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# **BANGLADESH**

**UNLAWFUL KILLINGS AND TORTURE  
IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS**





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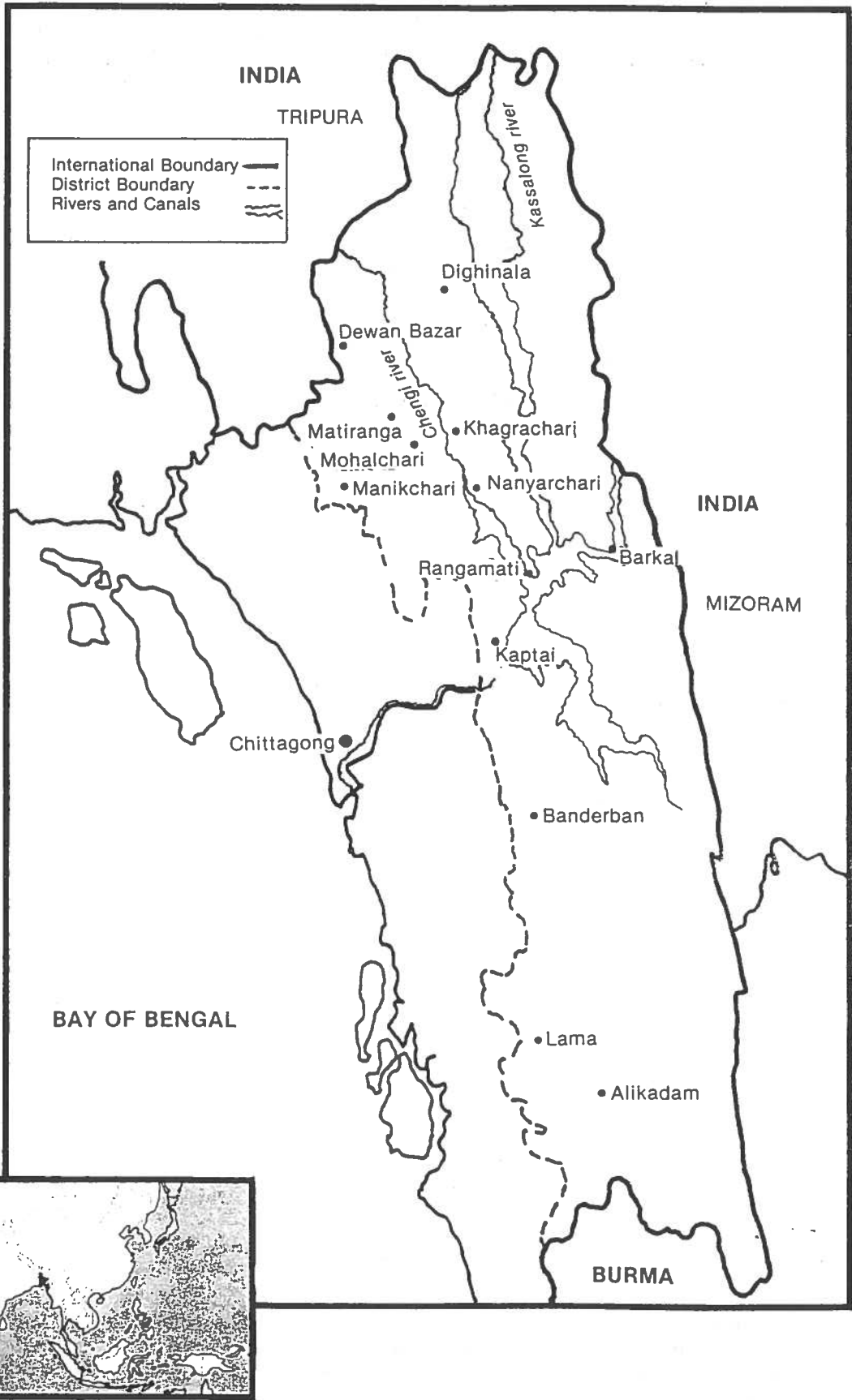
## UNLAWFUL KILLINGS AND TORTURE IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS



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# CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS





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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Reports of arbitrary arrests, torture and unlawful killings of members of the tribal population of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, a remote area in southeast Bangladesh, have been received by Amnesty International for several years. These abuses have allegedly been carried out by law enforcement personnel - the army, paramilitary forces and armed police - under successive governments. There has been armed opposition to the government in this part of the country since the mid-1970s, after the demands of the tribal people for the continuation of their special status and local autonomy were rejected. Some of these human rights abuses have been perpetrated following attacks on law enforcement personnel by the armed tribal organization Shanti Bahini (Peace Force). Tribal people have been arbitrarily killed in military reprisal raids on their villages, and they have been ambushed and killed as they hid in forests after such raids. Human rights have also been abused at other times when there appears to have been no preceding action by the Shanti Bahini, for example, during the forcible relocation of tribal villagers into collective farms, known as "protected villages". Amnesty International believes that successive governments have failed to investigate such incidents of unlawful killings and torture and that no measures have been taken to prevent their recurrence.

In the spring and summer of 1986, the armed conflict in the Chittagong Hill Tracts escalated. The Shanti Bahini attacked military installations and the villages of non-tribal people moved to the area under government resettlement programs. The army and paramilitary forces conducted intense counter-insurgency operations in the northern part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Amnesty International believes that dozens of unarmed tribal villagers, not involved in the activities of the Shanti Bahini, have been unlawfully killed by law enforcement personnel during these operations. The total number of killings during this period at the hands of law enforcement personnel or with their complicity may be much greater.

Amnesty International condemns as a matter of principle the torture or execution of prisoners by anyone, including opposition groups. However, the organization believes that such actions do not absolve governments of their responsibility to respect and protect fundamental human rights. The right to life is proclaimed in unequivocal terms in Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is guaranteed in Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, from which no derogation is permitted, even in situations of emergency or armed conflict. The prohibition of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, contained in Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is also a provision from which no derogation is permitted.

Amnesty International has obtained detailed information from a number of sources, including eye-witnesses, about torture and killings in May 1986. It also has information about a number of earlier incidents involving the unlawful killing and torture of tribal villagers. This information is presented in this report, with an outline of the background to these events. The report also

presents measures which Amnesty International believes are necessary to stop the persistent human rights abuses committed by Bangladesh law enforcement personnel against the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.



## 2. BANGLADESH AND THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

### 2.1 GENERAL OUTLINE

The Chittagong Hill Tracts, a geographically inaccessible and isolated part of Bangladesh, border India and Burma and cover an area of approximately 5,093 square miles or about 10 per cent of the total land area of Bangladesh. The district consists of several valleys running in a northwest to southeasterly direction, with ridges rising to 3,000 feet. This upland, forested area is in stark contrast to the landscape of other parts of Bangladesh, which is flat and subject to regular monsoon flooding. The Chittagong Hill Tracts are relatively rich in natural resources, with fruit growing there in abundance. There is also timber, bamboo and gas and possibilities for oil exploration have been identified.

The tribal population, estimated to number some 600,000, belongs to 13 main tribes. The largest tribe, with over half the total population, is the Chakma, followed by the Marma and then the Tripura (or Tippera). The tribal people differ significantly from the majority population of Bangladesh. They are of Sino-Tibetan descent, have a distinctive appearance with Mongoloid features and are predominantly Buddhist, with small numbers of Hindus. They differ linguistically and in their social organization, marriage customs, birth and death rites, food, techniques of agriculture and other social customs from the people of the rest of the country. Their livelihood depends on subsistence agriculture, mainly shifting cultivation called jhum (slash and burn) farming, a method which, to be successful, utilizes large areas of land.

Bangladesh is one of the world's most densely populated countries, within which the Chittagong Hill Tracts district is its most sparsely inhabited region, although arguably geographical conditions limit the amount of land available there for cultivation. Pressure for land to cultivate has led to the migration of large numbers of non-tribal people from other parts of Bangladesh into the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This process has been actively encouraged by successive governments, which have facilitated the migration by removing the special status and local autonomy previously enjoyed by the tribal people. The conflict over land, together with the threat of assimilation into the majority culture of Bangladesh, provide the background to the present dispute in the Chittagong Hill Tracts between the tribal people on the one hand, and the government and non-tribal settlers on the other.

### 2.2 RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY

Under British colonial rule of the Indian sub-continent, the Chittagong Hill Tracts came to be administered indirectly by the Governor-General-in-Council of India, separately from the surrounding areas. Except for the Governor's representative, the Deputy Commissioner, who was British, other administrative staff, including a separate police force, were locally recruited from the tribal population. The chiefs of the three major tribes played a role in their respective areas through collecting taxes and dispensing traditional justice in

tribal courts. Migration to the area was virtually prohibited, since the required permit was subject to so many preconditions that it was almost impossible to acquire. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900, reaffirmed the separate administrative status of the area. The Chittagong Hill Tracts were thus afforded limited self-government and kept largely isolated from the plainspeople living in Bengal. When the 1935 Government of India Act was passed and provincial self-government was introduced in the Indian sub-continent, the Chittagong Hill Tracts were declared a "totally excluded area", outside the provinces of Bengal and Assam.

When the sub-continent was partitioned and independence was granted to India and Pakistan in 1947, the principal chiefs in the Chittagong Hill Tracts sought recognition as a "native state" or, failing this, part of a confederation with Tripura and other parts of northeast India with predominantly tribal populations. Instead, however, the Chittagong Hill Tracts became part of the east wing of Pakistan, a Muslim majority area.

As part of Pakistan, the Chittagong Hill Tracts initially continued to be administered - at least in theory - according to the 1900 Regulation. However, the tribal people complained that its provisions were in practice soon disregarded and a gradual but steady process of dismantling the tribal-led institutions of self-government began. The repeal in 1948 of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Frontier Police Regulation of 1881 led to the indigenous police force being disbanded, its personnel being sent to different areas and non-tribal replacements appointed, bringing police administration under the East Pakistan police force. In 1955 the provincial government apparently sought to abolish the special safeguards accorded to the tribal people under the 1900 Regulation. This measure was not pursued, however, seemingly as a result of stiff opposition from the tribal people and the attitude of the central government then based in Karachi. The short-lived 1956 Constitution of Pakistan, abrogated in 1958, thus maintained the status of the Chittagong Hill Tracts as an "excluded area". The 1962 Constitution originally retained the special status of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but under a constitutional amendment of 1963, which came into force in 1964, the Chittagong Hill Tracts ceased to be known as a tribal area and lost their special status and autonomy. This measure coincided with the completion of work on a major hydroelectric project in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (see page 7) and the government's announced intention to open up the area for economic development.

