



Hundreds of jubilant citizens flooded the Jatiya Sangsad Bhaban complex on August 5, 2024, moments after Sheikh Hasina fled the country—marking the fall of an oppressive era.

PHOTO: NAIMUR RAHMAN

# RED JULY, ONE YEAR ON

## The fight for unity, dignity, and justice must continue



HOSSAIN ZILLUR RAHMAN

It has been a year since Bangladesh freed itself from the murderous clutches of a tyrannical regime that had made corruption the rule of business, extreme arrogance of power the norm, and brutal repression its operational style. This was no ordinary political change but truly a creation moment etched in the blood and resolve of protesters—spearheaded by students and women, and joined by waves from all segments of the forsaken, humiliated, and mistreated citizens who had long borne the brunt of a ruling group that had lost all moral legitimacy to govern.

When the unarmed Abu Sayeed faced fascist bullets in front of his alma mater, Begum Rokeya University, on 16 July—heroically standing his ground and falling for the cause—the outcome was still very much unknown. Yet his moral fearlessness, his ultimate sacrifice, and those of many others ignited a long dormant courage in millions of hearts and led to a turning point unlike any other twenty days later, on 36 July.

Red July calls for a new lexicon to mark change. “Monsoon Revolution” has been mentioned, but monsoon belongs to many countries. I prefer a term uniquely ours—Bangla Srabon. The rains are central to the Bangladeshi soul: a season of creative destruction and the rebirth of structures and purpose. However, as with many moments of political rupture that hold profound potential to reboot a society toward greater justice, the ‘day after’ has proven, and continues to prove, a much more sobering reality.

### How was the uprising even possible?

Looking back, it is clear that what unfolded was a deeply significant people’s uprising—a transformation that many had long hoped for, though few believed would ever truly materialise. For years, there was yearning and muted anticipation of change, but never certainty. That is where Red July marked a turning point—not only in politics, but also in how we speak about resistance and change.

The uprising revealed the extent to which an unbearable authoritarian regime had suffocated the country for over a decade and a half. People were crushed, desperate to breathe. While some continued to cheer for the regime, the overwhelming majority rejected it—not out of party allegiance, but because it violated the very ethos of Bangladesh: freedom,

public trust; it had become an oppressive apparatus that generated fear, enforced silence, and caused widespread displacement. Countless young people became internal refugees, forced to flee their homes to avoid arrest or fabricated charges. The reality was grim—ghost cases, threats, extrajudicial violence.

There is a word in English: hubris—the arrogance of those in power who

and regional spectrum stood shoulder to shoulder: females, males, students from public and private institutions, madrasa students, workers, and civil groups—and something profound shifted. Courage became contagious. When Abu Sayeed stood alone in front of Begum Rokeya University in Rangpur, was shot, and stood again, that act of defiance became a spark. People saw it, felt it—and something

and Savar to remote towns—ordinary people began to rise. Workers, housewives, students—everyone took to the streets. By August, this people’s movement had become unstoppable. Despite intensified repression, the momentum only grew.

It was not a revolution in the classical sense, but a mass uprising driven by public will and fearless solidarity. Political parties responded, but the movement’s core identity remained popular and collective.

One year later, we must reflect on the depth of that moment. First, the collective rejection of authoritarianism was in itself a major achievement—a shared, universal cry for change. Second, the people’s hopes extended far beyond the removal of a regime. They longed for a society that is fair, rights-based, and grounded in merit—not one based

### One year after Red July: where do we stand?

A year has passed since the fall of the entrenched authoritarian regime—an achievement that must be remembered not only as a political event, but as a profound psychological and philosophical shift. Remembering it gives us courage and reminds us of the power of unity.

Yet rather than moving forward in the spirit of collective construction, we now witness fragmentation. Competing claims over who deserves credit for last year’s victory have replaced the broader sense of solidarity. This mirrors past mistakes—such as the infighting over credit for the 1971 Liberation War—which ultimately weakened national unity.

Despite these divisions, the public continues to overwhelmingly reject authoritarianism and seeks a more inclusive and accountable state. However, real improvements in daily life—better governance, fewer false cases, less corruption—remain elusive.

One of the biggest structural obstacles is the unreformed bureaucratic machinery steeped in colonial heritage. Instead of addressing this, the interim government has empowered bureaucratic rule. While economic stability has slightly improved, everyday hardships have worsened.

The youth—central to the July movement—have shown both promise and vulnerability. While many still dream of transformative change, others have become absorbed into the same corrupt structures they once opposed. That paradox should concern us all.

As we reflect, the message is unmistakable: The struggle is far from over. We must safeguard the spirit of July, rebuild solidarity, and confront the difficult questions ahead—together.

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An endless stream of people marched towards Bijoy Sarani on August 5, 2024, to celebrate the downfall of Sheikh Hasina’s regime. PHOTO: ANISUR RAHMAN

dignity, and the right to shape one’s own future.

People aspired to fairness, merit, and a system governed by rules—not one dictated by arbitrary commands. The regime had not merely lost

begin to believe they are untouchable. That arrogance blinds them. And eventually, they stumble.

Then came July, and the machinery of authoritarianism began to fracture. Youth from across the political, social,

inside them changed.

The movement spread like wildfire. Each new wave rose as the previous one was crushed. From elite students to madrasa pupils, from neighbourhoods like Jatrabari, Uttara,

on charity or handouts, but one that allows them to thrive. The people of Bangladesh have always shaped their own destiny—they simply require the conditions to do so.



# Decoding Sheikh Hasina's Autocratic Playbook



ALI RIAZ

Sheikh Hasina's autocratic rule came to an end in the wake of the mass uprising of July–August 2024, which also led to her to flee the country. Her nearly sixteen-year-long rule had essentially sustained itself through repression, enforced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, and fabricated legal cases. Various political parties attempted to build resistance against this rule at different times, but such efforts only intensified harsher repression against pro-democracy parties, institutions, and individuals. However, defying all obstacles, the united movement of students and citizens in July–August 2024 transformed into a full-scale mass upsurge. The manner in which state forces and armed party activists were deployed to suppress this uprising was labelled by a United Nations report as “crimes against humanity” (The Daily Star Bangla, 12 February 2025), and these crimes were carried out under the direct supervision of Sheikh Hasina. According to a UN spokesperson, the responsibility for these orders — known as command responsibility — lies squarely with Sheikh Hasina (The Daily Star, 14 February 2025).

Although Bangladesh has experienced authoritarian regimes multiple times in its history, the nature and brutality of Sheikh Hasina's rule were unprecedented. The most extreme manifestation of this cruelty was on display during the July–August 2024 uprising, when in less than three weeks, at least 1,400 people were killed — 13 per cent of them children — and over 14,000 were injured. This brutality was not limited to 2024 alone. Between 2009 and 2023, at least 2,699 people were victims of extrajudicial killings, 677 were forcibly disappeared, and 1,048 died while in the custody of security forces (Bonik Barta, 13 August 2024).

Due to the horrifying nature of

this regime, there has emerged a broad consensus following the fall of the Hasina regime: institutional mechanisms must be established to ensure that authoritarianism cannot rise again. As a first step towards this goal, it is essential to fully understand the nature of Sheikh Hasina's rule.

**Three Forms of Authoritarianism**

Authoritarian rule is not a new phenomenon in any country. The

characteristics of a personalist regime.

**Features of Sheikh Hasina's Personalist Autocracy**

The traits of personalistic autocratic rule began to surface in Sheikh Hasina's statements and actions as early as 2011. By around 2014, Hasina made it evident to the citizens of Bangladesh that she was the sole centre of power and that her authority

Sheikh Hasina's personalist mindset is her repeated use of “I” in public speeches. She often spoke in a way that suggested the government and the state are personally embodied in her — that what citizens receive from the state is something she is individually bestowing. The rights or entitlements of citizens do not seem to factor into her considerations.

A key early instance of her bypassing institutions and establishing her

gradually became evident to the general public. As a result, ordinary citizens also stopped placing trust in formal institutions and instead began directly appealing to Sheikh Hasina for the resolution of any problem. The extent of this is reflected in several news reports from 2020. In January, when the stock market experienced instability, Kazi Firoyz Rashid, a Member of Parliament from the ruling party's ally, the Jatiya Party, publicly appealed for Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's direct intervention. In a parliamentary discussion, he stated that if the Prime Minister intervened, the stock market would recover (The Asian Age, 16 January 2020).

Another hallmark of personalistic rules is dynastic politics. While dynastic rule is not uncommon in South Asia, under Sheikh Hasina's tenure it has manifested in two specific ways in Bangladesh. First, through the accumulation of state resources and privileges by herself and her family; and second, through an implicit claim to power succession — linking the foundation of the state and notions of patriotism so intimately with her family that any opposition to the dynastic arrangement is framed as an act of treason.

Although Sheikh Hasina claimed in 2019, “By family, I mean myself, my younger sister Rehana, and our five children. Beyond that, we have no family” (Sara Bangla, 13 September 2019), the prominence of her family under her rule — and the fact that many beneficiaries of her regime are indeed family members — is evident in the fact that from 2009 to 2024, 15 members of the Hasina family have served as Members of Parliament, with at least eight holding positions as ministers or state ministers (Ittefaq, 12 October 2024).

A crucial element of personalistic autocracy is deification of leaders. The treatment of Hasina herself and her father Sheikh Mujib exemplifies this. While Sheikh Mujib undeniably played a central role in the Bengali nationalist movement of the 1960s in then-Pakistan, the movement was not the achievement of a single individual. Yet, state apparatuses and media created a narrative that provided the idea that Mujib was the only leader at that time. The narrative was institutionalised through the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution wherein Sheikh Mujib

was designated as the “Father of the Nation,” and a provision was added making it mandatory to display his portrait in all government and non-government offices (Article 4A of the Constitution). This means that the absence of such a portrait would legally constitute a violation of the Constitution.

Worse yet, one could not question this provision. Because Article 7A of the Constitution states that any act or attempt to undermine the confidence, belief, or conviction in any provision of the Constitution will be considered a punishable offence and an act of “sedition,” with the penalty extending up to capital punishment. The Digital Security Act enacted in 2018 also included a clause stipulating punishment for “insulting the Father of the Nation” (Article 21).

In addition, across the country, numerous sculptures, portraits, and murals of Sheikh Mujib began to be erected. According to a 2021 report from the police department, there were 1,022 sculptures and murals of Sheikh Mujib installed throughout the country (The Daily Star Bangla, 12 January 2021). In 2020, the observance of Mujib's birth centenary turned him into an omnipresent figure across the nation. Through this process, Hasina elevated her father into a form of personality cult. One researcher described the national environment in the following way: “His picture is in every school and government office, on currency notes, and on every road. Bridges, hospitals, government programmes, and sports events are named after him” (Arild Engelsen Rudd, ‘Bangabandhu as the eternal sovereign: on the construction of a civil religion’, Religion, 52(4): 532–549, 2022).

In a personalised regime, the person in power often places themselves at the centre of a cult of personality. But in Hasina's case, while she had built her own uncontested political dominance, she simultaneously legitimises her authority through the glorification and deification of Sheikh Mujib.

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PHOTO: REUTERS

history of the modern phase of state formation shows that the development and expansion of democracy as an ideal and as a system of governance have not progressed in a linear fashion; rather, they have advanced in waves. As a result, at certain points in time, the number of democratic countries has increased, while at other times, the number of countries under undemocratic or authoritarian rule has grown.

In the 20th century, two forms of authoritarian rule became prominent — one being military rule, and the other being one-party systems, most of which were rooted in socialist ideologies. However, by the end of the 20th century, a new type of authoritarianism emerged: personalistic autocracy. Sheikh Hasina's 16-year rule, particularly from 2011 onward, took on the

was beyond question.

Once Sheikh Hasina had succeeded in dismantling institutions — including civil society organisations — and believed that she had established a kind of ideological dominance over society and politics, she institutionalised this system under the conviction of her own invincibility. This is reflected in a 2018 statement by Mohammad Hanif, Joint General Secretary of the Awami League: “As long as Sheikh Hasina lives, the Awami League will remain in power” (Bangla Tribune, 25 April 2018). Hanif's remark sparked controversy, but it had no impact on Hasina or her party leaders. In 2022, then Home Minister Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal said, “We must try to keep Sheikh Hasina in power for life” (Dhaka Times, 21 May 2022).

One of the clearest examples of

decisions as final occurred in 2011, when she unilaterally overturned the recommendations made after 26 parliamentary committee meetings and decided to abolish the caretaker government system. Another example of her unilateral decision-making, at the cost of national interest, was her role in signing the contract with Indian power company Adani.

Furthermore, in 2023, when nominating Md. Shahabuddin as the President, Sheikh Hasina did not consult any party committee. Even top leaders of her own party were left in the dark about the nomination. After speaking with 15 senior leaders of the party, one reporter noted: “Some leaders described the selection of Md. Shahabuddin as a ‘family decision’” (Prothom Alo, 14 February 2023).

This trend of de-institutionalisation

## Uprising and Nation-Building



FIROZ AHMED

Uprisings, revolutions, or independence movements occur when the collective will of the people manifests as an unimaginable, united force. However, each uprising carries its own character, and each revolution leads to a different outcome. This mass awakening can elevate a nation to greatness but, at the same time, if state leaders fail or act selfishly, it can just as easily plunge a country into long-lasting chaos.

In War and Peace, Tolstoy repeatedly refers to the spirit of strength radiating from the French Revolution. A nation like France, humiliated for centuries, became so empowered by the revolution that its soldiers not only transformed their homeland but, like lava erupting from a volcano, spread across all of Europe — conquering battlefields in Italy, Spain, Austria — until the revolutionary heat finally cooled in the vast frozen plains of Russia. One of Tolstoy's central motivations for writing this great novel was to understand what spark causes such an eruption of energy within a society.

1

Time and again, people of this region, too, have experienced the potential unleashed when the elixir of freedom touches them. In his *Unfinished Memoirs*, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman recalls the surge of enthusiasm among the volunteers of the Pakistan Movement after independence from the British in 1947, and how the Muslim League attempted to suppress it:

“People and government employees worked tirelessly, day and night. In many places, I saw a single officer managing an entire office. A peon and

a constable maintained law and order in a whole police station with the help of League volunteers. People boarded trains depositing money, since there were no tickets. Corruption vanished as if by magic. Gradually, everything began to decline, solely because of government policies. They didn't know how to engage an awakened nation in nation-building.”

The reason was simple — most of the leaders wanted Pakistan for themselves. If the volunteers did all the work, what role would be left for them? So, the following happened:

“Khawaja Nazimuddin ordered the dissolution of the Muslim League National Guard. Zahiduddin, Mirza Ghulam Hafiz, and several others protested. After all, this organisation had actively contributed to the creation of Pakistan. ... Instead of utilising them for development, the national government dismantled the organisation, igniting a sentiment of animosity among them. Leaders of the National Guard, however, decided to continue the organisation, designating Jahiruddin as Salaare-Suba (military chief of the province). He was arrested a few days after coming to Dhaka. By not engaging such a well-established institution for the country's development efforts, the government ultimately harmed the country. ... Some asked us, ‘Where will we get the money to make them work?’ But these people didn't ask for money. They could've worked for years with only minimal expenses... They weren't even paid salaries. The passion National Guard and Muslim League workers had for creating Pakistan — the government failed to harness it.”

The result was the return of bureaucratic rule across Pakistan, bringing with it corruption, hoarding, food shortages, unemployment, and smuggling. The *Unfinished Memoirs* recounts this too, as a boatman in Gopalganj tells Sheikh Mujib:

“Bhai jaan, you've come only now, I'm doomed. There are five of us, and we've been ordered to pay five taka. Some days I earn two taka, some days even less — how can I pay five taka? Yesterday, the chowkidar confiscated a



PHOTO: FIROZ AHMED/THE DAILY STAR

brass lota from my father's time because I couldn't pay.” He broke into tears saying this. ... Then he said, “It was from you, I heard of Pakistan, and this is the Pakistan you brought us?”

2

How much did Bangladesh learn from this lesson in the *Unfinished Memoirs* after gaining its own independence? Let me share, from memory, an anecdote of Colonel Kazi Nuruzzaman. Around 16 December, his sector's freedom fighters told him, “We thought the war might last ten years like in Vietnam. But the country was liberated in just nine months! We don't want to return home yet. We want to eliminate illiteracy, repair roads, assist with agriculture, restore local administration. We don't want any salary, just food, clothing, and shelter will do.”

A thrilled Nuruzzaman saw in them the spirit of Vietnam, China, or Soviet Russia — warriors who had kept schools running during wartime, helped farmers and workers, and engaged in national reconstruction. He eagerly joined them. But within a few days, the camp was dismantled, and the fighters were each handed 50 rupees and sent home.

Thus, the post-Liberation enthusiasm faded quickly — just as it had after 1947. But this time, the disillusionment was even more bitter, because the hope and promises of 1971 were even stronger. So, too, was the sense of betrayal.

