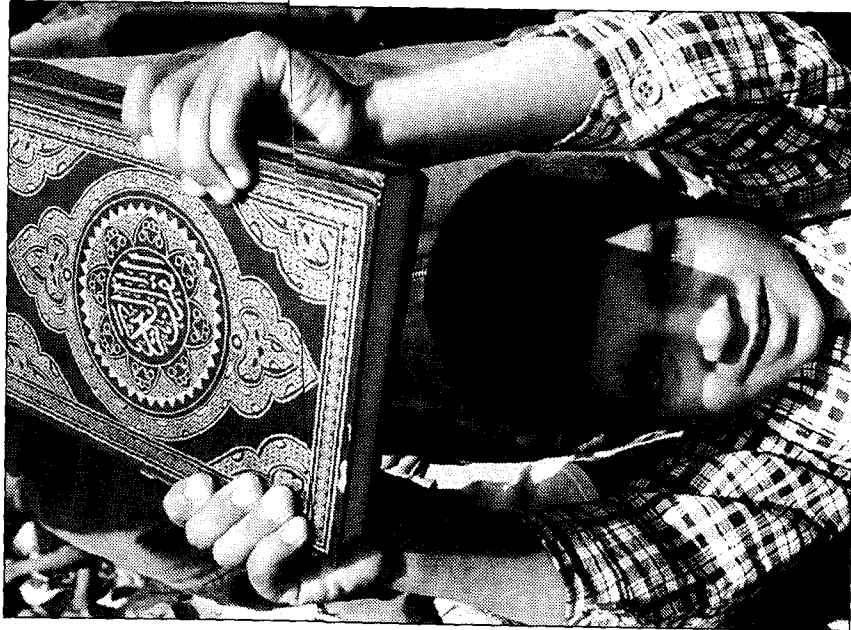
The US' reputation had already been damaged by photographs released last year of physical and sexual abuse of Muslim prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

Washington's allies demanded action and an investigation. Indonesia said those responsible must receive a "deserved punishment" for their "immoral action". Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of Islam, said it was following the issue with "deep indignation".

Sentiments ran higher in the streets.

"Demonstrations serve no purpose, we should do something practical. I am ready to blow myself up for the sake of my religion to embrace martyrdom," said Mohammad Ghafour, 18, a student protesting in Peshawar, Pakistan.

Today, Islamic clerics in Afghanistan told worshippers at weekly prayers that protests over the reported desecration of the holy book were justified. They urged Muslims to shun violence, but their words fell on deaf ears as clashes erupted in different parts of the country.



A Palestinian boy holds the Quran during an anti-US protest at the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza Strip on Friday. (Reuters)

Spanish Muslim clerics issue fatwa against Bin Laden

Agencies
Madrid, March 11

MUSLIM CLERICS in Spain have issued what they called the world's first fatwa, or Islamic edict, against Osama bin Laden as the country marked the first anniversary of the Madrid train bombings that killed 191 people.

They accused Bin Laden of abandoning his religion and urged others of their faith to denounce the al-Qaeda leader, who is believed to be hiding near the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

The ruling was issued by the Islamic Commission of Spain, the main body representing the country's one million-member Muslim community. The Commission invited imams to con-

demn terrorism at Friday's prayers.

The fatwa said that according to the Koran, "the terrorist acts of Osama bin Laden and his organisation al-Qaeda are totally banned and must be roundly condemned as part of Islam."

The action took place on the eve of the first anniversary of the country's worst terror attack which many observers have coined as Europe's 9/11, a reference to the al-Qaeda attacks on the United States in 2001. More than 1,500 people were injured when 10 backpack bombs exploded on commuter trains.

Spanish authorities mainly blame Islamic terrorists and there were claims of responsibility in the name of al-Qaeda.



REUTERS
Spanish women light candles in memory of the bombing victims.

Girl wins Islamic dress war

OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

London, March 2: In a landmark judgment affecting thousands of Muslim girls in Britain, the court of appeal ruled today that a school has discriminated against a 15-year-old student by refusing to allow her to wear the "head-toe" *jilbab* (Islamic dress) in the classroom.

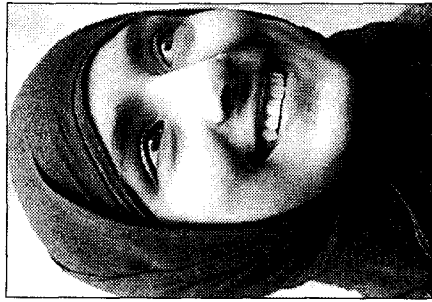
What has made this case especially high profile is that the student, Shabina Begum, is represented by Tony Blair's wife, who practises under her maiden name, Cherie Booth, QC.

