

# CGS PEACE REPORT

*an initiative of BPO*



CENTRE FOR  
GENOCIDE  
STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Volume 3, Issue 5  
September- October 2019



**Crime and Violence in Bangladesh:**  
An analysis from BPO

**Gambling: A Bane for the**  
Bangladeshi Society

**Casino-Cadres-Corruption Nexus:**  
An Overview of Anti-Corruption  
Drive in Bangladesh

**Commentary on Casino-Cadre**  
Corruption Nexus:  
Dr. Iftekharuzzaman

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**BPO- Bangladesh Peace Observatory**



**Volume 3, Issue 5**  
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## From the Editor's Desk

Gambling has infected humans since the dawn of civilization or development, as many would call it now. *The Mahabharata*, whose compilation began as early as the 3rd century BCE and ended in the 3rd century CE, probably has one of the oldest stories on gambling and the consequences of it. As the story goes, the Pandavas lost their kingdom to their adversarial cousin-brothers, the Kurus, because the eldest brother, Yuddhisthira, was so much addicted to the game of dice that he continued betting and lost everything, even his wife, Draupadi. Yuddhisthira later got Draupadi back, but only after giving up his claim to the throne and agreeing to a life-in-exile with his four brothers and Draupadi for thirteen years! The matter, however, did not stop there. When the Kurus refused to honour the agreement at the end of the exile period, both sides went to war and turned their battles into *Kurukshetra* (the killing field of the Kurus). The story ought to have been a good lesson for humans, but then, as Aldous Huxley once said, "That men (and women) do not learn very much from the lessons of history is the most important of all the lessons of history." Gambling went on unabated, with casinos, pachinkos, discotheques, and the like, flooding the cities and becoming the markers of development.

Gambling in Dhaka, which boasted around 60 or more casinos before they were closed down, is no exception. It is part of the developmental quest that started cropping up in different places of the city when the country started having an economic growth of over 6 percent. But then, why would such manifestation of development pose a problem? Before answering the question, let me share a story.

The closing down of the casinos reminded me of an interaction that I had with an official at the US Department of State in charge of the Bangladesh Desk during my doctoral days some three decades back. Speaking from her experience of knowing Bangladesh for more than three years, she told me that there are 'dubious people,' including gamblers, gangsters, and money launderers, in Bangladesh as well as in the United States, but what sets the two countries apart is that the 'dubious people' of Bangladesh, just like the 'dubious people' of the US, reinvest all their 'dubious money' in the US economy! This extraordinary view of the US official caught my attention, which, in fact, stayed with me all these years and now found more credence when the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) came down on the casinos and had them dismantled within a very short period of time. What prompted the GOB to act? Three factors could easily be flagged.

Firstly, the so-called 'dubious people' in Bangladesh were part and parcel of the business-political-gambling nexus, and this was going out of hand because the gamblers were often involved in business as much as they were involved in politics. In fact, the casinos could operate without governmental permission or legal documents for months and years largely because they were protected, as reported in the media, by politicians close to the regime, which made policing very difficult. Even the

mainstream media often out of political affiliation if not fear shied away from publishing the activities of the nexus. This probably emboldened the nexus even more, indeed, to a point when the GOB thought that the casinos, which is part of the nexus, needed to be dismantled. After all, as the US official had said long back, the 'dubious money' of the nexus, far from being reinvested in Dhaka, is siphoned off to New York, Toronto, Kuala Lumpur or Dubai!

This brings us to the second factor, money laundering. A part of the laundered money in Bangladesh is regularly siphoned off to the developed countries, with the latter legalizing the illegal money to the full! In fact, one report, published in March 2020, indicates that capital flight from Bangladesh stands at USD 7.53 billion on an average per year, and that again due to misinvoicing during import and export alone. Since those involved in capital flight are from the same nexus, it becomes difficult to stop such transfer of wealth. As one critic pointed out, "Many politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen try to launder money as their children stay abroad." Although it is too early to say, but there is some possibility that the anti-casino drive would have an impact on the power of money launderers, even limiting the illegal transfer of capital abroad.

But the most critical factor that prompted the GOB to act swiftly and dismantle the casinos, literally in three days, was the issue of security. In fact, the casino owners, as part of the nexus, started having their own motorcade and armed cadres, with some of them even carrying automatic weapons. They were turning into mafia or 'casino-goons,' openly displaying their wealth and power. Since some of them had access to the highest officials of the country, again as part of the nexus, the issue of security became critical. Dismantling the casinos and arresting the owners not only weakened the nexus but also put a stop to the creeping possibility of insecurity.

But then, can gambling be stopped? If we were to look into the civilizational discourse then certainly not! What is required in the case of Bangladesh is to institutionalize the casinos and bring them under stricter rules and regulations with places dedicated to them. Stopping them would only drive the 'dubious money' out of the country to Kolkata, Kathmandu, Colombo, Bangkok, Singapore, and many other cities of the world. We certainly can't let the nexus transfer their 'dubious money' abroad, even by way of playing the game of chance, and make Bangladesh bleed further!

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# Crime and Violence in Bangladesh: An Analysis from BPO

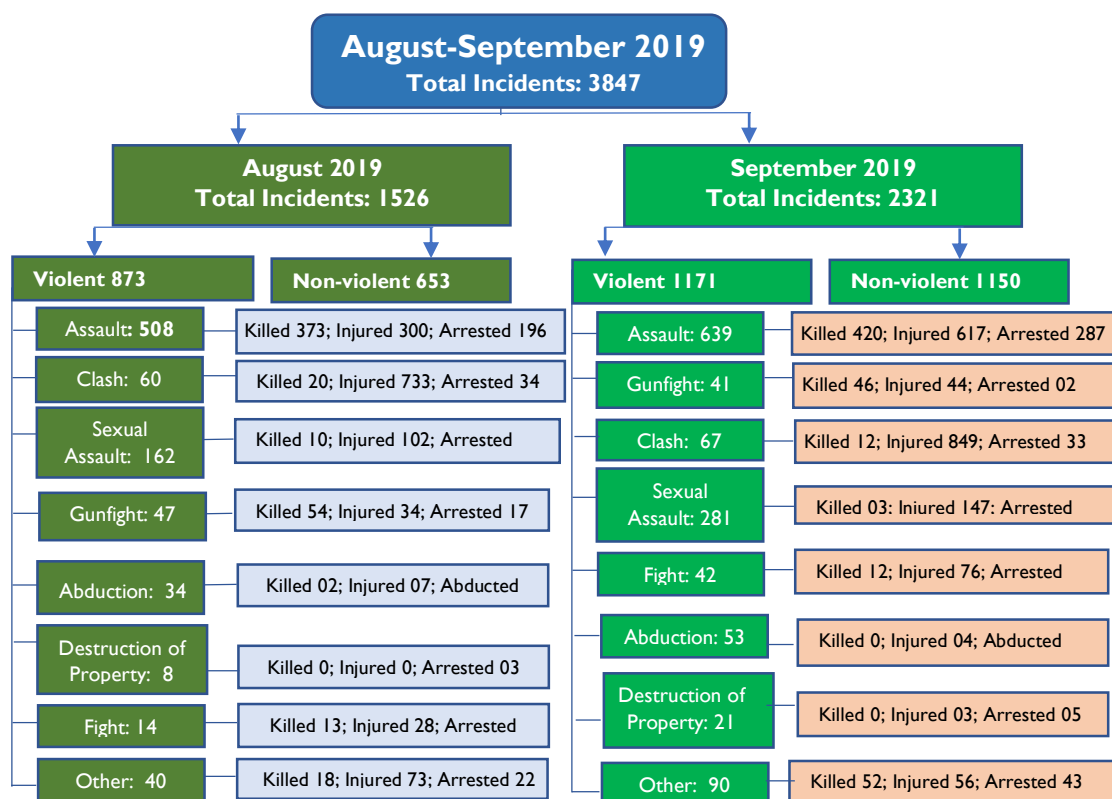
## BPO Team

### Violence Update: (August-September 2019)

The Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO) brings together different streams of publicly available data on violence using news reports from prominent national dailies. From August 2019 to September 2019, BPO recorded 3847

violent<sup>1</sup> and non-violent<sup>2</sup> incidents all over the country. **Figure 1** segregates these incidents into some general categories by type of violence. A brief description of each category is available in the Annex.

Figure 1: An Overview of Incidents (August- September 2019)



Source: BPO

<sup>1</sup> **Violent Incident:** According to BPO Codebook: The reported incident involved the intentional use of physical force by an individual or group against another individual or group, in a manner that resulted or could have resulted in death, injury or any other form of physical harm to persons or property.

<sup>2</sup> **Non-violent Incident:** According to BPO Codebook: The reported incident did not involve the

intentional use of physical force by an individual or group against another individual or group, in a manner that resulted or could have resulted in death, injury or any other form of physical harm to persons or property, e.g. Arrest, Peaceful Protest, Rescue and Recovery.

This section explores the data extracted from the BPO platform for two consecutive months and attempts to compare it with previous months. In this process, the ascending and descending trends or if anything new comes up during the months in discussion will be visible. In this issue, data accumulated in August and September will be considered and compared with the data of June and July. According to BPO data, the number of total incidents has increased by 48.25% in August and September compared to June-July, i.e., from 2595 to 3847. This trend is in contrast to the descending pattern of the previous bi-months of April-May, February-March and December-January. Moreover, the number of incidents for different violent categories has also increased than the previous months. Figures 2 and 3 demonstrate that the number of death and injuries has increased along with the number of assaults, clashes, fights as

these violence types claim most of the casualties. Number of assault incidents increased by 24.54% (from 921 to 1147), number of total deaths were 13.94% and the total number of injuries increased by 63.56% compared to the months of June-July. Previous enmity, land-related dispute, family feuds, personal and political causes, social issues are the motivating factors in most of the reported cases. Interpersonal attacks or group attacks by local miscreants, members of teen gangs, intimate family members and relatives, friends are reported. There are 278 reported cases of suicide and suicide attempts in August-September which is 78.35% more than the number of reported suicide incidents in June-July, and number of female deaths in these reported incidents has also risen to 142 from 77 in June-July. Depression, domestic violence, failed relationships, failure in examinations are the prime motives of suicide.

\*A man was stabbed to death by his drug-addict son in Cox's Bazar. Deceased asked his son to stop taking Yaba pills and the accused stabbed him with a knife.<sup>3</sup>

\*An Awami League leader was shot dead by unidentified assailants allegedly over past enmity in Savar, Dhaka.<sup>4</sup>

\* In Savar, Dhaka, a woman was beaten to death by her husband for being late to come home after work. The husband went on hiding after that.<sup>5</sup>

\* In Rajbari, A woman committed suicide after hearing the news of her boyfriend's marriage to another woman.<sup>6</sup>

\* A youth committed suicide out of frustration and depression in Pabna.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> 'Father was murdered by drug-addict son', 08 August 2019, Cited in, [https://www.edainikpurbokone.net/content/2019/2019-08-08/zoom\\_view/107.jpg](https://www.edainikpurbokone.net/content/2019/2019-08-08/zoom_view/107.jpg) ,

[https://www.edainikpurbokone.net/content/2019/2019-08-08/zoom\\_view/k06.jpg](https://www.edainikpurbokone.net/content/2019/2019-08-08/zoom_view/k06.jpg) , Accessed on- 12 February,

<sup>4</sup> 'AL leader shot dead in Savar' 16 September 2019, Cited in- <https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/news/al-leader-shot-dead-savar-1800529> , Accessed on- 12 February 2020.

<sup>5</sup> A garments worker was beaten and poisoned to death in Savar', 14 September 2019, Cited in- <https://www.ittefaq.com.bd/wholecountry/87975/> , Accessed on- 12 February, 2020.

<sup>6</sup> 'A woman committed suicide before boyfriend's marriage in Rajbari', Cited in-

[https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/21/3/details/3\\_r9\\_c3.jpg](https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/21/3/details/3_r9_c3.jpg);

[https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/21/7/details/7\\_r9\\_c11.jpg](https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/21/7/details/7_r9_c11.jpg) Accessed on- 12 February 2020.

<sup>7</sup> 'A college student committed suicide in Bera', 9 September 2019, Cited in-

[http://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/09/09/3/details/3\\_r11\\_c2.jpg](http://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/09/09/3/details/3_r11_c2.jpg) , Accessed in- 12 February 2020.

A total of 414 persons were victims of sexual assaults in 380 cases and the number of victims increased by 51.65% than June-July. 53.38% of the victims are children and below 18 years. Sexual assault on boys is also visible from the data. The perpetrators of these offenses are mostly men of different ages, teachers of educational institutions, family members and relatives, neighbors, local delinquents and stalkers, etc. In 16 reported cases minor boys were perpetrators of the attack. Promise of marriage, good job, revenge or personal anger, etc. were used as weapons to make the victims fall into the traps. A total of 323 persons were arrested in these reported cases.

\*In Bhola, a teenage girl went to her aunt's house to put on hena. While she was waiting in balcony, A tenant of that house forcibly took her inside, gaged her and raped her with another man. They also threw her out of the window. Her parents took her to hospital. She had to have 22 stitches but the bleeding was too much to stop.<sup>8</sup>

\*In Feni, a six-year old girl was returning home after taking a bath. A man from her village lured her with chocolate and took her to a distant place and then he raped her. The girl fell sick due to excessive bleeding<sup>9</sup>.

\* A man developed a romantic relationship with a divorced woman in Bogura. At a point, the man called her at his home with a promise of marriage and then raped her. When the incident became known, the accused went into hiding.<sup>10</sup>

In figure 4, the monthly breakdown of the reported violent incidents is shown which indicates ascending trends of the incidents except nominal decrease in the number of gunfight and mob violence in September from August. Numbers of total incidents of gunfight and mob violence have gone down in August-September than June-July (from 99 gunfights to 88 and from 41 mob-violence to 25 respectively). Destruction of property increased by 162.5 % and fight increased by 200% in September than that of August. Reported vandalism and property damage are mostly carried out by family rivals, Local miscreants, and agitated group of people over previous enmity, social tension, dissatisfaction with the work authority etc. Domestic feuds, Land-related disputes, previous enmity, inter and intra-party tensions worked as motives behind the reported incidents of fight.