Consider writer and politician Shamsuddin Abu Zafar, a personal friend of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. After the tragic assassination of 15 August, he was so distraught that he even contemplated leaving the country. In his diary, expressing his disappointment three and a half years after independence, he wrote:

“[16 April 1975] Today was the Ghorashal fair. I stayed home. In childhood, I used to see so much excitement about fairs among villagers. Today, barely a fraction of that remained. People are too busy harvesting boro rice. They are troubled by hunger. No one even remembers the fair. The poor farm labourers told me they are surviving day after day by boiling flour in hot water and eating it like barley...”

And a few days later he wrote:

“[11 August 1975] ... The Mujibs ride in a Mercedes while that boy sleeps in a manhole. This is Bangladesh in 1975. A

country whose 74% of budget depends on foreign aid — its President imported not one but two Mercedes cars. Each costs £30,000. At government rates, that's 900,000 taka in London. With taxes, the cost will be 2.7 million taka here. Meanwhile, salaries aren't paid yet. The telephone lines are still dead.”

Even after such bloodshed, true liberation remained elusive, tied closely to the personal and class character of those who assumed power, and significantly, to a lack of any visionary ambition conducive to nation-building. There was no grand vision of what the state should be — only a desire to plunder, to enrich kin and allies. In Ahmed Sofa's words, quoting Professor Razzak:

“History gave Sheikh Mujib a chance to become a statesman. He failed to seize it.”

3

This is also a fact: that every transition from one era to another leaves indelible marks on history. The Pakistan Movement freed Muslim peasants from zamindari rule. The Liberation War freed Bengalis from the grip of the Pakistani state, controlled by the military and civilian bureaucrats. But at every historical juncture, this land

has failed to realise its full potential, never achieving that positive post-revolutionary transformation that reconstitutes a nation and elevates it to a new level of civilisation.

Take the story of Vietnam from Kazi Nuruzzaman's narrative again. More bombs were dropped on Vietnam than on all of Europe during World War II. They gained independence after us. Yet today, Bangladesh cannot compare to Vietnam — once reduced to ashes by napalm bombs — on any global benchmarks. Even non-revolutionary countries like Singapore, South Korea, and Malaysia — each had leaders who envisioned and pursued a nation-building dream. That's where we fell behind, every single time.

Surely, the 2024 mass uprising, too, will leave a deep imprint on Bangladesh's history. Regardless of what happens next, any future attempt to impose terror by any group in educational institutions will face fierce resistance. The courage and experience of fightback these young people have acquired has influenced the people of this country, once again after many years, to pursue new political dreams, new ideologies, and new visions of society.

We know despair has engulfed many over the past year. The question of whether Bangladesh will move forward or descend into anarchy has emerged for valid reasons. The only source of hope is this awakened generation of youth. In ancient mythology, the churning of the ocean first brought forth poison. Shiva held it in his throat. Only then came the nectar.

We are now living through the phase of spewing poison of the 2024 uprising. What we now need is the emergence of leadership with a bold reimagination for politics, a constitution, and an economic roadmap — leadership that is capable of bringing nectar to this nation as well.

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# One year without Shoikot



SABRINA AFROZ SABONTI

It has now been one full year since we lost Shoikot. But to those of us who loved him, it feels like much more than that. It feels as though time has stood still since that day. Every moment has been heavy with grief, every day a reminder of what we lost—not just a beloved brother, son, or friend, but a symbol of courage, conviction, and hope.

Shoikot was not an ordinary young man. He carried within him a deep love for this country and a strong sense of justice far beyond his years. He stood on the frontlines of the student protests—not for personal gain, not for recognition, but because he genuinely believed that Bangladesh could and should be better. He believed in peaceful protest, in democracy, and in the power of people's voices to bring about change.

But on that dark day, his voice was silenced. Shoikot was killed during a peaceful demonstration, and his death broke our hearts and shook the nation. The most painful part is that he was not killed in an accident or by some unknown threat—he was shot and killed by the police. The very force tasked with protecting our citizens became the cause of his death. That truth is difficult to accept. It has changed our lives forever.

In the face of such tragedy, it would be easy to fall into hopelessness and despair. But that is not what Shoikot would have wanted. He was brave and optimistic. Even in the face of injustice, he believed change was possible. And it is that same belief that keeps us moving forward today.

Over the past year, we have continued to ask hard questions—

not out of bitterness, but out of love for our country. We want to know what steps have been taken to ensure that what happened to Shoikot will never happen again. We believe that no family should ever have to experience the pain of losing a loved one in this way.

We recognise that police reform is not an easy task. It is a long and complex process that requires structural change,

no longer be with us in body, but his spirit, his voice, and his dream for a better Bangladesh are still very much alive.

We often say that the youth are the future of a nation. Shoikot lived that truth. He was a student, but he was also a leader. He was young, but his sense of justice was mature and unwavering. Even now, we feel his presence in the streets, in the speeches, in the hearts of those who continue to march for fairness, safety, and dignity.

We want the country he dreamed of to become a reality—a Bangladesh where freedom of speech is protected, where peaceful protest is respected, and where no one is punished for demanding justice. A Bangladesh where the police serve the people with dignity and professionalism, and where no mother has to fear sending her child out to speak the truth.

We still believe that such a Bangladesh is possible.

We call on the interim government to take this opportunity to lead with courage and vision. We urge them to continue the work of police reform—not just on paper, but in practice. Build a force that earns the trust of the people. Offer training that teaches empathy, not fear. Enforce laws that protect rather than punish.

Let the memory of Shoikot—and others like him—guide us towards a brighter, safer, more just nation.

To the people of Bangladesh, we say this: do not forget Shoikot. Do not forget what he stood for. His story is not just a personal tragedy—it is part of our national history. And it is also a reminder of the power of young voices, the strength of peaceful movements, and the urgent need for compassion in governance.

To Shoikot, we say: you are not forgotten. Your dreams live on. Your name lives on. And your fight is now our fight.

*Sabrina Afroz Sabonti is a student, who lost her brother, Mahamudur Rahman Shoikot, during the July Uprising.*

# The Forgotten Frontline

## Madrasa Students in the Uprising



MD HIFJUR RAHMAN CHOWDHURY

Nine-year-old Salfat Samir was a fifth-grade student in an Ibtedayi (primary) madrasa. He was the apple of his parents' eyes—Sakibur Rahman and Faria Ilnat. They had a thousand dreams centred on him. They hoped that one day, their son would grow up to become a great Islamic scholar. On that day, his father imagined he would proudly wipe away his tears and say to everyone, "I am the father of Maulana Mufti Salfat Samir."

But Samir had not yet outgrown his childhood. In madrasa, when he recited:

"I shall not remain confined within four walls,  
I shall see the world,  
How people move in the whirlpool of time,"

—he didn't want to stay trapped within the four walls of a traffic-choked, chaotic Dhaka flat.

He longed to go outside, to play with his friends, to laugh and be happy. But the fascist government left no room for such wishes. His parents strictly ordered him not to step outside those four walls. Obediently, with teary eyes, he would stand by the barred window and gaze out towards the open horizon. But standing by that window proved fatal for him.

On July 19, 2024, the brutal forces of Hasina's regime were carrying out a violent crackdown outside. Gunfire rang out constantly. As Samir stood at the window, a bullet struck his head. He collapsed on the floor instantly. Along with him collapsed the deep desire to discover the world—and the dreams of his parents.

To carve the path to triumph in the 2024 mass uprising, thousands like Salfat had to lay down their lives. Salfat became a living symbol of the sacrifice of madrasa students.

Jatrabari and Uttara were two key strongholds in the 2024 movement. The active and brave presence of madrasa students in these areas shocked everyone. In addition, madrasa students played vital roles in major locations throughout the

country, including Cumilla, Habiganj, Narsingdi, Chattogram, and more.

Since the movement was quota-focused in the beginning, madrasa students were not deeply involved from 1 to 16 July. But after 16 July, when Hasina's government began killing students indiscriminately, they could no longer stay inside. With flags of the nation tied to their foreheads, they came out onto the streets to defend their country. Their voices rang out:

"We may give our heads, but never our dignity;  
We may give our lives, but never our honour."

Those who dare sell off our sovereignty and kill our people indiscriminately would no longer be tolerated. Teachers from madrasas in Jatrabari, Tongi, Baridhara, and many other areas joined the streets with their students. They provided food, water, shelter, and every possible form of support.

In countless such movements, madrasa students have shed their blood and made their presence known. But the state has never truly recognised their sacrifices. Generation after generation, they have been neglected. With no government support or patronage, nearly five million students across the country are being educated in Qawmi madrasas through donations from devout, working-class people. If the students of Alia madrasas are taken into account, the number rises even higher.

After 5 August, madrasa education leaders hoped this discrimination would end. But they were wrong. Even now, there has been no visible change. When the state organised celebratory events with the stakeholders of the July–August movement, madrasa students were not included. Only after widespread criticism did the Ministry of Culture feel compelled to declare



PHOTO: RASHED SHUMON

According to a report by the Centre for Social Studies (CSS), 42 madrasa students were martyred in the movement. Another organisation named Tarun-Alim Projonmo (Young Scholar Generation) published the names of 77 martyrs. These numbers are not just statistics; rather, they represent the deep sense of responsibility that madrasa students feel towards the state.

From the time of British rule until today, whenever the motherland has faced crisis, the community of Islamic scholars and madrasa students has given everything they had. From the *Reshmi Rumal* (Silk Letter) Movement to the Farazi Movement, from the 2013 Shapla Chattar protest to the anti-Modi protests of 2021—these are but a few chapters in a long history of

July 21 as "Madrasa Resistance Day."

If given proper state recognition and support, madrasa students have the potential to become shining examples of success, serving the nation with unwavering honesty and dedication. In a Muslim-majority country, the continued neglect of Islamic education leaves nearly 90% of the population disheartened and unheard.

We urge the interim government to recognise madrasa education not as a fringe component, but as a vital pillar of the national education system—one that deserves focused attention and meaningful inclusion.

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# WHERE ARE THE JOBS,

## where is the justice?



MOSHAHIDA SULTANA

The powerful waves of the July uprising swept through Bangladesh, igniting hopes for a better future and demanding justice, employment, and dignity for the masses. Yet, in this turbulent period, the promises made by the interim government remain unfulfilled, and the people's expectations continue to be dashed—especially in the realms of employment opportunities and social justice.

The movement, which initially arose from the fundamental demand for equality in employment opportunities, eventually shifted to calling for the resignation of the autocratic government. After the uprising, when the interim government was formed, people from various classes took to the streets demanding what they had been deprived of under the autocratic regime. They protested for dignified jobs, job security, and fair wages—basic rights essential to social justice. However, despite these noble aspirations, the interim government has completely failed to prioritise employment creation or address the needs of workers and farmers. Instead, it has persistently ignored their interests, deepening disillusionment across the nation.

The significant movements that have marked this year's struggle cannot be overlooked. Some of these trace back to the remnants of autocratic rule, while others have emerged in response to the shutdown of factories owned by beneficiaries of the previous regime. Throughout the year, garment workers have sustained their demand for unpaid wages, taking to the streets as numerous factories closed without fulfilling their financial obligations. Similarly, tea workers continue their protests,

insisting on decent wages and better working conditions. Teachers and academic staff across various educational institutions have voiced their discontent over irregularities in appointments, promotions, and layoffs, demanding proper employment policies and job security. From primary school teachers and madrasa educators to nurses, and both private- and government-sector employees, the cry for fair treatment and stable employment has resonated across all sectors.



PHOTO: PRABIR DAS

In essence, the protests and demonstrations during 2024–2025 have largely centred on the core issues of job security, fair treatment, and opposition to arbitrary dismissals or transfers. Many of these movements have organised strikes, rallies, and sit-ins, striving to pressure authorities into addressing their demands for better employment conditions. These widespread protests highlight a pressing reality—employment insecurity and the lack of protected rights continue to define the struggles of workers and professionals in Bangladesh today.

One of the most significant movements during this period has been that of the Palli Bidyut Samity (PBS), demanding the merger of the Rural Electrification Board (REB) with the Palli Bidyut Samity. This demand is rooted in the long history of rural electricity crises. The crux of the problem lies in the dual control of the power distribution system—the REB and the PBS—which has led to ongoing conflicts and frustrations. REB's control over PBS has resulted in strained relations, inefficiency,

solving and deepened service disparities.

The garment workers' movement, once a symbol of Bangladesh's economic prowess, has seen its demands for fair wages and safer working environments met with indifference or superficial responses. Despite their crucial role in the nation's economy, workers continue to labour under unsafe conditions and with little security, feeling betrayed by government commitments.

The primary teachers' movement emerged as a voice of frustration against inadequate salaries, poor working conditions, and the neglect of basic educational needs. Teachers, who are the backbone of the nation's future, continue to demand their rightful due, but their cries have largely gone unheard. Similarly, farmers have been protesting against unfair pricing, credit shortages, and a lack of infrastructural support—a stark reminder that the agrarian economy remains fragile and neglected.

The two-month-long sit-in of Tothyo Apa is another movement that has recently attracted widespread attention. The protesters, commonly known as Tothyo Apa, are women employed under a government project run by the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, working tirelessly to empower women through digital services in rural areas. They have been peacefully protesting since 22 May at the Press Club—including on Eid day—and have travelled from distant districts like Kurigram, Khagrachari, and Jhalokathi, hundreds of miles from the capital. Many of them are the sole breadwinners for their families, managing their children's school expenses, household needs, and medical bills single-handedly. Despite their dedication and long-standing service, the government now plans to dismiss them on grounds of suspicion and political bias, merely because they are part of a government project and not permanent employees.

When they sought justice and their rightful employment, they were met with violence—police intervention, injuries, and arrests—including pregnant women, breastfeeding mothers, cancer patients, and persons with disabilities. The government's brutal response to their peaceful demonstration not only violates their constitutional rights but also

reveals a deep disregard for their dignity and contributions. Instead of addressing their legitimate demands—for job security, fair treatment, and recognition of their work—the authorities have subjected them to harassment, violence, and dehumanisation. This blatant cruelty underscores a broader pattern of unfair treatment, whereby the government marginalises and mistreats those who advocate for their rights, branding them as enemies and systematically silencing their voices. Such actions not only suppress genuine protests but also betray the very principles of justice and equality that these women seek to uphold.

The interim government, often unable or unwilling to implement reforms to protect the interests of factory workers, trade unions, employees across private and public sectors, and outsourced workers, has frequently questioned the legitimacy of their protests. Rather than addressing their grievances, the government has arbitrarily labelled protesters as collaborators of the previous autocratic regime. Support for any particular political party should never serve as a criterion for unfair transfers, stand releases, or dismissals. Regardless of any political affiliations, individuals may have had in the past, the state has a fundamental responsibility to treat all workers with fairness, dignity, and respect. Unfortunately, we have witnessed the government exploiting political connections as a basis for mistreatment, further deepening the sense of insecurity and injustice among these workers.

While these movements reveal a collective yearning for justice, employment, and dignity, the interim government's response has been tepid at best. Many expected that the government would prioritise creating jobs, reform policies, and meet the genuine demands of the people. Instead, the measures taken so far have fallen short, lacking a cohesive strategy to address the root causes of unemployment and social disparity. The interim government's inability—or perhaps unwillingness—to act decisively has led many to believe that it is incapable of fulfilling the aspirations of the masses.

**Moshahida Sultana is an associate professor, Department of Accounting, University of Dhaka.**





PHOTO: PRABIR DAS

What is needed today is perhaps a complete overhaul, which requires a great deal more productivity-enhancing investment in elementary and secondary schools. But what they are instead promoting is an alienated post-secondary education.



Salimullah Khan

In conversation with Salimullah Khan, one of Bangladesh's most prominent public intellectuals and a professor in the Department of History & Philosophy at North South University.

The Daily Star (TDS): What led you to deliver the speech at ULAB on July 31, where you famously called for Prime Minister Hasina's resignation? Salimullah Khan (SK): I don't know, really. Perhaps, when after July 16 the fascist government closed the public

murder of man to the status of legislative principle, what else remains to be done? With our backs to the wall—literally—I had to be brief in my prayers: *O my body, always make a man who refuses to lose his freedom to madness!*

TDS: The student-led movement that ultimately toppled the long-standing authoritarian regime is widely believed to have been driven by jobless growth, corruption, and unaccountable planning. One year on, to what extent have the economy and the education sector shown signs of moving in the right direction?

SK: I do not think it is hard to say whether the economy (and also the education sector) is going. If you mean by "right" something necessary or adequate, it is not going in the right direction. But it has been going in the right—as opposed to the left—direction for a long time.

But for an interim government, reforming an entire education system must be too tall an order. Or, for that matter, reform of the whole national economy must remain illusory.

Ever since this country (and its neighbours) became part of the international division of labour with Britain and exported agricultural products, policies in the "right direction" did not lead to prosperity either in agriculture or in the industrial sector. The commercialisation of agriculture also did not improve the living standards of the cultivator.

The picture did not change much in the post-colonial age either. Public investment in infrastructure increased in absolute terms as the share of investment in GDP increased. However, with market-based economic reforms—that is, the introduction of neoliberalism—the emphasis shifted away from productivity-raising investments in agriculture, and many of the problems that agriculture faced in the colonial era have resurfaced. The country remains a nation of hevers of wood and drawers of water.

