

Asian International Justice Initiative (AIJI), a project of East-West Center and UC Berkeley War Crimes Studies Center*

I. OVERVIEW

Proceedings in Tribunal 1 continued to center on the Defense's Closing Arguments in the *Gholam Azam* case this week, with counsel completing their submissions regarding

factual issues and Charge 5. Senior Defense counsel Abdur Razzaq is scheduled to present arguments on legal issues and Charges 1-4 next week. In the *Salauddin Qader Chowdhury* case the Defense crossexamined Prosecution witnesses 22

TRIBUBAL 2: CASES IN SESSION THIS WEEK

- GHOLAM AZAM
- Salauddin Qader Chowdhury

and 23. Additionally, The Tribunal heard Chowdhury's Defense application for police escort to the Tribunal on hartal days.

In the *Kamaruzzaman* case, Defense witness 5 completed providing testimony, and the Prosecution began Closing Arguments. The Tribunal also heard testimony from Prosecution witness 17, the Investigating Officer, in the *Mujahid* case.

TRIBUBAL 2: CASES IN SESSION THIS WEEK

- KAMARUZZAMAN
- MUJAHID

The Tribunal was in recess on 26 March 2013 in honor of Bangladesh's independence day. Additionally, opposition parties declared hartals on the 27th and 28th of March. Therefore our coverage of

those days is gathered from media sources as well as discussions with the Defense and Prosecution. Our researchers are unable to attend proceedings on hartal days due to security concerns.

II. TRIBUNAL 1: DETAILED WEEKLY CASE SUMMARIES

CHIEF PROSECUTOR VS. GHOLAM AZAM

The Defense concluded their summation of factual issues, and submitted their arguments on Charge 5. Senior Defense counsel Abdur Razzaq was scheduled to begin Defense arguments on legal issues and Charges 1-4 on 27 March, but he requested adjournment instead for two days.

Defense Closing Argumentsⁱ

Prosecution Witness 16 – The Investigating Officer

The Defense submitted that the Investigating Officer, Prosecution witness 16, had been unable to produce evidence showing a direct connection between Gholam Azam and local branches of the Peace Committee. The Investigating Officer admitted that he did not find any directive or order to local Peace Committees that bore the signature of Gholam Azam. The witness also admitted that there was no resolution delegating Gholam Azam the power to cancel or suspend a local level Peace Committee. The Defense noted that the Investigating Officer was unable to specify who had authority within the Peace Committee to issue directions or orders to the local level committees. The Investigating Officer claimed that directions and orders from the Central Peace Committee were communicated to the local level Peace Committees by newspapers, television and radio broadcast, and that the local level Peace Committees were required to follow the directions. However, the Defense noted that the witness had admitted that he did not know the broadcasting range of Dhaka television stations, and acknowledged that due to poor communication there was often a delay in orders reaching newspapers in remote areas like Taknaf and Tetulia. The witness also admitted that he had no evidence as to whether the Daily Shangram or the Daily Paigam was distributed in remote Patuakhali.

The Defense argued that Exhibit-479 did not support the Investigating Officer's testimony or the Prosecution's claims regarding the intention behind the formation of the Peace Committee. The Defense also questioned the reliability of the Prosecution's claims, given the fact that different newspapers alternately reported that Khaja Khairuddin or Mawlana Farid Uddin was the President of the Peace Committee.

Defense Witness 1

In summarizing key points of Defense witness 1's testimony, the Defense noted that the witness had testified that Gholam Azam used the words 'miscreants' to refer to the armed opposition, not to freedom fighters or civilians as alleged by Prosecution witnesses.

Documentary Evidence

Defense called the court's attention to a video clip (marked Exhibit-1) of a talk show 'Shoja Kotha' aired by Desh TV on 14 May 2012, wherein the Minister Kamrul Islam and M.A Hasan clearly stated that the Pakistani Army had command responsibility.

Additionally in Exhibit-2, a video clip of a program 'Ronogoner Dinguli' aired by BTV on 20 April 2012, Shahidul Huq Mama (a witness in another ICT case) claimed that key documents relating to the plan for the massacre of the intellectual community were seized from the house of a Pakistani minister. The Defense questioned why those documents were not presented before the Tribunal, despite being in the custody of government. The Defense also questioned why the Prosecution did not bring Shahidul Huq Mama to testify about the killing of the intellectuals.