51.48% of total number of injured people are victims of 127 clashes reported in the months of August-September. Establishing supremacy, control of natural resources, intra-party tension among the political parties, previous enmity and often some trivial matter lead to these violent confrontations. In some cases, police members also received injuries while trying to stop the incidents.

<sup>8</sup> 'Bhola gang-rape victim battling for her life: 2 suspects killed in gunfight with the police', 15 August 2019, Cited in- <https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/news/bhola-gangrape-victim-battling-her-life-1785496> , Accessed on- 2 February 2020.

<sup>9</sup> 'A man was arrested in charge of child rape in Sonagazi' 30 September 2019, Cited in-

[https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/30/22/details/22\\_r6\\_c3.jpg](https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/30/22/details/22_r6_c3.jpg) , Accessed on 1 February, 2020.

<sup>10</sup>'Woman was raped at boyfriend's house in Dhunot' 26 August 2019 Cited in- [https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/26/12/details/12\\_r14\\_c2.jpg](https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/26/12/details/12_r14_c2.jpg); [https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/26/11/details/11\\_r8\\_c2.jpg](https://www.ekaratoa.com/2019/08/26/11/details/11_r8_c2.jpg) , Accessed on- 1 February 2020.

Figure 3: Consequences of the Violent Incidents (June - July 2019)

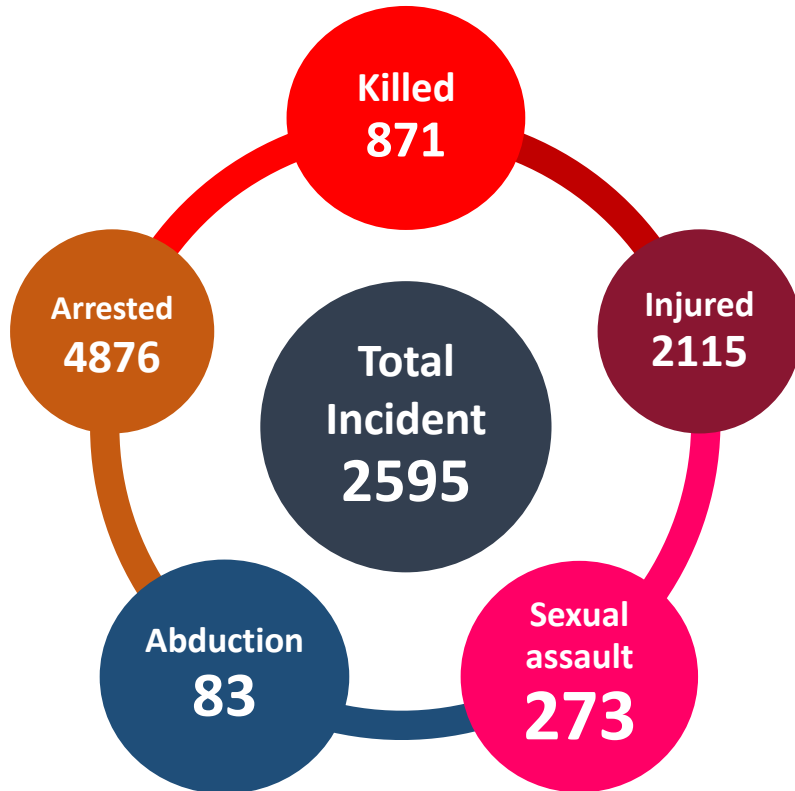
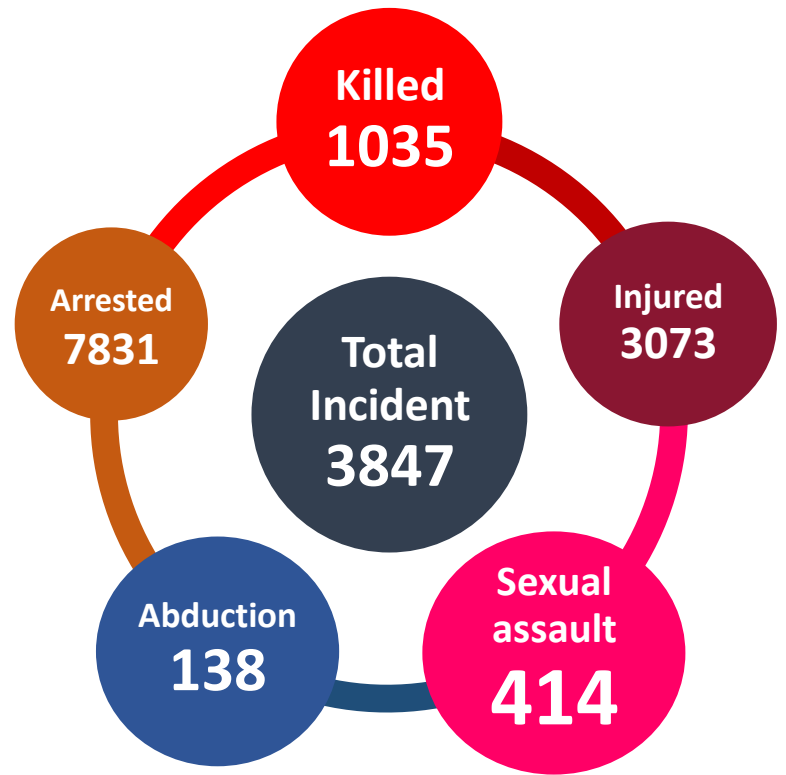


Figure 2: Consequences of the Violent Incidents (August - September 2019)

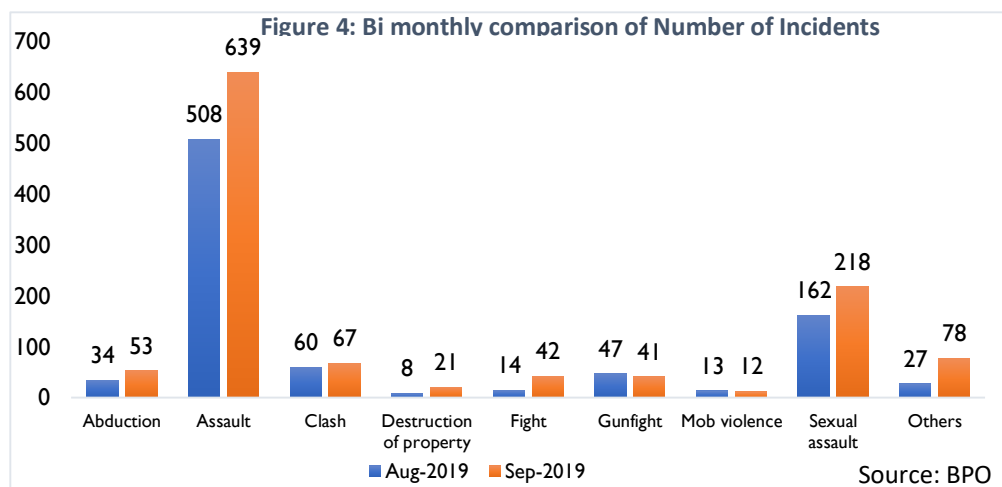


Source: BPO

Total number of abducted people has increased by 66.27% in the 87 reported incidents in August-September than June-July while the number of incidents increased by 93.33%. In 38 cases the victims are abducted for ransom and there are 18 cases where the motives were not clear. Also, there are reports about missing persons who were found dead

afterwards whereas the perpetrators and the motives remained unknown. In two cases newborn children were stolen from hospitals.

Both the number of deaths and number of gunfight incidents have decreased nominally in August-September than June-July segments (From 102 to 100).



The number of arrests has increased by 60.60% in August-September than June-July (From 4876 to 7831). Figure 5 shows that the number of arrests increased by 72.10% in September than that of August. The triggers of this increase may have links to the major raids against the prominent clubs in Dhaka, which started from 18<sup>th</sup>

September due to the prevalent casino business.

\*Rapid Action Battalion arrested 142 gamblers from an illegal casino at Fakirapool, Dhaka operated by a Jubo League leader.<sup>11</sup>

\* Police arrested 86 people from different areas of Dhaka in charge of drug trading and drug abuse.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 'Jubo League leader Khaled Arrested', 19 September, 2019, Cited in- [https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/19/11/details/1\\_r4\\_c1.jpg](https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/19/11/details/1_r4_c1.jpg); [https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/19/14/details/14\\_r3\\_c3.jpg](https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/19/14/details/14_r3_c3.jpg), Accessed on- 2 February 2020.

<sup>12</sup> '86 arrested in an anti-drug raid' 6 September 2019, Cited in- [https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/06/18/details/18\\_r5\\_c1.jpg](https://epaper.jugantor.com/2019/09/06/18/details/18_r5_c1.jpg), Accessed on 3 February 2020.

**Figure 5: Comparative analysis of Incidents (August- September 2019)**

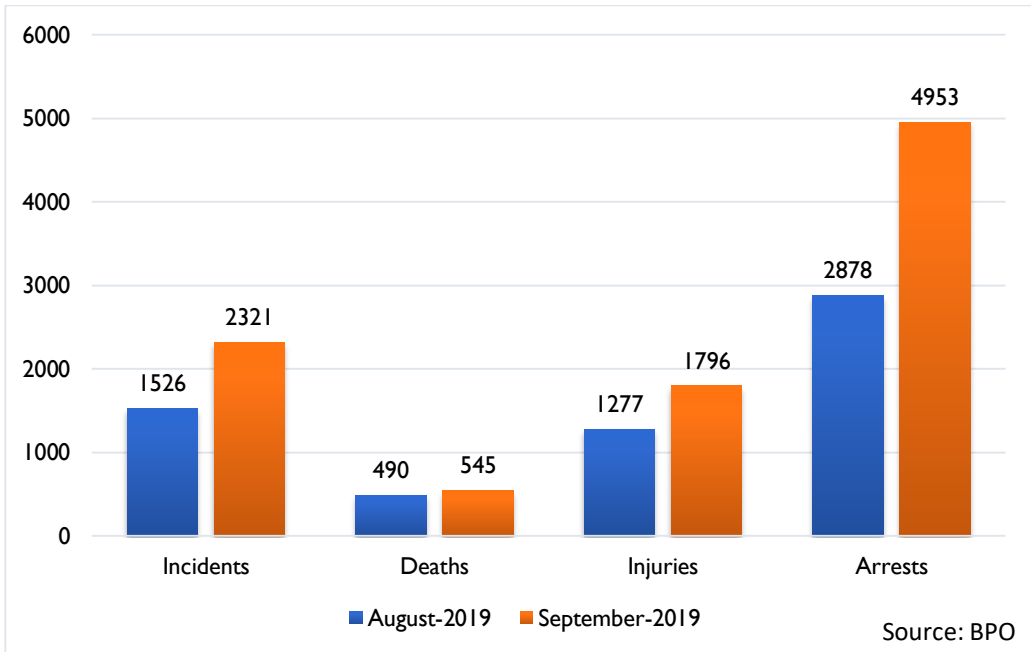


Figure 6 provides a spatial glimpse through the divisional distribution of the recorded incidents in BPO and their consequences. Figure 6 indicates that Dhaka is at the top in terms of incident prevalence (851) and reported injuries (781), while Chhattogram has the second highest incident prevalence (701) and Sylhet has the second highest injury counts (494). But number of deaths in Dhaka is 26.5% more than that of Chhattogram. Numbers of arrests in Dhaka, Chhattogram and Rajshahi divisions are also higher than rest of the five divisions. Rajshahi division is ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in terms of total incident numbers

and death counts in August-September. In the previous bi-months, Dhaka was in the top position with the highest number of incident prevalence (690), reported death (241), injuries (558), and second highest number of reported arrests (1209). Sylhet stood third with 313 injury counts in June-July. In August-September the death count in Sylhet was 68 and in June-July it was 41. The number of injured persons is higher than the number of arrests in this division. According to BPO data, out of 257 of the reported incidents, 153 incidents were violent and in 18 cases of clashes, injury count was 397 in August-September 2019 where 43 clashes were reported in Chhattogram and Barishal together with a total of 369 injuries.

Twelve clashes have injury counts of more than 20 and three of these cases have more than 50 injuries in Sylhet. On the other hand, six clashes in Chattogram and Barishal have injury counts of over 20 but not exceeding 30. The motives of these massive confrontations between two large groups were establishing supremacy, control over natural resources, land-related dispute, previous enmity, etc. This trend was prevalent in the previous bi-months in Sylhet.

\*50 people were injured in a clash between two groups of villagers over occupying a water body in Derai, Sunamganj. Police rushed to the spot and brought the situation under control.<sup>13</sup>

\*At least 40 activists of Chhatra League including police were injured during a clash between two groups in Madaripur city.<sup>14</sup>

\*At least 20 people were injured during a clash between two groups over a football match in Sirajganj. Police arrested three in this connection.<sup>15</sup>

From figure 6, it is observable that, Dhaka, Chattogram and Rajshahi, three big cities in Bangladesh, occupied the top three positions in terms of incident frequencies. However, from a different angle, if the population ratio<sup>16</sup> is applied to understand the incident prevalence and their consequences, a different picture is detectible (Table I).

By population ratio, a considerably smaller and less violence prone (based on total number of reported incidents) division Barishal, takes the 1<sup>st</sup> place in terms of incident rate, 2<sup>nd</sup> in total injury rate and 1<sup>st</sup> in total female injury rate. The highest death rate is in Khulna and the highest injury rate is in Sylhet. Dhaka and Chattogram having highest incidents in number have been ranked 8<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> respectively according to table I.