Similarly for education—especially at elementary and fundamental levels. Policies in the post-colonial age in education also show the same old colonial trends.

To this day, our primary and secondary levels of education remain the most ignored sectors and thus

of good secondary schools, ends up producing a perverse structure where the service sector overtakes both agriculture and industry. It will be too much, perhaps, to expect a miracle from an interim regime. They too must have known this.

TDS: There seems to be a growing surge in mob violence and crimes against women and minorities under the current interim government. Do you see this as merely a law and order issue arising from a partially functioning police force, or does it indicate a deeper societal shift—perhaps the rise of "religious extremism" in the vacuum left by the absence of a robust democratic environment?

SK: I doubt how deep a shift it reflects. It is best seen rather as a belated reflection of twilight dust flying over the tombs of our tenets of humanism. It reminds me of Iravati Karve's stricture: *"It takes thousands of years to achieve humanitarian values, and one generation for them to come to dust."*

"Mob violence", so-called, is a form of anarchy, and it may be seen both as a belated reaction to the fascist violence perpetrated over the past several generations. After all, it was in the womb of fascist violence—a combine of ruling party private apparatus with the monopolistic violence of the state—that today's "mob", if not its violence, was born.

"Religious extremism", if any, also has its short-term determinants in our material existence and our psychic conditions. I wouldn't think these phenomena represent any deeper societal shift other than the legacy of a historic inferiority complex of the Bengali Muslims—one born in an era of unequal exchange with their casteist or Aryan conquerors, fostered even throughout the two bouts of Turko-Afghan rule in Bengal, and re-valoured in the darkest era of reactionary European colonialism.

What is new in it is perhaps a refraction of a belated late-neocolonialism—that is, imperialism masquerading as globalisation. It is the state of continued marginalisation of an entire nation that stalks our land, of which the mob is a perverse symptomatic expression. It also shows a spontaneity of the urban poor, a lumpen proletariat casting its long shadow on the imagination of a

What is "religious extremism" anyway but a phantasmagorical construct born in the angst of a privileged and alienated westernised minority in the country—one which, under the auspices of a reactionary fascist dictatorship, fattened itself for over half a century?

Alternatively, you might find it a revolution dissipating itself—or even entropy. In any case, a "robust democratic environment" has never been a real thing. It remains an adorable but fictitious configuration of our noisy imagination—at worst, a good bluff.

TDS: As the current government has made no move to establish an Education Commission to initiate reforms—and is unlikely to do so—what short- and long-term measures do you believe are necessary to address the ongoing crisis in education, particularly the widespread prevalence of poor and substandard quality from primary to tertiary levels?

SK: It may not be out of place here to recall that education had been a premier battleground for social mobility and political power in the British colonial era. It remains so. Moreover, it also interpellated what Partha Chatterjee aptly called Macaulay's poison tree. Those who drank their fill from these poisoned chalices now live a life of what Sartre called "bad faith"—or inauthenticity. I mean alienation.

The pitfalls of our alienated national consciousness—that oxymoron—become manifest in the lack of access to even an elementary education for all. Moreover, a national system of education could not be completed in the past eight decades. Instead, they keep shamelessly insisting on a foreign medium of instruction in the 79th year of our new statehood. What a shame!

This not only reflects the historical legacy of the inferiority complex of the Bengali Muslims but also their continuing subjugation to the ideologies of a narrow, alienated, marginalised elite.

What is needed today is perhaps a complete overhaul, which requires a great deal more productivity-enhancing investment in elementary and secondary schools. But what they are instead promoting is an alienated post-secondary education without any grounding in a national system of public education. Shame! It is nothing short of structural suicide!

The social regime in Bangladesh today is neoliberal, suicidal—that is, fatally alienated from what makes a nation thrive. These perpetrators of a neocolonial order in the country are, however, totally bereft of even a minimal commitment to humanitarian or, for that matter, national values.

Elementary and fundamental education must be based on a national language basis, to be followed by technical and professional education at an intermediate level. Only then will higher education bear fruit—if providence permits.

Colonial policies towards the non-extension of primary education (a minimum of 12 years of schooling) prevented the formation of a literate workforce in Bengal and elsewhere in South Asia. To this day, the concentration of the labour force in the service sector—but not in agriculture or industry—has proved the Achilles' heel of South Asian economies. Historians frequently argue that these factors provide a different perspective on South Korea or Taiwan.

TDS: With the nation awaiting general

elections in the hope of restoring a normal political process, what steps are essential to foster the emergence of a functioning democratic culture—both within state institutions and throughout society—in the post-election period?

SK: As you sow, so you reap! The late fascist regime thrived on pentennial rigged elections and unlawful murders, and the interim regime is now prevaricating for a non-elected second chamber. It is certainly not going to break the spell of fascism, but merely transition into another.

The proportional representation they are pushing will, at best, be a form of basic democracy. People will lose their right to vote for a candidate. A dual system of voting will destroy whatever remains of the people's rights. I don't know who it is that empowered this interim administration to propose robbing our people of their fundamental right to directly elect their own representatives.

Isn't this cynicism also manifest in the provision for setting aside one-third of the chamber deputies for the president to nominate? Will this not open the floodgates of legislative autocracy? Colonial memories, indeed, die hard.

Military coups d'état in former days used to abrogate incumbent constitutions, and late fascist regimes used to hollow them out from within. And now, lo and behold, the transition team is planning a virtual constitutional coup d'état. They are pushing for a practically unelected second chamber. It will not change a hair, but merely allocate chairs to their selections—and will, no doubt, bring forth another disaster before long. They are openly offering viceregal and gubernatorial general jurisdiction to a nominal president in nominating a third of the upper chamber deputies.

The oligarchy formed by a regime of primitive accumulation will not stop anywhere, it seems, before throwing the nation to the wolves.

If a second chamber is a must, why not follow the US example? Why not form a second chamber of 128 deputies by equal representation from all of our 64 districts, gentlemen? That would address the problem of unequal regional development, including that of the Hill districts.

I cannot see how we are going to establish a functioning democratic system in the absence of directly elected representatives for both lower and upper chambers.

The problem of a functioning democratic system in Bangladesh does not lie in whether we adopt a presidential or a premier-led form of government. It lies in the equitable distribution of not only political but also economic resources. There will be no peace without health.

What do our lived experiences with presidential and premier-led systems in the recent past show? We have seen both leading to autocracy and, ultimately, fascism—haven't we? The incumbent neoliberal regime's prevarication game with electoral reform—by building a consensus without electing a constituent assembly—is a sham and is going to be disastrous. Has it not already become manifest in the myriad reform commission reports produced by the regime? I am afraid their fate will be no different from those of the numerous task force reports of 1991. Only a providence, perhaps, can save us from the sharks.

The interview was taken by Priyam Paul



With arms outstretched in defiance, Abu Sayed of Begum Rokeya University confronted police moments before he was shot around 2:30pm on July 16, 2024.

PHOTO: COLLECTED

universities and the students of the private universities, including the one in which I work, took to the streets, a realisation like Frantz Fanon's dawned—one that may be put in Fanon's own idiom: *"there comes a time when silence becomes dishonesty."*

I reached the decision not to despair of human dignity—in other words, of myself. I was determined not to lose hope. It was no longer possible to keep quiet on the false pretext that there was nothing else to be done.

You know Mao Zedong's notorious adage that making a revolution is something other than writing a dissertation or delivering a fine after-dinner speech. Could what we were witnessing in late July be described in any other terms than either madness or revolution? The killing spree the fascist regime unleashed since July 16 convinced me that I owed it to myself to affirm that I had become permanently an alien—in other words, an unfree man in my own country, living in a state of absolute alienation, nay, of madness. When a regime raises the multi daily



PHOTO: RASHED SHUMON

Professor Salimullah Khan spoke during a protest organised by ULAB teachers in Dhaka on July 31, 2024, demanding justice for the students who were killed, arrested, and disappeared during the quota reform movement.

cannot create a literate workforce for modern industry.

Investment remains abysmal in education, and quantitative growth in tertiary education, in the absence

neoliberal elite—a parasite thriving in the shadows of an imperial climate change. All said and done, the lumpen proletariat is a product of the misadventures of our national consciousness.





“Our warriors in this sector are reporting the participation of mercenaries from China, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, and African countries in the war.”  
Says Ukraine's Zelensky



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# Hasina's final days BEFORE THE FALL

PARTHA PRATIM BHATTACHARJEE and ZYMA ISLAM

A desire to cling to power, intolerance for dissent and failure to see the writing on the wall were what eventually unravel Sheikh Hasina's iron-fisted rule of 15 years.

The walls came crashing down when Hasina's brutal tactics led to a bloodbath and the intelligence agencies suppressed information to feed her only what she wanted to hear. By the time she realised it, things had already spiralled out of control.

Neither the large-scale killings, nor the relentless propaganda, nor the repressive machinery could

transpire between Hasina and her close aides inside the Gono Bhaban during her last days in power.

**THE FINAL COUNTDOWN**  
August 5, 2024. The final day unfolded with intense drama.

Around 9:00am, Hasina came down to the ground floor of the Gono Bhaban, prepared to head to the Bangabhaban to request a declaration of a state of emergency, according to sources present with her.

Around the same time, the Special Security Force sought clearance from the police via wireless communication, stating: "Victor-2 will go to the Bangabhaban to meet with

Hasina that the situation was under control and a declaration of emergency was unnecessary. Following their assurance, Hasina returned to the first floor of the Gono Bhaban, according to the sources.

Meanwhile, preparations were underway at the Gono Bhaban for Hasina's scheduled address to the nation. A script was supposed to be drafted but she later decided to speak extempore. A BT recording unit had been summoned. The camera unit remained on standby at the premises.

According to the sources, some of Hasina's key personal staff were denied entry to the Gono Bhaban. They were asked to wait in the



On this day last year, just minutes after Sheikh Hasina fled the country, a jubilant tide of people defied the curfew and swarmed the Gono Bhaban -- the official residence of the prime minister. Some climbed to the rooftop and hung the national flag as a symbol of victory.

FILE PHOTO: AFP



## THE 36TH DAY OF JULY

### 'July rekindled the hope for a just country'

Says CA Prof Yunus as nation observes July Mass Uprising Day today

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The July Mass Uprising Day is all set to be observed across the country today, with various events scheduled to honour last year's historic movement that toppled a long-standing authoritarian regime.

The interim government and political parties have announced elaborate programmes to observe the day.

On this day last year, the Awami League government, led by Sheikh Hasina, was ousted following a nationwide movement by students and the people, forcing then prime minister Hasina to flee the country and take shelter in India.

To mark the day, President Mohammed Shahabuddin and Chief Adviser Professor Muhammad Yunus issued separate commemorative messages.

SEE PAGE 11 COL 4

#### NOTICE

The office of The Daily Star is closed today on account of the public holiday for July Mass Uprising Day. However, the regular issue will come out tomorrow under special arrangements.

AUGUST 5, 2024

## The day the people triumphed

SHAMSUDDOZA SAJEN

August 5 became a watershed in Bangladesh's history -- the climactic peak of the July uprising.

After weeks of bloodshed, defiance, and unyielding protest, the people's movement surged past its tipping point, toppling the 15-year-long authoritarian rule of Sheikh Hasina. What began as a student-led protest over civil service quotas had, within a month, transformed into a nationwide revolution for dignity, justice, and democracy.

That morning, defying curfew and amid a steady drizzle, hundreds of thousands of people began marching towards Dhaka. Their chants echoed through alleyways and highways as waves of protesters poured into the capital from every direction. Streets that had seen teargas shells, bullets, and grief in the preceding weeks now pulsed with hope and resistance. Despite brutal crackdowns, the spirit of the masses remained unbroken.

Around noon, unconfirmed reports spread like wildfire: prime minister Sheikh Hasina had resigned and fled the country. Then came the official confirmation. Army chief General Waker-Uz-Zaman addressed the nation and declared that an interim government would soon be formed.

In his televised address, the army chief urged all, including students, to refrain from violence and cooperate with the armed forces. He assured that all demands would be met and that justice would be ensured. "Together," he said, "we will move towards a beautiful future."

Hasina, along with her younger sister Sheikh Rehana, had departed on a military helicopter to Agartala, India, later flown to the Hindon Air Force Base near New Delhi. Indian media

SEE PAGE 10 COL 4



prevent Hasina's downfall -- one that jeopardised the future of her decades-old political party and left hundreds of thousands of activists in uncertainty.

Hasina fled to India exactly a year ago this day as her fabled fortress of popularity was washed away by a deluge of angry protesters in Dhaka.

The Daily Star talked to seven key Awami League leaders and senior police officials who were delegated with crucial responsibilities during the tumultuous days of July-August of 2024. Taken together with the information from the UN fact-finding report on the uprising, these personal accounts provide a vivid description of what

Victor-1." According to the police code, Victor-1 and Victor-2 refer to the president and the prime minister, respectively.

The police responded promptly, clearing Hasina's movement immediately. Under normal circumstances, a VVIP movement typically occurs within 10 minutes of receiving police clearance. However, even after 40 minutes, no such movement took place in this case.

Then a message was relayed to the police's wireless system, saying "Victor-2 will not move now. We will inform you if there is any movement later on."

During those 40 minutes, senior officers of the security forces stationed on the ground floor of the Gono Bhaban assured

"call-on" room located beside the main congregation hall of the Gono Bhaban.

Meanwhile, in Uttara, a huge segment of the "March to Dhaka" entered the city without any obstacle by late morning. News of this breach spread rapidly, prompting a surge of protesters on the streets.

To counter the Dhaka March scheduled for August 5, leaders and activists of the Awami League and its affiliated organisations had been deployed across the capital beginning the night of August 4. However, when the processions managed to enter Dhaka on the 5th, most of the deployed activists retreated.

SEE PAGE 2 COL 1

## Sheikh Hasina ordered not to treat or release July victims

Prosecution witness tells ICT

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The treatment of survivors of police brutality was halted at NITOR following the order from then prime minister Sheikh Hasina, a prosecution witness told the International Crimes Tribunal-1 yesterday.

Survivor Abdullah Al Emran, who was undergoing treatment at the hospital during her visit there, said that after talking to him and several others injured, Hasina went to the help desk and instructed "no release, no treatment".

Emran is the second witness, after Khokon Chandro Barmon, to testify before the court in the case filed over police atrocities during the July uprising against Hasina, former home minister Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal,

SEE PAGE 11 COL 1



Preparations were underway at the Manik Mia avenue yesterday afternoon, as the interim government is set to unveil the July Declaration today at 5:00pm.

PHOTO: PRABIR DAS

## Authoritarian system yet to be taken apart

Says TIB report; new parties on self-destructive path

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Systemic maladies in politics, governance, and society persist even a year after the uprising, and these cannot help dismantle the authoritarian system, says Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB).

"We have overthrown an authoritarian regime, but unless we put an end to the authoritarian practices, we cannot really create a new Bangladesh," said TIB Executive Director Iftekharuzzaman at the launch of a report at the TIB Auditorium in the capital yesterday.

TIB researchers Shahzada M Akram and Mohammad Julkarnayeen presented the report, titled "One Year After the Fall of Authoritarian Regime: Expectation and Achievement", which was prepared based on events from August last year to July this year.

According to the report, while the interim government made some important progress on reforms, the challenges that remain are enormous.

"There are troubling signs of corruption, conflicts of interest, and attempts to undermine the Anti-Corruption Commission," said Iftekharuzzaman.

The report states that 121 people were killed and 5,189 injured in 471 incidents of political violence across Bangladesh between August last year and June this year.

The BNP was involved in 92 percent of the incidents. The Awami League followed at 22 percent, while Jamaat-  
SEE PAGE 11 COL 4



## 17 heat records broken in Japan

AFP, Tokyo

Seventeen heat records were broken in Japan yesterday, the weather agency said, after the country sweltered through its hottest ever June and July.

Heatwaves are becoming more intense and frequent worldwide because of human-caused climate change, scientists say, and Japan is no exception.

The city of Komatsu, in the central region of Ishikawa, saw a new record of 40.3 degrees Celsius (104 degrees Fahrenheit) yesterday, the Japan Meteorological Agency (JMA) said.

Toyama city in Toyama prefecture, also in the central region, hit 39.8C (103F), the highest temperature since records began, according to the JMA.

Fifteen other locations across cities and towns soared to new highs between 35.7C (96F) and 39.8C, added the JMA, which monitors temperatures at more than 900 points in Japan.

On July 30, Japan experienced its highest recorded temperature, a sizzling 41.2C (106F) in the western region of Hyogo.



PHOTO: HABIBUR RAHMAN

**A woman wades waist-deep into nearby waterbodies to collect snails, a good fish and poultry feed. Each day, she collects 8-10 kg of snails, which she sells at Tk 30-35 per kg. The photo was taken yesterday from Saratola village in Khulna's Dumuria upazila.**

## Hasina's final days before the fall

FROM PAGE 1

Around 11:00am, police for the last time tried to foil the Dhaka March -- a mass mobilisation effort by protesters aiming to enter the capital. A team comprising around two hundred armed police rode up to Kakoli intersection, led by the former chief of the police's Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime (CTTC), Md Asaduzzaman and Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)'s former additional commissioner Harun ur Rashid.