On 16 December 1971, a bloody nine-month civil war ended in the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state. In February 1972, a delegation led by the tribal Member of Parliament Manobendra Narayan Larma called on Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to accept four basic demands of the tribal people. These covered:

- autonomy for the Chittagong Hill Tracts, together with provision for a separate legislative body;
- retention of the provisions of the 1900 Regulation in the Bangladesh Constitution;
- the continuation of the offices of the traditional tribal chiefs;
- a constitutional provision restricting amendment of the 1900

Regulation and the imposition of a ban on the influx of non-tribals into the area.

These demands were apparently interpreted as secessionist by the new government and were rejected outright. The 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh made no provision for any special status for the Chittagong Hill Tracts. On 7 March 1972 Manobendra Narayan Larma, together with his brother Bodhi Priyo Larma, formed the Parbottya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (the Chittagong Hill Tracts People's Solidarity Association), now known simply as the JSS, the armed wing of which is the Shanti Bahini. Although formed in 1972, the Shanti Bahini is understood not to have become militarily active until some three years later. From the mid-1970s onwards, the Shanti Bahini attacked military and paramilitary personnel and their bases in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as well as non-tribal settlers, resulting in hundreds of deaths. Local officials and some foreign nationals working there have been abducted and ransom money demanded.

After the killing of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in August 1975, a second delegation from the Chittagong Hill Tracts met President Justice Abusadat Mohammad Sayem and presented demands similar to those put forward in 1972. In 1976 further representations were made to Major General Ziaur Rahman, Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and effective ruler of the country, but these approaches were also unsuccessful. Further exchanges between the Shanti Bahini and government of Ziaur Rahman, who by then had become President, took place in 1980, but again without result.

In December 1980, several months after an incident in which soldiers stationed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are reported to have unlawfully killed a number of unarmed tribal people (see page 11), the government introduced in parliament the Disturbed Areas Bill. The Bill, which the Prime Minister acknowledged to parliament was directed at the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, was apparently intended to replace the Disturbed Areas (Special Powers) Ordinance of 1962, which still remained on the statute books from the period before the independence of Bangladesh. The 1962 Ordinance had empowered provincial governments to declare an area "disturbed" by notification in the official gazette. It gave special powers to a magistrate or police officer in charge of a police party, "after giving such warning as may be appropriate in the circumstances", to open fire on or otherwise use force against "any person who is acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in a disturbed area prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons, or the carrying of weapons, or of things capable of being used as weapons", if such action was deemed necessary "in the maintenance of public order". The ordinance also authorized an officer of the armed forces - in the case of the army, a junior or non-commissioned officer - to act likewise. Powers of arrest and search without warrant were also provided for armed forces' officers. All actions taken in accordance with the Ordinance were protected from review by the courts, unless prior written authorization permitting judicial challenge was provided by the provincial or central government.

The powers to be provided by the 1980 Bill considerably exceeded those conferred in the 1962 Ordinance. Once the government had declared in the official gazette that an area was "disturbed", a junior or non-commissioned officer, sub-police inspector or "officer of the Bangladesh Rifles not below the rank of havildar" (a junior or non-commissioned officer) was authorized to "fire upon or otherwise use force, even to the extent of causing death, against any

person engaged in any unlawful activity", if in their opinion "it is necessary for the maintenance of public order". There was no requirement to give any warning of such action in all circumstances. The Bill defined "unlawful activity" in extremely broad terms as "any action (taken whether by committing an act or by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representation or otherwise)" which is "prejudicial to the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Bangladesh", "prejudicial to the security of Bangladesh or the maintenance of public order" or "intended to impair the efficiency or impede the working of, or cause damage to Government property, including vehicles or apparatus" and all property "used in connection with...any essential commodity". The Bill also allowed military and paramilitary personnel to arrest people without warrant; "such force as may be necessary" could be employed in making such arrests. No maximum period of detention without trial was stipulated; it was simply subject to regular review by a government-appointed Advisory Board. Special tribunals were also to be established to try people committing, or abetting, advocating or advising the commission of "unlawful activity", with powers to impose the death penalty. All actions provided for in the Bill were given unqualified protection from judicial challenge.

Vociferous protests against the Bill were made by the parliamentary opposition, as well as by some members of the government's own party, which resulted in its passage being delayed while its provisions were scrutinized by a standing committee on law and parliamentary affairs. Amnesty International understands that the Bill had not been passed at the time of the assassination of President Ziaur Rahman in May 1981 and that it did not subsequently come into effect.

After assuming power as Chief Martial Law Administrator in March 1982, and subsequently as President, General Hossain Mohammad Ershad announced in October 1983 an amnesty for all Shanti Bahini members who surrendered. In a package of measures relating to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, General Ershad also declared that draft amendments or modifications to the 1900 Regulation had already been prepared, and were under examination by a committee headed by the then Minister of Law and Land Reforms. The committee would submit its recommendations to the Home Ministry. To date, no further information has been made known about these proposals. According to officials, the amnesty, which was eventually extended until April 1985, resulted in the surrender of 3,000 or more Shanti Bahini, although these figures are disputed by the armed opposition. In October 1985, a meeting was reported to have been held between the JSS and government representatives to negotiate a settlement. A second meeting was said to have been scheduled for late December 1985 but in the event is understood not to have taken place, for reasons as yet unclear. In the first half of 1986, the incidence of Shanti Bahini attacks and military operations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts increased considerably. A second amnesty was announced after the increase of violence, which was to be effective for one month after 24 May 1986. It is said to have had little impact.

### 2.3 POPULATION MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Shortly after the creation of Pakistan as an independent state, population statistics for the year 1951 showed the proportion of tribal and non-tribal inhabitants in the Chittagong Hill Tracts to be around 91 and nine per cent

respectively. By 1974, after the abolition of the special status of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the percentage of non-tribals had increased to 11.5. In 1980 they accounted for almost 34 per cent. Amnesty International does not have access to current figures providing a breakdown of the population in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but more non-tribals are reported to have settled there after 1980 and some observers estimate that the non-tribal population may now almost equal the number of tribal people. A Dhaka newspaper, Ganakanta (16 October 1980), reported that "Despite protest and strong opposition of the tribals, the government have taken up a programme of rehabilitating 100,000 families from the other districts of the country in the Chittagong Hill Tracts". When questioned in 1980 by a journalist about the migration of non-tribal people to the area, a government spokesperson was reported to have explained that it was considered to be contrary to the Constitution to prevent any Bangladeshi from settling and buying land in any part of the country.

Settlement of non-tribal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is seen by the Bangladesh Government as necessary for the overall development of the country in view of the undeniable problem of population pressure and land resources. A representative of the Bangladesh diplomatic mission in Geneva, in a speech to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1983, emphasized the economic considerations determining government policies: "The people of Bangladesh have to share the available resources in an equitable manner within the severe economic constraints well known to the international community". Tribal leaders have contended, however, that in spite of the low population density in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, unused or under-utilized expanses of cultivable land do not exist, because of the ecological and topographical conditions, as well as the amount of land required to practise "slash and burn" agriculture. Non-tribal people from other areas of the country are said in general to be unfamiliar with the appropriate techniques for hillside cultivation, which has reportedly led to the encroachment by non-tribals on the small amount of land in valleys suitable for wet-rice cultivation.

Moreover, at least 54,000 acres of settled cultivable land, mostly farmed by the Chakma tribe, were lost in 1957 when the government began the construction of the Karnaphuli hydroelectric project. To build the necessary dam, over 400 square miles of land were submerged, with far-reaching deleterious effects on the economy and life-style of the tribal people in the area. Although some compensation was provided by the government, not all the 100,000 people who had lost their homes and prime agricultural lands as a result of the construction of the dam were satisfactorily rehabilitated.

Amnesty International's mandate restricts its work to the promotion and protection of civil and political rights. The organization thus takes no position on the question of land rights in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the movement of non-tribal people into the area. Reference to these issues is included solely to indicate the context in which human rights violations have occurred in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

### 3. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S ACTIVITIES

Amnesty International has repeatedly raised with the Bangladesh Government its concern about reports of human rights abuses in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and has publicized these efforts. In November 1980 Amnesty International urged the government of President Ziaur Rahman to establish an independent inquiry into the events of March 1980 when a number of unarmed tribal people were reportedly shot by army personnel (see page 11). Details of people arrested in connection with political activities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the charges against them, were also requested. No reply was received.

Following the proposed enactment of the Disturbed Areas Bill in December 1980, Amnesty International wrote to the government expressing its concern that the Bill would authorize law enforcement personnel to kill people on mere suspicion and that the wide powers to arrest and detain anyone suspected of committing "unlawful activity" would allow people to be arrested for the non-violent exercise of human rights. An Amnesty International delegate visiting Dhaka in April 1981 also raised with government officials the organization's concerns regarding the Bill's provisions.

In September 1985 Amnesty International called upon the government of President Hossain Mohammad Ershad to institute an immediate and full inquiry into allegations of human rights violations which had occurred the previous year. Amnesty International referred specifically to reports of unlawful killings by law enforcement personnel of several dozen tribal villagers in the Barkal area in late May 1984 (see page 13). During September 1984 eight women were reportedly killed in Barkal, Hotiyalchara and Harinhatchara. Reports of torture of tribal villagers during September and November 1984 in Monatek and villages in the Nanyarchari area were also submitted to the government. The incidents of unlawful killing and torture in May 1986 described in this report were raised with the government in a letter of August 1986, when Amnesty International reiterated its appeal for an independent and impartial body to investigate these abuses. To date no response to these requests has been received.