Britain's stance is directly opposite to that of France where state schools have banned religious symbols, such as the *hijab*, the cross and the Sikh turban.

In Britain, the court of appeal ruled in favour of Shabina, who had accused the head teachers and governors of Denbigh High School, Luton, Bedfordshire, of denying her the "right to education and to manifest her religious beliefs".

Lord Justice Brooke, vice-president of the civil division of the court of appeal, called on the department of education to give schools more guidance on how to comply with their obligations under the Human Rights Act.

He ruled that her school had "unlawfully excluded



Shabina Begum in London. (Reuters)

her", "unlawfully denied her the right to manifest her religion" and "unlawfully denied her access to suitable and appropriate education".

The Prime Minister's wife, who is a well-known human rights and women's issue lawyer, told the judges in a hearing at the end of last year that the case involved "fundamental issues" about the nature and interpretation of Shabina's rights to education and freedom to practise her religion.

The appeal court has overturned the decision of the high court, which had ruled in favour of Shabina's school. It is now open to the school to take the row to the House of Lords.

Whatever happens, a can of

worms has now been opened.

Last June, high court judge Justice Bennett dismissed the girl's application for judicial review. He had said Shabina had failed to show that the "highly successful" 1,000-pupil school, where 79 per cent of the students were Muslim, had excluded her or breached her human rights.

To this, Booth said Justice Bennett was saying that the school, which sent Shabina home after she refused to wear authorised school uniform, was entitled to "pick and choose" which religious beliefs it accepted.

Justice Bennett had said Denbigh High School had the "legitimate aim" of running a multi-cultural, multi-faith secular school.

The judge's decision was supported by David Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers.

"The fact that other schools allow Muslim dress is totally irrelevant," Hart had said. "The issue is whether an individual school has the right to lay down a uniform policy that it considers to be reasonable for its community."

John Dunford, general secretary of the Secondary Heads Association, had said: "We are very pleased. The school had made a very clear effort to design a uniform within a multicultural policy, which is not to be overturned by a single pupil."

In UK, better to be beardless

AMIT ROY

London, March 2: It may be better to be beardless in Britain, judging by the warning issued to British Muslims by a minister in Tony Blair's government responsible for terrorism and security.

The home office minister, Hazel Blears, almost certainly did not want to give offence to the 1.5 million strong Muslim community in Britain but her comments have outraged some of its leaders. Blears said UK Muslims should accept that people of Islamic appearance are more likely to be stopped and searched by police. She seemed to acknowledge that innocent Muslims would be targeted because of the search for Islamic extremists.

If what is saying has any relevance, it seems Britain is confronting a "Chinese puzzle". Not all Muslims are terrorists — far from it — but all Islamic terrorists by definition claim to belong to the Islamic faith. And it is the case that some younger Muslim men, probably as a way of asserting their identity, are today less inhibited about growing beards.

This has had unexpected consequences. A distinguished British Asian theatre director, Jatinder Varma, who arrived very much Hindu and Punjabi, disclosed some people had abused him by calling him "bin Laden". In earlier years, the common insult had been "Paki". Varma still keeps his beard, now flecked with grey.

Blears has caused the storm this week by telling MPs on the home select committee: "The threat is most likely to come from those people associated with an extreme form of Islam, or who are falsely hiding behind Islam."

She added: "It means that some of our counter-terrorism powers will be disproportionately experienced by the Muslim community. If a threat is from a particular place then our action is going to be targeted at that area."

ইসলাম: সমন্বয় ও গোঁড়ামি

গৌতম ভদ্র

বিষয়টির ধাঁচটি একেবারে অচেনা নয়, 'ভারতে ইসলাম'-এর মতো মোদ্দা বিষয়টি অ্যাকাডেমিক তথা নন-অ্যাকাডেমিক মহলে আগেও কিছুটা সাড়া জাগত। অধিকন্তু আজকের

