

July crackdown

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recorded the statement. This newspaper saw a copy of the statement from a source at the International Crimes Tribunal yesterday.

“As a member of that committee, I was present at those meetings. Attendees included home secretary Jahangir, additional secretary [Political] Tipu Sultan, additional secretary Reza Mostafa, SB [special branch of police] chief Monirul Islam, DB [detective branch of police] chief Harun Or Rashid, RAB DG [director general] Barrister Harunur Rashid, DMP [Dhaka Metropolitan Police] commissioner Habibur, Border Guard Bangladesh DG Major General Ashrafuzzaman Siddique, Ansar DG Major General AKM Aminul Haque, NTMC [National Telecommunication Monitoring Centre] DG Major General Ziaul Ahsan, and DGFI chief.”

The meeting discussed the movement, and various government directives and recommendations by Asaduzzaman.

“At one meeting, it was decided to arrest the coordinators of the movement. DB chief Harun and DGFI were tasked with making the arrests. The [six] coordinators were detained and held in DB custody, subjected to mental pressure and threats to coerce a compromise with the government.

“Family members were also brought in. The detainees were forced to make statements on television announcing the withdrawal of the movement. I opposed the arrests at the committee meeting, but they were carried out following the home minister’s directive,” Mamun said.

DG chief Harun had a very close relationship with Asaduzzaman Khan, who used to call Harun “Jinn” (spirit) and regarded him as highly efficient and politically effective in implementing government decisions.

Outside the official meetings, several police officials, OCS, NTMC’s Ziaul Ahsan, DGs of DGF and NSI (National Security Intelligence), and officials of various ranks regularly met Asaduzzaman.

“At one stage, a secret plan was made to monitor, shoot at protesters, and create a climate of fear around the movement using helicopters. I later learned that the operation was conducted using helicopters under the planning of Rab DG Harunur Rashid and with the support of the military. However, as the IGP, I was not involved in this operation. The deployment of helicopters was essentially a political decision.”

Mamun also said that to suppress the movement, a direct political decision was later made to use lethal weapons and conduct block raids in protest prone areas.

“I was informed by home minister Asaduzzaman that under the directive of prime minister Sheikh Hasina, the decision to use lethal weapons to quell the movement was taken. At that time, additional DIG of Police Headquarters Proloy Kumar Joarder was present in front of me. Through him [Proloy], the then DMP commissioner and other police officials at various levels came to know of the directive.”

Additionally, then DMP commissioner Habibur had direct communication with Asaduzzaman. “Both Habibur and DB chief Harun were overly enthusiastic about using lethal weapons.”

In his statement, Mamun added that the home minister was determined to suppress the movement by any means. “On July 18, DMP commissioner Habib publicly ordered the use of Chinese rifles to fire upon protesters.”

The then law minister Anisul Huq, Dhaka South City Corporation mayor Fazle Noor Taposh, prime minister’s adviser Salman F Rahman, Awami League general secretary Obaidul Quader, Jahangir Kabir Nanak, Mirza Azam, state minister for information and broadcasting Md Ali Arafat, Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal general secretary Hasanul Haq Inu, and Workers Party’s Rashed Khan Menon all advised and incited the prime minister to eliminate the student-people movement using lethal weapons, he added.

“Even after so many people were killed across the country, they did not stop their incitement or ask the prime minister to stop the violence.”

He said that on July 17, Chhatra League carried out a brutal attack on students at Dhaka University.

“The police did not play a proper role there. Essentially, they acted under the instructions of DMP commissioner Habibur. Leaders like Obaidul Quader and Nanak unleashed Chhatra League upon the students. Rab, the military, and other forces were deployed under the directives of the prime minister and home minister and many people were killed or injured through the use of helicopters and lethal firearms.”

Additionally, Awami League-affiliated intellectuals, journalists, and police officers were all eager to misguide the government and brutally suppress the movement, he said.

On August 4 last year, then law minister Anisul, home minister Asaduzzaman, chiefs of three armed forces, and members of the National Security Committee met with Hasina at the Gono Bhaban around 11:00am.

“The meeting focused on the movement and strategies to suppress it. Intelligence reports indicated that the movement had reached a critical stage and needed to be quelled. There was no

discussion about regime change.