Once they reached the intersection, Harun paged the deputy commissioner (Gulshan division) of DMP Rifat Rahman Shamim for reinforcements but got no response. Since the protesters far outnumbered them, the law enforcers were forced to retreat to the police headquarters.

By this time, many police officials were unavailable for wireless communications, and the top officials stationed at the Police Headquarters were left in the dark.

At one point, the top officials were evacuated -- airlifted by two helicopters from the rooftop helipad of the headquarters -- and taken to the safety of the cantonment.

The first helicopter carried the then police IGP Chowdhury Abdullah Al Mamun, Special Branch chief Monirul Islam, additional IG Lutful Kabir, deputy inspector general (admin) Aminul Islam, DMP commissioner Habibur Rahman, among others. The second chopper carried additional deputy inspector general (Police Headquarters) Proloy Joardar, CTTC chief Asaduzzaman and deputy inspector general Amena Begum.

According to the sources, around 11:00am, top officials from various state security agencies attempted to convince Hasina that the situation had spun out of control and that she needed to leave the Gono Bhaban immediately. Leaders of security forces also informed her that they would not be able to stop the protesters from reaching her residence.

However, the sources said, Hasina reportedly refused to heed the advice and in the final moments, she asked to be taken to Tungipara, her ancestral home. For security reasons, officials instead insisted on relocating her to the cantonment.

The United Nations Fact-Finding Mission's team also spoke to an official who had personally called Hasina on August 5 to inform her that things were not going as planned.

"In the late morning, the army chief told the then prime minister that the army would not be able to prevent protesters from reaching her residence," said the UN report.

Around 1:30pm, vehicles carrying Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana exited through the lake road gate of the Gono Bhaban and proceeded to the old Trade Fare ground, from where they boarded a helicopter to the air force base in Kurmitola. From there, they flew over the Jashore border, crossed into India via Kolkata, and landed at Hindon Air Base in Ghaziabad, near New Delhi, at 5:36pm local time.

As she was leaving the Gono Bhaban, party members and personal staff that were present there were in tears and Hasina reportedly urged them to remain calm and instructed them to seek safety.

### THE LEAD-UP

It was Hasina's wayward remark during a press conference that lit the fuse to the powder keg. On July 14, 2024, the ousted premier likened the anti-quota protesters to descendants of Razakars, the vile collaborators

of the 1971 Liberation War. It sent shockwaves that evening across university campuses -- the protest hubs till then. It was perhaps the first crack in the fabled dam.

The second explosion came two days later when police shot Abu Sayed, a university student, in Rangpur. This truly set off the protests. The trickle became a current and then a deluge that toppled the Awami League government in just three weeks.

### JULY 18

July 18 was when the bloodbath intensified.

A top policeman who was present on the ground throughout the July-August movement said that on the morning of July 18, around 8:00am, the field police got a directive sent from DMP commissioner Habibur Rahman saying, "Use whatever you need to use to save your lives."

The investigation agencies have the recording of a voice conversation that allegedly took place between Hasina and Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal leader and former information minister Hasanul Haq Inu.

The Daily Star listened to the full recording but did not independently verify it forensically.

The caller is alleged to have been Inu and the receiver Hasina. The caller began with platitudes, praising the government's handling of the protests, and then expressed concern about the situation in Jatrabari and Shanir Akhra.

The receiver, allegedly Hasina, said she was sending helicopter reinforcements and that they would "bomb the area from helicopters."

The caller added that the protesters were known political cadres and said, "I have already made lists of the opposition activists in my area. I told them to pick up all the men in Kushtia."

The receiver congratulated him and said Awami cadres would comb their localities for opposition activists.

The caller agreed and said all BNP and Jamaat men should be identified and detained.

On the evening of July 18, a phone call took place between former Hasina and then Dhaka South City Corporation mayor Sheikh Fazle Noor Taposh. The Daily Star previously published the call's contents and verified it forensically.

Taposh, also her nephew, listened as she talked about aerial surveillance.

"We are now doing things differently. We are capturing photos with drones, and sending helicopters to several places," she said.

Hasina further elaborated on the use of aerial surveillance to monitor public gatherings while Taposh was heard repeatedly insisting on launching a mass arrest campaign.

In a direct statement, Hasina said: "I have given instructions, now I have given direct instructions; now they will use lethal weapons. Wherever they find them, they will shoot directly." Taposh replied, "Yes, yes."

From the night of July 18, there used to be a meeting of a "core committee" every single night at the residence of then home minister Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal. Then additional commissioner (DMP) Harun, DMP commissioner Habibur Rahman, ADC (Tejgaon Division) Hafiz Al Faruk, additional SP (Dhaka District) Abdullah Hel Kafi, Syed Nurul Islam (DIG) (Dhaka Range), among others, would attend informal meetings every night at Kamal's residence and those meetings used to decide what actions to be taken the next day.

The UN report cited an attendee saying the home minister instructed

the BGB commander to order his members to use lethal force.

### JULY 19

On that day, Hasina convened the 14-party alliance. Leaving them waiting, she first met with the chiefs of the armed forces and security officials in an adjacent room.

A decision was made to issue a curfew and deploy the army in aid to civil administration.

The UN report stated that at that meeting, Hasina told security force officials to kill protesters to quell the unrest and specifically demanded they "arrest the ringleaders of the protests, the troublemakers, kill them and hide their bodies."

She then informed the 14-party alliance of her drastic decision.

After the meeting, AL General Secretary Obaidul Quader publicly announced that there was a "shoot-at-sight" order.

### JULY 20-21

An Awami League leader who was stationed at the Gono Bhaban throughout the crisis told The Daily Star that following the imposition of curfew and deployment of the army on July 20, the party's activities gradually diminished, and communications with Sheikh Hasina began to weaken.

According to documents found in the Gono Bhaban by this newspaper, Hasina was tallying material losses.

For an administration actively hiding the true death toll, Hasina received two intelligence reports detailing the destruction of 66 government and Awami League structures. The reports included details such as rooms trashed, vehicles destroyed, and even which

security forces to continue operations against the demonstrators.

### JULY 29

Hasina called a meeting with her 14-party allies to discuss the overall situation on July 29.

At the meeting, alliance leaders lambasted Obaidul Quader for issuing the "shoot-at-sight" order. They claimed Quader made the announcement after leaving a July 19 meeting, even though no such decision had been taken.

They also criticised Harun, then head of the Detective Branch, for detaining student coordinators and the chaos that followed.

The 14-party leaders accused the police of becoming trigger-happy in line with Quader's directives.

Hasina intervened, claiming the protests were not by general students but by Jamaat-e-Islami and its student wing, Shibir.

After her comment, one alliance leader exclaimed, "Then why are you not banning Jamaat Shibir?" Other leaders echoed the demand.

The meeting unanimously decided to ban Jamaat Shibir.

Following this, Quader publicly announced on August 1 that there was no "shoot at sight" order. The six detained coordinators were released, and Jamaat-e-Islami was banned under the Anti-Terrorism Act.

### AUGUST 2

Late in the evening, Hasina summoned a group of senior leaders to the Gono Bhaban to assess the situation. According to one of the attendees who spoke to The Daily Star, the leaders agreed that the unrest was unlike any other in the past, and navigating it would not be

his social media. He wrote, "There's no point asking for justice from a murderous government anymore, and sitting down for talks isn't an option either. The time to apologise has long passed."

That very day marked the historic gathering at the Central Shaheed Minar, where thousands of voices united under a single demand -- Hasina's resignation.

Later that evening, Hasina held a closed-door meeting with former information minister MA Arafat and Salman F Rahman to discuss launching a sweeping social media campaign spanning every district. Her plan was to activate cyber warriors all across Bangladesh to push the Awami propaganda and shore up digital support for the falling government.

### AUGUST 4

Hasina spent the day concocting various ways to go harder on the protesters and rejecting suggestions for a graceful exit, the sources said.

The investigation agencies possess the recording of a voice conversation that allegedly took place between Hasina and another yet unidentified law enforcement officer.

The caller, alleged to be Hasina, complained that protests are flaring up all across Dhaka, in Uttara, at Mirpur 10 and in front of Brac University.

"You have to ... from the get go," said the caller, not explicitly saying what needs to be done. The receiver responded saying that he understood.

The caller continued, "When they are chased away, they will try to hide in the alleyways. Find them, and this time, you will show no mercy (eibar ar kono kotha nai). Straight away ...."



PHOTO: FILE

**Sheikh Hasina getting into a car after getting off a helicopter as she prepares to flee the country on this day last year.**

car windows were broken.

One report was submitted on July 20, the other on July 21, titled "Description of damages to government establishments that occurred due to BNP-Jamaat's recent destructive activities."

Five days after getting this report, Hasina would visit the vandalised Mirpur-10 metro station and sob into a napkin. More than 200 people, including children, had been gunned down by military-grade weapons by her security forces by then.

### JULY 27

Despite the mounting casualties, Hasina remained unwilling to engage with the protesting students.

According to the sources, senior intelligence officials and some party leaders urged her to initiate a dialogue with the students to stabilise the situation.

However, Hasina reportedly dismissed the suggestions, stating that she had no intention of conceding. She instead instructed

easy.

She was reportedly displeased with Obaidul Quader. That day, Hasina instructed Quader not to go to the party's Dhanmondi road number 3 office, and removed him as party spokesperson. In his place, she appointed Presidium Member Jahangir Kabir Nanak to speak to the media.

### AUGUST 3

Hasina realised that the situation was going out of control.

Yielding for the first time since protests rocked the nation, Hasina extended an invitation to the students to meet her at her official residence.

"The doors of the Gono Bhaban are open to you. I want to listen to those protesting against the quota system. I do not want conflict," she was famously heard saying. In front of television cameras, she pledged justice for those killed during the uprising.

Student leader Nahid Islam responded to her publicised call on

Again, the caller did not explicitly say the things she wanted to be done, but the receiver answered in the affirmative.

Hasina chaired a high-level National Security Council meeting attended by the chiefs of the army, BGB, police, DGFI, NSI, along with the home and education ministers, on the morning of August 4, according to the UN Fact-Finding Mission and also what The Daily Star learned by talking to individuals present at the meeting.

The primary topic was whether to reinforce a curfew to prevent the "March to Dhaka."

One of the sources, with knowledge of the meeting, claimed that senior figures from the party attempted to persuade Hasina on the night of August 4, urging her to step down. She rejected their call and instead ordered an even tighter curfew from the morning of August 5.

This was reflected in the findings of the International Crimes Tribunal.

### MURADNAGAR KILLINGS

## Police came but it was too late

**Says survivor; alleges Adviser Asif's father backing killers; adviser denies allegations**

### STAR REPORT

A woman, whose mother and two siblings were beaten and stabbed to death in Cumilla on July 3, yesterday alleged that the father of Adviser Asif Mahmud was backing the killers.

"After losing my mother, brother and sister, we have nothing left. Please don't make us suffer more. We want to survive. Please let us survive," Ruma Akhter told reporters at the Jatiya Press Club in Dhaka yesterday.

Ruma suffered stab injuries and required 44 stitches, while her sister Taspiya Jonaki, brother Md Russel, and their mother Roksana Akter Rubi were beaten and hacked to death in broad daylight in Karoi Bari village under Cumilla's Muradnagar upazila.

Police claimed that a mob killed them over their alleged involvement in drug dealing.

Ruma's sister Rikta Akhter, who was also injured in the attack, filed a case with Bangra Bazar Police Station, accusing 33 named and 25 unnamed individuals.

SEE PAGE 11 COL 1



## Reform must begin within, not remain on paper

### Says law adviser

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Law Adviser Prof Asif Nazrul yesterday said constitutional



amendments and legal reforms alone would not be enough to build a better country unless both citizens and government employees internalise those changes and improve themselves.

"We need to reform ourselves. We need to have dignity as a nation... when we carry the green passport, we feel shame and anger," he said while addressing a seminar marking July Uprising Day 2025 at the Foreign Service Academy.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs organised the seminar.

Asif Nazrul said, "What

SEE PAGE 4 COL 5

## CHITTAGONG CLUB Ex-army chief Harun-Ar-Rashid found dead

STAFF CORRESPONDENT, Ctg

Former Chief of Army Staff Lt Gen (ret'd) M Harun-Ar-Rashid was found dead in a room at Chittagong Club yesterday morning.



He was serving as chairman of Destiny Group.

On information, his body was recovered around 10:00am, said Abdul Karim, officer-in-charge of Kotwali Police Station.

The OC said police have launched an investigation. Officials from the Police Bureau of Investigation (PBI) and the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) visited the spot and collected evidence, he said.

The exact cause of the death has yet to be confirmed, he said, adding that the body was sent to the Chattogram Medical College Hospital morgue for autopsy around 3:00pm, he added.

Harun came to Chattogram to appear in court in connection with a financial forgery case filed against Destiny, said police sources.

Arish Ahmed Shah, a

SEE PAGE 4

## JULY KILLINGS Court orders exhumation of 114 bodies for identification

COURT CORRESPONDENT

A Dhaka court yesterday ordered the authorities concerned to exhume 114 bodies of individuals killed during the July uprising in order to identify them.

Dhaka Chief Metropolitan Magistrate Mohammad Mostafizur Rahman passed the order after Mahidul Islam, a sub-inspector of Mohammadpur Police Station, submitted an application.

According to the application, during the anti-discrimination movement last year, 114 martyrs were buried as unrecognised individuals in the Rayerbazar cemetery in Mohammadpur.

"For the purpose of taking legal action in the future and identifying the bodies, it is necessary to exhume those through proper legal procedures, conduct post-mortem and collect DNA samples to confirm their identities," the application said.



The July Memorial Monument is being installed at Shahbagh to commemorate the martyrs of the July uprising. Inset, like elsewhere, a similar structure is also being set up at the C&B intersection in Rajshahi. The monuments will be inaugurated today.

PHOTO: AMRAN HOSSAIN, AZAHAR UDDIN

# Political clashes left 15 dead, 661 hurt in July

Finds HRSS report; terms last month's rights situation 'concerning'

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Rights body Human Rights Support Society (HRSS) has described the human rights situation in Bangladesh in July 2025 as "concerning", citing incidents of political violence, mob attacks, minority persecution, custodial deaths, and violence against women and children.

In a statement issued yesterday, the organisation also said incidents of interference with freedom of expression, attacks on journalists and workers, obstruction of assemblies, and deaths in prisons continued throughout the month. Crimes like extortion, theft, mugging, robbery, and murder also triggered public fear.

Attacks on political leaders and activists were reported at court premises and jail gates. In some cases, accused individuals were forcibly taken from police custody during attacks involving political activists, it said.

Additionally, tensions at the India border, provocations by the Border Security Force (BSF), pushbacks of Bangla-speaking people, killing, injury, and arrest of innocent Bangladeshis, as well as incidents of gunfire, landmine, and mortar shell explosions by Myanmar's Arakan Army along the border have raised serious concerns about the human rights situation, the HRSS said.

Citing incidents of July, it said that on July 16, five people were killed and over 100 injured in Gopalganj in clashes between joint forces and activists of the Awami League and the banned Chhatra League over a programme by the National Citizen Party.

HRSS said the victims were buried without postmortems, though three bodies were later exhumed. That day, AL activists also allegedly

### AT A GLANCE

12 killed, 39 hurt in 32 mob violence incidents

233 children abused; 42 died

162 women, girls faced violence; 68 raped

6 custodial deaths; 8 prisoners died

27 journo assaulted or harassed

17 labour unrests left 5 workers dead

attacked the NCP event in Gopalganj municipal park with firearms, crude bombs, and sticks.

In Rangpur's Gangachara upazila, communal violence on July 26-27 saw at least 20 Hindu homes vandalised and looted after a teenager was arrested over an alleged defamatory social media post, HRSS said.

On July 9, scrap trader Md Sohag was beaten and hacked to death in front of Sir Salimullah Medical College Hospital in Old Dhaka. HRSS called it one of the most brutal killings of the month.

A Bangladesh Air Force training aircraft crashed into Milestone School and College in Uttara on July 21, killing at least 34 people, mostly students, and injuring more than 150.

HRSS reported 59 political violence incidents that left 15 people dead and 661 injured. Among the dead were six BNP, five AL, and four United People's Democratic Front (UPDF) activists. Thirteen additional attacks resulted in the deaths of four more individuals – three BNP and one AL activist."

At least 27 journalists were assaulted or harassed in 17 incidents. Fifteen were injured, five threatened, and two named in cases.

Six attacks on minorities led to the vandalism of 20 homes, two temples, and two idols. One land grabbing attempt was also reported.

Thirty-two mob violence incidents left 12 dead and 39 injured. Some opposition activists were beaten by locals and students before being handed to police, HRSS said.