Amnesty International's information on the Chittagong Hill Tracts cannot be regarded as complete and it is not possible to assess the full scale of human rights violations that have occurred there. The inaccessibility of the area has been compounded by restrictions imposed by the military authorities on travel there by non-residents, including journalists and those concerned to investigate human rights abuses. Moreover, villagers are fearful of reprisals against them and their families if they disclose information about their experiences. Some are reported to have been required by law enforcement personnel to sign statements to the effect that they would not do so before their release from detention. Amnesty International representatives have not visited the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Nevertheless, Amnesty International has accumulated a large body of information on its concerns in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Some of this information has been collected from tribal villagers who have fled from the area and sought refuge in India. Other information consists of published reports and of accounts from a wide variety of sources written and passed on to Amnesty



International in confidence.

Amnesty International interviewed tribal people in several different places in India. This provided the opportunity to cross-check accounts provided by villagers from one locality now living apart from one another. The dozens of testimonies reveal a high degree of consistency in their description of recent events and the villagers' experiences. Substantial extracts from the accounts of eye-witnesses to torture and unlawful killings have been provided in this report, as the most eloquent means of conveying what has occurred. The informants' identity has not been revealed since many people are fearful of further reprisals should they be returned to Bangladesh.

Much of the information collected by Amnesty International, particularly about events in 1986, relates to human rights violations in the northernmost area of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This is the part inhabited predominantly by the Chakma tribe. The Shanti Bahini is understood to be drawn mostly from the Chakma tribe and much of its activities have been focussed in this area. This has led to a concentration of counter-insurgency operations there, but information provided to Amnesty International indicates that actions by military and paramilitary forces over the years have also resulted in human rights abuses, on a seemingly lesser scale, in other parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

#### 4. UNLAWFUL KILLINGS

Amnesty International opposes extrajudicial executions, which it defines as unlawful and deliberate political killings carried out by governments or with their complicity. Amnesty International uses the term to distinguish these political killings by government agents and law enforcement personnel from the "judicial" death penalty, the implementation of a death sentence imposed by a court. It also distinguishes them from deaths resulting from the use of reasonable force in law enforcement operations, as permitted under national and international legal standards, and from killings in armed conflict not forbidden under international humanitarian law.

A distinctive feature of many of the unlawful killings in the Chittagong Hill Tracts reported to Amnesty International has been that not only law enforcement personnel have been involved, but also other Bangladeshi citizens who have settled in the area. Amnesty International does not include within its definition of the term extrajudicial executions deaths which occur in communal conflicts when those responsible for such killings are ordinary citizens. However the information available to the organization indicates strongly that the actions of some of the non-tribal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been undertaken at the instigation of, or have been condoned by, the responsible law enforcement personnel in the area. These actions are carried out in conjunction with the operations of the law enforcement personnel themselves rather than in isolation. Amnesty International believes the Bangladesh Government has a clear responsibility for actions of its citizens in such circumstances.

Because of the difficulties of obtaining and verifying information about the scale of human rights violations, Amnesty International is unable to determine the total number of non-combatant tribal villagers who have been killed over the last 10 years. One indication of the scale of the overall conflict was given in a speech made by President Ershad to newly-elected members of parliament in mid-July 1986, when he said that in the 10 years until then 1,000 civilians and members of the armed opposition had been killed. This figure included deaths of the non-tribal population. He also said that 213 members of the security forces had been killed. An earlier report by the news agency Reuters on 4 May 1986 said that 6,500 people had been killed over 12 years. This figure has been consistently used by the news agency, although no source for it has been given.

The military and paramilitary presence in the Chittagong Hill Tracts was reported recently to be based at three cantonments, 43 army camps, 30 camps of the Bangladesh Defence Rifles (BDR, a paramilitary force with responsibility for border security), 33 camps of Armed Police Battalions (APB) and 49 camps of the Bangladesh Reserve Police (BRP) and Ansars (another paramilitary force of volunteers from other areas of the country). There are also 28 police stations in the area (Sentinel, an Indian newspaper, 29 May 1986). No figures are available for the number of law enforcement personnel serving in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, although since 1976 there appears to have been a considerable increase in military personnel in the region. Human rights abuses have reportedly been committed by members of all the law enforcement agencies listed above. Reference to the involvement of non-tribal people in the attacks on the

tribal community has already been made. The non-tribal people living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are reported to have easy access to firearms. According to the weekly Dhaka newspaper Holiday (18 June 1983): "An elaborate program has been taken up to recruit village defence police (VDP, also called Village Defence Parties, according to Amnesty International's information) from among the new settlers and to provide them with 303 (that is, .303 calibre) Rifles to resist the thrusts of the so-called Shanti Bahini of the tribal insurgents."

According to Amnesty International's information, on no occasion has the Bangladesh Government established an inquiry into complaints of the unlawful and arbitrary killing of unarmed tribal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, although a parliamentary committee was established in 1980 to look into the broader political and economic problems of the area (see below page 13).

Widespread publicity has been given to the killings and abductions attributed to the Shanti Bahini in the Bangladesh news media and abroad, based on official announcements. However, successive Bangladesh governments have denied that law enforcement personnel have been involved in anything other than a "law and order problem" in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Government representatives in international forums have categorically rejected what were termed on one occasion the "totally baseless and preposterous allegations...about so-called atrocities perpetrated in the area" (from the speech of the Bangladesh representative at the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, 2 August 1985).

Reports of unlawful killings in the Chittagong Hill Tracts date back to the early post-independence days of Bangladesh. The tribal people were accused of collaborating with the Pakistan authorities during the civil conflict leading to the independence of Bangladesh, and the Rakkhi Bahini, a paramilitary force created by the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, is reported to have carried out reprisals against them. However, it is from late 1976 onwards that regular reports of arbitrary arrests, torture and unlawful killings by law enforcement personnel have been received.

The reports of unlawful killings provided below are selected from those which have been attested by several sources. Amnesty International believes that they are representative of a pattern of such incidents which have occurred over the years, when unarmed tribal villagers, including elderly people and children, have been deliberately killed by members of the armed forces and other law enforcement personnel.

#### 4.1 KAUKHALI, KALAMPATI UNION, 25 MARCH 1980

The village of Kaukhali is some six miles north of Ranirhat village, about 31 miles from Chittagong in the direction of Rangamati town. The area is one where families from other parts of the country were being resettled during 1980. Posters are understood to have appeared on walls in public places in Kaukhali in early 1980 calling upon these recent migrants to leave immediately.

In the district east of Kaukhali, near the town of Barkal, on 10 March 1980 a detachment of soldiers was reportedly ambushed by Shanti Bahini forces. Twenty-two soldiers are said to have died in this clash.

On 25 March the army reportedly retaliated by deliberately killing a number of tribal people in Kalampati Union. This is the only such incident known to Amnesty International to have received considerable publicity in the Bangladesh news media. The events were described at a news conference on 21 April 1980 held by three opposition members of parliament, belonging to different political parties, who had recently visited the area to conduct their own investigation, Shahjahan Siraj, Rashed Khan Menon and Upendra Lal Chakma. According to their press statement:

*"....It is alleged that the commander of the local army camp instructed the local leaders to assemble in the market in the name of holding a meeting. At the same time, that commander also informed the local people to come at that time for the reconstruction of the (nearby) Poapara Buddhist Temple. The local people reported that suddenly the army personnel arrived at the market and started to kill the local leaders who had come to the meeting by firing...."*

Similar deliberate killings by the army occurred on the same day at the Buddhist temple in Poapara according to two men who had been present. While the villagers were working, they were ordered to line up and then the "security forces started shooting at us". After the shootings by the army in Kaukhali and Poapara, non-tribal villagers are reported to have attacked tribal people, their homes and temples, both in these villages and in the surrounding area.

Upendra Lal Chakma, a Member of Parliament representing a constituency in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, first sought to publicize the killings at a press conference in Dhaka on 1 April 1980, five days after they occurred. He was unable to determine precisely the number of deaths: "The exact human toll is unknown but certainly exceeds 200." This figure, which Amnesty International is not in a position to verify, is understood to include a number of people killed in the subsequent attacks by non-tribal residents of the area. Upendra Lal Chakma also provided on 1 April 1980 the names of 11 tribal people reported to have been killed at Kaukhali. One villager subsequently interviewed by the three members of parliament at Poapara, who had apparently survived the killings because he had been presumed dead, said that some 50 people had been buried in a mass grave at the western corner of Poapara High School. An unidentified official also acknowledged that 28 deaths were known to have occurred at Kaukhali (New Nation, 13 April 1980). Although it is not possible to determine accurately the total number of deaths that occurred at Kaukhali and Poapara and the precise circumstances in which all the killings took place, the information available strongly indicates that army personnel were initially responsible for firing on two groups of unarmed tribal people, causing at the very least several deaths.

In their report, the three members of parliament concluded:

*"It is obvious to us that the incident of Kalampati is not an isolated event. It has been perpetrated systematically and with a definite plan."*

Among other demands, they urged a judicial inquiry into the incident.

The government is not known to have made any formal public response to the

proposals, and no judicial inquiry was conducted. However a five-member parliamentary committee was established to study the political and economic problems of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, apparently without reference to the killings on 25 March. To Amnesty International's knowledge, the report of this committee was not published. Amnesty International has recently been informed that the army officer allegedly responsible for ordering the villagers to assemble and the army to open fire in these incidents is still serving in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

#### 4.2 BARKAL AREA, 31 MAY/1 JUNE 1984

The town of Barkal, close to the Indian border, is approximately 15 miles east of Rangamati. In 1981, at least 500 families from elsewhere in Bangladesh are reported to have been settled in the nearby villages of Gorosthan, Bhusanchara and Chota Harina. Some of the settlers are said to have forcibly occupied land previously belonging to tribal people. Apparently the tribal people had complained about this to the officers of the army camp in the locality, but without effect.

In the early morning of 31 May 1984, the settlements of non-tribal villagers at Gorosthan, Bhusanchara and Chota Harina were attacked, reportedly by Shanti Bahini accompanied by other tribal people. Over 100 non-tribal people were reported killed, their homes burned and looted. Three BDR camps in the locality were also reported to have been simultaneously attacked so that no law enforcement personnel could intervene. Bhusanchara was the village most severely affected. The attack was given extensive coverage in the Bangladesh news media and President Ershad visited the affected area on 5 June 1984. No publicity was given, however, to the reprisals taken against the tribal population by law enforcement personnel immediately after the assaults on the non-tribal settlements.