The Defense argued that the Prosecution had failed to produce a single document showing that the Razakars, Al-Badr, and Al-shams forces worked under a the command of a single person or entity. The Defense further alleged that the Prosecution failed to produce any evidence showing that Gholam Azam had close relations with the Pakistani leader Bhutto. The Defense noted that Exhibit-3, submitted by the prosecution, shows that Gholam Azam requested that President Yeahya withdraw press censorship. The Defense also pointed out that the Investigating Officer had admitted that widespread censorship did in fact exist during the war. The Defense argued that 1) given the levels of censorship Gholam Azam's comments in the press could not be trusted as reliable evidence and 2) the fact that President Yeahya did not agree to lift censorship as per Gholam Azam's request shows that that Gholam Azam did not have superior responsibility in relation to the Pakistani Army or government. Additionally, the Defense argued a single meeting between the President and Gholam Azam could not be used to prove that the Defendant had superior authority.

The Defense claimed that the head of the Razakars was a separate entity, and that Gholam Azam had no command or control over their forces. While the Prosecution claimed that most of the members of the Razakars forces were from Jamaat-e-Islami and Islami Chhatra Shangha parties, the Defense argued that they failed to provide documentary evidence in support of these allegations. The Investigation Officer admitted that he had no clear knowledge about the formation of the auxiliary forces.

Charge 5

Regarding Charge 5, the Defense noted that the Prosecution's evidence for this charge centered on the testimony of Prosecution witness 13, the wife of victim Shiru Mia, and the out-of-court statement of Mohsin Ali Khan, which was accepted as evidence under section 19(2) of the ICT Act 1973. The Defense argued that Prosecution documents allege that the killing of Shiru Mia occurred in Comilla, while witnesses contend that it occurred in Brahmanbaria. Mizanul Islam noted that witness 13 had claimed during cross-examination that the letter she carried from Mohsin Ali to his brother Fazlur Rahman contained two lines of instruction that Shiru Mia and his son should be freed. Prosecution witness 13 had further claimed that she heard about the contents of the letter from Fazlul Rahman, who is now deceased. Mizanul Islam submitted that if the letter was from Gholam Azam, and instructed the captors that they should spare the life of Shiru Mia and his son and Peyara Miah, then the fact that they were killed goes directly against the Prosecution's claim that Gholam Azam had superior and command responsibility

over the Razzakar forces. Additionally the Defense argued that it was contradictory to charge Gholam Azam with the killing of Shiru Miah if he wrote a letter trying to save both their lives. Counsel noted that Prosecution witness 13 did not read the letter herself, and that it cannot be proved that she heard about the content of the letters from Fazlur Rahman, because he is deceased.

CHIEF PROSECUTOR VS. SALAUDDIN QADER CHOWDHURY

Application for Police Escort

Senior Defense counsel Ahsanul Huq Hena filed an application seeking a police escort to and from the Tribunal during days when hartals or other political unrest present security concerns. He requested that his car be accompanied by a full time uniformed police gunman. On 25 March, the Tribunal heard arguments in support of the application. Hena represents Defendants Salauddin Qader Chowdhury, Mobarak Hossain alias Mobarak Ali, and Abdul Alim. Counsel submitted that he is does not belong to any political party, and comes to court in a professional context. He claimed that he has been followed and threatened in offensive language by people outside the court on his way to the Tribunal. Because he resides far away from the Tribunal and has to cross several areas to come to the Tribunal, Hena emphasized that it was unsafe and troublesome for him to attend proceedings during hartal days.

The Prosecution supported the application, and stated that if the provisions of law (he did not make it clear which law) allowed Prosecution counsel to receive police protection, the Defense Counsel should be similarly assisted. The Tribunal verbally granted the Defense application, and asked Prosecutor Sultan Mahmud Simon to communicate the Tribunal's approval to the police. The Tribunal also scheduled 27 March as the date for passing its order regarding this application.

Cross-examination of Prosecution Witness 22ⁱⁱ

The Defense cross-examined Anil Baran Dhar, drawing the Tribunal's attention to contradictions in the witness' testimony. The witness claimed to have told the Investigating Officer that Fazlul Qader Chowdhury and his supporters, including Salauddin Qader Chowdhury, entered Dhar's village at 1 or 1:30 pm on 13 April 1971, while chanting pro-Pakistan slogans. According to the witness, they shot at Dhar's group, and Dhar lost consciousness after being shot in his left hand and the back of his chest. The Defense attempted to cast doubt on the witness' claims he had gone to his maternal uncle's house (located at Ishapur, Fatikhsori) after the incident and received medical treatment at the hospital.