HRSS said six Bangladeshis were killed, four injured, and four arrested in eight border-related incidents involving BSF. The BSF also allegedly

SEE PAGE 4 COL 5

## 'If EC lacks backbone, how am I standing?'

Commission secretary hits back at NCP leader's remark

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

A day after a National Citizen Party leader accused the Election Commission of being "spineless", EC Secretary Akhtar Ahmed yesterday said, "If the EC lacks a backbone, how am I standing?"

"Political statements are not our area. We deal with administrative matters. So far, I am standing straight. Pray that I can continue to stand this way," he said while speaking to reporters at the EC headquarters in Dhaka.

Asked whether everything [election preparation] would be completed by October, he said some tasks may remain pending but could be addressed later.

According to Akhtar Ahmed, a revised voter list – updated through door-to-door visits – will be published on August 10. It will add about 44 lakh previously unlisted voters and remove deceased ones. Claims and objections will be resolved, and the final list will be published by August 31.

A supplementary list will be released one month before the polls, as per the

SEE PAGE 4 COL 4

# Govt slashes stent prices by up to Tk 88,000

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The health ministry has revised the prices of coronary stents from three major US companies, lowering the cost of each stent by Tk 3,000 to Tk 88,000, providing much-needed relief to heart patients.

According to a health ministry document, prices of 10 types of stents from Abbott, Boston Scientific, and Medtronic have been revised.

Meanwhile, hospitals will not be allowed to charge more than five percent in service fees, it said.

Yesterday, the ministry issued a letter instructing the Directorate General of Health Services (DGHS) and the Directorate General of Drug Administration (DGDA) to monitor compliance with the new prices.

A DGDA director confirmed to The Daily Star that the letter was received yesterday.

According to the American Heart Association, a stent is a flexible tube placed in an artery to increase blood flow to the heart. Stents can help reduce the chance of a heart attack.

The steepest price cut is for Abbott's Synergy XD stents, the price of which has been reduced from Tk 1.88 lakh to Tk 1 lakh.

On the other hand, the price of Abbott's Xience Expedition stent remains unchanged at Tk 71,500.

Prices of nine other types of stents were reduced by Tk 3,000-Tk 50,500, the letter shows.

"In light of the recommendations of the expert advisory committee, and considering taxes, VAT, various

SEE PAGE 4 COL 2

# Dhaka Central University to hold both online, on-campus classes

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The proposed Dhaka Central University, which includes seven government colleges in the capital, will follow a hybrid model – 40 percent of classes will be held online, and the remaining in person.

All exams, however, will be conducted in person.

Officials from the education ministry shared the latest updates at a press briefing held at the Secretariat yesterday.



An ordinance to formally establish the Dhaka Central University is expected within this year, they said.

Md Mojibur Rahman, acting secretary of the Secondary and Higher Education Division; Prof SMA Faiz, chairman of University Grants Commission (UGC); Prof Mohammad Tanzimuddin Khan, member of the UGC; and Prof AKM Elias, principal of Dhaka College and also the interim administrator for the seven colleges, described the plan at the briefing.

According to the plan, the School of Science will be based at Dhaka College, Eden Mohila College, and Begum Badrunnessa Government Mohila College. The School of Arts and Humanities will be based at Government Bangla College, and the School of Business will be at Government Titumir College. The School of Law and Justice will be

SEE PAGE 4 COL 4



A long tailback left Mirpur Road in the Dhanmondi area at a standstill for hours. Various protests and upcoming programmes centring August 5 resulted in heavy traffic in multiple areas of the capital yesterday.

PHOTO: PRABIR DAS







## ILLEGAL PLOT ACC sues ex-CJ Khairul, 7 others

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The ACC has filed a case against former chief justice ABM Khairul Haque and seven Rajuk officials for allegedly acquiring a 10 katha plot by submitting false information and abusing power.

Md Akhtar Hossain, director general (prevention) of the ACC, confirmed the development yesterday.

Khairul, who owns a six-storey residence on nearly 18 katha of land on NAEM Road in Dhaka, allegedly violated Rule 13 of the Dhaka Improvement Trust (Allotment of Lands) Rules, 1969.

He is accused of submitting a false affidavit and abusing his authority while in office to secure the plot from Rajuk. Khairul breached the terms of the provisional allotment letter with the direct support of Rajuk officials, Akhtar said.

Although the rules do not permit interest waivers, he failed to pay the instalment within the stipulated time. Instead, he paid the amount five years after his retirement, without any interest, he added.



Pagol Das, 65, making baskets using bamboo strips at his home in Jashore's Abhaynagar. He makes a living by crafting such bamboo-made enclosures mainly used for rearing chickens and ducks. Das can make 5-6 such items daily and sells each at a local weekly market for Tk 120-160.

PHOTO: HABIBUR RAHMAN

## Technical staff crisis hampers KCC services

DIPANKAR ROY, Khulna

The Khulna City Corporation (KCC) is struggling to function due to a chronic shortage of engineers and technical staff.

With key posts, such as executive engineers and assistant engineers, lying vacant for months, essential services including waste management, road development, and public lighting are facing severe disruption.

According to KCC data, four out of five engineering positions under the Mechanical and Electricity departments are currently unfilled. These include executive engineers and assistant engineers -- positions vital for ensuring proper supervision, maintenance, and operation of the city's infrastructure and services.

Officials say this shortage is severely

affecting service delivery.

In addition to regular maintenance, KCC is implementing a Tk 404 crore Waste Management Development Project, which includes procuring new equipment and launching a waste-to-energy centre in Shalua, 20km away from the city.



However, the project has hit a snag due to a leadership vacuum following the retirement of the division's superintendent engineer, Abdul Aziz, on March 11.

Aziz also served as the chief waste management officer and project director. Since his departure, the division has been facing major disruption.

In a stopgap measure, KCC Secretary Sharif Asif Rahman was given the role of executive engineer (mechanical), while Executive Magistrate Jannatul Afroz Swarna was made acting chief waste management officer.

Recently, the government assigned the additional responsibility of executive engineer (mechanical) to Anisuzzaman, a former executive engineer at Barishal City Corporation who was later posted to Rangpur. The local government ministry transferred him to Khulna to fill the gap, but this too is being viewed as a temporary fix.

KCC's Public Works Department is facing a similar crisis. Of the three executive engineer positions, two are vacant, and both assistant engineer (civil) posts remain unfilled. Among 10 approved sub-assistant engineer posts, four are currently occupied.

According to the proposed organogram, the city requires 16 sub-assistant engineers and 32 work assistants across its 31 wards, but only two work assistants are currently in place.

Contacted, KCC Chief Engineer Moshuazzaman Khan said technical operations are being severely disrupted

SEE PAGE 4 COL 5

## Illegal markets choke Dhaka- Sylhet highway

MINTU DESHWARA

Permanent and temporary markets continue to spring up illegally along the Dhaka-Sylhet highway, in clear violation of the law. These unauthorised structures are causing severe traffic congestion, particularly due to the presence of small vehicles, CNG-run auto-rickshaws, and goods carriers that frequent the areas.

At least half a hundred markets -- both large and small -- have been set up along the highway from Moulvibazar district headquarters to Muktijoddha Chattar in Sherpur Bazar. Among the most affected areas are Afrozganj Bazar in Sherpur Bazar, Kazir Bazar in Moulvibazar, Paniumda in Habiganj, and Goalabazar in Sylhet.

Shopkeepers have taken over the sidewalks and set up stalls directly along the road, blocking pedestrian movement. Establishing markets or any form of infrastructure within 10 metres of either side of a road is a punishable offence under the Highways Act of 2021. Violations can lead to imprisonment for up to two years or fines up to Tk 5 lakh.

While the RHD has carried out eviction drives to remove illegal markets from the highway in the past, the structures reportedly reappear within months. Engineers allege that despite repeated efforts, the encroachments continue unabated.



Trader Mizanul Haque Panna from Bekamura village in Moulvibazar Sadar Upazila said the sidewalks from Berirpar and Kusumbagh point in Moulvibazar city to Sherpur Bazar are occupied by floating traders. The situation is particularly dire in Sherpur Bazar, Sarkar Bazar, and Naya Bridge Bazar, where pedestrians are forced to walk on the road.

In Sherpur Bazar, traffic congestion caused by both three-wheelers and street vendors has worsened, making the area especially hazardous.

Jahangir Khan, manager of the Sherpur Bazar stand for the Sylhet Minibus Owners' Association, said pedestrians, especially students from nearby madrasas and schools, are at constant risk while walking along the highway.

He said several fatal accidents have occurred in the area in recent years. Sherpur and Naya Bridge Bazar, being major transit points for travellers, only add to the congestion.

SEE PAGE 4 COL 1



## IUB holds events to mark July uprising anniv

CITY DESK

A two-week series of student-led events concluded yesterday at Independent University, Bangladesh (IUB), marking the first anniversary of the July uprising.

The IUB Theatre Club staged a play called "Biplobi Protichhobi" during the closing programme, followed by protest songs performed by the IUB Music Club.

Earlier, Media and Communication students presented their thesis papers at a seminar titled "Digital Dissent and its Imaginaries".

From August 2 to 4, several exhibitions were held on campus.

On July 31, students from Environmental Trailblazers and DEA IUB led a clean-up drive in Bashundhara Residential Area, joined by IUB Board of Trustees Chairman Didar A Husain and Vice Chancellor Prof M Tamim.



Farmers under the supervision of the Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation transplant Aman rice seedlings in Barishal Sadar's Lakutia area yesterday. Each worker toils for about eight hours a day, earning around Tk 700.

PHOTO: TITU DAS

প্রাকৌশল দপ্তর  
চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়  
চট্টগ্রাম

তারিখঃ ০৩/০৮/২০২৫ইং

উন্মুক্ত দরপত্র নোটিশ নং-১০/২০২৫-২০২৬

চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ইনস্টিটিউট অব মেরিন সায়েন্সেস এন্ড ফিশারিজের গবেষণা ও শিক্ষামূলক বৃদ্ধি শীর্ষক প্রকল্পের আওতায় ইনস্টিটিউট অব মেরিন সায়েন্সেস-এর চাহিদা মোতাবেক বৈজ্ঞানিক/গ্যাব: যন্ত্রপাতি ক্রয়কর্ম সম্পাদনের নিমিত্তে বৈজ্ঞানিক/গ্যাব: যন্ত্রপাতি সরবরাহের অভিজ্ঞতাসম্পন্ন সরকারী, আধা-সরকারী, স্বায়ত্বশাসিত সংস্থা এবং এ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের তালিকাভুক্ত ঠিকাদারগণের নিকট হতে নিম্নস্বাক্ষরকারী কর্তৃক সীলমোহরকৃত উন্মুক্ত দরপত্র আহবান করা যাচ্ছে। বৈজ্ঞানিক/গ্যাব: যন্ত্রপাতি সরবরাহ কাজের সিডিউল ০৪/০৮/২০২৫ইং তারিখ হতে ১১/০৮/২০২৫ইং পর্যন্ত অফিস চলাকালীন সময়ে নিম্নস্বাক্ষরকারীর অফিস হতে পাওয়া যাবে এবং ১২/০৮/২০২৫ইং তারিখ সকাল ১২-০০ ঘটিকা পর্যন্ত দরপত্রসমূহ টেন্ডার বক্সে জমা দিতে হবে এবং উক্ত সময়ের মধ্যে টেন্ডার বক্সে জমা দিতে না পারলে কোন দরপত্র গ্রহণযোগ্য হবেনা। ঐদিন ১২-০০ মিনিটের সময় দরপত্রসমূহ দাতাদের সম্মুখে (যদি কেহ উপস্থিত থাকেন) নিম্নস্বাক্ষরকারীর অফিস কক্ষে খোলা হবে।

ক্রমিক নং	কাজের নাম	কাজ সমাপ্তির সময়	শর্তাবলী
১.	a) Planktology Laboratory Equipment. b) Marine Microbiology and Fish Disease Laboratory Equipment. c) Marine and Freshwater Environmental Laboratory Equipment.	২০ (বিশ) দিন	অনুরূপ কাজে অভিজ্ঞ ঠিকাদার/ সরবরাহকারী হতে হবে।
২.	a) Aquaculture and Fish Nutrition Laboratory Equipment. b) Marine Fisheries and Marine Biodiversity Laboratory Equipment. c) Marine Biotechnology Laboratory Equipment.	২০ (বিশ) দিন	অনুরূপ কাজে অভিজ্ঞ ঠিকাদার/ সরবরাহকারী হতে হবে।
৩.	a) Oceanographic Laboratory Equipment b) Marine Diving Laboratory Equipment c) Common Apparatus.	২০ (বিশ) দিন	অনুরূপ কাজে অভিজ্ঞ ঠিকাদার/ সরবরাহকারী হতে হবে।

কোন দরদাতার/সরবরাহকারীর আইটেমের ক্ষেত্রে পিপিআর-২০০৮ এর শর্ত পূরণ না হলে এবং বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় কর্তৃপক্ষ কোন কারণ দর্শানো ব্যতিরেকে যে কোন/সকল দরপত্র গ্রহণ বা বাতিল করার ক্ষমতা রাখেন।

০৩.০৮.২০২৫  
প্রধান প্রাকৌশলী (ভারপ্রাপ্ত)  
চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়  
চট্টগ্রাম

GD-1718

Common Services Department-1  
Bangladesh Bank  
Head Office  
Dhaka  
Web: <https://www.bb.org.bd>

Invitation for Tender

1	Procuring entity name	Bangladesh Bank, Head Office, Dhaka		
2	Invitation for	Procurement of 20 (Twenty) Color Laser printers for Bangladesh Bank, Head Office.		
3	Invitation Ref No.	CSD-1/EQ/69(3)/Color-Printer/OTM/2025-13		
4	Date	04/08/2025		
5	Procurement method	Open Tendering Method		
6	Budget and source of funds	Own source		
PARTICULAR INFORMATION				
		Date	Time	
7	Tender publication date	04/08/2025		
8	Tender closing date and time	18/08/2025	02:00pm	
9	Tender opening date and time	18/08/2025	02:15pm	
10	Name & address of the office(s)	Address		
11	- Receiving tender document	e-Tender at BB website ( <a href="https://etender.bb.org.bd">https://etender.bb.org.bd</a> ) and Hard Copy of Original Tender security at Office.		
12	- Opening tender document	Common Services Department-1, 6th Floor, Annex-2 Building, Bangladesh Bank, Head Office, Dhaka.		
13	- Pre-tender meeting	N/A		
INFORMATION FOR TENDERER				
14	Brief eligibility of tenderer	The minimum of years of general experience of the Tenderer in the supply of Goods and related services as Supplier shall be minimum 5 (Five) years. The minimum specific experience as Supplier in supply of similar Goods of at least 02 (Two) contract(s) of similar nature successfully completed within the last 03 (Three) years, each with a value of at least BDT 6,50,000.00 (Taka six lac fifty thousand) only. The minimum amount of liquid assets i.e. working capital or credit line(s) of the Tenderer shall be BDT 6,50,000.00 (Taka six lac fifty thousand) only.		
15	Brief description of goods or works	Supply, Installation & Commissioning of Twenty (20) Color Laser Printers for Bangladesh Bank, Head Office		
16	Lot No.	Identification of lot	Location	Tender security amount (Tk)
	1	Color Laser Printer	CSD-1	20,000/- (Pay Order)
				8 (eight) weeks
PROCURING ENTITY DETAILS				
17	Name of official inviting tender	Swapan Kumar Goswami		
18	Designation & address of official inviting tender	Director (CSD-1), Common Services Department-1, Bangladesh Bank, Head office, Dhaka.		
19	Contact details of official inviting tender	Tel: 9530148 Fax: 9530120 E-mail: <a href="mailto:swapan.goswami@bb.org.bd">swapan.goswami@bb.org.bd</a>		
20	The procuring entity reserves the right to reject all Tenders or annul the Tender proceedings.			

DCP: 48/2025-1997  
Date: 04-08-2025

Swapan Kumar Goswami  
Director (CSD-1)  
Common Services Department-1  
Phone: 9530148  
E-mail: [swapan.goswami@bb.org.bd](mailto:swapan.goswami@bb.org.bd)

GD-1719

ব্যাবহিক ও আর্থিক সেবা পেতে হয়রানির শিকার হলে কিংবা কোনো অভিযোগ থাকলে ১৬২৩৬ নম্বরে যেন করুন।



TRUMP COMMENT

## Russia urges caution in nuclear ‘rhetoric’

AFP, Moscow

Russia yesterday urged caution after US President Donald Trump said he would deploy two nuclear submarines following an online row with former Russian president Dmitry Medvedev.

Trump said he had ordered the deployment in response to what he alleged were highly provocative comments by Medvedev, saying the submarines would be positioned in “appropriate regions”.

Trump did not say whether he meant nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed submarines.

He also did not elaborate on the locations, which are kept secret by the US military.



“Russia is very attentive to the topic of nuclear non-proliferation. And we believe that everyone should be very, very cautious with nuclear rhetoric,” Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov told reporters, including from AFP, yesterday.