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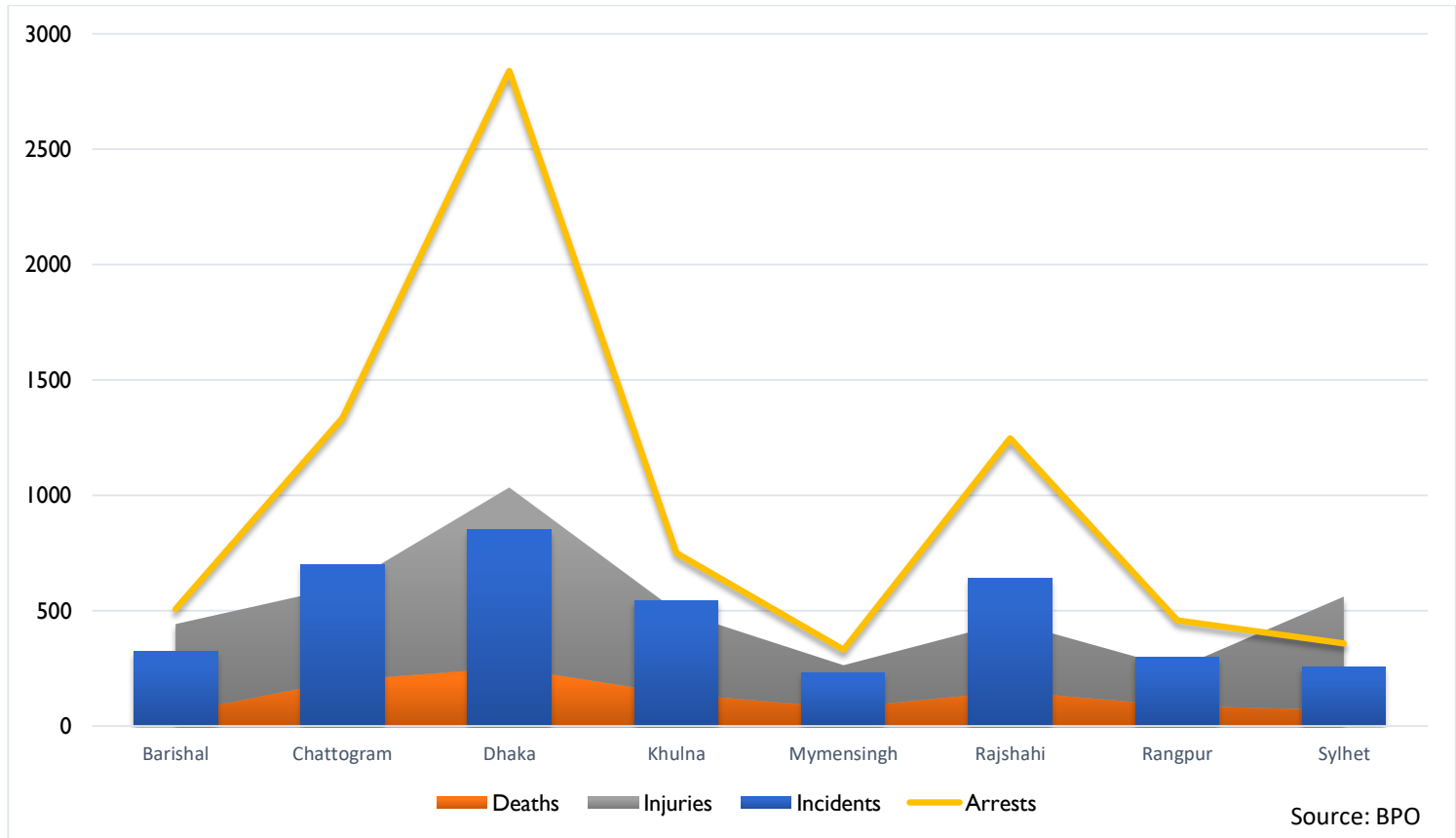
<sup>13</sup> '50 hurt in villagers' clash' 8 August 2019, Cited in- <https://www.thedailystar.net/country/news/50-hurt-villagers-clash-1783273> Accessed on- 8 February, 2020.

<sup>14</sup> '40 injured including police in a BCL infighting in Madaripur'. 29 September 2019, Cited in- <https://www.ittefaq.com.bd/wholecountry/923966/> , Accessed on 2 February 2020.

<sup>15</sup> '20 injured for a football match in Shahjadpur' The Daily Ittefaq, 7 September 2019, pg-4. 9

<sup>16</sup> The population data is based on the Population & Housing Census 2011, Bangladesh by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. Cited in: <http://www.bbs.gov.bd/site/page/47856ad0-7e1c-4aab-bd78-892733bc06eb/Population-and-Housing-Census> Accessed on- 1 February 2019.

**Figure 6: Bi-Monthly Divisional Distribution of Incidents (August- September 2019)**



**Table 1: Bi-Monthly Divisional Distribution of Incidents (August- September 2019)**

Division	Incident	Rate by pop*	Death	Rate by pop*	Female Death	Rate by pop*	Injury	Rate by pop*	Female Injury	Rate by pop*
Barishal	325	23.42 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	56	4.04 (6 <sup>th</sup> )	20	1.44 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	385	27.75 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	107	7.71 (1 <sup>st</sup> )
Chattogram	701	14.43 (5 <sup>th</sup> )	200	4.12 (5 <sup>th</sup> )	43	0.89 (7 <sup>th</sup> )	405	8.34 (7 <sup>th</sup> )	57	1.17 (8 <sup>th</sup> )
Dhaka	851	10.27 (8 <sup>th</sup> )	253	3.05 (8 <sup>th</sup> )	81	0.98 (6 <sup>th</sup> )	781	9.42 (6 <sup>th</sup> )	113	1.36 (7 <sup>th</sup> )
Khulna	544	20.81 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	140	5.35 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	41	1.57 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	359	13.73 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	52	1.99 (4 <sup>th</sup> )
Mymensingh	232	12.24 (6 <sup>th</sup> )	81	4.27 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	26	1.37 (4 <sup>th</sup> )	183	9.66 (5 <sup>th</sup> )	46	2.43 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )
Rajshahi	639	20.74 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	149	4.84 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	70	2.27 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	303	9.83 (4 <sup>th</sup> )	61	1.98 (5 <sup>th</sup> )
Rangpur	298	11.33 (7 <sup>th</sup> )	88	3.34 (7 <sup>th</sup> )	30	1.14 (5 <sup>th</sup> )	163	6.19 (8 <sup>th</sup> )	51	1.94 (6 <sup>th</sup> )
Sylhet	257	15.72 (4 <sup>th</sup> )	68	4.16 (4 <sup>th</sup> )	14	0.86 (8 <sup>th</sup> )	494	30.22 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	38	2.32 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )

\*Rate in per 100000 populations (Projected)

Top 3 Divisions (By Population)		
<p><b>Incident Prevalence</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Barishal</li> <li>Khulna</li> <li>Rajshahi</li> </ol>	<p><b>Total Death</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Khulna</li> <li>Rajshahi</li> <li>Mymensingh</li> </ol>	<p><b>Total Injured</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sylhet</li> <li>Barishal</li> <li>Khulna</li> </ol>

Source: BPO

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## Gambling: A Bane for the Bangladeshi Society

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### BPO Team

The recent crackdown by the law enforcers in casinos operating illegally at the heart of the Dhaka city left many stunned. Even though gambling is illegal in Bangladesh, people gamble on a small scale across the country. At least this was the assumption people had before the law enforcers, especially the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), raided the illegal casinos in Dhaka city in the last few months. Media reports suggest that currently, at least 60 casinos are operating in Dhaka city.<sup>17</sup> In addition to that, it is estimated that a staggering Taka 120 crore changed hands in these casinos every night.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, it is surprising that these incidents were not brought to book until the recent raids took place against the illegal casinos.

Before the crackdown, few people in the country could imagine glittering casinos with gambling machines, liquors, and cash exist in Bangladesh, which they used to see only in the Hollywood movies and in the

cities like Las Vegas famous for casinos. However, the operations against these casinos made it clear that these are not any ordinary makeshift structures where people hid and gambled; instead, these were real casinos. While some reacted with ambivalence, some questioned the propriety of casino business in a country like Bangladesh, which is yet to come out of poverty entirely.<sup>19</sup>

### Why do People Gamble?

Gambling mainly refers to the wagering of money or something valuable on an event with the primary intent of winning money or precious material goods.<sup>20</sup> Despite the fact that, there is a huge possibility that one could lose money or valuables each time he or she gambles, but still, people like to gamble. According to psychologists, nobody actually wants to lose, and when someone is addicted to gambling, it is the thirst for winning that brings them back to the card table or slot machine, despite losses stacking up.<sup>21</sup> Although

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<sup>17</sup> "Why do people gamble" 1 October 2019. Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/opinion/oped/2019/10/01/why-do-people-gamble> (Accessed 19 December 2019).

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*

<sup>19</sup> "For the love of sight, sound and...casino?" 27 September 2019. Cited in

<https://www.thedailystar.net/opinion/news/the-love->

[sight-sound-and-casino-1805695](https://www.thedailystar.net/opinion/news/the-love-sight-sound-and-casino-1805695) (Accessed 16 December 2019)

<sup>20</sup> I. Nelson Rose and Robert A. Loeb, *Blackjack and the Law* (Oakland: Rge Pub, 1998)

<sup>21</sup> "Why gamblers get high even when they lose" 21 July 2016. Cited in

<https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20160721-the->

the recent crackdown on illegal casinos brought gambling into the limelight, more or less, the practice was common even in the rural areas for an extended period.<sup>22</sup> Long ago, people in this country used to indulge into gambling through 'Kori' (an instrument for gambling) and later in the 1980's, and in early 90's people indulged into gambling in local markets or in any of festivals, which they termed "Jua Lottery".<sup>23</sup> Therefore, casinos may have drawn attention from people recently, but its foundation was entrenched long ago. A deeper delve into the history reveals that not only in Bangladesh but gambling was also ubiquitous in Indian society even in the ancient era. Reference of gambling activities is found in Hindu epic *Mahabharata*, where Yudhishtir, a central character in the epic, had a penchant for gambling and ultimately lost not only his kingdom but, he was also forced to mortgage his wife in the 'Game of Dice'.<sup>24</sup>

## The Impact of Gambling

Some vices like gambling have infested our society so badly that it is difficult to get rid of them. Gambling is on top of the list of these vices. A study reveals that in many rural areas of Bangladesh, husbands took away their wives' micro-credit loans for gambling purposes, and when opposed, these women were brutally beaten up.<sup>25</sup> In addition to that, a separate study has identified that at least 2.4 percentage of violence against women in Bangladesh took place in the last decade because of gambling.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, another study figured out that between 2004-2009 at least 11.2 percentage of all households in Bangladesh saw downward mobility because of "distress sale of land for gambling".<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, people start to gamble to ease the financial crisis, but on many occasions, they end up losing everything and embrace the curse of poverty.

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buzz-that-keeps-people-gambling (Accessed 17 December 2019).

<sup>22</sup> "Casino: An Atrocious Poison in Bangladesh" 21 October 2019. Cited in <https://www.daily-sun.com/amp/post/432980> (Accessed 16 December 2019)

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> "Legal Framework: Gambling and Sports Betting Including in Cricket in India" 1 July 2018. Cited in <http://lawcommissionofindia.nic.in/reports/Report276.pdf> (Accessed 16 December 2019)

<sup>25</sup> Sidney R. Schuler, Syed M. Hashemi and Shamsul Huda Badal, "Men's Violence against Women in Rural Bangladesh: Undermined or Exacerbated by Microcredit Programmes?", *Taylor & Francis, Ltd*, May 1998.

<sup>26</sup> "Domestic Violence Against Women: Cost to the Nation" June 2011. Cited in [https://www.carebangladesh.org/publication/Publication\\_5421518.pdf](https://www.carebangladesh.org/publication/Publication_5421518.pdf) (Accessed 16 December 2019)

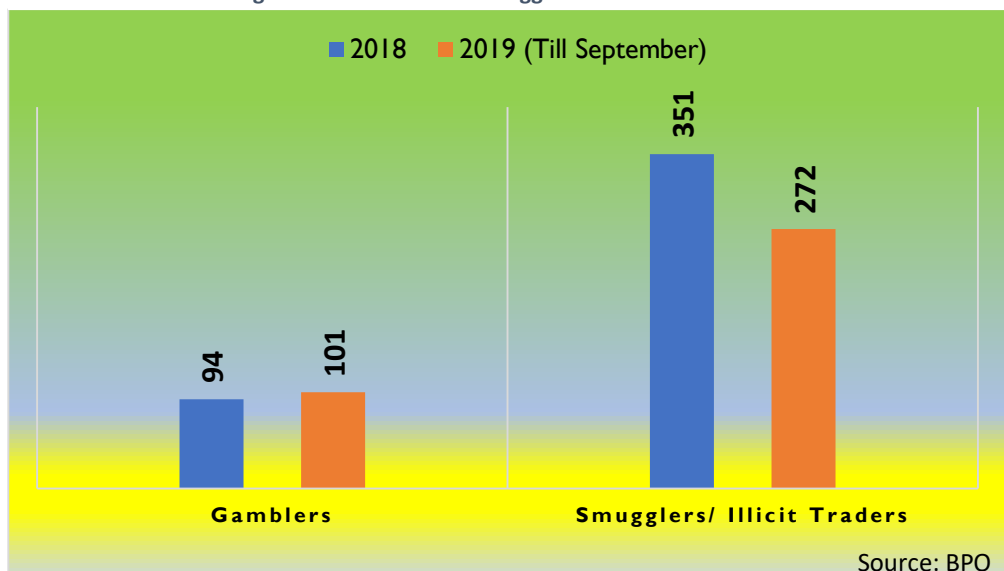
<sup>27</sup> Md. Motiur Rahman, Noriatsu Matsui and Yukio Ikemoto, *Dynamics of Poverty in Rural Bangladesh* (Tokyo: Springer, 2013).