গোলকায়নের রাজনীতিতে ইসলাম বনাম অন্য আর কিছুর মোড়কে বেশ কিছু গরম তত্ত্ব বিক্রি করা যায়। এই সবেই বাইরে থেকেই সেই কবে পঞ্চাশের দশকে দরাফ খান গাজির অতিকথা বিশ্লেষণে সুনীতিকুমার 'তুর্কানা' ও 'সুফিয়ানার' বর্ণে ইসলামি অভিযাতের ক্রমপর্যায়কে বোঝাবার চেষ্টা করেছিলেন, ত্রিবেণীসঙ্গমে দাঁড়িয়ে ভবিষ্যতের জাতীয় অধ্যাপক জাতি নির্মাণের পটে তন্তুসূচির সমন্বয় কী ভাবে সিদ্ধ হয়েছিল, তা নিয়ে চিন্তিত ছিলেন। মুজাফফরের বইটা সেই অক্ষে আছে, আবার নেইও। বিষয় হয়তো একই, কিন্তু ঝোঁকটা আলাদা, রচনায় তাল ও সম অন্য ভাবে পড়ছে, এখন যুতসিন্দু পদার্থগুলির পাশে অমৃতসিন্দু পদার্থগুলিও যেন উঁকি মারে, ফলে কোনও কোনও ক্ষেত্রে সমন্বয় সম্বন্ধের প্রশ্নই দানা বাঁধে না। ত্রিবেণীর খাত দিয়ে গত পঞ্চাশ বছরে জল তো কম বয়ে যায়নি, খাতগুলিই তো বৃজে যাবার উপক্রম।

মধ্যযুগের ভারতে ইসলামি রাজনীতির অভিযাতের বিশেষ ক্ষেত্র নির্বাচনে মুজাফফরের অভিনবত্ব আছে। কী ভাবে ভারতের বিশেষ অভিজ্ঞতায় ইসলামি রাষ্ট্রতত্ত্ব ও চিন্তা বিবর্তিত হল, কী ভাষায় ও উপমায় রাজনীতির কথা বলা হত, রাজা ও প্রজার সম্পর্ক কোন তত্ত্বে প্রতিভাসিত হয়েছিল, এই সব প্রশ্ন মুজাফফরকে ভাবিয়েছে। শরিয়ত বা ধর্মশাস্ত্র ও ফেকা বা বিচারশাস্ত্রের পাশাপাশি মুজাফফর আর এক গোত্রের রচনাকে বিশ্লেষণ করেছেন: আখলাক বা ইসলামি অর্থশাস্ত্র। ত্রয়োদশ শতকে নাসিরুদ্দীন তুসির লেখা আখলাকে 'তদবির' ও 'সিয়াসত' প্রশাসনিকতার নতুন অর্থ পেশ করল। এ আখলাক অনুযায়ী বাস্তব অভিজ্ঞতাই রাজ্য শাসনের ভিত্তি, সুলতান ও তাঁর আমলা-ফয়লারাই বাদশাহি 'আদাব' বা নীতিগুলির একমাত্র প্রয়োগকর্তা। এই প্রয়োগিতার দাবিই ভারতের ইসলামি অর্থশাস্ত্রে বিতর্কের জোয়ার এনেছিল, কাফের ও জিম্মিদের দেশে শরিয়ত ও আখলাকের পারস্পরিক সীমা নিয়ে চতুর্দশ শতকের জিয়া বরনি থেকে অষ্টাদশ শতকের শাহ ওয়ালিউল্লাহ মতো বুদ্ধিজীবীদের মাথাব্যথা বড় কম ছিল না। এই 'বহস' বা বিতর্কের নানা চাপান-উতোর মুজাফফর দেখিয়েছেন, ক্রমে মোগল আমলে এই তত্ত্বই যেন দানা বাঁধছিল যে জালাল-উদ-দীন আকবর বা নূর-উদ-দীন জাহাঙ্গীর ধর্মনিষ্ঠ কারণ তারা তো 'আদিল' বা বিচারনিষ্ঠ। ভারতের মতো দেশে এই বৈচারিকতার অর্থ মূলকের নানা ভিন্ন গোষ্ঠীর স্বার্থের মধ্যে সমতুল্য আচরণ করে ক্ষমতার ভারসাম্য বজায় রাখাটা বাদশাহি কর্তব্য, তা হলেই ইসলাম প্রতিষ্ঠিত হবে। অতএব এটাই নীতিসম্মত, ইসলামি আখলাক অনুযায়ী জ্ঞানী বাদশাহের স্বার্থ আদাব, এই জন্যই তো মোগল-ই-আজম একমাত্র দার-উল-আমন বা শান্তির রাজা। আওরঙ্গজেবের আমলে বার বার এই তত্ত্ব সংকেট পড়লেও একেবারে হেরে যায়নি, আমির ওমরাহদের ব্যবহারে বা নানা আলিমদের রচনায় তা উচ্চারিত হয়েছিল।