“We tried to present accurate information to the government, but it was unwilling to acknowledge its weaknesses. As the situation deteriorated fast across various locations, the meeting was adjourned.”

At 10:00pm that night, Hasina convened another meeting at the Gono Bhaban, where her sister Sheikh Rehana, Asaduzzaman, Anisul, chiefs of the three armed forces, the Rab DG, and he himself as the IGP were present.

“SB chief Monirul and the DGFI DG were sitting outside while Maj Gen Mujib [director general of Special Security Force] attended the meeting.... The discussions were candid, focusing on how to suppress the planned mass gathering on August 5. Deployment of forces was discussed in detail. The meeting lasted about 30–45 minutes.

“Afterward, we moved to the military’s operations control room. Chiefs of three forces, Maj Gen Mujib, Rab DG, intelligence officials, DMP commissioner Habibur, and I were present there. There, we discussed force deployment. The meeting concluded around 12:30am. It was decided that strict control would be enforced at entry points to Dhaka city. No detailed plan was finalised, but it was agreed that police would coordinate with the military.”

Mamun further said, “On August 5, 2024, until 10:00am, we [the police] maintained a strong position inside Dhaka. At the entry points, in areas like Uttara and Jatrabari, hundreds of thousands gathered. At that time, I was stationed at Police Headquarters. The DMP commissioner and other senior police officials of Dhaka were present at the police control room, issuing directives from there.”

He said that around 11:00am, hundreds of thousands of people began entering Dhaka from Uttara.

“It was then that I learned that the army did not obstruct them. Field-level officers of the army took a stance in favour of the movement. As a result, it was not possible to block the flow of people heading toward the Gono Bhaban.”

By 1:00 pm, the streets of Dhaka were taken over by protesters.

“We were instructed by the PMO to block the crowds in the Mohakhali area. Between 12:30–1:00pm, I realised the government would fall. I was informed through SB that the prime minister would relinquish power. I didn’t know she would go to India. The army didn’t disclose that.”

That afternoon, Mamun was informed about a helicopter arriving at the Police Headquarters to evacuate officers. He boarded it and went to Tejgaon Airport. From there, he took refuge at the Army Officers’ Mess.

He said he was later arrested in several cases. “Owing to my service in critical government and law enforcement roles, I became involved in many matters of national importance.

BEFORE JULY 2024
In his tell-all statement, he further said that at least 50 percent of the ballots were stuffed the night before the 2018 election day, after the then inspector general of police Javed Patwary advised Hasina in this regard.

During the 2018 election, Mamun was serving as deputy inspector general of Dhaka Range.

“As part of my personal respect towards the July uprising and driven by conscience, I have voluntarily decided to provide this statement.”

He said orders were allegedly issued to field-level authorities to support the ballot stuffing process.

“With the involvement of political leaders, district administration officials, including deputy commissioners, upazila nirbahi officers, assistant commissioners [land], superintendents of police and officers in-charge, played central roles.”

“Later, when selecting recipients for the Bangladesh Police Medal and President Police Medal, officers involved in electoral and political operations were favoured, compromising professionalism.”

He said he was a student of Chittagong University but was never involved in Chhatra League politics. His family, however, was involved with Awami League loyalists – his father being the Shalla upazila chairman.

“In recognition of my reputation and service to the government, I was appointed the DIG of police, chief of CID, and later as director general of RAB.”

Subsequently, when conflicts and divisions emerged among Gopalganj-centric officers within the force, Hasina and Asaduzzaman appointed him as the IGP, considering his seniority, competence, and perceived neutrality, he said.

“To preserve the reputation of the police force and prevent open conflict among officers, I was later appointed IGP on a contractual basis twice.”

About the divisions, he said the police force underwent extensive political polarisation since the 2014 polls, with various Gopalganj-centric factions forming within it.

He said officers at different levels became involved in political activities. As a senior officer, his ability to control the force was limited.

“Due to political connections, controversial police officers actively pursued the government’s agenda, often disregarding standard laws and regulations.

“After 2018, political interference escalated. Certain officers gained considerable influence, often beyond the control of their supervisors. Meetings used to take place at night at the residence of Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal, lasting until late hours.”