Some of the tribal people, apparently anticipating retaliatory raids, reportedly left their homes at once and sought to hide in the surrounding forests. Others remained in their settlements. Later on 31 May and the following day, army personnel, reportedly from the 305th brigade of the 26th Bengal Regiment, and members of the 17th battalion of the Bangladesh Defence Rifles, accompanied by non-tribal villagers, are said to have attacked the tribal villages in the area, principally Het Baria, Suguri Para, Gorosthan, Tarengya Ghat, Bhusanchara and Bhusan Bagh.\*

Several months after the attacks, Amnesty International received a list naming 67 tribal people from these villages who were reported to have been killed at this time, among them 21 children under the age of 10. Although Amnesty International cannot verify the full list of names, cross-checking with other sources, including interviews with eye-witnesses to the events, confirmed several individual deaths and the circumstances in which they reportedly occurred. Moreover, the methods by which the deaths of the other people on the list of 67 names were said to have occurred conformed to the broader description

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\* As will be noted Gorosthan and Bhusanchara settlements appear also in the list of locations attacked by Shanti Bahini and tribal people. It is understood that whilst the settlements of tribal and non-tribal people may be given the same name, they are invariably separated from each other by some distance.

of events provided by eye-witnesses.

A villager from Het Baria gave the following account of his experience:

"My village falls in the Barkal rehabilitation zone where large numbers of Muslims have settled over the years. There is thus continuous tension between the two communities. In the summer of 1984 there were frequent clashes and the Muslims often used to threaten us saying that the army will come and teach us a lesson. The army came on May 31, accompanied by a large group of Muslims some of whom were armed. They destroyed our village, raped women and killed people. I saw two women getting raped and then killed by bayonets. One Aroti, who is my distant cousin, was also raped by several soldiers and her body was disfigured with bayonets. Several people, including children, were thrown into burning huts. I was among the people singled out for torture in public. Five or six of us were hung upside down on a tree and beaten. Perhaps I was given up for dead and thus survived. The memories of that day are still a nightmare for me. Even now I sometimes wake up in a cold sweat remembering the sight of the soldiers thrusting bayonets into private parts of our women. They were all screaming 'No Chakmas will be born in Bangladesh'."

According to the list of 67 names, Arati Chakma (spelling as given on the list), a 22-year-old woman of Het Baria, "was raped and her breasts were cut off with a sharp knife". Out of the list of 67 individuals reported killed, 18 were living in Het Baria. Eleven were women or girls, several of whom were alleged to have been raped before being bayoneted to death, shot, or burnt alive when their homes were set alight. Nine were children aged 10 or below.

Twenty-five people are listed as having died at Suguri Para, 17 of them women or children under the age of 15. The following account was provided by a villager from there:

"Soldiers were shouting abuse and a lot of their attention was on our women, dozens of whom were shot or bayoneted through their private parts after mass raids. They tied up many people in their huts and set these on fire. My friend Sanat was tortured and asked for the whereabouts of the Shanti Bahini people. When he said 'No', the soldiers forced one of our villagers at gunpoint to bayonet him to death. There was hardly a woman who was not raped and I can't believe how so many of us survived. I can't say how many people died but I saw 30 to 40 bodies and these included at least 10 small children. Many of the children were blown to bits with automatic weapons."

Another person from Suguri Para witnessed two small children being "shot with a stengun-like weapon" and Sanat Kumar being "tortured and bayoneted by a Chakma of the same village under orders of an army officer possibly of the rank of a captain". The list of 67 names describes Sanat Kumar Chakma, the son of Bhagaban Chandra Chakma, as being 45 years old, and states that he was "tied on a tree and then killed with bayonet charges".

Nine people are listed as having died at Gorosthan. The following account



was given by an eye-witness:

"In the late night of May 30 we heard a tremendous noise and began to run away out of fear. But before we could do that a large number of armed troops commanded by an officer reached our village and while firing in the air told us not to move. It is difficult to recall what happened after that but I suddenly discovered they were firing into all the huts and people were trying to run away in the confusion. I thought the end had come. I saw many people falling in the confusion but people said that Sadhana Mohan and Akshay were among those who had died".

According to the list of 67 names, Akshay Chan Chakma, 25, son of Sashi Mohan Chakma, was shot in his home which was then set alight. Sadhana Mohan Chakma, 16, son of Nishi Mohan Chakma, was reportedly severely beaten and then killed.

#### 4.3 KHAGRACHARI-PANCHARI AREA, 1 MAY 1986 AND THE FOLLOWING DAYS

The background to the marked increase in violence in the Chittagong Hill Tracts which began in late April 1986 and continued for several weeks is as yet unclear although several factors are likely to have contributed to this. The talks between the government and Shanti Bahini appear to have broken down by late December 1985. In the early months of 1986, law enforcement personnel are reported to have raided tribal villages in the Panchari-Khagrachari-Dighinala area and, a little further south, in the Nanyarchari-Mohalchari environs in efforts to force the inhabitants to move to joutha khamars (collective farms, also called by tribal people "protected villages", see page 29). The Shanti Bahini is also understood to have declared its intention to obstruct polling in the Chittagong Hill Tracts at general elections due to be held throughout the country on 8 May, which they had called upon the tribal people to boycott.

On 2 May 1986, the Bangladesh Observer reported that the Shanti Bahini had attacked "separate Bengali habitations near the Indian border in Matiranga upazilla (sub-district) of Khagrachari district on Tuesday night" (29 April) killing at least 38 people. According to information available to Amnesty International, it seems that three large groups of Shanti Bahini attacked BDR border outposts at Assalong, Chota Assalong and Taidong, facing the border post of Bhagwantilla in India. Simultaneously, tribal people are reported to have attacked nearby villages of non-tribals. This attack, the most serious to have been experienced in the recent past, was the first of a number of operations launched by the Shanti Bahini over the next few months. Reprisals by the army, BDR, Ansars and non-tribal inhabitants, are reported to have begun immediately after 29 April.

On 1 May and the following days, law enforcement personnel, together with non-tribal people, are said to have entered a number of tribal villages in the Panchari-Khagrachari area and to have arbitrarily killed dozens of tribal inhabitants. The villages included Golakpratimachara, Kalanal, Soto Karmapara, Shantipur, Mirjibil, Hetarachara (also known as Khedarachara Mukhpara), Pujgang, Laogang, Hathimuktipara, Sarveswarpara, Napidapara and Dewan Bazar. According to the accounts of eye-witnesses from six villages, extracts from which are cited below, 16 named individuals are reported to have died, although many eye-witnesses also recounted having seen dead bodies without being able to



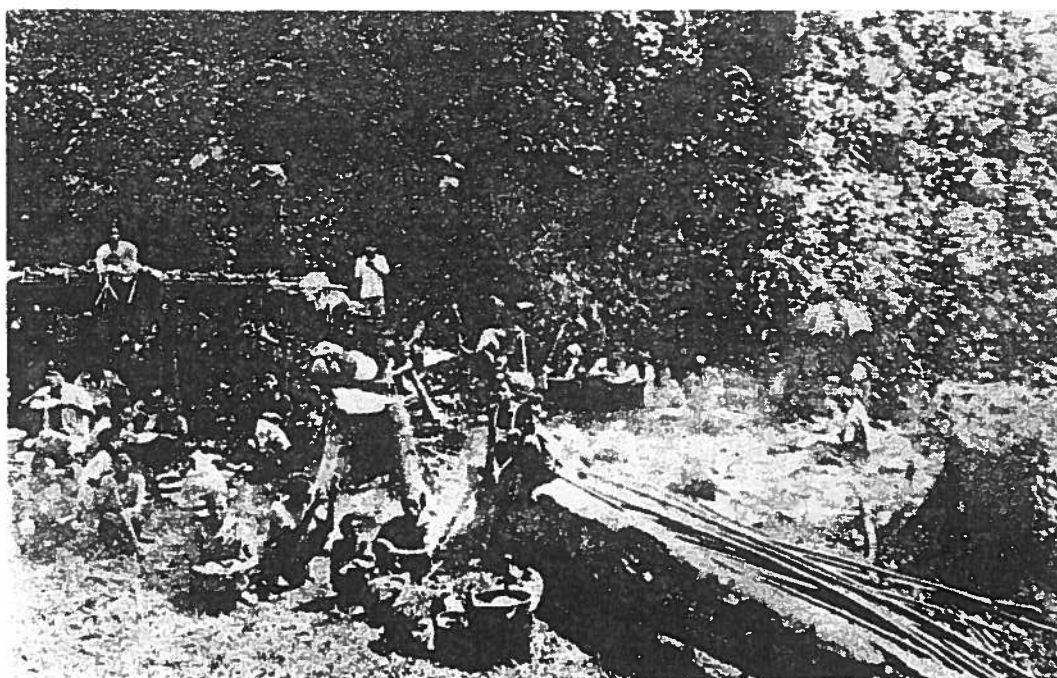
The northern area of the Chittagong Hill Tracts where military and paramilitary forces conducted raids in April and May 1986

Tribal children living in the camp at Karbuk, near Bhagwantilla in India



An elderly tribal woman is carried by other villagers to join those hiding in the forests