আখলাকি রচনার পাশেই মুজাফফর সুফিয়ানার কথা ভুলে যাননি, ভারতীয় তসওযুফ বা সুফি সাহিত্যের গোত্রকে তিনি খতিয়ে দেখেছেন। অবিসংবাদী পাণ্ডিত্যের অধিকারী দেওবন্দের মৌলানা মুজাফফর অসংখ্য 'তজ্কির' বা 'জীবনী', 'মালফুজ' বা 'কথোপকথন', 'মখতুবা' বা পত্র সংগ্রহের মধ্য দিয়ে ছোট ছোট নানা সুফি সিলসিলা বা ঘরানার ঐতিহাসিক অভিজ্ঞতাকে সাজিয়েছেন। কী ভাবে ভারতীয় অবতারবাদের অভিজ্ঞতায় ইসলামি 'তওজিদের' বা একত্ববাদের ধারণাটি খাপ খাচ্ছিল, তার নানা নিদর্শন এই নিবন্ধে আছে। যেমন অষ্টাদশ শতকে অযোধ্যায় রাজপুত জমিদার ও নিম্নর জমির ভোক্তা পিরজাদাদের মধ্যে দাস্তা হাঙ্গামা গ্রাম্যমণ্ডলের সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্পর্ক ও ভারসাম্যকে বিপর্যস্ত করেছিল। এরই মধ্যে নিপীড়িত কাদরি পিরজাদাদের একজন আবদুর রজ্জাক বসনতি কী ভাবে নিজের সিলসিলা স্থাপন করলেন, ইসলামি

তওজিদে বিশ্বাস অক্ষুণ্ণ রেখে কী কৌশলে নানা কথা কাহিনীর সাহায্যে হিন্দু আচারকে স্থান দিয়ে 'ফিরিস্তি মহালের' মতো বিদ্যাবংশের গোড়াপত্তন করেছিলেন, তার অনুপম বিবরণ মুজাফফর দিয়েছেন। এই অধ্যায়ের বক্তব্যে বড় একটা নতুনত্ব নেই। কিন্তু বড় বড় পরিবর্তনের রূপরেখার মাধ্যমে ছোট ছোট পারিবারিক ও ব্যক্তিগত অভিজ্ঞতার তাৎপর্যময় উপস্থাপনা, নানা 'ডিটেলস'-এর কাজ, তাঁর রচনালৈলির বড় গুণ।

বাংলা ভাষায় একটা মেয়েলি প্রবাদ শোনা যায়, 'আরশি, আরশি, আরশি, আমার স্বামী পড়ছে ফারসি।' মোগল আমলের হিন্দু গেরস্ত বউ ভবিষ্যতের সুখ-কল্লনায় মশগুল, তখন অবস্থা এই রকমই যে তেল বেচা কলুও ফারসি পড়ে, ফারসি জেনে মেদিনীপুরের তাঁতি জগদীন্দ্র বনোয়ারিলাল 'মাকু জঙ্গবাহাদুর' খেতাব পান। বহুদিন আগে এই সব প্রবাদ কথার পেছনে চালচিত্রটি ধরার একটি চেষ্টা যদুনাথ সরকার একটি স্বল্পজ্ঞাত প্রবন্ধে করেছিলেন হয়তো বা সেই প্রবন্ধের কথা না জেনেই মুজাফফর তাঁর সন্দর্ভের তৃতীয় অধ্যায়ে ভারতে ফারসি ভাষার অবয়বে ইসলামি অভিযাতের বৈশিষ্ট্য বোঝার বিশদ চেষ্টা করেছেন; এই আলোচনাটিই সন্দর্ভের সবচেয়ে বড় সম্পদ। বাবরের আত্মজীবনীটি তুর্কি ভাষায় লেখা, আকবরের আমলেই দরবারি সভাসদদের জন্য আবদুর রহিম রচনাটির ফারসি অনুবাদ করেন, এবং বাবরের প্রপৌত্র জাহাঙ্গির আত্মজীবনীটি ফারসিতে লেখেন। বেশ কসরত করেই আলমগির আওরঙ্গজেব পিতৃপুরুষের ভাষা তুর্কি শিখেছিলেন, তাতে তাঁর গর্বের শেষ ছিল না। কিন্তু ভারতে ফারসি চর্চা ইরানের অনুকৃতি মাত্র নয়। ভারতে ফারসি তার নিজস্ব শৈলি পেয়েছিল, বরনি ও আবুল ফজলের গদ্য হিন্দি শব্দে ভরপুর, আমির খসরুর 'সবকে হিন্দি' গড়ে উঠতে থাকে। এই রীতি খালি দেশজ শব্দ ব্যবহারে সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল না। নানা ভারতীয় রূপকল্প ও উপমার প্রয়োগে ফারসি শব্দের ব্যঞ্জনা বা 'ইহাম' নতুনভাবে প্রসারিত হয়, ফেজি বা সৌদার মতো কবিদের কাছে মক্কার কাবা ও নমাজের পাশাপাশি ভারতীয় মন্দির ও পূজাও নতুন অর্থে প্রযুক্ত হয়, মথ ও চেরাগের অনুসঙ্গে বাবা বটেস্বরনাথও যেন বাদ যান না। দ্বিতীয়ত, আকবরের সক্রিয় পৃষ্ঠপোষকতায় ভারতীয় সাহিত্যের অনুবাদে ফারসি ভাষা সমৃদ্ধ হয়ে ওঠে।