Regular attendees included the then DMP commissioner Habibur Rahman, DB chief Harun or Rashid, Special Branch chief Monirul Islam, DIG Nurul Islam, DMP joint commissioner Biplob Kumar Sarkar, additional SP Kafi, and OCs Mazahar Islam, Forman Ali, and Apurba Hasan.

“These officers largely ignored directives from me or the IGP, believing they had political backing to act independently. Some had close ties with the prime minister and senior leaders. As IGP, I wanted the police to operate with professional integrity.”

Officers from Gopalganj held strong influence over the force, especially at officer and OC levels. They rarely followed commands and operated according to their own will, Mamun added.

“Matters relating to them were usually handled by additional IGP Monirul Islam and commissioner Habibur Rahman. They had close connections with the home minister. Most key roles in Dhaka were held by officers from Gopalganj. A rivalry existed between Monirul Islam and commissioner Habib, each maintaining their own networks.”

Claiming he had tried to fulfil his responsibilities with honesty and dedication, Mamun admitted that during the July–August movement last year, he was responsible for suppressing protests, applying excessive police force, and overseeing incidents that led to the deaths and injuries of students and civilians.

He said while serving as RAB DG between April 14, 2020, and September 30, 2022, he was aware that the Task Force Interrogation (TFI) cell operated from within the RAB-1 compound in Uttara.

Additionally, individual RAB units maintained their own cells, run by unit commanders.

Within RAB, abduction, interrogation, torture, and secret detention of dissenters were seen as standard practice. These were coordinated by the additional director general (operations) and the director of RAB intelligence.

He said he heard that serious directives, including for abductions, enforced disappearances, and crossfire killings, came directly from the Prime Minister’s Office.

“During my tenure, I did not receive such orders. But I came to know that some instructions came from the prime minister’s defense adviser Tarique Ahmed Siddique. Though RAB was under the IGP, the chain of command was often bypassed.”

He said he tried to keep the IGP informed but wasn’t always aware of who was detained or held in the TFI cell.

“I knew Barrister Arman was detained in the TFI cell, but he was not abducted during my tenure. Arman had been taken earlier.

“When DG RAB Benazir Ahmed handed over responsibilities to me, he informed me Arman was in the cell. Later, Sarwar Bin Kashem (ADG Ops and Intelligence Director) also confirmed it. The decision came from the government.”

Mamun said he raised Arman’s case with Tarique Siddique. “He told me, ‘Keep him there. I’ll tell you more later.’ But he never did.”

When Mamun handed over charge to Khurshid Hossain, he informed him of Arman’s detention.

He added that Sarwar Bin Kashem, Khairul Islam, and Mashiur Rahman served as RAB intelligence directors during his tenure. He was aware of detainees being held without trial, tortured, or killed in crossfire.

“But I did not investigate or intervene. These decisions came from outside forces and intelligence agencies. Even as IGP, I could not take action. My words were often ignored.

“Most of RAB’s operations were based on intelligence agency input. The IGP was rarely consulted.”

He said he knew RAB officers Alep Uddin and Mohiuddin Faruqi. Alep, known for enforced disappearances, was preferred by many for his “skills.” Most officers involved in torture were from the military.

“Matters like enforced disappearances were directly handled by Tarique Siddique through intelligence officials. Even though I was IGP, I was not informed about everything.”

According to ICT officials, former IGP Javed Patwary is now a wanted accused in a case filed over crimes against humanity.

This newspaper could not reach Javed for comment yesterday despite repeated attempts.

Mamun ended his statement by saying, “As a former police chief, I am ashamed, remorseful, and seek forgiveness for the suppression of the movement under government directives; the excessive use of force by overzealous police officers and personnel, including firing on civilians, and the torture, arrest, injury; and the killings of countless people.... I am providing this statement to describe the overall situation including my role. I have given a truthful statement. This is my testimony.”

Fascist forces waiting on govt slip up

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of hundreds of martyrs.”

Stating that a section of the interim government might be using evil tactics instead of working to return the country’s ownership to its people by handing over power to their elected representatives.

“There is a question among the people about whether the interim government is showing the wisdom and farsightedness needed in determining election priorities.”