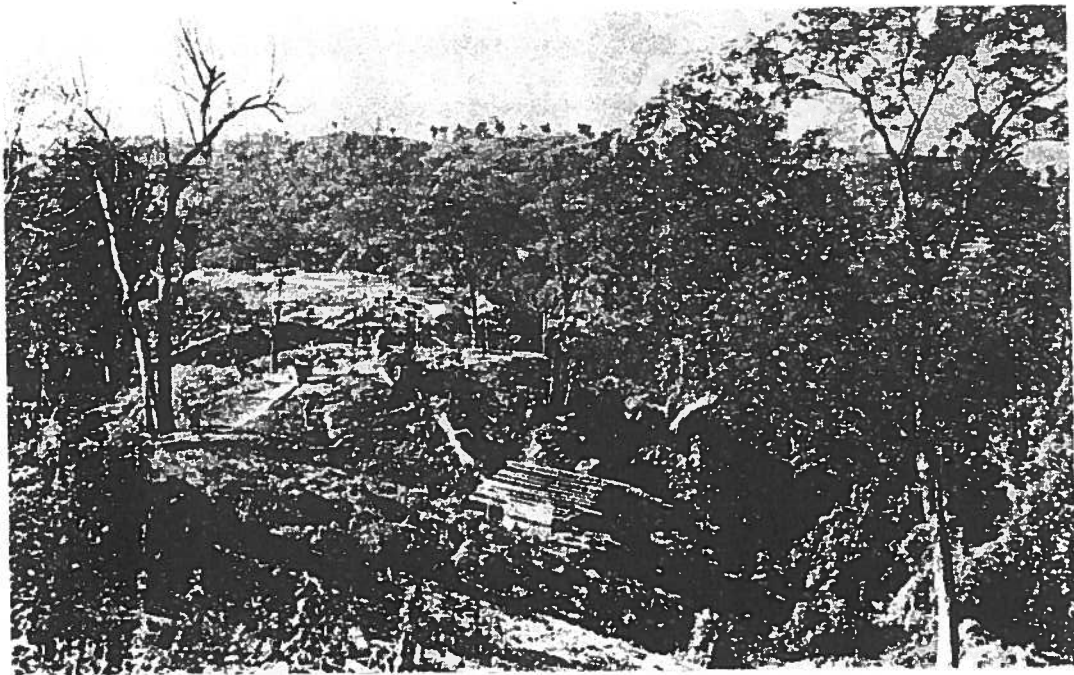
Tribal villagers shelter in the forest bordering India, where they fled after raids on their homes in April and May 1986





A tribal boy reported to have been killed when soldiers raided Sarbojiya village, near Panchari, on 22 April 1986

After the raid, the villagers' homes were destroyed and little remains of the settlement





identify them or know the precise circumstances in which they died. Appendix 1 contains the name or description of an additional 23 people reported by fellow villagers to have been killed at this time. These 23 names also appear on a longer list sent separately to Amnesty International, which records details of over 50 tribal people said to have been killed during the first few days of May.

The accounts by the tribal inhabitants of different villages are entirely consistent in accusing members of the armed forces and other law enforcement personnel of arbitrarily and deliberately killing unarmed tribal people. These villagers were then assaulted by non-tribal people, who were often reported to have been well armed. Although some of the deaths can be attributed solely to the actions of non-tribal settlers, the law enforcement personnel present apparently made no efforts to prevent the non-tribal people from physically attacking villagers and their property; rather there are strong indications that law enforcement personnel instigated and encouraged them.

Few villagers are able to identify the units to which the military and paramilitary forces involved in the attacks belonged, except to note that they were BDR men, army or Ansars. According to one source, military personnel included troops from the 19th East Bengal Regiment, Panchari Army Zone.

Some eye-witnesses allege that after entering the tribal villages, law enforcement personnel ordered the inhabitants to assemble on open ground, men separate from women, away from the villagers' huts. While the villagers were held in this way their settlements are reported to have been set on fire by non-tribal people. Law enforcement personnel are then reported to have opened fire randomly on the groups of villagers who attempted to escape.

Part of this process was described by a woman from Mirjibil, about a mile from Panchari, who was witness to the killing of another woman, aged in her 70s:

*"As soon as the raid on my village began, people (other villagers) began to shout asking everybody to leave the village. But before most people could gather their senses the soldiers and the Ansars had come. They were followed by several hundred Muslim settlers.... They immediately began to ransack the village.*

*"The soldiers asked the men and the women to stand separately.... One old woman, Phoidebi, had trouble getting up and joining the group outside. A soldier shot her at close range."*

The unlawful killing of Phoidebi was also described, independently, by several other villagers from Mirjibil.

An account by a villager from Dewan Bazar, near the Indian border, describes indiscriminate shooting by law enforcement personnel:

*"On the morning of 2 May, the troops and the Ansars raided our village. There was great panic and commotion and several people were fortunate enough to slip away. But most were in the village. The officer-in-charge, perhaps a captain, collected all the men outside on the ground and the troops began to beat up everybody with rifle-butts. Meanwhile the Muslims had begun to burn the village and rape our women.*

"Suddenly the troops began to fire at us and we all ran. I saw three or four people falling but had no time or presence of mind to see who had got hit."

A second eye-witness from Dewan Bazar similarly believed at least four people had died:

"On 2 May soldiers came to my village and the officer-in-charge first of all collected the village elders outside. He accused them of harbouring Shanti Bahini and of being in contact with the Indian intelligence agents. Our elders denied this but the troops abused them and began to beat them with rifle butts.

"Soon they collected all of us men outside on open ground and began to shoot as we all ran. I saw at least four of the villagers falling, but I could not recognise them in the confusion and hurry to get away."

A Buddhist monk from the temple at Kalanal described persistent harassment of tribal villagers:

"For many months now soldiers have been regularly visiting us and slaughtering cows in our shrine... They always said that if we did not agree to this (conversion to Islam) they will come one day and kill us.

"On the morning of 1 May they carried out their threat by escorting a group of two to three hundred settlers, some of whom were dressed in the uniform of home guards, to our village and began their depredations by attacking Buddha Vihar (the temple). Most of us were, however, able to flee but soldiers pounced on Purnananda Bhikku (one of the monks) and after beating him with rifle butts handed him over to the Muslims who threw him into the shrine which was by now on fire. He died. Later when I met more people from my village they said that two young girls of the village had been raped mercilessly by troops and Muslims and then killed with bayonets."

The death of the monk was also described by other villagers from Kalanal, as well as that of a man and his two children. As in the account above, the villagers do not claim that many of them were killed:

"At first when the army came to our village they just abused us and told us to move to open ground so that the village could be searched for hidden weapons and Shanti Bahini people. But they did not carry out any search and instead told the Muslims to join them in attacking the Buddha Vihar. It was set on fire and while the Bhikkus were running away one Purnananda was thrown into the fire. I saw him burn to death. I also saw how Jayanta Kumar and his two small children were shot dead. I don't think many others died in my village."

Jayanta Kumar's sons were called Sunnanta and Kripachandra and were aged eight and two and a half respectively.



Several people are reported to have died at Soto Karmapara:

"At 4pm on Thursday 1 May a small group of soldiers (30 to 40) accompanied by a large group of Muslim settlers, many of whom carried firearms and wore uniforms of home guards, attacked our village. They began to burn our village and kill people indiscriminately. In front of the Buddha Vihar I saw them kill Ramesh Chandra and Chandra Lekha. I also saw several others die including Motilal's mother and Buktidhar. I saw several other bodies but could not identify (them) because of the fear and rush to get away."

The death of Buktidhar Chakma, Secretary of the Panchari Union Parishad (council), was also recounted by other villagers, as well as the killing of Motilal's mother, who is believed to be Roopvati Chakma, aged approximately 80:

"On 1 May evening a group of BDR accompanied by 100 Muslim settlers, some of them wearing uniforms and riding trucks, raided our village. The army men were firing heavily into the air to scare and the officer was shouting that he had come to destroy all the dogs supporting Shanti Bahini. While the soldiers stood on guard the officer ordered the Muslims to start slaughtering the people. I myself witnessed the death of the following:

- Motilal's mother;
- Sira's parents (understood to be Ramesh Chandra and Chandra Lekha);
- Buktidhar;
- Sangha Sharma's parents.

"Besides these I am sure more people died in the village but I was too scared to pause and see."

A woman from Soto Karmapara who had taken a young girl with her as she fled stated:

"...when the soldiers attacked our village it felt like the end of the world. They were shooting people at random and I saw the death of seven people including Buktidhar, Motilal's mother and the parents of this girl called Nimal and Nakori Chakma (sic). They were both shot by home guards at close range while this girl was watching. I just picked up this girl and ran from the village."

Similar accounts of events on 1/2 May collected by Amnesty International relate to Hetarachara, where some 20 people are reported to have been killed, of whom Amnesty International has the names or descriptions of 13 individuals; Golokpratimachara, where the death of Surjabala, a 45-year-old woman, has been recounted by several interviewees; and Shantipur, where three female members of the family of the headman, among several others, are reported to have been killed.

Other testimonies also indicate that raids by law enforcement personnel continued in the Panchari area on 7 May. Two tribal settlements were reportedly attacked on this date, at Pujgang and Laogang. A school teacher from Pujgang described the killings of seven people from his village:

"On 7 May a large group of Bangladeshi troops led by a captain and accompanied by Muslim settlers, armed with all kinds of weapons including a few shot guns, entered our village. The army officer threatened the whole village with destruction if we did not tell him where Shanti Bahini people were hiding. But since we did not know anything about it, we said nothing. At this stage the army officer told his troops to separate young girls and boys in the village. Immediately the soldiers and Muslim settlers pounced on the girls. Meena Chakma, a 15 or 16-year-old girl who was a student at Pujgang Model High School, was raped and killed with a boyonet in front of the village. After a while, however, the soldiers began to kill people at random and I was a witness to the death of seven people as I was fleeing from the village. I recognise with absolute certainty the following

- Kamalakant Chakma
- Jeebanbahu Chakma
- Lakhanvikas Chakma
- Mrs Kittadhawani, wife of Kaliya Chakma
- Onita Chakma
- Dhaurmani Chakma."

At Laogang, the following account was given by one villager, whose back still clearly showed the wound which he describes:

"On the morning of 7 May I was standing on the periphery of the village with four of my cousins when we saw an army column approaching our village. Our first reaction was to flee in panic and raise an alarm in the village. In great panic people began to come out of their houses and fled. But they did not have much luck because there was a column of 15 to 20 soldiers coming from the other side as well. Within a few minutes they had surrounded the village. They were making announcements in Bengali over the public address system that everyone should come out and assemble on the open ground outside the village. The officer in charge shouted at us saying 'All of you are Shanti Bahini sympathisers. We will teach you a proper lesson this time so you don't harbour the Bahini dogs any more.'

"He separated us youngsters from the rest and asked his soldiers to beat us up and kill us if we did not say where Shanti Bahini people were hiding. One of the soldiers also heated a knife in one of the huts and branded my back with it. I screamed and fell unconscious. By that time a group of Muslim settlers had also joined in with the army. The officer ordered them to start killing men but to take away women so that at least the next generation of Chakmas will behave like good Bangladeshis. In the commotion, I was left there for dead and was able to sneak away later. While I was running away I saw at least 20 bodies. Most of these had bullet injuries. I lost seven to eight members of my family namely cousins and uncles."