সপ্তদশ শতকে নল দময়ন্তী ও মহাভারতের অনুবাদ 'রজনামা' দিয়ে আকবরের দরবারি প্রচেষ্টাটি উমরাহ ও আঞ্চলিক রাজগির মধ্যে চারিয়ে যায়, অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তলা, পদুমাবত বা রামচরিত মানস কিছুই অনূদিত হতে বাদ থাকে না। অনুবাদকর্মের এই যজ্ঞের হোতা অনেকেই, স্বয়ং মোল্লা বদাউনি ও আবুল ফজলের সঙ্গে মধুসূদন মিশ্র ও চতুর্ভূজ মিশ্রদের মতো বামুনরাও হাত লাগান। মুজাফফর আরও লিখতেই পারতেন যে আকবরের তাগিদেই কৃষ্ণদাস সংস্কৃত ৪৮১ টি সূত্রে 'পারসি প্রকাশ' নামে ফারসি ব্যাকরণ লিখেছিলেন, অনুবাদের রমরমা বইটার বেশ কাটতিও ছিল। মুজাফফর এও জানেন যে অনুবাদকর্ম তো সৃজনশীল, দরবারি ইচ্ছাকে ছাপিয়ে ফারসিতে সংস্কৃত সাহিত্যও নতুন রূপ নেয়, 'আফসানা' বা 'দাস্তানের' বকলমে নতুন ধ্যান-ধারণা ইসলামি কল্পনায় জাঁকিয়ে বসে। ফারসি অনুবাদে সৃজনশীলতা, খোঁজা মুজাফফরের পরের কাজ, আকবরের 'মকতবখানা' বা অনুবাদের দফতর নিয়ে যে কাজ রিজডি ও চিন্তাহরণ চক্রবর্তী শুরু করেছিলেন, অদূর ভবিষ্যতে তার পরিণতি দেখার জন্য আগ্রহ থেকে গেল। তৃতীয়ত, শাসনতন্ত্রের নানা পরে হিন্দুরা কী ভাবে ফারসি শিখছিল, শাহজাহানের আমলে চন্দ্রভান ব্রাহ্মণ কী পাঠ্যক্রমে ফারসি আয়ত্ত করেছিলেন, তাঁর নানা চিন্তাকর্ষক দলিল এই সন্দর্ভে উদ্ধৃত হয়েছে। শেষ পর্যন্ত আনন্দরাম মুখলিশ ফররুখসিয়ারের আমলে দরবারের মির মুনশি হন, উপযুক্ত প্রবন্ধে যদুনাথ সরকার হিন্দু কায়স্থদের চরম জয় বলেই

ঘটনাকে চিত্রিত করেছেন। এহেন প্রক্রিয়ায় চন্দ্রভান, ইম্বরদাস নাগর, বা ভীমসেন বুরহানপুরির ফারসিতে তাঁদের সামাজিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক অভিজ্ঞতার রং তো ধরবেই। বোঝা ও বোঝানোর তাগিদে যে দরবারি ঘরানার ফারসি তৈরি হয়, তাতে নানা রং-বেরঙের সূতোর মিশেল কী ভাবে ফারসিকে আভিধানিক ও লাক্ষণিক অর্থে ভারতীয় ইসলামের নিজস্ব ভাষায় রূপান্তরিত করল, তার সংহত একটি বিবরণ মুজাফফরই প্রথম দিলেন। অষ্টাদশ শতকে এই দাপুটে ভাষার বিরুদ্ধে উর্দুর উত্থান আরেকটি বড় পরিবর্তন। ওই খানেই মুজাফফর আলোচনায় এ বারের মতো যতি টেনেছেন।