Anyone wishing to govern the country must listen to its people.

“People from all walks of life did not continue their movement just to hand over state power to a few individuals,” Tarique added.

BNP Secretary General Mirza Fakhruul Islam Alamgir urged all political parties not to create divisions over minor issues, so that the country’s path to democracy is not disrupted again.

Calling for unity among all, he said: “Our appeal is that we do not create such a situation over minor issues that gives fascist Hasina a chance to return to the country. We request that all political parties work together to quickly resolve the problems we have and return to a democratic system. Let us establish a people’s government through an election,” he added.

“Demand Justice, Exemplary Punishment for Hasina”

At the event, which was organised

to commemorate the victims of the brutal Ashulia incident during the July uprising, family members demanded exemplary punishment for Sheikh Hasina and recognition of those who were killed during the movement.

Bodies were burned near the Ashulia Police Station on August 5 last year.

Shahina Begum, mother of Sajjad Hossain Sajal, said: “They burned my son alive. Why is the killer Hasina in India? I want her brought back to Ashulia, hanged publicly just as my son was killed – and then burned to death.”

Selina Begum, mother of Gazi Russel, said: “Sheikh Hasina must be brought before the public and held accountable – she must be given exemplary punishment.”

Rina Akter, wife of the Bayozid who was burned to death in front of Ashulia Police Station, said: “My one-and-a-half-year-old child is still searching for his father – I cannot bring his father back. The way Hasina and her accomplices killed my husband – they should be punished in exactly the same way.”

Swapan Munshi, father of Arafat Munshi, said: “They shot and killed my son, who was an eighth-grade student. I want justice for my son’s killing. Hasina and the leaders and activists of the Awami League must be brought to face trial in this country.”

Govt turning against those

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procession. In defiance, the cultural activists sat down on the street and began a rally with songs, followed by poetry recitations, slogans and speeches.

The oppressive situation of the Awami League government for the last 15-16 years created social depression, which came to a head during the uprising, Muhammad said.

The involvement of labourers in the uprising was a big incident in the country, but they have also been attacked.

“The first killing by police after the uprising was a woman who was demanding her wages in the streets.”

The livelihood of the labourers is still the same, he said, adding that more than one lakh labourers became unemployed and the social discrimination has increased further.

“But the uprising started with a demand related to jobs.”

The women and minority communities are being attacked, who were also a part of the uprising, Muhammad said.

There are lots of issues that should be solved immediately and the

interim government could have done that.

But the government occupied itself with discourse centring on the constitution and election, he added.

The students are demanding the incorporation of the July Charter into the constitution and that has been creating confusion, said journalist Abu Sayeed Khan.

“They want to announce a second proclamation of independence... I don’t know whether there was any intention behind the demand. It would be used by the defeated group of 1971 to become heroes of 2024,” he added.

The interim government has no programme aiming to reduce discrimination, said Zakir Hossain, a central leader of Ganatantrik Sangskritik Oikko, in a keynote paper.

“The same players are controlling the market economy – the same system has been re-established. They are also implementing the agendas of imperialism.”

Communalism and fundamentalism were being cultivated severely during the last 15 years, he added.

EC lists 39 constituencies

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are given the chance to file appeals against the proposed boundaries. The commission can finalise the demarcation only after resolving the objections.

Speaking to reporters at the EC office yesterday, Election Commissioner Anwarul Islam Sarkar said about 1,500 applications were submitted to the EC regarding the re-demarcation of constituencies.

To facilitate the boundary redrawing process, the EC formed a seven-member expert technical committee on July 16, which has already proposed minor and major adjustments in several constituencies.

The EC notification said that while preparing the draft, they kept three seats in three hill tract districts, and the number of seats in districts with two constituencies unchanged.

They have prioritised keeping Upazila/Thana units as intact as possible; limiting the number of voters in difference among the constituencies to a maximum of 30 percent.

The EC is yet to announce the timeline for the next election but has been preparing in line with the chief adviser’s announced timeline.

At a meeting on Saturday, Prof Yunus assured political parties that the election date would be announced within four to five days, meeting sources said.

On July 9, Yunus ordered the authorities concerned to complete all polls preparations by December.