On 7 May 1986 an Indian newspaper, The Telegraph, reported that:

"Over 8,000 tribal refugees from Bangladesh's Chittagong Hill Tracts

have crossed into south Tripura since 29 April, official sources said here today (6 May)".

Since that date, several thousand more tribal people from the Chittagong Hill Tracts are reported to have crossed over into India.

#### 4.4 SARVESWARPARA-MANUDASPARA, NEAR MATIRANGA, EARLY MAY 1986

Following the operations described above many people from the affected areas reportedly sought refuge in the forests away from their homes. A few hundred people from several different villages gathered during the first week of May between the villages of Sarveswarpara and Manudaspara, in the Matiranga area. One night, probably that of 1/2 May although the precise date is not known, while they were trying to reach the Indian border, they are reported to have been ambushed by a detachment of soldiers. The soldiers are said to have opened fire without warning and to have shot at them randomly, without provocation. Over 50 people are reported to have died. Amnesty International has compiled a list with the names of 15 of these people, identifying the villages from which they came (see Appendix 2). The names have been collected from several eye-witnesses, but since the group of people ambushed came from many different villages, those who survived are only able to identify the residents from their own village whom they believe died. As can be seen from the list, many of those reported to have died were middle-aged or elderly people.

The following is an eye-witness account from a villager of Sarveswarpara, who fled from his home after BDR troops and non-tribal people had attacked and burned it on 1 May:

"....We took to the jungles and hid there till the night. There we met hundreds of Chakmas who were running away. At night we tried to break out of the jungle to reach India but it seemed that someone had already informed the army about the route that we were going to take and there were soldiers waiting for us on the open ground and they began to fire at us. Several people died and I saw many falling around me but I kept running. There was no time to see how many had died. But it seems most of the people from my village survived."

From the description this man and others provided it seems that the firing may have been from an automatic weapon, possibly a light machine-gun. Another villager stated:

"....we ran into an army ambush. They were waiting for us with big big guns and it rained bullets (sic). I saw so many people getting shot as I ran and luckily survived."

A villager from Laogang was not part of the group ambushed but visited the site of the killings subsequently:

"On my way to India I also came close to Manudaspara village where I was told a lot of freed Chakmas have been ambushed and killed by the army along with some other youths. I went to the spot and sneaked a look from a distance and counted 52 bodies."

#### 4.5 COMILLATILLA-TAIDONG, NEAR THE INDIAN BORDER AT SILACHERRI, 18/19 MAY 1986

Another large group of tribal people fleeing from their homes, possibly numbering over 200, most of whom are understood to have belonged to the Tripura tribe, were reported to be moving towards the Indian border at Silacherri in southern Tripura in mid-May. Their presence in the area appears, however, to have been known for some time to law enforcement personnel. They were eventually discovered, reportedly by troops of the 31st battalion of the BDR, who surrounded them and made them walk into a narrow valley between the villages of Comillatilla and Taidong. In the restricted space of this valley, the soldiers are reported to have fired indiscriminately at the group, killing an unknown number of people. Once the firing had ceased, a number of non-tribal people are reported to have further attacked the group. It is not possible to determine the precise number of killings, but on the basis of interviews with survivors of the incident Amnesty International believes that several dozen people may have been killed.

A Chakma tribal from the Matiranga area described the experience of his family:

*"We were a group of 52 families and we left Matiranga in the first week of May after persistent Bangladesh army raids in which several villagers were killed. But we were not as fortunate as the other Chakmas who are living in the camps here. We were caught on the way by a small Bangladesh patrol. Even though we were able to evade this one and slip into the jungles our escape route had been discovered.*

*"As the troops persisted in pursuit, we made slow progress. On 19 May we thought we had finally made it when the border area seemed to be close by. But it was at that stage that a large group of the 31st battalion of BDR caught up with us.*

*"We had no chance to escape. The troops told us to form a tight group. They surrounded us and marched us to a narrow valley between the villages of Comillatilla and Taidong.*

*"As soon as the whole group was inside the valley the troops crouched and took positions around us and began to fire indiscriminately. Suddenly all we could hear were screams and people were dying all over. While we were recovering from the shock suddenly hundreds of Muslims, who were hiding in nearby hills, also pounced on us. My estimate is that at least 200 people, which is more than half of us, were killed. I can hardly tell the names because there were so many. There were Ramcharan Tripura; Ghanshyam Tripura, his wife and four children; Minoti Chakma and her husband; Parobati, Kaushalya Tripura and several others. The troops were firing with automatic weapons and the firing continued as if it were a hail storm. Those of us who escaped in the confusion later regrouped in the jungles and again, in desperation, approached the Indian border."*

A Tripuri tribal also testified to the soldiers' wilful killing of tribal villagers:

*"I am chief of a large colony of Tripuri tribals and we used to live*

a little outside Matiranga. Around the end of April and early May, when the Shanti Bahini began raids on the BDR, army and Muslims, the soldiers began to come and bother us. We told them we were not even Chakmas and had thus nothing to do with the Shanti Bahini. But they harassed us.

"Later, on 8 May, they came in strength and began to burn our village. The officer-in-charge said 'you Hindus have no place in Bangladesh' and asked us to run away. We decided to flee along with some Chakma families in our neighbourhood. But the soldiers did not even let us run away in peace. They chased us and we hid in the jungles in the day, making some progress by night.

"Last Sunday (18 May) we were approaching the border when a large group of soldiers caught us. The officer said that we would be treated nicely and settled back. He asked us to walk back. The soldiers were around us.

"They took us to a narrow valley between Taidong and Comillatilla and there suddenly we heard thousands of bullets and shrieks and screams of our people. At least 200 of our people, mainly Tripuris, died. I do not even have any trace of my family. I do not know whether my family members are still in hiding somewhere or if they got killed.

"As bullets rained from all sides the Muslims too descended on the valley, raping women and killing people with swords, spears and knives; we all ran for our lives in (the) direction of India."

## 5. DETENTION AND TORTURE

Detention of tribal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is generally of short-term duration only - a few days or weeks. However, Amnesty International has obtained information about more than 30 prisoners, understood to be representative of a larger number, who were arrested between 1982 and 1985 and who are now serving prison terms of between four and seven years. They were all convicted by summary martial law courts. They were charged under sections of the Bangladesh Penal Code covering offences such as "waging or attempting to wage war or abetting waging of war against Bangladesh" and under Section 17(5) of Martial Law Regulation No. 1 of 1982 dealing with "prejudicial activities". The precise circumstances of the arrest of these prisoners and the particular offences of which they were accused are not known to Amnesty International. The organization is concerned, however, that the procedures of the courts which convicted them failed to meet international legal standards for a fair trial, as set down in Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. For example, in trials before summary martial law courts lawyers were not permitted to appear on behalf of the accused, who was entitled only to assistance or advice from another person in presenting his own defence. Neither was appeal against conviction or sentence to a higher court of law permitted. Summary martial law courts were temporarily suspended in other parts of Bangladesh between 1 August 1984 and January 1985, but they continued to operate in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Much more widespread, according to the information available to Amnesty International, is the arbitrary arrest of tribal villagers suspected of support for the activities of the Shanti Bahini who are held for interrogation without any formal charges being brought against them. Most commonly, military or paramilitary personnel enter tribal villages in the early hours of the morning and take away a small number of able-bodied young men of the village, or occasionally the village headman, to their camps. The arrests are undertaken without using any legal procedure such as the presentation of arrest warrants or bringing the arrested person before a magistrate within 24 hours, as the Criminal Procedure Code specifies for arrests by police officers. The Chittagong Hill Tracts have never been officially declared a "disturbed area" so that the provisions of the Disturbed Areas (Special Powers) Ordinance, 1962 - the 1980 Disturbed Areas Bill never having been enacted - have not been invoked. As a result, Amnesty International believes that no legal procedures are presently in force specifically providing for civilians to be arrested by military or paramilitary forces.

### 5.1 TORTURE IN MILITARY AND PARAMILITARY CAMPS

The information available to Amnesty International leads the organization to believe that tribal villagers detained for questioning by military and paramilitary personnel are regularly tortured. Such prisoners are generally kept in pits or trenches some seven or eight feet deep, dug within the perimeter of the army or BDR camps; tribal villagers have often been compelled to dig these pits in the first instance. One of the two sides of the pit or trench is protected by a fence of bamboo stakes. Prisoners are reported to have been held in groups of up to 15 or 20 at one time in these conditions. Several former



prisoners said that soldiers sprinkled hot water over the pit or trench to increase their discomfort almost daily.

Prisoners are then taken out singly from the pit for interrogation. The techniques of torture which former prisoners reported to be most frequently used during interrogation are: extensive beating, with rifle butts and sticks, on all parts of the body; pouring very hot water into the nostrils and mouth; hanging the prisoner upside down, often from a tree, for long periods and poking him with a bayonet or stick; hanging the prisoner by the shoulders for long periods and then beating the soles of the feet; and burning with cigarettes. Over the years, Amnesty International has received information about a small number of tribal villagers who are reported to have died in custody as a result of the treatment they received.

A middle-aged teacher from Laogang village, in the Panchari area, described his experiences thus:

"In the first week of December (1985) the army came to my village and said that it was looking for those who train and support Shanti Bahini boys. When they failed to find anyone they caught hold of me and took me trussed up and blindfolded to an army camp where I found that several Chakmas were already present. Immediately the troops and the officer in charge began to beat us up asking for the whereabouts of the Shanti Bahini people. Since we did not know anything we could give them no information. The soldiers then took us to a part of the army camp where a huge deep pit was already present. All the while they were kicking and abusing, spitting at us and shoving with rifle butts. We were all thrown into the pit and for several days soldiers came and threw boiling water at us whenever they felt like having a little fun because whenever that happened all of us tried to get under each other for cover. We were often dragged out individually and subjected to third degree treatment. Boiling water was poured into our nostrils and mouth. For several hours we were hung from the trees upside down and beaten with sticks. Once I was hung from the trees by my shoulders and beaten with cane on the bare soles of my feet. We were given food not more than once a day and were constantly threatened that we would not be allowed to go out alive. All this while I had no contact with my family. It is ridiculous even to suggest that I could have contacted a lawyer and tried for bail. I still have scars of burns from boiling water over my body."