The witness testified that another individual named Monindra Lal Dhar accompanied his father, his uncle and him during the attack, and was most likely beside him when the Pakistani Army began firing at close range. Dhar claimed that he regained consciousness at 3 or 4 pm, and did not see anyone other than the three corpses next to him. Dhar fled the scene, and went to his maternal uncle's house, accompanied by his uncle Jothindra.

He reached to his maternal uncle's house (located at Fatiksori) on 15 or 16 April 1971. When questioned about the presence of freedom fighters at the J.K Memorial Hospital and Chandraghona Christian Memorial Hospital Dhar testified that he knew of both these hospitals, but did not know whether injured freedom fighters were treated there in 1971. Before going to the Chittagong Hospital for treatment of his own injuries, Dhar reportedly stayed at his uncle's house for about a month and a half. He testified that his uncle's neighbors were aware of his injury.

In cross-examination, Defense challenged the witnesses ability to accurately recall details. For instance they asked the witness to recount the route he took from his uncle's house to the hospital and the procedure for gaining entrance to the hospital. Dhar testified that the doctor was his uncle's neighbor, and helped him to gain admission to the hospital. He stated that he received treatment for 20 or 21 days. He did not remember whether x-rays were taken, nor did he know the name of the ward master, surgeon or the head of the department. Although he does not remember whether he told the Investigating Officer that he was shot in his back and left hand, and did not receive a discharge letter from the Chittagong Medical College, Dhar denied that he was fabricating the story, or lying about receiving treatment.

Dhar previously testified that he filed a case at the Raozan Police Station on 5 April 1972 under section 148/149/302/34, accusing 16 persons, including Salauddin Qader Chowdhury and his father Fazlul Qader Chowdhury. During cross-examination the witness admitted that he could not remember whether a Charge Sheet had been issued against Fazlul Qader Chowdhury and Salauddin Qader Chowdhury. He said that after filing the case he did not follow the case's progress. Dhar claimed he did not know whether other involved parties filed a case or cases against Salauddin Qader Chowdhury as well.

Anil denied that he had been beaten by Mahbub and others during the 1979 election after distributing abusive leaflets against Salauddin Qader Chowdhury. He admitted that Salauddin Qader Chowdhury did not lose any election in Raozan. He said that he did not know whether anyone by the name of Anil Barn Dhar died on 13 April 1971 in South Banikpara. He said that he did not receive a death certificate for his father from the Union Council and further testified that he never saw the death certificate of Monindra Pal Dhar or Nepal Dhar.

Dhar denied that the Prosecution instructed him to show the court his amputated hand and the scar from his alleged bullet injury, and to lie about the fact that his back injury was actually sustained during a childhood fall from a tree. Dhar denied that Abdullah Al Harun told him to file a case in 1972 and denied that he came from India to provide false testimony at the request of Profullo Shing and the Hindu, Buddha, Christian Oikko Parishad. He also denied that his father, Upendra Lal Dhar, Manindra Lal Dhar and Nepal Chandra went to India and did not return. He asserted that his accusations against Salauddin Qader Chowdhury are true.

Cross-examination of Prosecution Witness 23ⁱⁱⁱ

The Defense conducted the cross-examination of Prosecution witness 23, Bano Gopal Das. The Defense sought to highlight inconsistencies in the witness' testimony. In particular, he admitted that he wrote an article in which he said that Abdul Wazed, Razaul Karim and Fazlu Ostad had been killed during the attack on the Gomdandi Pakastani army camp, whereas the Prosecution has claimed that Wazed was taken by Salauddin Qader Chowdhury to Goods Hill to be tortured and killed. The witness denied changing his story and claimed that he was mistaken when he wrote the article. Bano also admitted that he had not mentioned in his writing that he had heard from Razakars that Wazed was taken to Goods Hill, but Bano testified that he heard this information from an informer, Ahmed Shafa.

The Defense cast doubt on Bano's claims. Under questioning, the witness admitted that he did not know whether anyone from his group followed the motor vehicle that took Wazed away in order to confirm where he was taken. He also acknowledged that Wazed's parents did not visit the site of the attack after hearing of Wazed's abduction. He testified that he heard from others that Wazed's body was found in the field in front of the CO office. He also testified that he did not hear whether any one from the Shen camp attempted to recover Wazed's body.