## Analysis of the Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO) Data on Gambling:

**Figure 7** compares the number of gambling and smuggling related incidents in Bangladesh for two years-2018 and 2019. Overall, it is clear that in 2018 events related to smuggling were higher than the numbers of 2019. In terms of gambling, the number of incidents

remains almost the same as 2018. In 2019, gamblers were engaged in at least 101 incidents while in 2018 the number was around 94. With the law enforcement agencies storming down the illegal casinos across Dhaka city, it can be assumed that the numbers for the current year may match the numbers of 2018 with three months to spare.

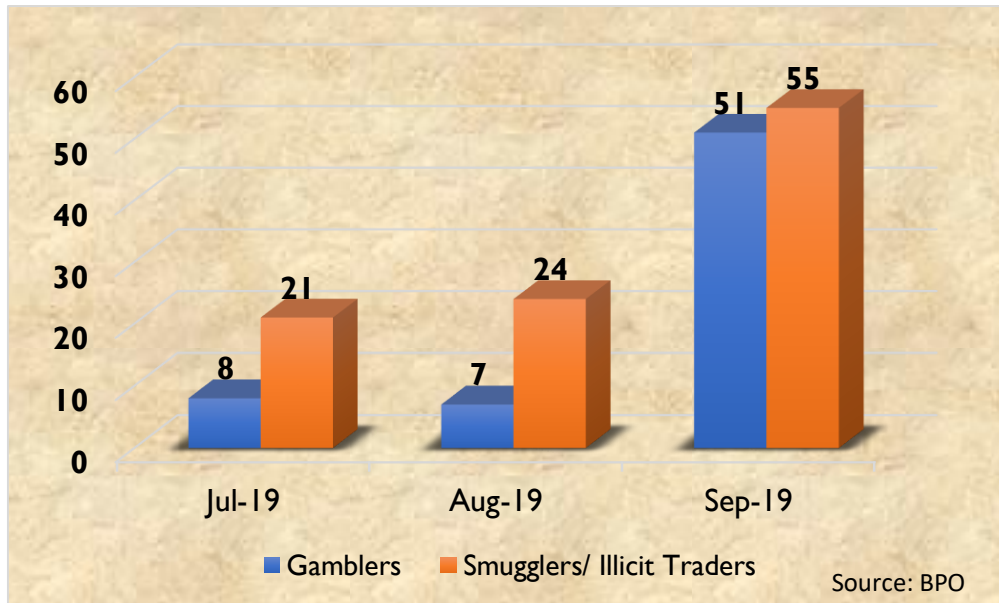
Figure 7: Gamblers And Smugglers Involved In Incidents



The bar charts in **figure 8** illustrate the number of incidents that took place in the last three months of the current year. The numbers suggest that in July 2019, at least 29 incidents took place across the country in which either gamblers or smugglers were involved. The numbers slightly increased in the following month as at least 31

incidents have been recorded within this month. On the contrary, it is clearly evident from the table that there has been a sharp rise in the number of gambling and smuggling incidents in September 2019. According to BPO data, at least 106 events took place across the country in September.

Figure 8: Gambling and Smuggling Incidents in Last three Months



The division wise distribution of gambling and smuggling related incidents in **table 2** suggests that the number of incidents in which gamblers were engaged slightly increased in 2019. In contrast, the number of incidents related to smugglers or illicit traders plummeted in 2019. Rajshahi has the highest number of gambling incidents in

both of the year. In addition, Dhaka witnessed the highest number of incidents in 2018 in which either smugglers or illicit traders were engaged. However, in 2019 Chattogram holds the first position in terms of smuggling related incidents with three months to spare.

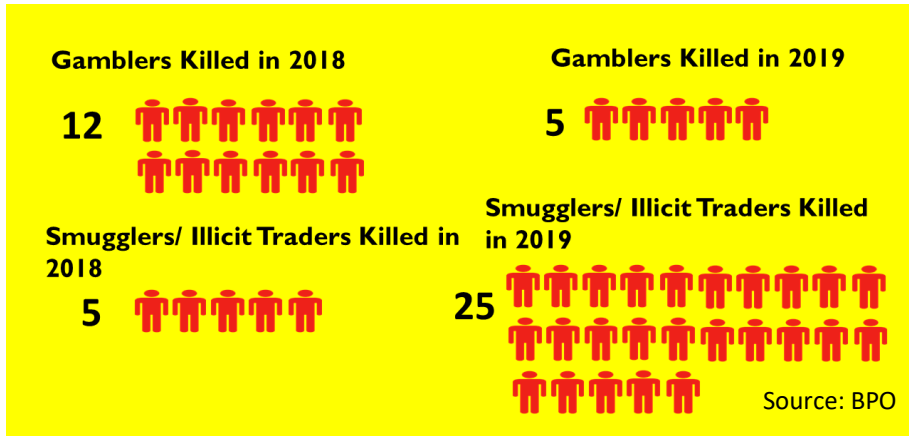
Division wise Gambling and Smuggling Incidents (Table 2)					
Gamblers			Smugglers/ Illicit Traders		
Division	2018	2019 (till September)	Division	2018	2019 (till September)
Barishal	2	4	Barishal	6	7
Chattogram	6	10	Chattogram	84	72
Dhaka	10	18	Dhaka	89	70
Khulna	4	6	Khulna	69	51
Mymensingh	10	8	Mymensingh	2	3
Rajshahi	29	27	Rajshahi	64	42
Rangpur	31	16	Rangpur	26	14
Sylhet	3	9	Sylhet	11	15
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>351</b>	<b>274</b>

Source: BPO

On many occasions, gamblers, and smugglers were engaged in a fight with the law enforcement agencies when the latter conducted an operation against their illegal activities. Numbers reflected in **figure 9** suggest that in 2018 at least 17 were killed in a fight against the law enforcement agencies, and the majority of them were gamblers.

However, in 2019 the numbers almost doubled as at least 25 smugglers and 5 gamblers were killed in different incidents. In some of the incidents, smugglers and the gamblers were killed in internal clashes among themselves. In 2019, the number of deaths related to gambling and smuggling incidents were higher than 2018.

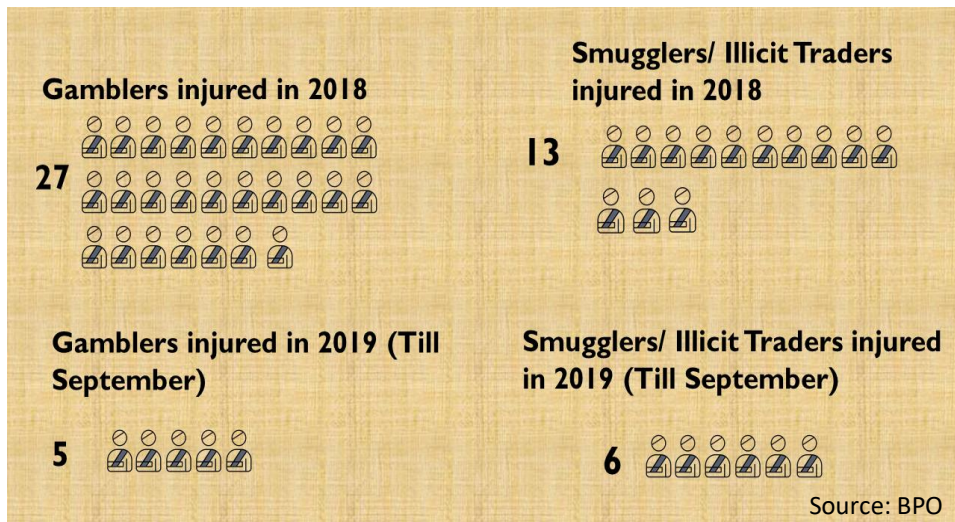
Figure 9: Gamblers and Smugglers Killed in the Incidents



However, 2019 saw a decline in the number of injured persons than in 2018. As reflected in **figure 10**, while at least 40 persons succumbed to injury in 2018; in 2019 the numbers plummeted

to 11. In the majority of the cases, the injured persons were smugglers who were either engaged in a fight among themselves or with the law enforcement agencies.

Figure 10: Smugglers/ Illicit Traders and Gamblers Injured in the Incidents



The law enforcement agencies conducted stringent operations against the gamblers and smugglers in 2019, which is reflected in the number of persons arrested this year. As reflected in the **figure 11** in 2018, at least 1446

persons involved with either gambling or smuggling were detained by the law enforcement agencies. In contrast, at least 1558 persons have been arrested this year across the country for the same allegation.

**Figure 11: Arrested Persons in Gambling and Smuggling/ Illicit Trading Related Incidents**



As reflected in **figure 12**, according to BPO data, at least 195 persons were involved in gambling incidents from January 2018 to September 2019. In contrast, at least

623 persons were engaged in smuggling related incidents. Moreover, some of them were either arrested or beaten up by the people for allegedly doing illicit trading.

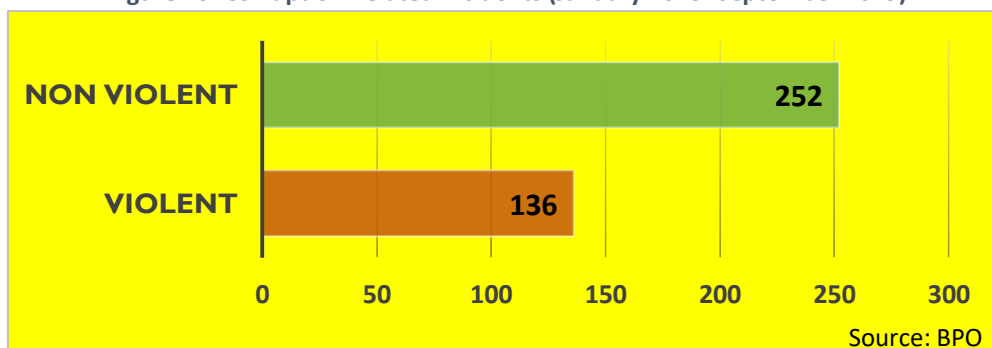
**Figure 12: Involvement in the Incidents (January 2018- September 2019)**



According to BPO data, at least 388 corruption-related incidents took place in the country between January 2018 to September 2019. Also, **figure 13** illustrates that out of 388 events, at

least 252 events were nonviolent (mainly arrests). In contrast, at least 136 incidents took place in this period in which the actors were engaged in a clash.

**Figure 13: Corruption Related Incidents (January 2018- September 2019)**



As reflected in **figure 14**, a division-wise distribution of corruption-related incidents suggests that the highest 135 incidents took place in Dhaka between January 2018 to

September 2019. In addition, Chattogram holds the second position with 85 incidents followed by Rajshahi, where at least 57 corruption-related incidents took place.

**Figure 14: Division wise Corruption Related Incidents (Jan 2018- Sep 2019)**

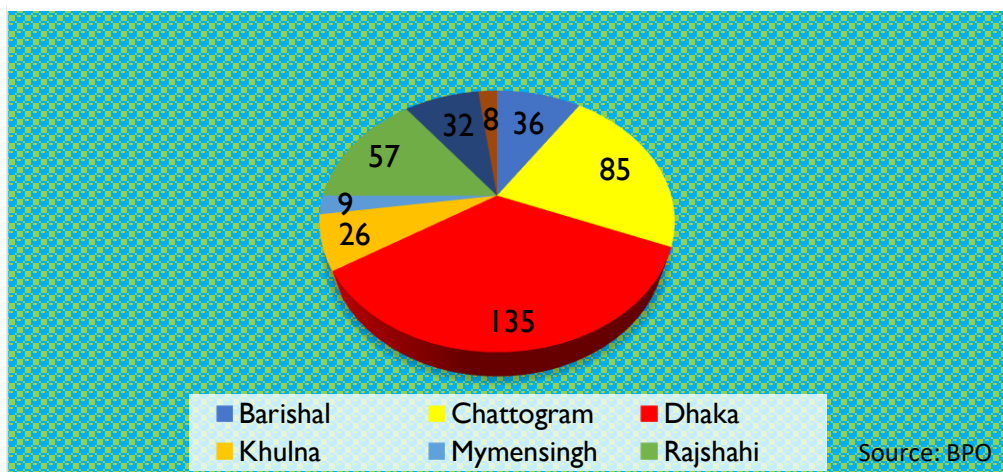


Figure 15 illustrates that 2019 accounts for more than 50 percent of the total number of corruption-related incidents. In 2018, at least 150 incidents were figured out in which the accused persons were engaged in corruption, such as bribery, grafting, unscrupulous business, and so on. On the contrary,

the numbers increased dramatically in 2019 as the year saw at least 238 incidents that took place across the country. One of the reasons could be the stringent operations by law enforcement agencies against the alleged persons engaged in corruption.