This interview was conducted six months after the teacher's detention. Faint scars on his body were visible to the naked eye but could not be successfully photographed.

Other accounts of treatment in army or BDR camps by villagers from other places are markedly consistent with the above account, as is illustrated by the experience of a villager from Rangapani, also in the Panchari area:

"I was arrested by the army who said that I knew about the activities of the Shanti Bahini boys, which was incorrect but they took me away to a military camp near Khagrachari where I was detained along with several other Chakmas in a deep pit. As a routine of almost every

day soldiers came and sprinkled boiling water on the pit. We were given nothing to eat but watery dal [a lentil dish] and pasty rice. They took each one of us out individually for torture and questioning. Usually the torture meant severe beating with cane, rifle butts and hanging the man upside down from a tree which made it easy for the soldiers to pour boiling water into his nostrils and mouth. This was done to me three times. Also one afternoon the officer came and poked various parts of my body with a cigarette. I still bear the burn marks on my right cheek. [This mark was still visible.]

"When they were unable to get anything out of me, they threatened me with electric shock. I was taken to a room where they had kept a bucket of water in which they had dipped two live wires tied to a razor blade. They stripped me and asked me to urinate in the bucket. They kept on beating me up but even though I tried I wasn't able to do it because of fear. They beat me up till I fell unconscious and threw me back in the pit. All the while we had no way of contacting a lawyer or court. My family had no way of contacting me as well, but they were able to contact [a member of the Panchari Union Parishad - council] who was able to secure my release."

Only a few accounts referred to electric shocks being administered to prisoners, although several former prisoners claimed to have been threatened with such treatment. Another villager from the Panchari area described the experience of his 27-year-old son during December 1985, when his son had been held for 23 days in Khagrachari cantonment:

".... The torture basically was army men throwing hot water into their nostrils and mouth and mercilessly beating. When the army got no information from my son in spite of this, he was subjected to electric shock in the cantonment. The shocks were administered with as crude a device as two naked electric wires which the soldiers touched to different parts of the detainee's body, particularly on the tongue and spinal cord. My son was released after I pleaded with the Union Council which intervened."

This villager also stated that one of the people held with his son, Santoshmani Chakma, died as a result of torture.

A journalist not belonging to the tribal population but who was arrested in June 1981 in Rangamati on suspicion of involvement or contact with the Shanti Bahini was also reported to have been subjected to electric shocks in army custody. He is understood to have been held in Rangamati by personnel of the Directorate General of Forces Intelligence (DGFI), who are understood to be based at army cantonments throughout the country. At intervals during the four-month period following his arrest, he was also reported to have been subjected to prolonged beatings, being hung upside down, having hot water put on his face and heavy weights placed on his chest. The electric shock was reportedly administered by wires tied to his penis. His post-arrest treatment, when he was reportedly denied any access to his family or a lawyer for over seven months, indicates that prisoners have been tortured and held without legal process not only in military camps in the more remote areas of the northern Chittagong Hill Tracts but in relatively large centres of population also.

## 5.2 TORTURE IN VILLAGES

Amnesty International has received numerous accounts of the torture of male tribal villagers during the course of army and paramilitary forces operations in their area. Some reference has already been made to such treatment in the accounts of villagers describing the killings which occurred in early May 1986. Villagers describing torture in particular report that during searches for Shanti Bahini members and supporters they are rounded up from their homes and a few of them, often the young men, are picked out and tortured in front of the assembled villagers. The methods of torture cited are the same as those reported to be used regularly on prisoners held in army or BDR camps. One such incident that Amnesty International has called upon the Bangladesh Government to investigate occurred at Monatek village, Mohalchari on 19 September 1984. Police personnel from the Armed Police Battalion (APB) based at Mohalchari are reported to have rounded up the villagers at around 10pm on open ground near the village. Four men were then said to have been selected from among the assembled group and in front of all the others they were reportedly hung upside down, beaten and had water poured in their nostrils and mouth.

Torture also appears to have been used when coercing tribal villagers to move from their homes into collective farms, or "protected villages". The policy of establishing what were essentially collective farms began in 1964, to encourage tribal people to settle on permanent land plots rather than continue jhum (slash and burn) cultivation. Since around 1977, however, it appears that the settlements to which the tribal people have been moved bear greater resemblance to "protected villages", since army, BDR or police camps are also established alongside them. The relocation of tribal villagers has been presented by law enforcement personnel as being in the villagers' best interests although the implementation of this policy may also serve other purposes: through the close surveillance of the tribal villagers, assistance and shelter to the Shanti Bahini can be prevented, while the land vacated by the tribal villages may then be used for resettling non-tribal people from other parts of the country. These "protected villages" are reported to have been established throughout the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

In early 1986, an effort to intensify the formation of "protected villages" in the northern parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts was reportedly begun by law enforcement personnel. The area affected included villages in the Mohalchari-Nanyarchari-Khagrachari locality. A member of the Marma tribe described the experience of his village, Khularam Para, near Mohalchari:

*"On 27 January, about 50 armed men from Hajachara camp, commanded by a captain, raided my village and ordered people to move to a protected village at Mobachari. The captain gave a speech and said that for our own safety, development and for destroying the Shanti Bahini it was necessary for us to move to larger villages. When we refused they took aside about 20 of my villagers and tortured them in full public view by burning them with cigarettes, beating them with rifle butts and spitting on their faces...."*

*"Later the village was burnt and everyone ran helter skelter."*

Similar abuses were taking place in the Nanyarchari area, according to a villager from Dewan Chara:

"Since the beginning of this year the army and police had been visiting the villages in our area asking people to prepare to shift to a new protected village. They said it was necessary for us to shift for our development and national security. But we all said no, because these collective villages are like concentration camps where we have to remain constantly under the eye of the soldiers and where our women are not safe.

"In February, large-scale operations commenced in our region and on the fifth of the month a group of soldiers raided our village. [The officer-in-charge, whose name was given] abused us and the soldiers who were firing in the air to scare us started to beat us up indiscriminately. After a while they took out about 15 of us and marched us to the Buddha Vihar. There we were tortured very badly for a long time. They poured hot water into our mouths and nostrils and burned some of us with cigarette butts. We were let off later in the evening when we promised to shift to the new village."

Similar accounts of torture by law enforcement personnel during efforts to move tribal people to "protected villages" during early 1986 have also been collected from villagers then living in Karengyana and Hajachara, in the Mohalchari area, Dhanpada, near Nanyarchari and Beokhari Bhilori Para, near Khagrachari.

## 6. STATEMENTS BY THE BANGLADESH GOVERNMENT ON THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

Amnesty International has not received any response from the Bangladesh Government to its inquiries and requests regarding the Chittagong Hill Tracts. However, government representatives have on occasion provided some information on government policies, and dismissed reports of human rights violations, at international forums. Concern at reports of human rights abuse have also been voiced by other international organizations.

The Bangladesh Government ratified in 1972 International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 107 "concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries". Article 2 of the convention provides that "Governments shall have the primary responsibility for developing co-ordinated and systematic action for the protection of the populations concerned and their progressive integration into the life of their respective countries". "Recourse to force or coercion as a means of promoting the integration of these populations into the national community shall be excluded". For several years the ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has sought information from the Bangladesh Government on the application of this convention's provisions with respect to the tribal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The 1983 Report of the Committee of Experts noted that "once again the (Bangladesh) Government's report on the application of this Convention is very brief, and contains no reply to a number of questions raised in previous direct requests." The Committee's report for 1984 contained similar remarks. In its 1985 report, the Committee noted that the Bangladesh Government's report to it had stated that "it is too early to provide detailed information on the development activities undertaken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as the Committee requested in its previous comments." The Committee's report further referred to "the persistent reports of violent conflicts in the Chittagong Hill Tracts following the settlement of non-tribals in these areas and the consequent displacement of the resident tribal groups." The Committee expressed its concern about this situation.

Following discussion at the 1985 session of the International Labour Conference (the ILO's annual conference), a representative of the Director General of the ILO visited Bangladesh during November 1985. However, the Committee of Experts expressed regret in its 1986 report that "only very limited discussions with the responsible government agencies were arranged for the Director General's representative." The Committee acknowledged, however, that a report from the Bangladesh Government received subsequent to this visit "has for the first time provided the Committee with information on questions which it had raised previously...." At the subsequent session of the International Labour Conference the Bangladesh Government representative stated that "It was...incorrect to say that limited possibilities had been arranged for the official...", although his government considered that the visit had been "ill-prepared" since the modalities for it had not been worked out before it took place.

The Committee of Experts in its 1986 report detailed a number of measures which it believed would be useful in clarifying the situation of the tribal

people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in providing for the application of Convention No. 107. Of particular relevance to the concerns of Amnesty International was the proposal that "an investigation into the allegations of massacres and other abuses practised against the tribal populations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts" should be carried out. According to the report: "the Committee notes in this connection that the Government has stated already that no such events have taken place, but notes also that allegations in this sense continue to be raised in United Nations bodies and to be received by the [International Labour] Office." The Bangladesh Government representative responded to this proposal during the 1986 session of the International Labour Conference by stating that he did not consider that the ILO was appropriate as a forum for these matters to be raised.

Information relating to human rights abuses in the Chittagong Hill Tracts has also been considered by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which was established under the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1982. In response to a statement before the Working Group made in 1983 by the London-based Anti-Slavery Society, a representative of the Bangladesh Government took exception to the inclusion of the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts within the definition of indigenous peoples. He further stated that "...all my government has done in this area of the country is to assist the people in this area to undertake improvement in their economic activities for development... There has been no visible opposition to government assistance from the people of this area...."

Following the hearing of submissions by non-governmental organizations during the 1985 session of the Working Group, the Bangladesh Government's representative again spoke in response. After reiterating the government's position regarding the definition of indigenous peoples and outlining development and other policies undertaken by the government with respect to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the representative specifically denied that human rights violations had occurred there: "...We were also surprised at the deliberate attempts made in some of the statements to represent in a distorted manner the law and order situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Totally baseless and preposterous allegations have thus been made about so-called atrocities perpetrated in the area. We cannot but reject these allegations categorically...."