The polls are likely to take place in February or April, he told an earlier meeting with law enforcers.

On June 13, Yunus said the election could be held the week before Ramadan 2026 if all preparations are completed by then.

He made the remarks during a meeting in London with BNP acting chairperson Tarique Rahman, who suggested holding the polls before the month of fasting, which will begin in the third week of February.

EC officials emphasised that the demarcation of parliamentary seats

BNP–NCP clash

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BNP’s Muradnagar unit convener Mahiuddin Anjan denied the allegations, stating, “Our protest was against false cases filed by Asif Mahmud. His supporters initiated the clash under police protection.”

Muradnagar Police Station’s Officer-in-Charge, Zahidur Rahman said both sides engaged in chase and counter-chase during the rally.

“Several NCP supporters were injured. Police intervened to restore order,” he said.

France, UK, allies

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majority looted and robbed due to the security chaos systematically and deliberately imposed by the Israeli occupation,” the office said in a statement.

Human rights organisations and experts in Germany have confirmed that Israel is committing genocide against Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, Wafa reports.

This came during a press conference in Berlin on the humanitarian situation in Gaza, and the role of the European Union and Germany in this regard.

The Secretary General of Amnesty International Germany said that the deliberate starvation of civilians constitutes a war crime under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, adding: “There is sufficient evidence that Israel is using starvation as a weapon of war.”

70 filed on average

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Mohammadpur were also held, said the official.

Regarding traffic, Talebur said new strategies are being implemented regularly. In the past 24 hours, 2,845 cases were filed under the traffic act, 282 vehicles were impounded, and 83 were towed.

In another development, Home Adviser Lt Gen (ret’d) Jahangir Alam Chowdhury yesterday said there is no specific security threat centring the August 5 anniversary of the July uprising.

“Hopefully, everything will go well,” he told reporters at his ministry.

Asked about recent police drives reported by the Special Branch, Jahangir clarified, “This is not a countrywide operation. It is being conducted by the DMP. Such measures are taken from time to time, depending on the situation.”

Regarding recent attacks on Hindu homes, he said that those responsible would be brought to justice.

It’s time for this govt

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those, and what it is leaving behind for the next government.”

He said any interim or caretaker government must consider an exit strategy, and the current government is no exception.

Debapriya warned that whenever politicians distorted the constitutional process to avoid peaceful transfer of power, the system collapsed and the worst sufferers were the politicians themselves.

“Be it after Ershad, or during the 1/11 period, or even in the case of Sheikh Hasina, politicians have suffered the most. They became the prime victims of the consequences,” he said.

He noted that it still remains uncertain whether the next government will fully legitimise the actions taken by the current one, particularly in terms of reforms.

SC acquits Mobarak

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Mobarak is currently receiving treatment at the prison cell of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University, he added.

Senior Advocate SM Shahjahan and Barrister Imran represented Mobarak during the appeal hearing, while Prosecutor Gazi MH Tamim appeared on behalf of the state.

On November 24, 2014, the ICT-1 sentenced Mobarak, a Jamaat-e-Islami leader from Brahmanbaria who later joined the Awami League, to death for abducting and killing 33 people from Tanmanday village during the war in 1971.

In the same verdict, the tribunal sentenced him to life imprisonment for another war crime charge and acquitted him of three other charges.

Mobarak filed an appeal with the Supreme Court on December 18, 2014, through his lawyers, challenging the tribunal’s ruling.

Farabi gets bail

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February 26, 2015.

Bonya suffered severe injuries when she tried to protect her husband from the attackers.

Avijit’s father Prof Ajoy Roy filed the murder case accusing unidentified assailants with Shahbagh Police Station the next day.

On February 16, 2021, a Dhaka tribunal sentenced five members of banned militant outfit Ansar al Islam to death and Farabi to life in jail over the killing of Avijit.

Those who got the death penalty were Sayed Mohammad Ziaul Haque alias Maj (sacked) Zia, Akram Hossain, Abu Siddiq Sohel, Muzammel Hossain Saimon and Arafat Rahman Siam.

Of them, Major Zia and Akram are still absconding, while the rest are behind bars, Huzzatul Imran said.