আখলাক, তসওযুফ ও ফারসির ত্রিমুখী অক্ষে নিছক আদান-প্রদানের একমেটে খতিয়ান লেখাটা মুজাফফরের উদ্দেশ্য নয়। তিনি বার বার দেখিয়েছেন যে প্রত্যেক ক্রয়ারই প্রতিক্রিয়া আছে, প্রতি পদক্ষেপেই সমঝোতার চেষ্টা বিরোধিতার অবচ্ছেদে খণ্ডিত হয়েছে। তাৎক্ষণিক রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতি, উচ্চকোটির বিশেষ সাংস্কৃতিক রুচি বা সুফি ঘরানার নিজস্ব প্রবণতা এই সমঝোতা বা বিরোধিতার ঝোঁককে কাল ও পাত্র ভেদে নির্ধারিত করেছে। দ্বিতীয়ত, ইসলামি 'বহস' ও 'হুজ্জতে' বা নৈয়ায়িকবাদ ও বিতণ্ডার মাধ্যমে বরনি, আবুল ফজল, শেখ আহমদ সরহিন্দী, শাহ ওয়ালিউল্লা, এমন কী হয়তো বা রামমোহন রায়-এর মতো বুদ্ধিজীবীরাও খণ্ড খণ্ড পরিসরকে সামগ্রিক ইসলামি উন্নয়ন বা কৌমের মধ্যে গাঁথার চেষ্টা করেছিলেন, আদর্শ 'মদিনা' বা ইসলামের পৌর সমাজের ধারণাও নিজেদের ধারণা মাফিক তৈরি করার চেষ্টা করছিলেন। এই গ্রন্থের ভারতীয় প্রেক্ষিতে অস্বীকার করা যায় না। উনিশ শতকেও এই গ্রন্থন নানা বিতর্কে ভাঙছিল, ভারতে ইসলামি সমন্বয় ও ইসলামি গোঁড়ামির রূপবদল-এর আর ইয়ত্তা নেই। তৃতীয়ত, মুজাফফরের ধারণায় স্পষ্ট যে সমন্বয় ও সংঘাতের

বাইরেও অন্য আরও পরিসর থাকতে পারে, নিরাসক্তি ও উদাসীন্য, সহনশীলতা অথবা পার্থক্যকে স্বীকার করে নিস্পৃহ প্রতিবেশীর মতো বাঁচা। সহ-অবস্থান ও সমন্বয়ের জিগিরাকে বাদ দিয়েও ইসলামি তত্ত্বের থাকবন্দি বিন্যাসে উপনৈবেদিক ব্রহ্ম ও পৌরাণিক কৃষ্ণ নানা উপমায়, রূপকল্পে বা ব্যঞ্জনায় জায়গা করে নিতে পারে। অষ্টাদশ শতকে সুফি কবি ও তাত্ত্বিক মির্জা ময়হার জান-ই-জালান বানানো ঐতিহাসিক ও ভৌগোলিক ক্রমে বেদ, পুরাণ ও কোরানকে পরস্পরায় সাজিয়ে দিয়েছিলেন, সমঝোতার ধূমা শেষ পর্যন্ত ইসলামি তরিকতেরই নিশান তুলে ধরেছিল। আত্মীকরণের ক্ষমতা

কোনও সংস্কৃতিরই একচেটিয়া নয়। পৃথি গুনে তো চিন্তাহরণ কবেই জানিয়েছিলেন যে মধ্যযুগে অনুবাদের পাশ্চাত্য সংস্কৃতির চাইতে ফারসি হাজারো কদম এগিয়ে আছে। মুজাফফরের গবেষণার প্রেক্ষিতে চিন্তাহরণের চিন্তা ভারতীয় সংস্কৃতির আর একটি ঐতিহাসিক অভিজ্ঞতা নিয়ে ভাবনাকে উসকে দেয়। এই চিন্তা দেখায় মধ্যযুগে যে যে বিষয়ে একদিন ফারসি উৎসাহী ছিল সেই সব বিষয়ে সংস্কৃত তুলনামূলক ভাবে উদাসীন। আর অ্যারিস্টটল প্লেটো শিখতে আমাদের আমাদের ইংরেজি পর্যন্ত অপেক্ষা করতে হল।

এই সন্দর্ভের মাঝে মাঝে একক উদ্ধৃতি চিহ্নের মধ্যে কিছু ইংরেজি শব্দবন্ধ হঠাৎ উঁকি দেয়। 'Secular', 'Natural' বা 'Competitive Spirituality' বহুচর্চিত শব্দ, নানা ব্যবহারে নুজ। সন্দর্ভে লেখকের চিন্তায় শব্দগুলির কোন রেশটি অনুরণিত হয়, শব্দগুলি লেখার ধার বা ভার বাড়াচ্ছে কী না, তা ঠাওর করা যায় না। ভবিষ্যতে শিকাগো বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পরিমণ্ডলে দেওবন্দে শেখা ইসলামি দর্শনের ধারণার বর্ণেই পাশ্চাত্যের চিন্তা নতুন করে মধ্যযুগের ভারতীয় ইতিহাস সম্পর্কে মুজাফফরের আলোচনাকে এক অনন্য মাত্রা দেবে, এই ভরসা তো আমাদের আছে। সন্দর্ভটি সেই প্রত্যাশাই জাগায়।

দ্য ল্যাংগুয়েজ অব পলিটিক্যাল ইসলাম ইন ইন্ডিয়া (১২০০-১৮০০), মুজাফফর আলম। পার্সেনেন্ট ব্ল্যাক, ৫৭৫.০০

মধ্যযুগে যে যে বিষয়ে একদিন ফারসি উৎসাহী ছিল সেই সব বিষয়ে সংস্কৃত তুলনামূলক ভাবে উদাসীন। আর অ্যারিস্টটল প্লেটো শিখতে আমাদের ইংরেজি পর্যন্ত অপেক্ষা করতে হল।

Key Al-Qaeda leader handed over to U.S.