The row between Medvedev and Trump erupted against the backdrop of the US leader’s ultimatum for Russia to end its military offensive in Ukraine or face fresh economic sanctions.

Medvedev accused Trump of “playing the ultimatum game” and said that Trump “should remember” that Russia was a formidable force.



Israeli border guards stand by as excavators demolish a building in the village of Judeira, south of Ramallah in the occupied West Bank yesterday. The structure was reportedly built without a permit in Area C—territory designated by 1995 Oslo Accords as part of occupied Palestinian lands under full Israeli control.

PHOTO: AFP

# World in \$1.5tn ‘plastics crisis’, warn experts

AFP, Paris

Plastic pollution is a “grave, growing and under-recognised danger” to health that is costing the world at least \$1.5 trillion a year, experts warned in a report yesterday.

The new review of the existing evidence, which was carried out by leading health researchers and doctors, was published one day ahead of fresh talks opening in Geneva aiming to seal the world’s first treaty on plastic pollution.

“Plastics cause disease and death from infancy to old age and are responsible for health-related economic losses exceeding US\$1.5 trillion annually,” said the review in The Lancet medical journal.

Comparing plastic to air pollution and lead, the report said its impact on health could be mitigated by laws and policies.

The experts called for the delegates from nearly 180 nations gathering in Geneva to finally agree to a treaty

after previous failed attempts.

Philip Landrigan, a doctor and researcher at Boston College in the United States, warned that vulnerable people, particularly children, are most affected by plastic pollution.


“It is incumbent on us to act in response,” he said in a statement. “To those meeting in Geneva: please take up the challenge and the opportunity of finding the common ground that will enable meaningful and effective international cooperation in response to this global crisis.”

The researchers also warned about tiny pieces of plastic called microplastics, which have been found throughout nature – and throughout human bodies.

The full effect of microplastics on health are not yet fully known, but researchers have sounded the alarm about the potential impact of this ubiquitous plastic.

The amount of plastic produced by the world has risen from two million tonnes in 1950 to 475 million tonnes in 2022, the report said.





### চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

চট্টগ্রাম-৪৩৪৯, বাংলাদেশ

স্মারক নং-চুয়েট/আইন ও এসেট-৬৮/২৬২৪ তারিখঃ ৩১/০৭/২০২৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দ

#### প্যানেল আইনজীবী তালিকাভুক্তির বিজ্ঞপ্তি

চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় (চুয়েট) এর প্যানেল আইনজীবী তালিকাভুক্তির নিমিত্ত নিম্নবর্ণিত সংশ্লিষ্ট আইনজীবীগণের নিকট থেকে পূর্ণাঙ্গ জীবনবৃত্তান্তসহ দরখাস্ত আহ্বান করা যাচ্ছেঃ

ক্র. নং	পদের নাম	অভিজ্ঞতা
০১.	প্যানেল আইনজীবী (সুপ্রীম কোর্টের আপীল বিভাগে মামলা পরিচালনার জন্য)	সুপ্রীম কোর্টের আপীল বিভাগে মামলা পরিচালনার কাজে ন্যূনতম ৫ (পাঁচ) বছরের অভিজ্ঞতা। সরকারি/স্বায়ত্তশাসিত প্রতিষ্ঠানে প্যানেল আইনজীবী হিসেবে কাজ করার অভিজ্ঞতাসম্পন্নদের অগ্রাধিকার দেওয়া যেতে পারে।
০২.	প্যানেল আইনজীবী (সুপ্রীম কোর্টের হাইকোর্ট বিভাগে মামলা পরিচালনার জন্য)	সুপ্রীম কোর্টের হাইকোর্ট বিভাগে মামলা পরিচালনার কাজে ন্যূনতম ১০ (দশ) বছরের অভিজ্ঞতা। সরকারি/স্বায়ত্তশাসিত প্রতিষ্ঠানে প্যানেল আইনজীবী হিসেবে কাজ করার অভিজ্ঞতাসম্পন্নদের অগ্রাধিকার দেওয়া যেতে পারে।
০৩.	প্যানেল আইনজীবী (রাউজান সিনিয়র সহকারী জজ আদালত, চট্টগ্রামের মামলা পরিচালনার জন্য)	চট্টগ্রাম জেলা ও দায়রা জজ আদালতে মামলা পরিচালনার কাজে ন্যূনতম ০৭ (সাত) বছরের অভিজ্ঞতা। রাউজান সিনিয়র সহকারী জজ আদালতে মামলা পরিচালনার ন্যূনতম ০৫ (পাঁচ) বছর অভিজ্ঞতাসম্পন্নদের অগ্রাধিকার দেওয়া যেতে পারে।

#### শর্তাবলীঃ

- ১) আবেদনকারী আইনজীবীকে বাংলাদেশের স্থায়ী নাগরিক এবং ইউজিসি অনুমোদিত বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় হতে আইন বিষয়ে ন্যূনতম স্নাতক ডিগ্রিধারী হতে হবে।
- ২) প্যানেল আইনজীবী হিসেবে নিয়োগ প্রাপ্ত হলে চুয়েটের বিপক্ষে কোন মামলায় প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতা করতে পারবেন না।
- ৩) নিয়োজিত মামলার অগ্রগতি প্রতিবেদন প্রতিমাসে নির্দিষ্ট ছকে নির্ধারিত তারিখের মধ্যে রেজিস্ট্রার, চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, চট্টগ্রাম বরাবর দাখিল করতে হবে।
- ৪) মামলায় চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের বিপক্ষে আদেশ/রায়/ডিক্রি হলে জরুরি ভিত্তিতে পরবর্তী করণীয় বিষয়ে লিখিতভাবে রেজিস্ট্রার, চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় বরাবর অবহিত করতে হবে।
- ৫) কোন সরকারি/আধা-সরকারী/স্বায়ত্তশাসিত প্রতিষ্ঠানে প্যানেল আইনজীবী হিসেবে নিয়োজিত থাকলে আবেদনে উল্লেখ করতে হবে।
- ৬) নিয়োগপ্রাপ্ত বিজ্ঞ আইনজীবীগণ দায়িত্ব থেকে অব্যাহতি নিতে চাইলে ৩০ (ত্রিশ) দিন পূর্বে রেজিস্ট্রার, চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় বরাবর নোটিশ প্রদান করতে হবে।
- ৭) প্যানেল আইনজীবী ০২(দুই) বছরের জন্য নিয়োগপ্রাপ্ত হবেন। তবে, চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় কর্তৃপক্ষ সমরসীমা ব্রাস/বৃদ্ধি করতে পারবেন।
- ৮) আবেদনপত্রের সাথে রেজিস্ট্রার, চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়-এর অনুকূলে সোনালী ব্যাংকের যে কোন শাখা থেকে ২০০/- টাকার পে-অর্ডার সংযুক্ত করতে হবে। জীবনবৃত্তান্তসহ সকল শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতার মার্কশিট, সনদপত্র, জাতীয় পরিচয়পত্র, ১ ও ২নং পদের ক্ষেত্রে আইনজীবী হিসেবে সুপ্রিমকোর্ট আইনজীবী সমিতিতে যোগদানের তারিখসহ সুপ্রিমকোর্ট বার এসোসিয়েশন এর প্রত্যয়নপত্র, ২নং পদের ক্ষেত্রে চট্টগ্রাম জেলা বার এসোসিয়েশনে যোগদানের তারিখসহ প্রত্যয়নপত্র, অভিজ্ঞতার সকল সনদ, মোবাইল ফোন নম্বর, ই-মেইল, সর্বশেষ আয়কর রিটার্ন দাখিলের প্রাপ্তি স্বীকারপত্র, সদ্য তোলা দুই কপি পাসপোর্ট সাইজের রঙিন ছবি এবং অতিরিক্ত শিক্ষা ও অভিজ্ঞতা সনদের (যদি থাকে) প্রথম শ্রেণীর কর্মকর্তা কর্তৃক সত্যায়িত করে ০৭ (সাত) সেট আবেদনপত্র আগামী ২৮/০৮/২০২৫খ্রিঃ তারিখের মধ্যে রেজিস্ট্রার, চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, চট্টগ্রাম-৪৩৪৯ বরাবর-এ পৌছাতে হবে।
- ৯) প্রার্থীর প্রস্তাবিত ফি এর পরিমাণ (অথকে এবং কথায়) আবেদন এর সাথে সংযুক্ত করতে হবে; নিরমানুযায়ী ভ্যাট-ট্যাক্স কর্তন করা হবে।
- ১০) অসম্পূর্ণ আবেদনপত্র বাতিল বলে গণ্য হবে।
- ১১) সাক্ষাৎকারের তারিখ ও সময় ওয়েবসাইট/মোবাইলের মাধ্যমে জানানো হবে।
- ১২) সাক্ষাৎকারের সময় সকল মূল সনদ ও সংশ্লিষ্ট কাগজপত্র সঙ্গে আনতে হবে এবং সাক্ষাৎকারে অংশগ্রহণের জন্য প্রার্থীকে কোন ধরনের টি.এ./ডি.এ প্রদান করা হবে না।
- ১৩) অত্র বিজ্ঞপ্তি [www.cuet.ac.bd](http://www.cuet.ac.bd) এ দেখা যাবে।

উপাচার্য মহোদয়ের অনুমোদনক্রমে-  
স্বাক্ষরিত/-  
অধ্যাপক ড. শেখ মোহাম্মদ হুমায়ুন কবির  
রেজিস্ট্রার (অতিরিক্ত দায়িত্ব)  
চট্টগ্রাম প্রকৌশল ও প্রযুক্তি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

GD-1717



## ATTACKS ON NUKE SITES US accountability part of any future talks: Iran

AFP, Tehran

Iran said yesterday it would hold the United States accountable for attacks on its nuclear sites in any future negotiations, while ruling out direct talks with Washington.

The United States struck key Iranian nuclear facilities on June 22, briefly joining a war launched by Israel that had derailed talks on Tehran’s atomic programme.

“In any potential negotiation... the issue of holding the United States accountable and demanding compensation for committing military aggression against Iran’s peaceful nuclear facilities will be one of the topics on the agenda,” foreign ministry spokesman Esmacil Baqaei told a press briefing yesterday.

## Australia lifts foreign student cap to 295,000

### Prioritises Southeast Asia

REUTERS, Sydney

Australia will raise its cap on foreign students by 9 percent to 295,000 next year and prioritise applicants from Southeast Asia, the government said yesterday.

Limits on places were announced last year as a way to rein in record migration that had contributed to a surge in housing prices, with 270,000 places made available for 2025.

An additional 25,000 places were being granted in 2026 as the policy was successfully bringing down “out of control” international student numbers, the government said. “This is about making sure international education grows in a way that supports students, universities and the national interest,” Education Minister Jason Clare said.

Australia granted nearly 600,000 student visas in 2023, as international students returned to the country in record numbers following Covid-19.

## Beijing issues new storm warning

AFP, Beijing

Beijing issued its highest alert for rainstorms yesterday, days after deadly deluges swept parts of the Chinese capital and triggered a rare apology from under-prepared officials.

The municipal weather service announced a red alert – the highest in a four-tier system – forecasting heavy rain from noon yesterday until this morning.

Most parts of the city are expected to see 100 millimetres of rain, but outlying areas could experience between 150mm and 200mm.

## SUDAN CONFLICT

# Paramilitaries kill 14 civilians fleeing besieged city



AFP, Khartoum

Sudanese paramilitary fighters have killed at least 14 civilians trying to flee a besieged city in Darfur, a rights group said yesterday, more than 27 months into their war against the army.

The attack in a village on the outskirts of El-Fasher came just two days after the administration installed by the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF) had called on civilians to evacuate the besieged city and promised they would be safe.

The Emergency Lawyers, a rights group, said that 14 people had been killed in the Saturday attack, “dozens more were injured and an unknown number of civilians detained”.



### পাওয়ার গ্রিড বাংলাদেশ পিএলসি

POWER GRID BANGLADESH PLC  
(An Enterprise of Bangladesh Power Development Board)

Grid Bhaban, Avenue-3, Jahurul Islam City, Aftabnagar, Badda, Dhaka-1212  
Memo No.: 27.21.0000.201.11.002.25.3573

www.powergrid.gov.bd  
Date: 03/08/2025

## JOB OPPORTUNITY

Power Grid Bangladesh is a Public Limited Company under Power Division, Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources, committed to effective and efficient management of national power grid for reliable and quality transmission of electricity throughout the country. Power Grid is inviting applications from Bangladeshi citizens for the post of **Executive Director (Planning & Development)**.

### 1. Key Duties and Responsibilities

- Leading the development and implementation of short, medium, and long-term strategic plans for the expansion, modernization, and improvement of the national power grid of transmission aligned with national energy policies of GoB
- Overall supervision and control of design and planning activities.
- Overall supervision and control of project implementation activities.
- Monitoring and supervising the financial and administrative functions related to project implementation.
- Coordinating with Power Division, Planning Commission, BPDB, BREB, BERC, and other government entities.
- Collaborating with international development partners (e.g., ADB, WB, JICA etc.) for funding and technical assistance.
- Ensuring compliance with government regulations, donor guidelines, internal policies, and industry standards.
- Contributing to the development and updating of policies on administrative and financial matters in line with the current and future needs of the company.
- Reporting to the Managing Director for day-to-day activities and collaborating with the Board of Directors.

### 2. Educational Qualification & Requirements

- At least graduate in Mechanical/Electrical/Electrical & Electronics Engineering from reputed universities recognized by Govt. & UGC;
- Candidates passed in the grading system must possess at least CGPA 3.5 on a scale of 5.0 and CGPA 2.5 on a scale of 4.0. Candidates passed in the conventional system (Class/Division) must possess at least 2nd class/division. No third Division/Class at any stage of the academic career shall be acceptable;
- In case of public sector (GoB/SOE's/Autonomous Bodies), the candidate should have at least 20 years of experience of which at least 3 years in a senior management position (National Pay Scales substantive grade 4 & above) in power sector;
- In case of State-owned Companies (SOCs) of the power sector, the candidate should have at least 20 years of experience, of which at least 3 years in a senior management position (Superintending Engineer or equivalent & above) in power sector,
- At least 5 years of work experience of planning or project management in power Transmission/Generation/ Distribution utilities;
- Must demonstrate skill in the preparation of project documents.
- Must be able to demonstrate knowledge about relevant Govt. rules and regulations; Public Procurement Acts 2006 and Public Procurement Rules 2008 etc.
- Must be able to demonstrate knowledge in Company Law, Labor Law, Total Quality Management (TQM), Total Productive Management (TPM), Corporate Governance, Strategic Management, etc.;
- Must demonstrate strong participatory leadership ability and possess adequate knowledge in Corporate Management.
- Must have strong communication skill in Bengali & English (written & spoken) including working experience using computer;
- Strong business acumen with a deep understanding of Financial Management, Procurement, Strategic Planning, and Operational Management.
- Excellent Negotiation skills with government agencies, development partners and private investors will be an advantage.

### 3. Age

The maximum age limit will be 60 (sixty) years. Age would be calculated as on 03/08/2025.

### 4. Tenure of Appointment

The initial contract will be for 3 years subject to the maximum age limit of 62 years. It can be extended for two more terms of 3 years subject to the maximum age limit of 65 years in case of competent candidate.

### 5. Salary and Allowances

Basic pay Tk. 1,45,000/- (One lac forty-five thousand) only per month plus house rent at 50% of basic pay, 2 (two) festival bonus, Boishakhi allowance (20% of basic) per year, gratuity, contributory provident fund, group insurance, leave encashment, reimbursement of medical expenses and other fringe benefits will be admissible as per provisions of the company. He/She will also be entitled to a full-time transport with fuel and driver. Income tax shall be paid by the incumbent.

### 6. Terms & Conditions for Submission of Application

- Interested candidates are requested to send applications accompanying Curriculum Vitae (CV), three passport size photographs, attested copies of all educational and experience certificates issued by the concerned authority, NID, citizenship certificate and pay order of Tk. 200/- (Two Hundred only) in favor of Power Grid Bangladesh PLC. Applications should be reached to the Executive Director (HRM) at the above address on or before 24/08/2025.
- Candidates still serving in Government/State-owned Enterprises/Autonomous Bodies/State-owned Companies have to apply through proper channel.
- Candidates who have earned any educational degree from foreign university(s)/institute(s) will have to submit equivalency certificate from competent authority of Bangladesh.
- Only short-listed candidates will be called for selection test.
- No. TA/DA will be given for participating in the selection test.
- The authority of Power Grid reserves the right to accept or reject any or all the applications without assigning any reason whatsoever and also reserves the right to amend, postpone, cancel, or make any decision regarding this recruitment.

**Deputy General Manager (HRM)**  
**Power Grid Bangladesh PLC**



# Gaza ‘spiralling into irreversible collapse’

Warn aid agencies; 34 Palestinians killed in Israeli strikes, including 17 aid seekers

AGENCIES

Gaza is “spiralling into an irreversible humanitarian collapse”, UN aid agencies warned, as 34 Palestinians were killed in Israeli attacks across Gaza since dawn yesterday, including 17 aid seekers.