Figure 15: Yearly Corruption Related Incidents

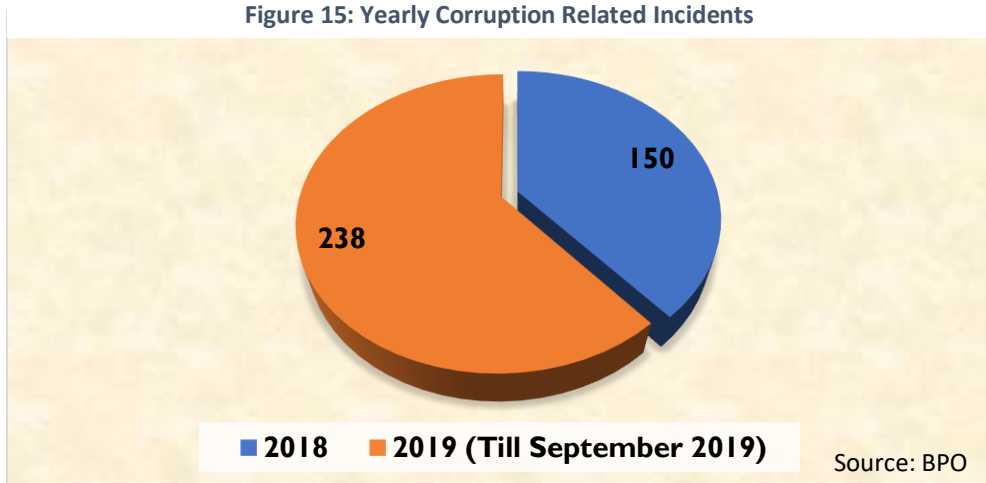
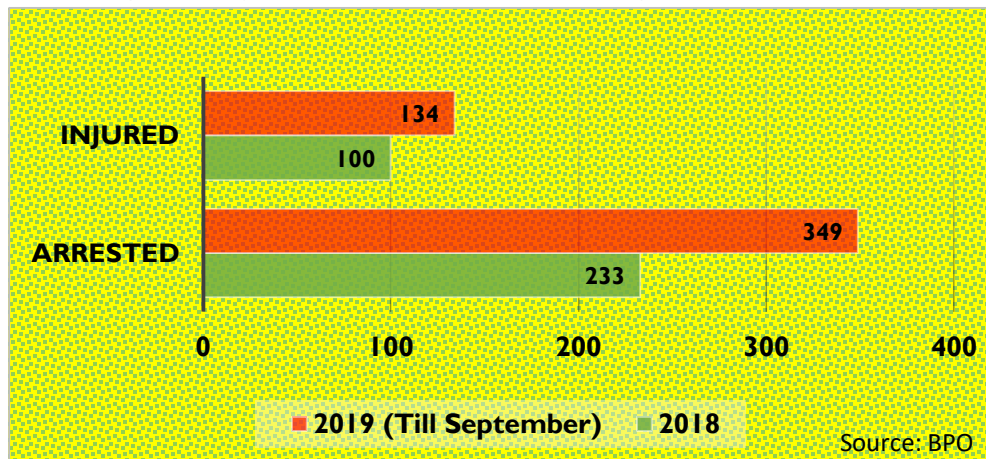


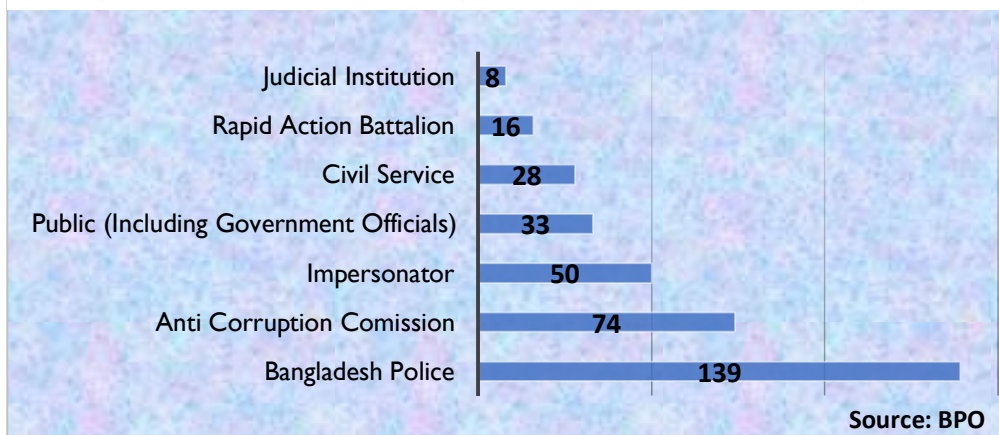
Figure 16: Injured and Arrested Persons in Corruption Related Incidents



It is evident from **figure 16** that in 2019, both the number of arrested and injured persons have increased than in 2018. At least 349 persons were arrested, including government officials

for their involvement in illegal practices, while in 2018 the number revolved around 233 in total. Moreover, 2019 also saw an increase in the number of arrested persons than in 2018.

**Figure 17: Actors Involved in Corruption Related Incidents Jan 2018- Sep 2019**



Finally, **figure 17** depicts the main actors involved in corruption-related incidents. The bar charts show that Bangladesh Police was the main actor at least in 139 incidents that took place between January 2018 to September 2019. Moreover, the Anti-corruption commission was engaged in 74 events followed by common people,

including government officials. In the majority of the cases, Bangladesh Police and Anti-corruption commission were at the forefront in operations against unfair practices. However, it has been noticed that in some of the incidents, members of Bangladesh Police and other government officials were punished over alleged fraud and malpractice.

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## Casino-Cadres-Corruption Nexus: An Overview of Anti-Corruption Drive in Bangladesh

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**F. M. Arafat<sup>28</sup>**

The widely touted ‘anti-corruption drive’ which is also known as ‘casino crackdown’ or ‘cleansing operation’ carried out by the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) has exposed three alarming trends: the astonishing expansion of casinos and illicit gambling in the major cities, especially Dhaka, engagement of Jubo League’s top men or cadres (ruling party Awami League’s youth wing) in political malfeasance, and endemic corruption in a nutshell.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the drive highlighted the GOB’s effort to tackle these issues. All these trends are inter-related and facilitate each other. This write-up attempts to connect the GOB’s anti-corruption drive also known as casino crackdown, rampant corruption at various levels prior to the drive and the arrests of high-profile youth leaders.

As reported by various news platforms, around 275 people, including some Jubo League, Krishak League

leaders and ward councilors of Dhaka City Corporations (both north and south) were arrested in at least fifty drives conducted mainly by Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), Police, and the Department of Narcotics Control.<sup>30</sup> The law enforcement agencies also seized a huge amount of foreign currency and Bangladeshi cash money, narcotics, gambling equipment, liquor, arms and ammunition from these drives. The anti-corruption drive was also a cleansing operation of the ruling party as affirmed by the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina. Many leaders of different ranks from the ruling party who were involved in illicit businesses (eg. casino operation) were apprehended in the drive.

First, the write-up delves into the major anti-corruption drives of Bangladesh by drawing a comparison between the drive of 2007 and 2019. Later it examines the key components

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<sup>29</sup> Riaz, Ali. The “Anti-Corruption Drive” in Bangladesh: Where is it Going?” Georgetown Journal of International Affairs (2019). Cited in <https://gija.georgetown.edu/2019/12/16/the-anti-corruption-drive-in-bangladesh/?fbclid=IwAR2wu3lCtslZNEF95q7cW9JDPz4YvoDl0J9xBjM6mrD7RZD5oB25aqPnMSl> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>30</sup> “Anti-Corruption Drive that raised hope in 2019” The Business Standard. 31 December 2019. Cited in <https://tbsnews.net/bangladesh/anti-corruption-drive-raised-hope-2019> (Accessed 1 January 2020)

of the drive. Finally, the write-up scrutinizes the nexus typologies and attributes between casinos, cadres, and corruption.

### **Major Anti-Corruption Drives in Bangladesh**

The widespread anti-corruption campaign is not a new phenomenon in Bangladesh. Two major anti-corruption drives have been conducted in the history of Bangladesh. The Army-

*It was necessary to strike a blow against this corrupt part of our society. We are continuing the drive against corruption to prevent the recurrence of incidents such as 1/11. I brought it upon myself to right the wrong. We have been in power for long. Therefore, it is a common tendency to make a mountain out of a molehill when it comes to our flaws.* - Sheikh Hasina at a news conference in New York on 29 September 2019

supported caretaker government launched a massive anti-corruption campaign in 2007 when all types of political activities were suspended during a state of emergency on January

11 following months of political wrangling, hostility, and violence.<sup>31</sup> But there are some structural differences between the anti-corruption drive of 2007 and 2019. First, the 2007 drive was conducted by a non-democratic army-sponsored caretaker government whereas the 2019 drive was conducted by a democratic government. Actually, the milieu before 2007 anti-corruption campaign is one of the reasons why the latest anti-corruption drive was launched. According to the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, “it (the drive) was necessary to prevent a repeat of the January 2007 when army-backed caretaker government took power with a view to tackling corruption”.<sup>32</sup> Second, the prime target of the 2007 drive was the leading politicians including the leaders of the two major political parties- Begum Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Sheikh Hasina Wazed of the AL.<sup>33</sup> Contrarily, the 2019 drive was ordered by Prime Minister, Sheikh Hasina to purge on her own party especially the youth-wing, Jubo League.<sup>34</sup> The drive mainly targeted casinos, illicit gambling, extortion, money laundering schemes, amassing illicit money, and political

<sup>31</sup> Hagerty, Devin T. "Bangladesh in 2007: Democracy interrupted, political and environmental challenges ahead." *Asian Survey* 48, no. 1 (2008): 177-183.

<sup>32</sup> "Top Bangladesh politician snared in anti-corruption crackdown" 6 October 2019. Cited in

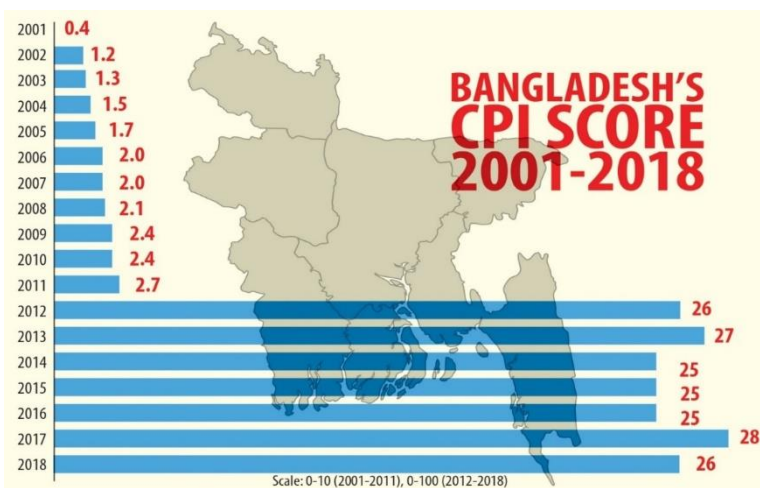
<https://www.arabnews.com/node/1564906/world> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>33</sup> Momen, Mehnaaz. "Bangladesh in 2008: Déjà vu Again or a Return to Democracy?" *Asian Survey* 49, no. 1 (2009): 66-73.

<sup>34</sup> *Op.cit*, The Business Standard

corruption.<sup>35</sup> Third, the scale and scope of the 2007 anti-corruption campaign was wider than the campaign of 2019. Around 200,000 people were arrested under charges of political or financial corruption in this campaign.<sup>36</sup> The number is significantly higher than in 2019 when around 275 people were arrested. Fourth, the 2007 anti-corruption campaign was spearheaded by a reconstituted government body, Anti-corruption Commission (ACC). On the other hand, the 2019 drive was conducted mostly by RAB; ACC had a very limited role in conducting the drives. In fact, ACC was criticized for its meek role in the drive and weaknesses in investigating the bank accounts of 105 people, including ruling AL lawmakers and top government officials, as they faced allegations of amassing illegal wealth.<sup>37</sup> Many commentators pointed

out that, ‘The Government Job Bill 2018’ restricted ACC to act, as the legislation demands ACC to seek the permission of the authorities concerned before arresting any public servant prior to a court framing charges.<sup>38,39</sup> Finally, the 2007 anti-corruption campaign had brought significant structural changes in GOB’s anti-corruption policies although it was heavily criticized by the analysts



Source: Dhaka Tribune; 29 January 2019

for abuse of power, absence of due process, controversial actions such as the collection of arbitrary penalty and ransom for corruption, de-politicization, and so-called minus-two formula.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Op.cit*, Riaz, Ali.

<sup>36</sup> *Op.cit*, Momen, Mehnaaz

<sup>37</sup> “ACC seeks bank info of 105” 19 November 2019. Cited in

<https://www.thedailystar.net/backpage/news/acc-seeks-bank-info-105-1828957> (Accessed 19 December 2019)

<sup>38</sup> “New law limits ACC power to arrest corrupt govt staff” 25 October 2018. Cited in

<https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/parliament/2018/10/25/new-law-limits-acc-power-to-arrest-corrupt-govt-staff> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>39</sup> *Op.cit*, Iftekhharuzzaman

<sup>40</sup> Iftekhharuzzaman. “Anti-Corruption Commission: How can it be truly effective?”. The Daily Star. 15 February 2019. Cited in

<https://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/strong->

Bangladesh was listed as the most corrupt country in the world in back to back five times from 2001 to 2005 with scores of 0.4, 1.2, 1.3, 1.5 and 1.7 respectively in the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) released by Transparency International (TI), a watchdog which publishes the ranking on corruption perceptions throughout the world every year.<sup>41</sup> Although the 2007 anti-corruption campaign was controversial due to its overt focus on the career politicians, it had somewhat exposed the severity of corruption in Bangladesh. Bangladesh improved gradually in CPI index in the next few years as it took the 10<sup>th</sup> position (2.1) in 2008, 13<sup>th</sup> (2.4) in 2009, 12<sup>th</sup> (2.4) in 2010, and again 13<sup>th</sup> (2.7) in 2011. The position of Bangladesh in the CPI seems to be stagnated in recent years. Bangladesh's position slipped six steps in the index for 2018 -going to 149 from 2017's 143. Conversely, the impact of the 2019 anti-corruption drive is yet to be seen. The top achievement of the drive is that the GOB is acknowledging that corruption, extortion, and unlawful activities exists and is conducting drives against them. The public reaction

towards the drive is mostly satisfactory. According to a telephone survey, more than 97 percent across eight divisions of Bangladesh are more or less satisfied with the drive.<sup>42</sup> But the opposition political parties criticized the drive as the 'PR campaign' for the government as the AL led government is back in power for a straight third time after a sparsely contested and somewhat controversial election in December 2018. Critics enunciated, it was imperative for the government to put forward a new agenda in order to prove to the international community that 'good governance' is the primary goal of the new government.<sup>43</sup>

### **Components of the 2019 Anti-Corruption Drive**

The 2019 anti-corruption drive was unprecedented in many ways. It has exposed, for the first time, sights into "mushrooming clandestine casinos" in Dhaka, which is not known for casinos established by people with alleged close ties to the ruling party, AL; notably the leaders of Jubo League and city councilors as reported.<sup>44</sup> Illicit gambling, grabbing government contracts through

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[institution-good-governance/news/anti-corruption-commission-how-can-it-be-truly-effective-1701922](https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/dhaka/2019/10/06/study-97-people-support-anti-casino-crackdown) (Accessed 2 January 2020)

<sup>41</sup> "Bangladesh's 18 years on the Corruption Perceptions Index" 29 January 2019. Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/corruption/2019/01/29/bangladesh-s-18-years-in-the-corruption-perception-index> (Accessed 25 December 2019)

<sup>42</sup> "Study: 97% support anti-casino crackdown" 6 October 2019. Cited in

<https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/dhaka/2019/10/06/study-97-people-support-anti-casino-crackdown> (Accessed 22 December 2019)

<sup>43</sup> *Op.cit.* Riaz, Ali.