The Defense questioned Bano's knowledge about Goods Hill and the Chowdhury family. He said that after the Liberation War he heard that there had been a camp of Pakistani police at Goods Hill. He said that he did not know whether the Pakistani army used the circuit house to detain those freedom fighters and supporters of the liberation war captured in the city, while using the Army camp at the Stadium for those captured outside the city. Bano further testified that he did not know whether Yeahya Khan had a bad relationship with the Fazlul Qader Chowdhury (father of Salauddin Qader Chowdhury). He also does not know whether Yeahya froze the funds of the Convention Muslim League before the elections or not. He denied that during 1971 Salauddin Qader Chowdhury and his father were not involved in anti-Liberation War activities.

The Defense sought to cast suspicion on the witness' decision to comve forward now, but not to file a case directly after the incident. Bano acknowledged that he did not file a case regarding the incident, and that he did not know whether the family members of Wazed filed any case. He also testified that he didn't know if any family member of the alleged 300-350 victims killed at Sakhpur or Kadurkhil filed a case against Salauddin Qader Chowdhury. He denied that the excavation of the alleged mass graves began after this case commenced.

Bano acknowledged that he himself did not interrogate the Razakar members Shiraj and Zakir, who allegedly provided the information about Wazed's torture and murder. The Defense also attempted to undermine bano's testimony by alleging that he was not a freedom fighter. Bano denied that he did not participate in the Liberation War in 1971

and instead actually stayed in Aholla Darbar Sharif during the nine months of conflict. He denied that he had agreed to give false testimony in return for money or that the Hindu, Buddhist and Christian Parishad and Moinuddin Khan Badal pressured him to give false testimony before the Tribunal.

III. TRIBUNAL 2: DETAILED WEEKLY CASE SUMMARIES

CHIEF PROSECUTOR VS. KAMARUZZAMAN

Testimony of Defense Witness 5

The Tribunal finished hearing Abdur Rahim, the last Defense witness in the Kamaruzzaman case. During his examination-in-chief, the witness testified that he is the son of Late Didar Ali, a former a freedom fighter. Rahim testified that he served as the General Secretary of Shecchashebok Bahini (Volunteer Forces), which was formed after the Liberation War, although he admitted that that he does not hold any certificate or document stating that he was a freedom fighter. Mr. Rahim testified that he had never heard Kamaruzzaman's name referenced in connection to the Al-Badr or Rajakar forces in the Mymensingh District.

On cross-examination, the Prosecution asked the witness whether he was aware that there were forces both in support of and against Bangladeshi independence in 1971. He replied that he was aware of that fact, however he later contradicted this initial statement, by saying that he did not know that there were Rajakar and Al-Badr forces during the Liberation War. The Prosecution concluded their cross-examination by suggesting that the witness came to give false evidence in support of Kamaruzzaman and that he was actively concealing the truth. The witness rejected this suggestion.

Prosecution's Closing Arguments

This week the Prosecution began their Closing Arguments in the *Kamaruzzaman* case. The Prosecution began with an historical overview, and stated that it is widely known that Defendants Professor Gholam Azam, Motiur Rahman Nizami, and Muhammad Kamaruzzaman, played a role in planning and committing atrocities. The Tribunal asked the Prosecution address the charges and evidence instead of presenting history and facts of "common knowledge."

Charge 1: Torture and murder of Badiuzzaman

The Prosecution began by summarizing its case for Charge 1: the alleged torture and murder of Badiuzzaman on 29-30 June 1971 at Ahammad Nagar Army Camp. The Prosecution noted that Prosecution witnesses 4 and 6 provided supporting testimony for the charge. The Prosecution acknowledged that both witnesses provided hearsay testimony, and in fact, the testimony of Prosecution witness 4 involves multiple hearsay (meaning that the information was relayed through more than one person before being received by the witness). However, Prosecution witness 6 additionally provided some

circumstantial evidence that could help corroborate the hearsay testimony. Prosecution witness 6 testified that Kamaruzzaman had accompanied the group which had abducted the victim, and further, the Prosecution argued that they have evidence showing that the Accused led that group. The Judges allowed the Prosecution to make this argument, but the Bench clarified that such evidence would not be of high significance, because Charge 1 against Kamaruzzaman is not framed under Section 4(2) of the ICT Act of 1973, which provides for liability due to command responsibility.