Two of the three famine thresholds have already been breached in Gaza, aid agencies reported, as the humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate catastrophically.

Hospitals in the Palestinian enclave recorded six new deaths from famine and malnutrition in the past 24 hours, including one child, according to the Gaza health ministry.

The Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has called on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to “assume its responsibilities” by enforcing an immediate ceasefire in Gaza and conducting an official visit to the territory.

In a statement posted on social media, the ministry urged the council to “halt the crimes of genocide, displacement,

22,000 aid trucks waiting outside the Gaza Strip

Hamas to allow aid for hostages if Israel halts strikes

Palestinian foreign ministry urges UNSC to ‘halt genocide’

and annexation against our people” and to implement the outcomes of a recent UN conference calling for a two-state solution.

Authorities in Gaza said more than 22,000 humanitarian aid trucks are waiting outside the Strip, as an average of 84 trucks have entered the besieged enclave since Israel somewhat eased restrictions on July 27.

Meanwhile, Hamas said on Sunday it was prepared to coordinate with the Red Cross to deliver aid to hostages it holds in Gaza, if Israel meets certain conditions, after a video it released showing an emaciated captive drew sharp criticism from Western powers.

In a separate development, a group of 600 retired Israeli security officials have written to US President Donald Trump to pressure Israel to immediately end the war.



Taliban personnel stand guard as Afghans deported from Iran await food aid in Herat, Afghanistan, yesterday. On Friday, Pakistan issued a renewed call for Afghans living in the southwest to leave the country, prompting thousands to rush to the border, officials said.

PHOTO: AFP

## 76 migrants die as boat sinks off Yemen

Dozens missing; 32 rescued from the shipwreck

AFP, Dubai

At least 76 people have been killed and dozens are missing after a boat carrying mostly Ethiopian migrants sank off Yemen, in the latest tragedy on the perilous sea route, officials said yesterday.

Yemeni security officials said 76 bodies had been recovered and 32 people rescued from the shipwreck in the Gulf of Aden. The UN’s migration agency said 157 people were on board.

The accident occurred off Abyan governorate in southern Yemen, a frequent destination for boats smuggling African migrants hoping to reach the wealthy Gulf states.

Some of those rescued have been transferred to Yemen’s Aden, near Abyan, a security official said.

UN agency the International Organization for Migration earlier gave a toll of at least 68 dead.

The IOM’s country chief of mission, Abdussator Esoev, told AFP that “the fate of the missing is still unknown.”

Despite the civil war that has ravaged Yemen since 2014, the impoverished country has remained a key transit point for irregular migration, in particular from Ethiopia which itself has been roiled by ethnic conflict.

## Saudi Arabia executions soar to 17 in three days

AFP, Dubai

Saudi authorities put two people to death yesterday to reach 17 in three days, state media said, as the conservative kingdom accelerated towards a record number of executions this year.

Two Saudis were executed for “terrorist crimes”, the official Saudi Press Agency said, after 15 people, mostly foreigners, were put to death for drug offences on Saturday and Sunday.

It is the quickest pace of capital punishment since March 2022, when 81 people were executed in a single day for terrorism-related offences, sparking widespread condemnation.

Thirteen of those put to death on Saturday and Sunday were convicted of smuggling hashish, and another for smuggling cocaine.

Saudi Arabia, one of the world’s most prolific users of the death penalty, has carried out 239 executions so far this year.

The conservative country is on course to outstrip last year’s 338 – the highest since public records first documented the cases in the early 1990s.

## India financing Russia’s war in Ukraine

Says top Trump aide Miller as Delhi purchases oil from Moscow

REUTERS, Washington

A top aide to President Donald Trump on Sunday accused India of effectively financing Russia’s war in Ukraine by purchasing oil from Moscow, after the US leader escalated pressure on New Delhi to stop buying Russian oil.

“What he (Trump) said very clearly is that it is not acceptable for India to continue financing this war by purchasing the oil from Russia,” said Stephen Miller, deputy chief of staff at the White House and one of Trump’s most influential aides.

Miller’s criticism was some of the strongest yet by the Trump administration about one of the United States’ major partners in the Indo-Pacific.

“People will be shocked to learn that India is basically tied with China in purchasing Russian oil. That’s an astonishing fact,” Miller said on Fox News’ “Sunday Morning Futures.”

The Indian Embassy in Washington did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Indian government sources told Reuters on Saturday that New Delhi will keep purchasing oil from Moscow despite US threats. A 25 percent tariff on Indian products went into effect on Friday as a result of its purchase of military equipment and energy from Russia.



## SOUTH CHINA SEA Philippine, Indian navies begin first joint patrols

AFP, Manila

Indian Navy warships have begun patrolling areas of the disputed South China Sea with their Philippine counterparts for the first time, Manila’s military said yesterday, as President Ferdinand Marcos departed for a state visit to New Delhi.

The two-day sail includes three Indian vessels and started Sunday, a day before Marcos left on a trip that will include talks with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

The Philippines has heightened defence cooperation with a range of allies over the past year after a series of clashes in the South China Sea.

Beijing claims nearly the entirety of the waterway despite an international ruling that its assertion has no legal basis. India’s naval vessels, including the guided missile destroyer INS Delhi, arrived in Manila for a port visit late last week.

The patrol “started yesterday afternoon, then it’s ongoing up to this moment... the activity at the moment is replenishment at sea,” Lieutenant Colonel John Paul Salgado told AFP.

৫ আগস্ট

জুলাই গণঅভ্যুত্থান দিবস

জুলাই আন্দোলনে সকল

শহিদের প্রতি গভীর

শ্রদ্ধাঞ্জলি

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## S Korea removing loudspeakers on border with North

AFP, Seoul

South Korea said yesterday it was removing loudspeakers used to blare K-pop and news reports to the North, as the new administration in Seoul tries to ease tensions with its bellicose neighbour.

The nations, still technically at war, had already halted propaganda broadcasts along the demilitarised zone, Seoul’s military said in June.

It said in June that Pyongyang stopped transmitting bizarre, unsettling noises along the border that had become a major nuisance for South Korean locals, a day after the South’s loudspeakers fell silent.

“Starting today, the military has begun removing the loudspeakers,” Lee Kyung-ho, spokesman of the South’s defence ministry, said yesterday. “It is a practical measure aimed at helping ease tensions with the North, provided that such actions do not compromise the military’s state of readiness,” he said.



## Spain breaks up ring smuggling Yemenis to UK, Canada

AFP, Madrid

Spanish police said yesterday they have dismantled a criminal network suspected of smuggling mainly Yemeni migrants into UK and Canada with fake passports.

After obtaining refugee documents in Greece, the migrants went to European airports where gang members would deliver them counterfeit passports to allow them to “irregularly” go to the two countries, police said. The group allegedly facilitated more than 40 irregular migration attempts, charging up to 3,000 (\$3,250) per person. Authorities in Austria, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Switzerland and Britain helped the investigation.

মেঘনা ব্যাংক

সর্বজনীন সহযোগী

আগামীর

বাংলাদেশ

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প্রত্যয়

প্রতি মাসে ছয় সপ্তাহ

এক সপ্তাহে

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যাসিক উপার্জন

প্রত্যয়

মাসের শেষ...

তত্ত্ব সচল মানিব্যাংক

মুদারারা

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মেঘনা ব্যাংক

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◆ Special Supplement ◆ Art & Design : Department of Films & Publications (DFP) ◆ Guidance : Press Information Department (PID), Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.



پیوند القلوب والوجوه

  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
BANGLADESH  
DHAKA.

21 Shrabon 1432  
05 August 2025

**Message**

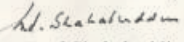
Today is the historic July Uprising Day. On this day in 2024, students, workers, and the people united in collective resistance against the discriminatory state system and fascist misrule and achieved a decisive victory. On the anniversary of this historic achievement, I extend my heartfelt greetings and congratulations to the freedom-loving students-people of the country.

I pay deep homage to all the martyrs of the July Uprising who made the ultimate sacrifice in the struggle to free our country from authoritarian misrule. I pray for the eternal salvation of the departed souls. I remember with profound gratitude the sacrifices and contribution of all the brave July fighters who were injured, became disabled, or lost their eyesight in the uprising. Ensuring justice for the families of the martyrs and the injured is a sacred responsibility of the state. The state remains committed to fulfilling this responsibility.

The July Uprising was an outburst of the youth and the masses against longstanding deprivation, misrule, corruption, looting, enforced disappearances, killings, abductions, the denial of voting rights, and all forms of oppression and tyranny. The core aim of the July Uprising was to dismantle this discriminatory fascist system, restore democracy, empower the people, and ensure freedom of expression. To build a happy and prosperous Bangladesh, the fascist roots must be uprooted, and the spirit of July must be fully realized.


Following the July Uprising, the state has embarked on an extensive reform process. Through these reforms, the hopes and aspirations of the uprising will be reflected, and a new Bangladesh, based on justice and equality, will emerge through a true democratic transition - this is my sincere expectation on this day.

I wish all the programs undertaken on the occasion of July Uprising Day a grand success.

  
Mohammed Shahabuddin


## Historic August 5: Triumph and Pledge

Professor Niaz Ahmed Khan, PhD




Although the anti-discrimination movement by students and the July Revolution of 2024 occurred within a short period of time, its social and political contexts were quite long and its impact in far-reaching. And although the movement found expression on the streets, its spirit and stimulus were carried by the common people for a long time. In the final stage, people belonging to all classes participated in it in various ways. They had only one goal – to oust the undemocratic and anti-people regime.

*Please Turn Over*



پیوند القلوب والوجوه

  
CHIEF ADVISER  
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

21 Shrabon 1432  
05 August 2025

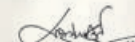
**Message**

Today marks an unforgettable chapter in the history of Bangladesh. It was on this very day, one year ago, that the July Uprising reached its triumph, liberating our beloved nation from the grip of long-standing fascist rule. I extend my heartfelt congratulations to the people of Bangladesh whose united struggle brought about this historic achievement.

On this solemn day, I remember with deep reverence the brave youth, workers, labourers, and professionals who sacrificed their lives while confronting the fascist forces. My profound respect goes to every martyr of the uprising. I remember with deep gratitude all the July warriors who were injured, permanently disabled and even lost their eyesight. The nation shall forever honour their sacrifice.

The July Uprising was a collective eruption against sixteen years of oppressive authoritarian misrule. At its core, it was a fight to establish a new system free from discrimination, corruption, and tyranny. The goal was to restore democracy and return the country to the hands of its people. Since assuming responsibility, the Interim Government has undertaken extensive reform efforts across all sectors of the state to fulfill these aspirations. The trials related to the July killings are progressing swiftly. Measures have been initiated to preserve the memory of the July martyrs and rehabilitate the injured July fighters. To accelerate our democratic journey, dialogue continues with political parties and stakeholders on necessary reforms, including the political and electoral systems. The Interim Government is committed to restoring the state power to the people through a peaceful, fair, and transparent election, as part of a sustainable political solution.

July rekindled our hope - a hope for a just, equal, and corruption-free Bangladesh. The sacrifice of thousands has gifted us this rare opportunity for national reform, and we must protect it at any cost. The fallen autocrats and their self-serving allies remain active, conspiring to derail our progress. Let us stand united beyond all divisions to confront and defeat these threats. Together, we will build a Bangladesh where tyranny will never rise again.

  
Professor Muhammad Yunus



## Political Legacy of July-Upsurge

Faruk Wasif

The earth takes one year to revolve around the sun. We also have crossed a whole year since the 36th July of 2024. But have we been able to tread this path by keeping the July fighters and martyrs at the centre? Even in September last year, many corpses of those martyrs were lying unclaimed. This number was over 120. The inevitable question therefore comes to one's mind: Would the July Upsurge of the masses itself turn out to be unclaimed at a juncture of time?

Two things can be hazardous for the inheritors of July. These are: capturing its ownership, or making it heirless. This catastrophic damage was done with regard to the history and spirit of the liberation war. The Awami League had immediately seized the ownership of the liberation war in 1972. However, seizing the ownership of history is one of the

fundamental traits of fascism. The result was lethal. The ordinary freedom fighters belonging to ordinary households then moved away after losing all hope. An opportunity was thereby created for a class of liberation-war merchants for grabbing the achievements unduly. It is therefore urgent for the Bangladesh that was reborn last July to remain alert about it.

We have seen in 1971 how the Bangladesh Revolution was renamed as liberation war. It then became independence war, and lastly the independence struggle. An incident of victory does not automatically become a revolution. It is termed a revolution only when the fight continues even after the triumph is visible, the goals of the struggle are achieved one after another, and fundamental changes are brought about in the condition of the country and its people through sustained endeavours and efforts. The July phenomenon is now passing through many ups and downs; it is keeping itself alive by tackling multifarious enemies at different bends. Sometimes, surviving by holding one's head high is victory. History would laugh if this survival is called a success.



Games are also being played centring on the narratives about July. I am apprehensive that the game itself may turn into dust if it is overplayed. Many people like me were embarrassed after watching a documentary via an international media outlet on the July killings. We certainly felt reassured by witnessing evidence of the liability of fugitive murderer Sheikh Hasina in the genocide. Side by side, we were embarrassed when a student-leader belonging to a

July group of students and masses was presented as the spokesperson of the July Upsurge. The contribution of that student-leader and his organization was not at all small; rather, they contributed to many aspects of resistance. However, those who were visible before the nation at that time as the backbone of the uprising – in launching the movement and making it popular – why were they omitted?



The Awami League and their foreign mentors have repeatedly tried to say that the July Mass-Upsurge was a rightist conspiracy. But question can be raised: Who were absent from that upsurge? In fact, the rightists, the leftists and the centrists – all were present in it. The majority were those who did not care about this doctrine-based labelling. The main student-leaders of the July movement did not belong to any political structure; they also did not give any doctrinaire shape to their views. So, can they be called rightists? Or, is it okay if the main political party of the country is labelled as rightist? It should be remembered that just as among the student-leaders, those who led that party and faced repression during fascist rule were formerly leftists. The madrasa students were also present in that movement in huge numbers, similar to the boys and girls of the private universities. The sky has many colours. But considering only one colour or trend by omitting other colours implies a biased approach. Similarly, viewing a fragment as the whole also displays a serious problem in outlook, which is jokingly termed as elephant-blind.

July was not linked to any doctrine. Rather, attempts to hoist the flag of doctrine-based approach or conflict were made in subsequent days. And those were not a part of the mainstream narratives of July. July would not carry the legacy of those fallacious assaults.

Badruddin Umar speaks the truth most of the time. His insights regarding the July Uprising are also exceptional. He describes the July Mass-Upsurge in Bangladesh as more widespread than all other historic movements and uprisings in this subcontinent. He said, its strength and expanse surpassed even the mass-upsurge of

*Please Turn Over*



Special Supplement

Uprising Day

Tuesday, 5 August 2025

Historic August 5: Triumph and Pledge

Historically, the memorable revolutions or mass-upsurges were usually organized by political parties or leaders. Examples include the Russian revolution, the French revolution, Islamic revolution of Iran, the anti-Ayub mass upsurge of 1969 and the anti-Ershad uprising of 1990 in our own



country. However, the recent anti-discrimination movement was an exception in many respects. The non-political young pupils were at the helm of the July Revolution of students and masses. A brilliant generation of youths had initiated this July Uprising. The movement proved that our youth community are very conscious and united on the question of social justice. It was the young students who announced the programmes, and the opposition political parties participated in those after expressing their solidarity.



This movement was not confined to the mere demand for reforming the quota system in government jobs. Rather, it was an ethical protest on the question of equality. People from all strata of the country's population participated in this movement phase by phase. The participation of people belonging to all religions, races, colours, professions and gender made this revolution historically significant. The movement could spread from the towns to the villages all over the country within a short time. Therefore,

this mass-upsurge once again proved that the country had to be prioritised above everything else. While touching on the far-reaching impact of the July Upsurge during his address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on 27 September 2024, the honourable Chief Adviser Professor Dr Muhammad Yunus rightly said: 'The anti-discrimination movement of Bangladesh will continue to inspire people at various corners of the globe in the coming days to stand up for freedom and justice.'



This new Bangladesh has been achieved in exchange for the blood of numerous known and unknown heroes like Abu Sayed, Shanto, Mugdho, and Farhan Faiyaz. The six-year-old Ria Gope was shot dead while in the lap of her father on the rooftop of their house; the auto-rickshaw driver Rony, the milk-seller teenage boy Mobarak were also killed. The nation does not want the reemergence of another autocrat in the new Bangladesh that was achieved in exchange for their self-sacrifices. We all shall have to make sure that the blood of the valiant martyrs and the tears of their mothers do not go in vain. Let us make a pledge on the occasion of the first anniversary of July Mass-Upsurge to uphold the freedom of speech of all citizens and effectively ensure all fundamental rights of citizens including the security of their lives and properties. □

Writer : Vice-Chancellor, Dhaka University.  
Translation: Dr Helal Uddin Ahmed

Political Legacy of July-Upsurge

1969 against the military rule of Ayub Khan during the Pakistani era. This success belongs to the masses, but the student-leadership must be saluted for acting as the guide of the common people.