<sup>44</sup> Devnath, Arun. "Hasina's crusade against corruption" The Hindu. 6 October 2019. Cited in <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/hasinas-crusade-against-corruption/article29605722.ece> (Accessed 22 December 2019)

political connections, extortion, firearms and money laundering are the major crimes targeted in the drive.<sup>45</sup> Illicit gambling facilities or casinos, renowned sporting clubs, houses and offices of the youth political leaders were intermittently raided by law enforcement officials. The drive is unique in the sense that it is a sort of cleansing operation or purging within the ruling party and its various wings such as Chhatra League, Jubo League, Krishak League, etc. By ordering the anti-corruption drive, the GOB not only acknowledges the rampant corruption within the ruling party but also brings to light new forms of corruption in various sectors (e.g., gambling facilities/casinos) which was unheard of previously. There are three major components of the 2019 anti-corruption drive which are casino raids, political cadres and corruption, and cleansing operation. All three components are interlinked.

## I. Casino Raids

The casino raids were one of the most unexpected and shocking news stories

from Bangladesh in 2019. Reportedly, there were 60 casinos, which were operating illegally in Dhaka city right under the nose of the law enforcement agencies.<sup>46</sup> According to investigators, there were swirling of no less than Taka 120 crores every night in these casinos.<sup>47</sup> The drive against casinos was mostly conducted by RAB and started officially on September 18 when a team of RAB-3 busted a casino inside Fakirerpool Youngmen's Club in the capital's Fakirapool area.<sup>48</sup> RAB officials confiscated gambling equipment such as betting tables, slot machines, roulette tables, illegal liquor, and illicit money.<sup>49</sup> Later RAB arrested the Club and Jubo League's Dhaka South unit organizing secretary with an illegal firearm, several rounds of bullets and yaba pills in a raid in his home at Gulshan in Dhaka.<sup>50</sup> RAB detained 144 people primarily from the drive. Followed by the drive in the Youngmen's Club, additional drives were conducted by RAB in illegal casinos at Dhaka Wanderers' Club, Muktijoddha Sangsad Krira Chakra, and Golden Dhaka Bangladesh on the same night.

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<sup>45</sup> "Police raid four sporting clubs in casino crackdown" 22 September 2019. Cited in <https://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2019/09/22/police-raid-four-sporting-clubs-in-casino-crackdown> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>46</sup> "Casinos: Right under the nose of police" Dhaka Tribune. 20 September 2019. Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/dhaka/2019/09/20/casinos-right-under-the-nose-of-police> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>47</sup> Haque, Syed Ashfaul. "Thumbs we all are sucking on!" The Daily Star. 20 September 2019. Cited in

<https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/casino-in-bangladesh-thumbs-we-all-are-sucking-1802596> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>48</sup> "RAB cracks down on illegal casinos" 18 September 2019. Cited in

<https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/dhaka/2019/09/18/illegal-casino-busted-over-100-held> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

Jubo League Dhaka South unit President was running the casino operation at Muktijoddha Sangsad Krira Chakra. On September 20, RAB arrested a man who identifies himself as a Jubo League leader with illegal firearms and a huge amount of money after a raid in his house and office in City's Niketon area. On September 22, RAB officials arrested the director (in-charge) of Mohammedan Sporting Club Ltd. from his house with an unspecified quantity of liquor. Later, on September 30 an online gambling kingpin was arrested on charges of running an online casino and laundering money abroad. On October 6, another casino operator was arrested by RAB from a hide-out in Cumilla with one of his associates. In October, RAB conducted three more major anti-corruption drives in which three ward councilors were arrested with foreign ammunition and illicit money. More than 600 bank accounts were frozen following these raids.<sup>51</sup> Many foreign nationals including Indians from the state of Goa and Nepalese were directly or indirectly involved in the casino industry.<sup>52</sup> The foreign nationals were mainly used in the

setting up and the operation of the casino equipments.<sup>53</sup>

Although the public perception regarding the casino raids was more than satisfactory, questions have arisen regarding the role of the ACC and the "pauses in the drives as it seems as if the criminals are buying time".<sup>54</sup> The ACC seems to do less than necessary when it comes to the investigation of the accused personnel. Questions were also asked how these illegal casinos were able to operate so openly without any intervention from law enforcement agencies.<sup>55</sup> Many commentators are demanding to expand the focus of the anti-corruption drive by including other crimes such as land and river encroachment, rape and abduction, etc. to deal with corruption as a whole.<sup>56</sup>

## **2. Political Cadres and Corruption**

According to Merriam-Webster Incorporated, cadres are "...a cell of indoctrinated leaders active in promoting the interests of a

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<sup>51</sup> "Used to impunity, Bangladesh elite face corruption crackdown" AP News. 6 November 2019. Cited in <https://apnews.com/92ec00bc54f94222b7a89ae0979f46f7> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>52</sup> "Illegal casinos: The Nepal connection" Dhaka Tribune. 24 September 2019. Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/crime/2019/09/24/illegal-casinos-the-nepal-connection> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> "Casino crackdown remains unclear" Prothom Alo 30 September 2019. Cited in <https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/news/202541/Casino-crackdown-remains-unclear> (Accessed 19 December 2019)

<sup>55</sup> "Bangladesh casino crackdown shows no sign of slowing" 24 September 2019. Cited in <https://calvinayre.com/2019/09/24/casino/bangladesh-casino-crackdown-shows-no-sign-of-slowng/> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>56</sup> *Op.cit.* Prothom Alo

revolutionary party”.<sup>57</sup> Based on this definition, cadres are highly trained, knowledgeable and well versed with respect to the ethics, ideology, and philosophy of their political party.<sup>58</sup> Most of the political parties of Bangladesh are cadre-based and have extensive “social presence and hierarchical grassroots organizational structure”.<sup>59</sup> The political cadres ensure grassroots support to the party leadership by implementing the government policies if the party is in power. They generate enthusiasm if needed and fight for political space with cadres of other political parties. The term ‘political cadres’ is used rather negatively in the context of Bangladeshi political culture. Conventional wisdom suggests that the cadres of Bangladeshi political parties usually involve in inter-party or intra-party violent clashes and participate in protests if necessary.

Although Bangladesh has a long history of ruling party cadres manipulating business and government contracts in their favor, the trend reached its peak in September before

the GOB conducted the anti-corruption drive.<sup>60</sup> Political cadres were an integral part of 2019 anti-corruption drive as many who identified themselves as the activists of the ruling party and the party’s youth-wing were arrested and later convicted. A week before the kick-off of the anti-corruption drive, the president and general secretary of Bangladesh Chhatra League, youth-wing of AL was forced to resign from their positions on September 14 on corruption allegations. There were allegations that they had given posts in Chhatra League committees in exchange for money and demanded “Eid expenditure” from the Vice-Chancellor of Jahangirnagar University.<sup>61</sup> Extortion, political maneuvering, grabbing government contracts through political links, etc. are allegedly practiced by many political cadres of the ruling party as reported by various news platforms. Many political cadres used to bag tenders of special projects by using their political connections.<sup>62</sup> Some of them allegedly controlled all the illegal casinos of the Dhaka city.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> “Cadre” Cited in <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cadre> (Accessed 21 December 2019)

<sup>58</sup> “Understanding the cadre, party politics” 6 June 2018, Cited in <http://www.daily-mail.co.zm/understanding-the-cadre-party-politics/> (Accessed 19 December 2019)

<sup>59</sup> “BTI 2018 | Bangladesh Country Report” Transformation Index BTI. Cited in <https://www.bti-project.org/en/reports/country-reports/detail/itc/BGD/> (Accessed 1 January 2020)

<sup>60</sup> *Op.cit*, AP News

<sup>61</sup> “Shovon, Rabbani removed” The Daily Star. 15 September 2019. Cited in <https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/chhatra-league-president-secretary-shovon-rabbani-removed-1800259> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>62</sup> “The meteoric rise of GK Shamim” Dhaka Tribune. 24 September 2019. Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/dhaka/2019/09/24/the-meteoric-rise-of-gk-shamim> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

<sup>63</sup> “Is Samrat the real casino king of Dhaka?” Dhaka Tribune. 23 September 2019. Cited in

The endemic corruption of the political cadres has forced the leadership of the ruling party to take rapid actions as brazen corruption within the ranks could certainly hamper the economic growth.<sup>64</sup>

### 3. Cleansing Operation

The cleansing operation in the context of the 2019 anti-corruption drive refers to the AL Chief and Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina's bold decision to take action against casino business, extortion, corruption, and terrorism. Many of the youth leaders of AL were allegedly involved in corruption which paved the way for anti-corruption measures or cleansing operation. Ultimately, many corrupted youth leaders were detained and received retribution. Bangladesh Chhatra League started to purge the intruders with the help of its grass-root leaders, journalists, and intelligence members following the instruction of its parent organization chief and Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina.<sup>65</sup>

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<https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/dhaka/2019/09/23/the-rise-of-samrat-the-underworld-casino-king> (Accessed 23 December 2019)

<sup>64</sup> Op.cit, AP News

<sup>65</sup> "BCL begins process to purge intruders" Bangla Tribune. 9 October 2019. Cited in <https://en.banglatribune.com/politics/news/77069/BCL-begins-process-to-purge-intruders> (Accessed 20 December 2019)

## Nexus Typology and Attributes

The casino crackdown, the involvement of political cadres in various forms of corruption, and the overall endemic corruption in Bangladesh has created a climate in which it became a compulsion for the GOB to carry-out an anti-corruption drive. The operators of the illegal casinos maintained a close relationship and cooperated with the political cadres in order to thrive. Many accused political cadres who were also casino owners allegedly appropriated illicit money by donating them to the candidates of the ruling party to consolidate power. Meanwhile, many political cadres may have been transformed into criminals through various practices of corruption.<sup>66</sup> Same applies for outsiders who transformed into political leaders by donating illicit money into politics.<sup>67</sup> There are three types of nexus: cooperation, appropriation, and transformation.

### I. Cooperation between Casino Operators and Political Cadres

Casino operators maintained a strong relationship with the political leaders in

<sup>66</sup> "Jubo League accommodates criminals" Prothom Alo. 1 October 2019. Cited in <https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/news/202626/Jubo-League-accommodates-criminals> (Accessed 22 December 2019)

<sup>67</sup> "The meteoric rise of GK Shamim" Dhaka Tribune. 24 September 2019. Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/dhaka/2019/09/24/the-meteoric-rise-of-gk-shamim> (Accessed 19 December 2019)

order to operate successfully. As reported, casino operators were the political cadres in most cases. Other casino owners were politically influential. The cooperation between the political cadres and the casino operators enabled the condition which was favorable for the casino business.

## **2. Appropriation of Illicit Money**

A huge amount of illicit money was recovered from the raids in the anti-corruption drives. Political cadres used illicit money to endorse candidates in local and national elections. Similarly, the political outsiders appropriated illicit money in order to enter into politics. A few of them allegedly had built an ill-gotten empire by using political connections in both the leading parties of Bangladesh.<sup>68</sup>

## **3. Transformation**

A few political cadres might have or not transformed into professional money launderers with other attributes after thriving in a corrupted environment for a few years. A few of them started as dedicated political activists who later became a corrupted political cadre and sheltered criminals.<sup>69</sup> Political outsiders sometimes transform into political cadres to keep their illicit business going and maintain influence.

The casino crackdown of 2019 was one of the most unheralded events due to its shock value and subversive nature. It is one of a kind. Recently, the momentum of the anti-corruption drive has slowed down. One of the valid critics of the drive is that the scope of it was very narrow. The drives were limited to raids in the prominent sporting clubs in Dhaka where illicit gambling was going on against casino kingpins, and money launderers. The drive conducted by GOB targeted corruptions in various sectors including different wings (Jubo League, Krishak League and ward councilors) of the ruling party. The casino crackdown also uncovered the connection between the accused political cadres and the top political leaders.

The anti-corruption drive has knocked down a few cadres turned kingpins who were previously deemed 'untouchable' and were involved in the illicit gambling business. But the prior environment that allowed the nexus between corrupted political cadres and casino operators and sheltered these kingpins should be demolished. The drives need to be continued for a durable solution.

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Op.cit*, Prothom Alo. 1 October 2019.