## 7. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S OTHER CONCERNS IN BANGLADESH

The context in which human rights violations of concern to Amnesty International occur in other parts of Bangladesh clearly differs from the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as do the nature and intensity of such violations. The proclamation of martial law in 1982 led to the suspension of constitutional provisions covering such basic human rights as freedom from arbitrary arrest. Political activities, including public demonstrations and meetings, were banned and criticism of the martial law administration became punishable by up to seven years' imprisonment. Although these provisions were not always rigorously enforced, between 1982 and 1986 peaceful organized political activity and non-violent protest against the government resulted in some thousands of opposition party leaders and activists being arrested. While many people were detained for short periods of a few days or weeks only, a small minority were imprisoned for several months or longer. In a few cases, sentences of between three months and three years were imposed by summary martial law courts on people who Amnesty International believed had been arrested for the non-violent exercise of their human rights. Moreover, the procedures employed by summary martial law courts failed to provide some of the basic safeguards for a fair trial recognized in international legal standards, such as the right of appeal to a higher court.

General elections for a parliamentary assembly were held in May 1986 and a civilian government under President Ershad was subsequently formed. As of the end of August 1986 a date for the promised total withdrawal of martial law had still to be announced, and full constitutional provisions guaranteeing fundamental human rights had not been restored. However, martial law courts and several other aspects of martial law were no longer in operation from early 1986.

The torture of criminal suspects in police custody in Bangladesh, some of whom are reported to have died as a result of their treatment, has been an issue of concern to Amnesty International since before the establishment of the martial law administration in 1982. The organization believes that successive governments have failed to take adequate measures to combat torture. A number of people arrested for political reasons, including those active in rural areas in organizing on behalf of landless peasants, have also reportedly been tortured by police personnel. Moreover, in some instances in the recent past political prisoners are reported to have been tortured while held incommunicado in the custody of military personnel believed to be members of the Directorate General of Forces Intelligence. In June 1986 Amnesty International's newsletter featured a File on Torture on Bangladesh, detailing the use of torture by police and particularly military personnel between 1982 and 1985.

Since 1984 the number of death sentences passed on prisoners convicted of criminal offences appears to have markedly increased, particularly following conviction by special martial law courts. The number of executions has also risen. During 1985 for example, the news media reported that 35 people had been sentenced to death, 25 of whom were convicted by special martial law courts with no right to judicial appeal.

## 8. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Amnesty International believes that the security forces of Bangladesh have systematically engaged in practices in the Chittagong Hill Tracts which violate fundamental human rights, including the right to life, the right to security of person and the right to freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention.

Where criminal offences are committed by opposition groups, Amnesty International considers that it is within the jurisdiction of governments to determine criminal responsibility and to bring those responsible to justice. However, the exercise of such authority by states must conform to international standards of human rights.

Amnesty International's mandate is based on human rights principles proclaimed by the international community through the United Nations and other intergovernmental bodies. These international standards define the obligations of governments in protecting the rights of individuals. Amnesty International works for the protection of those rights.

With regard to human rights abuses in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Amnesty International draws attention to a number of provisions of international human rights instruments which the organization believes have been consistently violated.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life" (Article 6.1) and that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" (Article 7). These provisions are also contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 4 of the ICCPR spells out that no derogation from these provisions is permitted under any circumstances. Furthermore, common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of War Victims, which govern armed conflicts of a non-international character, prohibits inter alia the torture or killing of prisoners and other persons hors de combat be they civilians or disarmed combatants. Whether or not the Bangladesh Government considers the conflict in the Chittagong Hill Tracts to fall within the Convention's term "armed conflict", the principles delineated in common Article 3 are clearly pertinent.

The Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 17 December 1979, states that "In the performance of their duty, law enforcement officials shall respect and protect human dignity and maintain and uphold the human rights of all persons" (Article 2). In the explanatory commentary to this article specific reference is made to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the ICCPR. The Code further provides that "Law enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty" (Article 3). The Commentary to this article contains, inter alia, the following observations: "The use of firearms is considered an extreme measure. Every effort should be made to exclude the use of firearms, especially against children. In general, firearms should not be used except when a suspected offender offers armed resistance or otherwise jeopardizes the lives of others and less extreme measures are not sufficient to restrain or apprehend the

suspected offender. In every instance in which a firearm is discharged, a report should be made promptly to the competent authorities". The Code also reiterates the absolute prohibition on acts of torture by law enforcement officials under all circumstances, including when ordered to commit torture by a superior official (Article 5).

On 10 December 1984 the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The Convention has now been signed by 47 governments and ratified by seven. Among its provisions is the obligation for states to undertake a prompt and impartial investigation "wherever there is reasonable ground to believe that an act of torture has been committed", even in the absence of a complaint by the victim (Article 12).

Amnesty International believes that the following measures should be adopted by the Bangladesh Government to stop the arbitrary arrest, torture and unlawful killing of tribal people living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts:

1. An impartial and independent commission of inquiry should be established to investigate all reports of unlawful killings and acts of torture committed by the security forces in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The terms of reference, working methods, findings and recommendations of the commission should be made public in their entirety. The commission should have full access to all necessary evidence and the government should take all appropriate steps for the protection of complainants and witnesses, and should ensure that law enforcement personnel allegedly responsible for human rights abuses are required to cooperate fully with the commission.
2. Any law enforcement personnel against whom there are reasonable grounds to suspect involvement in human rights abuse should be immediately removed from any position in which they would come into contact with potential victims until such time as the allegations may prove to be unfounded. Such personnel should be prosecuted in all cases in ordinary criminal proceedings.
3. In accordance with international law, legal guarantees of the right to life and the prohibition of torture should not be suspended under any circumstances nor should immunity from prosecution for such acts be extended to any public official. Articles 32 and 35(5) of the 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh, suspended since March 1982, which provide for the right to life and prohibition of torture respectively, should thus be restored immediately.
4. Strict control, including clear chain-of-command responsibilities, should be exercised over all law enforcement personnel operating in the Chittagong Hill Tracts who are involved in the arrest, custody or interrogation of prisoners, or who are authorized to use deadly force. Procedures for arrest, interrogation and custody by military and paramilitary forces in the Chittagong Hill Tracts should be set out precisely in law or in written regulations, and kept under regular review. Procedures relating to the use of firearms by all personnel involved in law enforcement should similarly be established, according to the principles in the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, and the procedures should be made widely known. All detentions should be reported without delay to the appropriate judicial authority. Military, paramilitary and other law enforcement personnel acting with police powers should be required to submit reports to the appropriate civilian authorities of all arrests carried

out, on a weekly or otherwise frequent basis. Reports should also be made to both superior officers and appropriate civilian authorities immediately after each occasion on which firearms are discharged during law enforcement operations. Prisoners detained by military or paramilitary forces should not be kept in conditions amounting to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Every effort should be made to ensure that the conditions of these places of detention conform with those described in the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

5. The training of law enforcement personnel should include instruction on international human rights standards. It should be made clear to all law enforcement personnel that torture and the arbitrary deprivation of life are criminal acts which will be punished and that law enforcement personnel are obliged to refuse any order to commit such acts.

6. Victims of torture or the dependants of people unlawfully killed by law enforcement personnel should receive adequate financial compensation. Victims of torture should also be provided with appropriate medical care or rehabilitation.

7. The Bangladesh Government should consider granting full access to the Chittagong Hill Tracts to international observers, including journalists and representatives of international humanitarian organizations.

8. In order to help secure effective protection for human rights, not only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts but throughout Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Government should accede to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, together with its Optional Protocol, and should also sign and ratify without reservations the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF 23 PEOPLE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED DURING OPERATIONS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL ON 1 MAY 1986 AND SUCCESSIVE DAYS IN THE PANCHARI-KHAGRACHARI AREA

NAME	VILLAGE	AGE/DESCRIPTION
1. Ratna Kanti Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	35
2. Purnajyoti Chakma (son of Ratna Kanti Chakma)	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	10
3. Siringya Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	son of Siringya Chakma
4. Briddhijyoti Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	
5. Nyanjyoti Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	son of Siringya Chakma
6. Satish Chandra Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	son of Siringya Chakma
7. Sushila Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	50
8. Prabhadu Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	55
9. Leby Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	68
10. Dushari Chakma	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	
11. Her daughter-in-law	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	
12. Her six-year-old grandson	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	
13. Her three-year old granddaughter	Hetarachara/Khedarachara	
14. Bana Kumari Chakma	Shantipur, near Panchari	Wife of the village headman
15. Maloti Chakma	Shantipur, near Panchari	headman's daughter
16. Bana Shobha Chakma	Shantipur, near Panchari	headman's daughter-in-law
17. Malabirani Chakma	Pujgang	
18. Her one-year-old child		
19. Daughter of Ananda Mohan Chakma	Pujgang	
20. Rachna Chakma	Pujgang	12
21. Tribhuyja Chakma	Panchari Pilot Farm, near Soto Karmpara	30
22. Fulranjan Chakma	Panchari Pilot Farm, near Soto Karmpara	12
23. Madan Karbari Tripura	Madankarbari	Village headman

These 23 people reportedly killed are in addition to the 16 individuals named in the extracts from testimonies provided in Section 4.3

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF 15 OF THE PEOPLE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED BY LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL IN EARLY MAY 1986 BETWEEN THE VILLAGES OF SARVESWARPARA AND MANUDASPARA, NEAR MATIRANGA

	NAME	AGE	VILLAGE
1.	Birpada Chakma	64	East Khagrachari
2.	Mrs Latabi Chakma	65	Golakpratimachara
3.	Parbhu Bikash Chakma	56	Jagapara
4.	Toru Chakma	56	Jagapara
5.	Mrs Kuli Chakma	32	Latiban
6.	Meghabandhu Chakma	55	Latiban
7.	Mrs Urmila Chakma	36	Latiban
8.	Akshoy Chakma	58	Pankhayabari
9.	Kirti Bikash Chakma	66	Pankhayabari
10.	Shaktimoy Chakma	42	Pankhayabari
11.	Ushampi Dewan	74	Pankhayabari
12.	Mrs Kamalini Chakma	39	Shantipur
13.	Khetramoy Chakma	49	Shantipur
14.	Rakhalmoni Chakma	91	Shantipur
15.	Nabin Bikash Chakma	74	Tarabanya