26/1/05 16
By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 25. Pakistan has handed over a key Al-Qaeda figure wanted for the 1998 bombing of the U.S. embassies in East Africa to the United States.

According to local television media reports, Tanzanian Ahmad Khalfan Ghailani, who is on the FBI's list of most wanted terrorists with a reward of \$5 millions,

P. Islam
was handed over to the U.S. a few weeks ago and he is believed to have been flown out of the country.

He was picked up by Pakistani forces in the Punjab province in July last.

The authorities said he was part of a "sleeper cell" and had received personal messages on computer discs from the Al-Qaeda chief, Osama bin Laden, ordering him to carry out attacks.

26 JAN 2005

THE HINDU

Iraqi Islamic Army threatens America

Agence France-Presse
Dubai, January 3

THE ISLAMIC Army in Iraq, one of the main armed groups fighting US forces in the war-torn country, has threatened to carry out attacks inside the United States, according to a statement posted on a website on Monday.

This year "will bring woes on America. The mujahideen (holy warriors) have prepared big surprises for your sons outside America and a big surprise for you inside America," said the statement whose authenticity could not be confirmed.

The statement appeared to mark a disturbing shift in strategy by the shadowy Sunni Muslim group which has claimed a number of attacks and killings of hostages in Iraq, including an Italian journalist and two Pakistanis. But last month it freed two French journalists held hostage for four months.

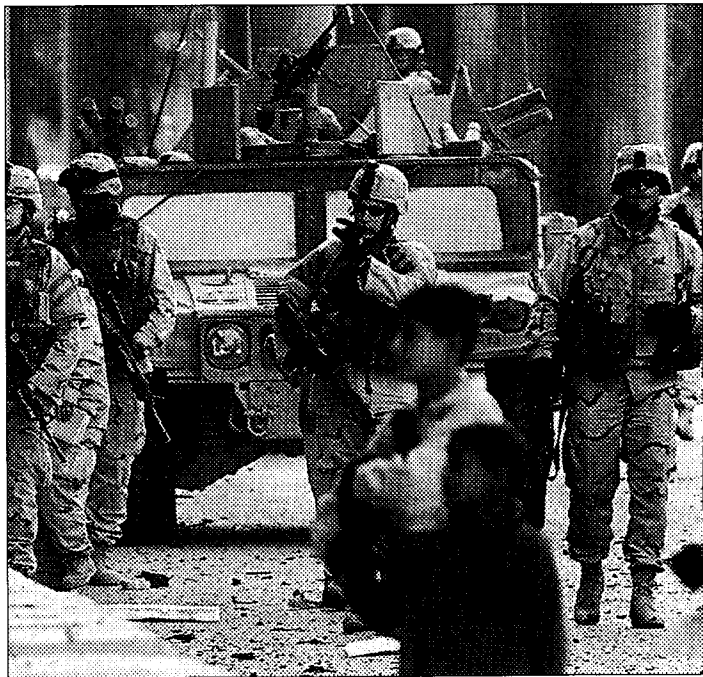
The mujahideen "will take the battle from inside our country (Iraq) to yours," the statement said. "We address you after you finished celebrating the new year, hoping that you are no longer drunk ... We will give American civilians a taste of what civilians in our country go through," said the statement, presented as a "message to the American people".

The message, which described the American people as "uncivilised" and "ignorant", claimed that "the whole world" hates America.

"Are you aware that the number of those who support striking America on its own turf has greatly increased?" it said.

"Last year was a picnic for your soldiers (in Iraq). The year 2005 will witness a quantitative and qualitative change in the operations against your army, which will go down in history," the statement said.

The Islamic Army was one of three militant groups, along with the al-Qaida linked Ansar Al-Sunna and the previously unknown Army of the Mujahideen, which warned in an Internet statement last week they would strike at anyone taking part in landmark Iraqi elections



US soldiers secure the main Green Zone checkpoint after a car bomb blast in Baghdad on Monday.