# Major incidents of casino raids

Raid by RAB in Young  
men's club

Arrest: 142

Wonderer's Club,  
Motijheel



40 arrested from  
a casino in  
Gulistan

Raid at Golden Dhaka  
Bangladesh, Banani



Jubo League leader Khaled Mahmud  
Bhuiyan was arrested for running casino  
business

18 September 2019

GK Shamim was arrested from  
Gulshan along with his 7 bodyguards



Raid at Kalabagan Sports  
club, president was arrested

20 September 2019



Police raided at four  
sporting clubs in  
Motijheel, Dhaka

22 September 2019

Source: The Daily Star, The Daily Prothom Alo, The Daily Jugantor

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## Anti-Corruption: The Cases of India and Pakistan

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**Sharin Fatema<sup>70</sup>**

According to the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), “the tendency to misuse public power for private benefit is defined as corruption”. Undoubtedly, Corruption has become a global phenomenon. Living standards and economic conditions of the people from all over the world are massively affected by corruption.<sup>71</sup> In order to counter corruption, countries like India and Pakistan have taken several measures to leapfrog economic development. Following is a brief analysis of the anti-corruption efforts taken by India and Pakistan.

### **Overview of Anti-Graft in Pakistan**

Pakistan has witnessed political turmoil since its independence. Three military coups took place in Pakistan in 1958, 1977 and 1999.<sup>72</sup> Each time the military took over the power on the pretext of corruption charges against the elected governments. Mainly the complex bureaucratic system and low wages for the officials encouraged large scale corruption in this country. <sup>73</sup> Consequently, Pakistan is marked as a

corrupt nation mainly because of its corruption-ridden political history.

To improve the corruption situation, Pakistan enacted two anti-corruption legislation; the Prevention of Corruption Act (1947) and the National Accountability Bureau Ordinance (1999). These laws were ranked high in the Global Integrity Index 2010. However, they became futile because of ineffective implementation, lack of legislative resources, and insufficient formal legal protection for whistleblowers. Citizens of Pakistan have the Freedom of Information Ordinance 2002 (FIO) which is also inadequate to bring transparency. In Pakistan, the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) is responsible for investigating, prosecuting and raising awareness against corruption; however, the bureau has been criticized for being partisan and ineffective due to political interference. Only one Chair of the commission was able to complete his full four-year term in NAB. The absence of political will, budget cuts, and human

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<sup>70</sup> Research Data Analyst, Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO); Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka.

<sup>71</sup> Pak Hung Mo ‘Corruption and Economic Growth I’ *Journal of Comparative Economics* 29, 66–79 (2001).

<sup>72</sup> *ibid*

<sup>73</sup> *ibid*

resource gap ruined the NAB.<sup>74</sup> As a result in 2010, Pakistan ranked the lowest, 143, in the global CPI in its history because of ineffective implementation of these laws and agencies.

In 2018 Imran Khan, the current Prime Minister of Pakistan first declared crusade against corruption.<sup>75</sup> Four former Prime Ministers (Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, Yousuf Raza Gilani, Nawaz Sharif, and Raja Pervez Ashraf) and one former President (Asif Ali Zardari) were accused of major corruption charges and arrested by anti-corruption agencies. NAB watchdog filed references of corruption against four retired senior army officers, Lt. Gen. Javed Ashraf Qazi, Lt. Gen. Saeed-uz-Zafar, Maj. Gen. Hamid Hasan Butt and Brig. Akhtar Ali Baig, over a mega land scam. Two media personalities, director and chairman of Pakistan Television, Dr Shahid Masood and former PTV managing director Ataul Haq Qasmi, were arrested by anti-corruption agencies over embezzlement and forgery allegation.<sup>76</sup> NAB submitted a

report containing details of 150 mega-corruption.<sup>77</sup> Imran Khan also established an Assets Recovery Unit and introduced whistle-blower legislation to increase the effectiveness of anti-corruption drive. He is inspired by China's fight against "tigers" (corrupt officials) and India's demonetization policy to uproot corruption from Pakistan.<sup>78</sup>

On the other hand, economic growth rate has halved down during Imran Khan's one-year period in Pakistan. The country's currency lost 35 percent of its value in just one year which pushed Khan's government to reshuffle his ministerial cabinet to combat the situation. His government is also accused of abusing power to silence the opposition without any proper evidence of corruption. Media freedom was restricted as three news channels were taken off the air as they ignored

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<sup>74</sup> Transparency International 'Pakistan: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption efforts' Cited in <https://www.u4.no/publications/pakistan-overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption-efforts.pdf> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>75</sup> Zara Qaiser and Alfred M. Wu 'Can Imran Khan Really End Corruption in Pakistan?' 21 May 2019. Cited in, <https://thedi diplomat.com/2019/05/can-imran-khan-really-end-corruption-in-pakistan/>(Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>76</sup> Dawn '2018 in review: Biggest corruption scandals of the outgoing year' Cited in

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1450995>, (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>77</sup> Mian Abrar 'Long list of corruption cases to test Imran Khan's conviction' 17 August 2018. Cited in <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/08/17/long-list-of-corruption-cases-to-test-imran-khans-conviction/> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>78</sup> Zara Qaiser and Alfred M. Wu 'Can Imran Khan Really End Corruption in Pakistan?' 21 May 2019. Cited in, <https://thedi diplomat.com/2019/05/can-imran-khan-really-end-corruption-in-pakistan/>(Accessed 23 October 2019)

the restriction and covered a news conference by Ms. Sharif.<sup>79</sup>

It appears that Pakistan's present effort against corruption is ineffective as the corruption rate is increasing every year. It appears that the former government of the Pakistan was more successful in controlling corruption as the corruption rank improved with nine points, 126 to 117, in 2014. This government also maintained this improved position till 2018. However, in 2019 Pakistan's rank fall to 120 in global CIP even after the Khan government's strong position against corruption.

### **Anti-Corruption in India**

To eradicate corruption, the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru took a strategic decision to develop a socialist approach. This approach slowed the economic growth. Additionally, the opaque bureaucracy, complexity in systems and low salaries to the government employees exacerbated the corrupt system.<sup>80</sup> Government and its numerous agencies disburse funds and patronage decision also affects the citizens' life intimately.

The 1988 Prevention of Corruption Act and the 2002 Prevention of Money Laundering Act (amended in 2005) helped India to fight against corruption. At the local level, state governments have state laws that address specific aspects of corruption. Right to Information (RTI) Act 2005 is one of the critical achievements. India's high rank in the 2007 Global Integrity Index indicates its enriched law and institutions. However, there were gaps in political will to establish a law to protect whistleblowers and create effective law enforcement. In 2003 a resolution known as the 'Public Interest Disclosure' was taken by the government to protect the whistleblowers. The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) is the prime investigating agency of the central government and is generally referred as a credible institution of India. It is equipped with online complaints mechanism which guarantees the protection of whistleblowers who report corruption cases.<sup>81</sup>

Although, throughout the years India witnessed many major scams in which ministers, business professionals,

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<sup>79</sup> Taha Siddiqui 'Imran Khan's first year in office: U-turns and oppression' 27 Jul 2019. Cited in <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/imran-khan-year-office-turns-oppression-190726091846779.html> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>80</sup> Rohit Kumar 'IKAN report: The history of corruption in India' 17 October 2017. Cited in

<https://www.relocatemagazine.com/news/enterprise-using-history-to-understand-corruption-in-india>. (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>81</sup> Transparency International 'Overview of Corruption and AntiCorruption Efforts in India' Cited in <https://www.u4.no/publications/overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption-efforts-in-india.pdf> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

civil and military bureaucrats were involved. In 2002, Abdul Karim Telgi was charged for counterfeiting stamp paper in India with the amount Rs 200 billion. Investigation revealed various government departments' involvement in this wrongdoing. In that year, arms dealer Abhishek Verma's arms deals scandal broke out. He was accused of receiving USD 200 million, through a USD 4-5 billion Indian military deal involving the Indian government's purchase of six Scorpène-class submarines.<sup>82</sup> In early March 2010, Anti-Corruption Chief PJ Thomas was forced to resign by the order of Supreme Court on corruption charges. In November 2010 Ashok Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra was also forced to quit over his debate involvement in Homes for War Widows project. Sports sector was also infected with corruption as in 2010 police arrested various Commonwealth Game officials on allegation of financial irregularities. In January 2011, Congress party Head Suresh Kalmadi, the Games organizing committee Chief, was removed from his post due to his involvement in forgery. The same year,

Yeddyurappa Bharatiya, Janata Party (BJP) left the position of the Chief Minister over the allegation of his involvement in a mining business scandal. Anti-corruption report revealed that the scam cost the exchequer more than USD 3bn (£1.8bn) between 2006 and 2010.<sup>83</sup> All these incidents dropped India's rank by eight point within just one year duration (2010 to 2011). India placed 95 in 2011 which is the lowest corruption rank in this country's history.

In the same year 2011, a social activist Kisan Baburao 'Anna' first began a hunger strike against corruption that ignited a nationwide anti-corruption movement which led to the introduction of the 'Jana Lokpal Bill'.<sup>84</sup> Because of this anti-corruption movement, many major scandals such as, Abhishek Verma arms deals saw the light of judgment as CBI raided his house and arrested him with his wife on this charge in 2012.<sup>85</sup> During this time, Andhra Pradesh's Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB) launched an investigation scam "cash-for-bail" and CBI court judge, Talluri Pattabhirama

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<sup>82</sup> Shruti Kedia '8 biggest scams that put India to shame' 12 December 2017. Cited in <https://yourstory.com/2017/12/8-scams-india> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>83</sup> BBC News 'India's corruption scandals'. Cited in <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12769214> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>84</sup> Rohit Kumar 'IKAN report: The history of corruption in India' 17 October 2017. Cited in

<https://www.relocatemagazine.com/news/enterprise-using-history-to-understand-corruption-in-india> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>85</sup> Shruti Kedia '8 biggest scams that put India to shame' 12 December 2017. Cited in <https://yourstory.com/2017/12/8-scams-india> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

Rao was arrested for taking bribe to grant bail.<sup>86</sup>

In 2014, Narendra Modi was elected as the Prime Minister of India. The corruption scandal of the Congress-led government and the anti-corruption climate created by the Hazare movement helped his electoral victory. Modi announced that his government would undertake tough measures to battle corruption, likening the problem to a “disease.”<sup>87</sup> Afterwards, in 2015 India ranked its lowest, 76, in the corruption index.<sup>88</sup> In 2016, Modi demonetized the 1,000-rupee and the 500-rupee notes to get rid of black money.<sup>89</sup> He assigned a team of senior law enforcement and tax officials to launch a major swoop on shell companies. India Officials believe they are among the key vehicles for fraud and embezzlement in the country.<sup>90</sup> India however, is showing improvement in its

fight against corruption. As India’s position has improved from 38 to 41 in the index of “tiger hunt”.

On the other hand, India showed an upward trajectory in corruption. After the elections India’s rank fell in CPI in 2015 from 117 position to 120 in 2019. This evidences the prevalence of corruption in India.

Corruption is a fact of practical life and as old as human society. These two cases also depict that even with strong initiatives it is difficult for developing countries like India and Pakistan to eradicate corruption. The improvement in corruption situation fluctuated with slight gap. Therefore, as for developing countries, corruption can be controlled and maintained within a tolerable limit. Although, it seems corruption cannot be eradicated.

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<sup>86</sup> Sudhir K.S. Yadav and Sunita Chopra ‘Anti-Corruption Movements & Measures in India’ International Journal of Trade and Commerce-IIARTC July-December 2015, Volume 4, No. 2 pp. 411-422 Cited in,

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/294860412\\_Anti-Corruption\\_Movements\\_Measures\\_in\\_India](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/294860412_Anti-Corruption_Movements_Measures_in_India)

<sup>87</sup> Beina Xu ‘Governance in India: Corruption’ 4 September 2014. Cited in

<https://www.cfr.org/background/governance-india-corruption> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>88</sup> Trading Economics ‘India Corruption Rank’. Cited in <https://tradingeconomics.com/india/corruption-rank> . (Accessed 13 February 2020)

<sup>89</sup> Rohit Kumar ‘IKAN report: The history of corruption in India’ 17 October 2017. Cited in <https://www.relocatemagazine.com/news/enterprise-using-history-to-understand-corruption-in-india> (Accessed 23 October 2019)

<sup>90</sup> Yigal Chazan ‘Modi’s Bumpy Anticorruption Drive’ 22 September 2017. Cited in <https://thediplomat.com/2017/09/modis-bumpy-anticorruption-drive/>(Accessed 23 October 2019)

## Anti-Corruption Legislations: Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal, and the USA

Compiled by Marium Islam, Sharin Fatema, and Shah Mohammad Salahuddin

Theme	Bangladesh	India	Pakistan	Nepal	USA
<b>Name of the Legislation</b>	<b>Anti-corruption Commission Act, 2004</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2059 (A.D. 2002)</b>	<b>The American Anti-Corruption Act</b>
Purpose of the Legislation	To prevent corruption and its practices. To conduct inquiry and investigation for specific offences in the country and to enact other relevant matters.	An Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to the prevention of corruption.	An Act for the more effective prevention of bribery and corruption	An Act to make timely legal provisions relating to prevention of corruption for maintaining peace, convenience, financial discipline, morality and good conduct.	To remove the conflicts of interest, political bribery, ending secret money with full transparency, fix broken elections, and enforce the rules.
Definition of Corruption	Not Defined	Corruption means any gratification rather than legal remuneration.	Public servant taking gratification other than legal remuneration in respect to an official act.	"Corruption" means offences punishable under Chapter -2, section 3(1).	A gratuities conviction offered to a public official to influence in the performance of any official act.
Agency implement the Act	Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)	Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) and State Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB).	National Accountability Bureau (NAB)	The Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA)	The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