Charge 2: Inhuman Treatment of Pro-Liberation Intellectual Syed Abdul Hannan

The Prosecution summarized the evidence submitted in support of Charge 2, for the inhuman treatment of Syed Abdul Hannan in mid-May 1971 in the town of Sherpur. The Prosecution noted that Prosecution witnesses 2, 3 and 14 provided testimony in support of the charge. Prosecution witness 3 testified that he heard that Kamaruzzaman and one Major Aiyub had been rude in their behavior toward the victim, and that they had forcibly shaved his head. Prosecution witness 3's testimony was hearsay, but was corroborated by Prosecution eye-witnesses 2 and 14. However, the testimony of these witnesses diverged regarding the timing of the alleged incident. Whereas the Prosecution alleges that the incident happened in mid-May, Prosecution witness 14 said that he witnessed it after being released from a camp in the month of Ramadan. The judges noted that if the event occurred in the month of Ramadan, it must have taken place after November in 1971. The judge questioned how there could be such a significant discrepancy between the testimonies of the witnesses. The judge also noted that that similar questions would arise with regard to Charge 5. The Prosecution was unable to respond. The Prosecutor also failed to respond to judicial questioning as to whether there was any corroborating evidence to support the claim that the incident took place in May.

Charge 3: Shohagpur massacre and rape

Under Charge 3, the Prosecution alleged that Kamaruzzaman was involved in the planning and commission of multiple rapes and the killing of 120 people at Shohagpur Village on 25 July 1971. The Prosecution noted that Prosecution witnesses 1, 2, 10, 11, 12 and 13 provided support for the charge. Prosecution witnesses 1 and 2 testified confirming the incident. However, the judges intervened, noting that the event has not been disputed by the Defense, so the relevant question is whether the Prosecution can establish the involvement of the Accused. The Judges also observed that the testimony was inconsistent as to the number of alleged victims. The Charge Framing Order estimated 164 victims, whereas Prosecution witness 10 stated that 245 people had been killed. The Prosecutor explained that it was difficult to ascertain the exact number of victims in the case of such a large-scale massacre.

Further discrepancies were observed by the Tribunal in the testimony of Prosecution witness 11, who claimed she had heard from many about the involvement of Kamaruzzaman, and was certain that Kamaruzzaman had killed her husband. However, as the witness had not previously seen the accused, the judges questioned how she could positively identify Kamaruzzaman in the dock as the perpetrator. Additionally,

Prosecution witness 12, who was a rape victim, testified about the attack. The Prosecution claimed that the Accused was aware of and involved in her assault, but the judges questioned whether the Prosecution could offer any corroborating evidence to support the claims of witness 11 and 12.

Charge 4: Killing of Golam Mostafa

The Prosecution has alleged that Kamaruzzaman was involved in the killing of Golam Mostafa on 23 August 1971, at Serih Bridge, Gridda Narayanpur village, Mostafabag, Sherpur. The Prosecution submitted that testimony from Prosecution witnesses 2, 5 and 14 supported the charge. Golam Mostafa was allegedly taken from *College Morh* on Mostafabag Thana Road and taken to Serih Bridge where he was killed. Another victim by the name of Abul Kasem was taken with Golam Mostafa and was shot, but he managed to escape by jumping into the river flowing under the bridge.

Charge 5: Torture and Killing of 8 civilians

The Prosecution has alleged that Kamaruzzaman was involved in the torture of Md Liakat and Mujibur Rahman Panu, who were allegedly apprehended at their home in Chakbazar by Islami Chatra Shangha members, and then tortured in the Banthia Building in Raghunathpur Bazar. Later, 11 detainees were allegedly taken to a ditch behind the Ahammad Nagar UP office, where 8 of them were shot to death. Liakat and Panu, who were not killed, testified in support of the charge as Prosecution witnesses 7 and 14 respectively. As with Charge 2, the judges noted that there were significant discrepancies between the witness' testimonies regarding the timing of the incident.

Charge 6: Torture and killing of Mr Tunu

Under Charge 6, Kamaruzzaman is accused of instructing Al-Badr members to abduct and kill one Mr. Tunu in November of 1971. Tunu and an individual by the name of Jahangir were allegedly abducted from Golki Bari, and taken to the District Council Daak Bungalow, where Tunu was tortured and then killed. Prosecution witness 1, Hamidul Haque, testified that he had heard that Kamaruzzaman played a leadership role in the killing of Tunu. The Prosecution acknowledged that he is a hearsay witness.