7 killed in Baghdad car blasts

TWO SUICIDE car bombs, including one that exploded near the prime minister's party headquarters in Baghdad, killed seven Iraqis and wounded 39 others on Monday as insurgents pressed their deadly campaign to disrupt national elections. Most of the victims were security troops. A third car bomb exploded later on Monday near a US-manned checkpoint to the Green Zone, the heavily fortified area housing the US Embassy and Iraqi government offices, US Embassy spokesman Bob Callahan said. US troops surrounded a burn-

ing vehicle at the scene. Iraqi police Lt. Khalid Mohammed said the bomb targeted a US convoy and there were casualties at the checkpoint, which is the main Green Zone exit for trips to Baghdad International Airport west of the city. The first strike by an explosives-laden car near Interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi's Iraqi National Accord party headquarters killed two police officers and one civilian and injured 25 others. The secular Shia leader was not inside the building at the time, aides said.

AP, Baghdad

later this month.

"Those who participate in this dirty farce will not be sheltered from the blows of the mujahideen," said the statement.

Militant groups have managed to mount an increasingly effective insurgency against US-led troops inside Iraq, particu-

larly on their own home turf in Sunni Arab areas north and west of the capital. A suicide bomber from Ansar al-Sunna managed to infiltrate a US base in the main northern city of Mosul last month and blow himself up inside the mess tent, killing 22 people in the deadly attack.

Qaida killing of Iraqi guards posted on Net

ASSOCIATED PRESS

BAGHDAD, Jan. 1. — Al-Qaida released a video today of the cold-blooded execution of five Iraqi security guards saying they were "American dogs," the latest move in a campaign to intimidate Iraqis and target those who collaborate with US-led forces.

The video, made by the group led by Jordanian terrorist mastermind Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, showed the five men lined up, their hands bound behind their backs, and shot publicly in a street from the back. The sounds of gunfire and the cries of the victims could be heard as they fell.

The prisoners were shown earlier sitting on the ground, with five masked gunmen behind them, one reading the statement. A banner carrying the name of Al-Qaida in Iraq appeared in the background.

In a separate written statement posted on the Internet today, al-Qaida also claimed responsibility for a number of attacks targeting security forces around Iraq earlier this week. The video was posted on a website that frequently carries messages from Islamic militants. It did not say where the executions took place, but separate photos indicate it occurred in Ramadi on 26 December.

The insurgents have proven adept at managing the Internet as part of their campaign against the United States and its allies in Iraq,

posting footage of attacks on convoys and military bases, as well as executions of members of the Iraqi security forces or government officials.

Such messages appear aimed at undermining the morale of the security forces ahead of the crucial 30 January elections for a constitutional assembly which the Sunni-led insurgents are seeking to disrupt. The US military and the interim government in Baghdad want the Iraqi police and National Guards to provide security for the ballot, and mass desertions from those forces could scuttle such plans.

In the video, the militants — some wearing masks and others draped in scarves — finished off the men with more shots when they fell to the ground, after kicking them with their feet to check who was still alive.

A statement read out during the video sequence said the confessions of "American dogs ... and (Prime Minister Ayad) Allawi's government did not do them any good." The group warned other Iraqis they would meet the same fate if they joined the security forces.

In the video, a prisoner who identified himself as Lt. Bashar Latif Jassim said his mission was to "prevent terrorists from entering Iraq." When asked by the abductor — who did not appear on camera — who the terrorists are, Jassim said: "Those who sabotage the country."



A grab (left) from a video posted on the Internet on Saturday by Al-Qaida in Iraq shows five members of the Iraqi national guard in Ramadi before their killing. The second image shows gunmen checking their bodies after the executions. — AFP

Troops under terror attack

ASSOCIATED PRESS

BAGHDAD, Jan. 1. — At least two roadside bombs targeted Iraqi security troops yesterday, a day after Prime Minister Mr Ayad Allawi made an unusually strong warning to Iraq's neighbours to crack down on insurgents infiltrating from their territory, saying that Iraq's patience was wear-

ing thin. Al-Qaida, meanwhile, claimed responsibility for a bold attack on US troops. Iraqi officials have repeatedly accused Syria and Iran of supporting insurgents waging violence against American forces and Allawi's US-backed government. Both countries have denied the charges. But Mr Allawi's comments were

among his toughest. "Some countries are hosting people who are involved in harming the Iraqi people," he said, without naming any nations. "Harming Iraq and its people is not allowed."

Al-Qaida in Iraq, led by the country's most wanted terrorist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, claimed responsibility for Wednesday's attack on a US post in Mosul. "We, al-Qaida in Iraq, claim responsibility for the battles of Mosul, may God cleanse it from the impurities of the infidels," said a website statement. Wednesday's attack began with a bomb exploding outside a US checkpoint, followed by attacks by squads of 10-12 insurgents.