Theme	Bangladesh	India	Pakistan	Nepal	USA
<b>Name of the Legislation</b>	<b>Anti-corruption Commission Act, 2004</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2059 (A.D. 2002)</b>	<b>The American Anti-Corruption Act</b>
Functions of the Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Inquiry and investigation into the offences.</li> <li>- File and conduct cases.</li> <li>- Inquire into any allegation of corruption.</li> <li>- Perform any duty entrusted to the commission by anti-corruption laws.</li> <li>- Review the measures for preventing corruption and recommend to the President.</li> <li>- Carry out research on the prevention of corruption.</li> <li>- Promote the values of honesty and mass awareness against corruption.</li> <li>- Arrange seminars, symposiums, workshops etc.</li> <li>- Identify the sources of different types of corruption and present to the President.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Filing cases of corruption and fraud committed by public servants.</li> <li>- Help fight cyber and high technology crime.</li> <li>- Support state police organizations and law enforcement agencies</li> <li>- Inquiry into Economic crimes, including bank frauds, financial frauds, Import Export &amp; Foreign Exchange violations etc.</li> <li>- Prevention of Special Crimes, such as cases of terrorism, bomb blasts, sensational homicides, kidnapping for ransom and crimes committed by the mafia/the underworld.</li> <li>- Play a lead role in the war against national and transnational organized crime</li> <li>- Uphold Human Rights, protect the environment, arts, antiques and heritage</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To undertake any necessary prevention and awareness, in all means,</li> <li>- To enforce its operations against the economic terrorism and financial crimes.</li> <li>- Investigating, conducting inquiries, and issuing arrest warrants against the individuals suspected in the financial mismanagement, terrorism, corruptions and directs cases to accountability courts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prevention</li> <li>- Investigation</li> <li>- Prosecution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Investigating violations of federal law by public officials.</li> <li>- Overseeing the nationwide investigation of allegations of fraud.</li> <li>- Combating the threat of public corruption along the nation's borders and points of entry of alien smuggling, espionage, and terrorism.</li> <li>-Addressing environmental crime, election fraud, and matters concerning the federal government procurement, contracts, and federally funded programs.</li> </ul>

Theme	Bangladesh	India	Pakistan	Nepal	USA
<b>Name of the Legislation</b>	<b>Anti-corruption Commission Act, 2004</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2059 (A.D. 2002)</b>	<b>The American Anti-Corruption Act</b>
	<p>- Inquire into corruption, investigate, file cases and determine the process of approval by the commission.</p> <p>- Perform any other work considered necessary for the prevention of corruption.</p>				
Special Power of Agency	<p>a) Summons witnesses, ensure their appearance and interrogate them under oath.</p> <p>b) Discover and present any document.</p> <p>c) Take evidence under oath.</p> <p>d) Call for public records or its certified copies from any court office.</p> <p>e) Issue warrants for the interrogation of witnesses.</p> <p>f) In conformance to Section 19 (3) of the ACC Act, 2004, "Any person obstructing an official legally</p>	CBI can instigate the members of Parliament	<p>a) Power to freeze property</p> <p>b) Power to call for information</p> <p>c) Can request for mutual legal assistance to foreign countries</p> <p>d) power to seek assistance from any department of Federal government</p> <p>e) the Chairman have the power ask to arrestees</p> <p>f) Tender of pardon full or conditional to accomplice</p>	Constitution of Nepal has empowered CIAA to investigate and probe cases against the persons holding any public office and their associates who are indulged in the abuse of authority by way of corruption.	

Theme	Bangladesh	India	Pakistan	Nepal	USA
<b>Name of the Legislation</b>	<b>Anti-corruption Commission Act, 2004</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2059 (A.D. 2002)</b>	<b>The American Anti-Corruption Act</b>
	empowered by the commission is a punishable offence is liable to a term of imprisonment of not more than three (3) years or a fine or both.				
Power of Government on Agency	If it is difficult to apply and execute this law and responsibilities of the commission, the government can explain, clarify and directs in accordance with other rules and regulations.	The law allows the agency to function outside (without Delhi and Union territories) only with the consent of the state.	Government may make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Ordinance.	His Majesty's Government may frame necessary rules for implementing the objectives of this Act.	
Process of appeal	Notwithstanding anything in the Code of Criminal Procedure commission approval is must before filing cases under this law. Then a copy of commission approval letter shall be submitted to the court.	All cases under the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988 are tried by Special Judges who are appointed by the central or state government.			
Opportunity to Appeal	During the inquiry of corruption, the commission allow hearing the person		All Appeals against the final judgments filed before the High Court will be heard by a		

Theme	Bangladesh	India	Pakistan	Nepal	USA
<b>Name of the Legislation</b>	<b>Anti-corruption Commission Act, 2004</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2059 (A.D. 2002)</b>	<b>The American Anti-Corruption Act</b>
	involved in the allegations.		Bench of not less than two judges.		
Time Limit	Corruption cases are trial able only after filing the FIR with Police Station.	The trial will be completed by a special judge within two years. But 4 years max for the trial.	Any Inquiry shall be completed within maximum period of 75 days.		The Supreme Court decided a five-year statute of limitations from the date of the violation
Punishment	Prison terms ranging from a minimum of three years to a maximum of ten years imprisonment.	a) For public servants maximum 5- 7 years, Minimum 6 months. b) For recurring offence maximum 7-10 years and minimum 2-5 years with or without fine.	a)For public servants imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years or with fine or with both	Maximum 8-10 years Minimum 3 months	a)Criminal Penalties for corporations: \$25 million. for individuals: up to \$5 million a maximum imprisonment of 20 years for each offense b) Civil Penalties for corporation \$75,000 to \$725,000 and for individual \$7,500 to \$150,000.
Amendments	the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1958 (XL of 1958)	a)The Anti-Corruption Laws Act, 1967 b) The Anti-Corruption Laws Ordinance, 1967 (3 of 1967) C) The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2018 no. 16 of 2018	The Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Act, 2017	The Revenue (Investigation and Control) Act, 2052	The Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Act, 2018

Theme	Bangladesh	India	Pakistan	Nepal	USA
<b>Name of the Legislation</b>	<b>Anti-corruption Commission Act, 2004</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947</b>	<b>The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2059 (A.D. 2002)</b>	<b>The American Anti-Corruption Act</b>
Exemption		CBI is exempted from the provisions of the Right to Information Act.			The bribery provision contains an exemption
Limitations	The Sarkari Chakori Ain Bill 2018 limits ACC power to arrest corrupt government staff.	Mizoram, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal have withdrawn their general consent to CBI to function within their territories.			
Major and Controversial cases	- 'Zia Charitable Trust' and 'Zia Orphanage Trust' Case against former PM Khaleda Zia, - Niko Resources Corruption Case against Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, - Novo Theatre Graft Cases - Padma Bridge Scandal. In 2015, the ACC investigated Padma Bridge Scandal case. After 53 days' of investigation, ACC found nobody to be guilty. The commission was criticized for being influenced by the government.	- 2G Spectrum Case. - Ketan Desai Case, 2008 - Noida double murder case - Bhanwari Devi murder case - Satyam scandal - Bofors scandal - Hawala scandal, - Sister Abhaya, - Sant Singh Chatwal case	- Nawaz Sharif found guilty in two corruption references (judge got blackmailed) - Ashiana Iqbal scam, - Fake accounts and money laundering case against Zardari - Paragon House Society Case - Pakistan cricket spot-fixing scandal. - Radical political shifts in the conduct of the NAB have occurred as transfers of power took place.	- Case against three members of the Tax Settlement Commission (TSC) at the Special Court - Alleged police mishandling in the Nirmala Panta rape and murder case. - The Supreme Court criticized the institution for its practice of 'plea bargain' and described it as 'institutionalized corruption'	- White House FBI files controversy - Counter Intelligence Program, 1996 - United States campaign finance controversy, and Hilary Clinton email controversy

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## Commentary on Casino-Cadre Corruption Nexus



**Iftakharuzzaman<sup>91</sup>**

The on-going anti-Corruption drive against some ringleaders of casinos is in some ways unprecedented and has raised wide public interest and expectations. The booties of illegality around casinos as well as other instances of abuse of politically linked power by a section of the student and youth cadres are shocking and awesome, though not surprising at all. The way corruption and its impunity have been allowed to be institutionalized to a level of state capture, this was inevitable.

More importantly, what we have seen are just a tip of the iceberg, at best a few syndromes of a much deeper and multi-layered cancerous disease caused by a long-nourished feature of our political culture which is a

commonplace wisdom by now. The wisdom is that possession of power, status or identity through direct or indirect, or even fabricated political links is a mandate to abuse power for private gain and personal enrichment. This perceived mandate is treated as legitimate, unrestricted and all embracing, as it has been blessed, protected and promoted by beneficiaries among power-holders and duty-bearers transcending the political space, be that business, administration, law enforcement and indeed the whole set of institutional capacity of the state structure.

Against this backdrop the Head of the Government and leader of the ruling party made three extremely meaningful pledges: a) zero tolerance

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The interview was recorded by Ashique Mahmud, RDA, CGS and transcription assisted by Hazera Khanam, RDA, CGS.

against corruption; b) nobody will be spared; and c) cleanse own house. What has happened so far may be broadly perceived to be in the framework given by her. The main challenge, however, lies in carrying these forward towards reality without fear or favour. The extent to which it will be truly implemented depends on the capacity and commitment of those who are entrusted and authorized to do so, many of whom, ironically enough, are among the beneficiaries, promoters and protectors of the syndicated network of corruption.

To recall, the drive started with the removal of two leaders of the ruling party's student front in Jahangirnagar University. What remains unanswered is whether the removal per se is enough, or whether the two, who by the way were placed in their positions by power bearers that be, will be brought to justice through independent and credible investigations which can only determine who were the others especially in the supply side of the illegal transaction, where from they got the money, under what terms and conditions.

That the casino business flourished in Dhaka cannot be any enigma for those who were already authorized, and reawaken for the drive, to ensure rule of law and especially accountability of those involved. It is no

petty crime that escaped police attention by chance. It thrived just before the eyes of the law enforcement agencies, administration, customs and port authorities, political leaders and public representatives of various levels, and many more. What kind of zero tolerance will it be if any of the multiplicity of such stakeholders in this protected business of corruption are spared of accountability!

Collusive corruption in public procurement is nothing new in Bangladesh nor anywhere else. However, the revelation of instances of unabashedly monstrous enrichment by monopolizing public procurement thanks to political linkage raises the question if and to what extent stakeholders in the collusion, particularly proverbial godfathers will, or actually can, be held to account. A cursory look at the list of top clients of such procurement mafia will indicate the extent of challenges of extending accountability beyond the syndromes.

The other dimension of abuse of politically linked power is criminalization of student politics brutally manifested by the killing of the BUET student Abrar Fahad. The brutality was a cruel manifestation of intolerance of the constitutionally guaranteed exercise of freedom of expression. The intolerance has been ruthlessly nourished and protected by criminalized politics. As

spontaneous response to the tragedy, public focus and opinion have been visibly concentrated a great deal on the disastrous impact of partisan and criminalized student politics on non-partisan student activism. The obvious entry point for remedy was therefore found in banning student politics which the BUET authority has resorted to with the blessing of the Government. But, is the simple ban of student politics as such the right prescription? Lessons from the history of student politics that the nation takes pride of do not corroborate justification of such ban.

The key factors that led to Abrar's death do not confirm the ban to be the solution. It is at best an example of knee-jerk reaction and may indeed be designed to chop off the head for headache. It is in fact no more than treating the syndrome of the disease rather than the disease itself. The fundamental right of non-partisan general students to free speech appears to have become the easy scapegoat, as the ban may turn out soon to be a convenient justification to deny the students their right to raise voice and independent views as responsible citizens, exactly the cause for which Abrar had to pay by his life. On the other hand, whatever may have happened so far in the name of replacing leaderships and committees, there is no indication yet that the right lesson has been taken – delink student and youth

politics from deep-rooted criminalization in mainstream political space, which has functioned as the role model for replication by the youth and students in their own way.

Going back to the Prime Minister's pledges, if the overhaul (*shuddhi ovijan*) has to make sense, if zero tolerance against corruption is to be established by ensuring that nobody is spared, it must involve a thorough cleansing of the political space in the form of a paradigm shift in political and institutional behaviour. This is easier said than done in the context. Political parties have little left of genuine characteristics of political institutions representing political values and ideals to determine what they do or don't. The same is true for all other institutions of the national integrity system identified in the national Integrity Strategy adopted in 2012. Each of these institutions has been pushed to the edge of dysfunctionality, except perhaps the executive which has been exposed to an unsustainable level of concentration of power.

In this context, it will be worthwhile to recall what the Father of the Nation declared to be his strategy to fight corruption on 25th of March 1975, which is coincidentally reflected almost in totality in his daughter's above-mentioned pronouncements, except that he had a fourth component – a

clarion call for social movement against corruption. He called upon everyone to join the movement, but asked the students and youth to lead it. Whether or not a student and youth-led social

movement against corruption can be expected to sustain itself in the present context is anyone's guess, especially if the experience of Jahangirnagar University is any indicator.

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## Annex:

Some definitional clarification according to BPO Codebook.

**Gunfight.** Shootout opposing the police or security forces to criminals, militants or other irregular forces that do not match the definition of a non-state armed group.

**Clash.** Two-sided violence between groups, outside of the context of war or insurgency. *Example: supporters of rival political parties fight each other.*

**Assault.** One-sided violence by an individual or small group against another individual or small group. *Example: stabbing, shooting of someone by a perpetrator*

**Fight.** Two-sided violence between individuals or small groups. *Example: brawl between 3-4 people.*

**Sexual assault.** One-sided sexual violence, such as rape or attempted rape, by an individual or small group against another individual or small group.

**Destruction of property.** One-sided violence perpetrated with the intent of damaging property. *Examples: vandalism, arson.*

**Mob violence (large group assault).** One-sided violence by a mob or large group against an individual or a comparatively small and/or defenseless group. *Examples: lynching of a thief, looting of shops and houses owned by a religious minority.*