Charge 7: Killing of 6 Unarmed Civilians with Bayonets

Charge 7 alleges that, on the night of November 27th (which was during the month of Ramadan) in 1971, the accused along with 15-20 armed Al-Badr members raided the house of one Tepa Mia in Golapjan Road, Mymensingh, and abducted him along with his son Zahurul Islam Dara. The two men were allegedly first detained in the Al-Badr camp at the District Council Daak Bungalow, and later taken to the bank of the Brahmaputra river along with five others. They were then lined up and shot. All but Tepa Mia died. Three witnesses, including Prosecution witness 9 and 15, testified in support of this charge. Mr. Dabir was an eye-witness to the detention of Dara and Tepa Mia. The other two witnesses provided hearsay evidence.

During the two hartal days this week, the senior Defense counsel was not present, so the Accused was represented by only one junior team member. At the end of the day's proceedings on Wednesday, Kamaruzzaman requested that the Tribunal postpone the proceedings on the following hartal day (Thursday). The Court adjourned the case until Sunday, 31 March 2013, and scheduled a hearing of the Prosecution's submissions on legal points involved in the case.

Demeanor of the Court

Throughout the proceedings this week, particularly on 25 March, there were numerous instances when the judges were visibly dissatisfied with the Prosecution's responses to their questions and interventions. At one point, the judges warned the lead Prosecutor that he needed to better prepare, stating that if the Prosecution fails to do so and the case is not proved satisfactorily, the court will discharge the Accused, irrespective of any criticism they may face from talk shows or the media. The Judges reiterated that the duty of the Tribunal is to deliver fair justice to all.

The Prosecutor explained the lack of preparation by claiming that there had been a computer system failure, and therefore they had not been able to prepare to the desired level. The Judges commented that a day of system failure is an unacceptable explanation. The Judges were also critical of the Prosecutor's remarks that leniency should be shown because the evidence in this case is more than 40 years old.

CHIEF PROSECUTOR VS. ALI AHSAN MUHAMMAD MUJAHID

Tribunal 2 convened briefly on 28 March to hear the case against Mujahid. The Investigation Officer of the case, Mr. Abdur Razzak, testified as Prosecution witness 17. He summarized his findings, and stated that the Accused played a central role in the formation of anti-liberation forces, and in their actions during the Liberation War. He referenced various documents collected during the investigation process that allegedly incriminate Mujahid. He also mentioned two regular criminal cases that were previously filed at the Keraniganj Police Station and Pallabi Police Stations respectively. He stated that the First Information Reports from those cases also support the Prosecution's case against Mujahid.

*

^{*} AIJI is a collaborative project between the East-West Center, in Honolulu, and the War Crimes Studies Center, at the University of California, Berkeley. Since 2003, the two Centers have been collaborating on projects relating to the establishment of justice initiatives and capacity-building programs in the human rights sector in South-East Asia. The Program is funded through the East-West Center, thanks to generous grants from the Open Society Foundation and private donors.

This issue of **ICT TRIAL OBSERVER** was authored by Cole Taylor, with contributions from Nuzhat Hossain, Suhan Khan, and Penelope Van Tuyl, as a product of AIJI's Trial Observation Program in Bangladesh. A complete archive of daily summaries and weekly digests covering the progress of all cases pending before the ICT are available at www.bangladeshtrialobserver.org, and are cross-posted on the East-West Center's AIJI portal (https://www.eastwestcenter.org/research/asian-international-justice-initiative/) as well as the War Crimes Studies Center homepage (http://wcsc.berkeley.edu).







i See our blog coverage of Prosecution Closing Arguments beginning on 17 February 2013: http://bangladeshtrialobserver.org/2013/02/18/17-feb-2014-ict-1-daily-summary-gholam-azam-closing-arguments-chowdhury-cross-examination-of-pw-19/; or our Weekly Digest Issue 5: http://bangladeshtrialobserver.org/2013/03/01/weekly-digest-issue-5-february-17-21/ and Weekly Digest Issue 6: http://bangladeshtrialobserver.org/2013/03/25/weekly-digest-issue-6-february-24-28/

is See Weekly Digest Issue 9 for a summary of Prosecution witness 22's examination-in-chief: http://bangladeshtrialobserver.org/2013/04/25/weekly-digest-issue-9-march-17-21/

iii See Weekly Digest Issue 9 for a summary of Prosecution Witness 23's examination-in-chief: http://bangladeshtrialobserver.org/2013/04/25/weekly-digest-issue-9-march-17-21/