This nation and land also deserve a felicitation. About 95 percent of this country's population speak the same language. The religious faith of 90 percent citizens of this country is the same. Even those who are not Muslims despite being Bangalis share almost similar basic philosophy of life, family values, food-habit, and economic processes. That is why the people of flat terrains and coastal belts of Bangladesh embrace death together and fight collectively. For us, this is a huge cultural capital. Its humane expression as observed during the July Uprising amazed the bearers of fascism and its allies to their own peril. That is why, they are unable to understand the new Bangladesh. For this reason, they will commit further mistakes and remain vulnerable to more attrition.



The martyrs of the language movement can be counted with two fingers. The number of deaths during the last three months of the urban-centred mass-upsurge of 1990 did not cross the figure of 50. No notable martyrdoms had taken place then with the exception of Dr. Milton and Jihad during the previous week prior to Ershad's fall. But the number of deaths during the last 14 days of July and the first 5 days of August 2024 crossed 15 hundred; and the number of wounded was over 20 thousand. It showed the degree of valour and self-sacrificing attitude that our children displayed while combating a monster! During all previous movements of political parties, the agitators at least took up some improvised rifles and cocktails for confronting the police. But this time, unarmed protesters like Abu Sayed, gentle souls like Mugdho, innocents like Ria Gope, sentimental boys like Wasim, marginalised ones like Torua, and beloved children like Farhan had to embrace martyrdom. This kind of epic-like supreme sacrifices by rickshaw-peddlers and workers alike are not witnessed except during war situations. One picture showed three teenagers advancing cautiously in an alleyway. The police and



gun-wielding activists of Chhatra League were at the alley's end. But those freedom fighters did not turn back. They did not surrender their lane or campus to those monsters. They perished, but did not give up even an inch of their soil.

We shall have to keep on telling these stories after wiping our tears. The 180 million people of Bangladesh have 180 stories regarding this monsoon revolution. The authorities must listen to all these stories. The martyrs must not be allowed to be forgotten. A revolutionary decision has been taken for converting the Ganobhaban into a museum of monsoon revolution. But this museum should not exhibit mere memories, or showcase only pictures and bullet-cartridges. It should depict a history that was alive; it should become an investigative researcher of the genocide that was committed; it should play the part of an ever-vigilant sentinel of the martyrs, and the guardsman of history.

We knew that the government, the students and masses, and the struggling political parties would be made to remain busy in many ways. Ditches of distrust would be dug around all the parties and groups. Many smokescreens would be created for diverting attention from the main issue – the restructuring of the state and the uprooting of fascism. So be it. But

whenever the fear of losing our way emerges, whenever our feet get entangled in the trap of divisiveness, whenever our progress becomes stuck in the quicksand of greed, we should remember the boy who lost his feet, that brother who lost his eye, or those martyrs who now sleep in graves like the paddy-seeds of revolution. There is no room for making any mistake, and there is absolutely no scope for forgetting!

The present youth populace of Bangladesh outnumbers the nation's 1971 population. A majority of these youths belong to the rising middle-class households. These highly educated first-generation youths carry our hope. The conflict is now between the rising middle-class and the established middle-class who were allies of fascism and autocracy. This conflict is between a pro-Bangladesh collective identity encompassing the liberal and non-communal segments versus the looters-mafias-murderers who espouse subcontinental fascism. This conflict is between the old and the new. Bangladesh has become more mature now compared to last July after emerging from the labour of a second birth. The struggle of Bangladesh is



for justice and honour, freedom of life and speech. The meaning of sovereignty cannot be comprehended without the existence of a democratic and just society.

Therefore, there cannot be any compromise or reconciliation between the state-ambition of July and that of fascism. We should not become oblivious of our surroundings while keeping our attention fixed on the red eyes of the bull. We should not turn our friends into enemies. At the same time, the friction that is being generated due to political imbalances should be resolved properly. Usually, the victors in any mass movement or uprising rule the country. However, it is quite true that the July leadership was not the main political powerhouse then, nor is it even now. But if the major parties do not carry forward the true legacy of July, then serious problems would crop up in our political trajectory. July would then face the risk of becoming another revolution that was snatched away.

Bangladesh has caused a geo-political earthquake in South Asia. Unrealistic efforts may now be made to trigger a counter-tsunami. But the currents of blood do not flow backward. The path of democracy is what remains before Bangladesh. Bangladesh will advance on that path even if there are traps. But we must not downplay our national interest anymore while catering to partisan interests. We should not sell our homes and doors to quench the greed for a window of power. July must not be made an unclaimed phenomenon. That would be a betrayal with the supreme sacrifices made by thousands of martyrs. History has never pardoned any traitor at any juncture of time. □

Writer : Director-General, Press Institute of Bangladesh (PIB); Famous Writer and Journalist.  
Translation: Dr. Helal Uddin Ahmed







PHOTOS: STAR AND COLLECTED

# The dissection of an Uprising with Ashfaq Nipun

SHARMIN JOYA

Reminiscing about the historic August 5 is filmmaker and activist Ashfaq Nipun, who was actively involved throughout the entire uprising and has been a participant in the anti-fascist movement for the past 17 years.

## Walk us through August 5 last year.

On August 5, since the curfew was ongoing, I had to join a large group — there was no other option. But I couldn't reach them because the army had blocked the road and fired blank shots, and didn't allow us to assemble. They chased us away.

I returned home, furious beyond words. This happened around 9:30 in the morning. I was angry and felt deeply insulted that I had come out to protest, but wasn't even allowed to stand on the streets, and instead, was chased away like a criminal.

I took to the streets anyway and reached Shahbag. It was Elita who called me and informed, "Hasina has fled, and the government has fallen."

Many urged me to go to Ganobhaban, but I didn't go. I believed my job was done. I returned home on a rickshaw. On my way back, I bought sweets for everyone.

However, after reaching home, we received some distressing news. Police stations across the city were being attacked, and religious minorities were in danger. I remember immediately posting on social media, urging everyone to protect police stations and ensure the safety of minorities.

**Once the interim government was formed, several committees were established to reform the entire entertainment industry. You declined the offers. Where do you see these committees, after a year?**

If I'm being honest, I haven't seen any visible success from these committees. The only achievement I can mention is the reformation of the film censorship grading system when Nahid Islam was an adviser.

I had expected the changes to be more transparent and visible. Historically, the entertainment sector has never been viewed from a business development perspective by any government. Rather, they have always tried to politicise it. I haven't seen any real efforts to

break out of that mindset and establish a welfare system for filmmakers and artists.

Unfortunately, just a few days ago, government grants were distributed from the Grant Committee. I noticed that most people who received the grant were already a part of some committees — that was disappointing to say the least.

## As the interim government completes a full year in power, how would you evaluate their performance?

It is often said that this interim government was formed at the most pivotal moment in Bangladesh's political history.

If we look back at the last 17 years, the way Sheikh Hasina systematically destroyed every institution — where do I even begin? Law enforcement, the judicial system — there isn't a sector she didn't manipulate. Even the defence forces were riddled with corruption under her regime.

Given all that, there are still certain things that have been deeply disappointing and, frankly, shocking. First, the fact that even after a fascist regime was overthrown during the July Uprising, key figures of that regime were allowed to safely exit the country within two to three months of the government's formation. To me, this is a complete security failure.

This government wasn't formed through backdoor negotiations or political deals — it was born out of a people's movement. According to UN reports, around 1,400 people lost their lives and nearly 20,000 were injured during the uprising. After all that sacrifice, how did the criminals of the past 15 years still get the chance to escape? There's no justification for this.

The most alarming issue we are facing right now is the rise of mob culture. Some have labelled it 'mob justice,' but mobs can never bring justice. This government wasn't supposed to have any political agenda. Yet their failure to control these mobs — and worse, categorising

them as 'pressure groups' — is inexcusable.

The law and order situation has been deteriorating day by day. As a citizen, I can tolerate excuses once or twice, but not repeatedly. I want to see concrete action being taken.

I also noticed a problematic trend of indiscriminate filing of cases. After this government was formed and many Awami League figures fled the country, random murder cases began to be filed against artistes! This malpractice was also rampant during the previous regime.

As for success stories, I'll leave that to the government to present. Certainly, they may have many successes to showcase. For example, loan repayments by cutting the cost of the mega projects have been managed well, the Hajj management was fantastic, and during Ramadan, the prices of daily necessities were kept under control. In my opinion, these are significant successes.



**As someone known for your sharp critique of political and social issues, what recent event has caught your attention — something you'd consider turning into a work of fiction?**

Mobocracy or mob lynching is a phenomenon that someone will inevitably pick up as a subject, and I feel human nature is unpredictable — that's what makes it so fascinating. This topic could be explored for years through films, documentaries, or literary works.

If I were to choose this as a fictional narrative, I would probably focus on telling the stories of those individuals who, after forming the government as part of the team — not all, but some — experienced drastic changes in their lifestyles after coming to power.

Also, the moral dilemmas surrounding the idea of 'doing wrong to the wrongdoers' — whether it is right, or if it can ever be justified — that's an area I find deeply intriguing and worth exploring.

# NEWS

## জুলাই জাগরণে উদিত নতুন সূর্য

### দৃঢ় সংকল্পে এগিয়ে চলি সম্ভাবনার পথে

আল-আরাফাহ্ ইসলামী ব্যাংক গর্বের সাথে স্মরণ করে সেই সাহসিকতা, ঐক্য আর স্বপ্ন দেখার দুর্দমনীয় শক্তিকে; যা আমাদের দিয়েছে বাংলাদেশকে নতুন রূপে গড়ে তোলার সুযোগ।

আল-আরাফাহ্ ইসলামী ব্যাংক পিএলসি.

আইবি  
Ab-Anfal Islami Bank PLC.

# The day the people triumphed

FROM PAGE 1

outlets reported her meeting with National Security Adviser Ajit Doval, and her son, Sajeeb Wazed Joy, told the BBC that she would not return to politics.

As news of Hasina's departure spread, jubilation erupted across the country. Kazi Nazrul Islam Avenue, Shahbagh, Mirpur Road, and Motijheel and other thoroughfares were soon flooded with people. Flags waved, slogans rang out, strangers embraced one another. The Gono Bhaban, once the fortress of executive power, was overrun by ordinary citizens — men, women, and children — who surged through its gates, celebrated on its lawns, and symbolically reclaimed it in the name of the people. Inside, some offered prayers, others raised slogans; some took selfies while lying on the prime minister's bed.

But even in celebration, violence lingered on the fringes. Law enforcement agencies, disoriented and retreating, clashed with demonstrators in various parts of the capital. At least 66 people were killed in Dhaka alone that day. Police stations, AL offices, and government buildings were attacked and set ablaze in districts such as Chattogram and Sylhet. Protesters, angered by years of suppression, unleashed their fury on institutions they held responsible for injustice.

In Chattogram, mobs stormed the Metropolitan Police Headquarters and Dampara Police Lines. In Sylhet, the District Police Office,

police outposts, and the homes of AL leaders were vandalised and torched. Similar scenes played out in Jashore, Savar, and Dhamrai, where dozens more were killed or injured in clashes. Hospitals overflowed with the wounded. Morgues struggled to accommodate the deaths.

By evening, President Mohammed Shahabuddin held an emergency meeting with the military chiefs, opposition leaders, and civil society members at the Bangabhaban. The meeting decided to dissolve parliament, release all political prisoners, and form an interim government. It also approved the immediate release of BNP Chairperson Khaleda Zia.

The student leaders who had sparked the revolution were not present at the official meetings but remained resolute. At a press conference held that evening, coordinators Nahid Islam and Asif Mahmud declared that the power must be handed over to a national interim government proposed by the students and citizens. "No other government will be accepted," they stated. "A new political settlement must emerge from the people's victory."

They vowed to publish the outline of the interim government within 24 hours, following consultation with civil society, coordination committees, and political groups. "This victory belongs to the martyred students," Nahid said. "And we

will honour their sacrifice with a government that reflects the will of the people."

The United States commended the Bangladesh Army for its restraint and urged that the formation of the interim government be democratic and inclusive. The White House and the State Department both issued statements encouraging all parties to refrain from violence and to restore peace. US Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer called for swift democratic elections under a balanced interim arrangement.

As fires smouldered across police headquarters, the Gono Bhaban filled with barefoot children and laughing elders. The streets trembled under the footsteps of a free people — one thing became clear: the July uprising had not only dethroned a regime; it had reawakened the nation's democratic spirit.

August 5 was not merely the end of Sheikh Hasina's rule. It was the beginning of something new — a moment when ordinary people, led by students, reclaimed their voice and their future. The day will be remembered for the unity of the oppressed and toppling of the seemingly untouchable.

From Jatrabari to Shahbagh, from Chattogram to Sylhet, the message rang loud and clear: Bangladesh belongs to its people. August 5 proved that no ruler is mightier than a people united, and no regime can outlast the will for justice.

# ‘Don’t waste the opportunity the

FROM PAGE 16

Bangladesh's 1972 constitution, said last year's mass uprising was driven by the repeated failure of governments to deliver on promises made after the 1990 pro-democracy movement.

"The previous regime's brutal assault on unarmed students and citizens demanding a civilised, democratic, and independent society shocked the world's conscience," he wrote.

Calling the Liberation War a historic achievement of the people, Kamal said, "Even after 53 years, we have failed to realise the goals on which this nation was founded."

In his speech, Mizanur Rahman said, "Those calling the 1972 constitution a Mujibist document — mostly from the defeated forces of the Liberation War — are using this uprising to question the constitution of the Liberation War. The government has fallen into their trap."

He alleged the July Declaration was being finalised by just two or three parties without broader consultation. "If there is any conspiracy here, we will resist it."

Speaking at the event, Communist Party of Bangladesh General Secretary Ruhin Hossain Prince said various narratives were being pushed to make

the Liberation War controversial. "Nothing outside the spirit of 1971 will be acceptable."

Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal President Sharif Nurul Ambia said, "Since the uprising, there's been a deliberate attempt to replace the ideals of 1971 with those of 1947. Our common commitment must be to uphold the aspirations of the Liberation War."

Gono Forum Presidium Member AKM Jaglul Haider Afrik said the reform process must not become a vehicle for fundamentalist forces to return to power. "We must remain vigilant so that the defeated forces of 1971 do not form the next government."

BNP Standing Committee Member Selima Rahman said the chief adviser had failed to stay neutral. "People are agitated. Power must be handed over to a people's government immediately through elections."

Meanwhile, Nagorik Oikya President Mahmudur Rahman Manna said, "We fought to rescue democracy — but where has it brought us? Even now, no one knows what will be in the July Declaration."

Biplobi Workers Party General Secretary Saiful Haque said the

government had failed to meet public expectations, despite its wide support. "Inequality, injustice, and unemployment have only worsened. Even after a year, the state has failed to ensure safety for the people."

He added, "This [July] declaration has become a partisan document, not a national one."

He also warned of the deliberate engineering behind the rise of right-wing forces. "Without an elected representative government, the crisis cannot be solved. Bangladesh stands at a crossroads."

Socialist Party of Bangladesh General Secretary Bazlur Rashid Firoz said, "Should we throw away a constitution made with the blood of 30 lakh martyrs? Only the defeated of 1971 say such things."

Gono Forum President Subrata Chowdhury said a lack of transparency over the declaration had caused confusion.

"If no election date is announced, it will raise serious doubts. The government must act responsibly. You [the government] are playing with fire — Jamaat on one side, NCP on the other. Your failures now outweigh your successes. If elections aren't held by February, your exit will be disgraceful."



## Police came but it was too late

FROM PAGE 2

At the press conference, Ruma said the criminals were now threatening them. “On the day of the killings, we sought police help by dialling 999 multiple times. But police did not respond. They came to the spot after the killings,” she said.

She said rivalry between her family and some of their neighbours began after they started constructing a building.

Local union parishad chairman Shimul Billah wanted the job, but her family declined.

She claimed Shimul used his aides to extort money from them and threatened to kill them when they refused.

Ruma said her mother had contested the union parishad chairman election twice. “As my mother was a supporter of the BNP, she was not allowed to win,” she said, adding that her rivals, out of jealousy, implicated her in a false drug case.

She alleged that money changed hands the night before the killings and that Shimul was involved.

Ruma claimed Shimul was backed by Md Billal Hossain, father of Adviser Asif Mahmud. That is why Shimul has not been arrested, she said.

Billal Hossain could not be reached for comments despite repeated attempts. He did not respond to text messages either.

Contacted last night, Asif Mahmud refuted the allegations and termed them politically motivated. He said

Ruma had earlier stated that the murder was planned at the house of an upazila BNP leader.

The adviser also claimed he has evidence that a member of Ruma’s family had earlier said some local BNP activists had pressured them to include his (Asif’s) and his father’s names in the case.

Referring to Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal General Secretary Nasir Uddin Nasir’s allegation that Asif Mahmud had established a “mafia-style rule” in Muradnagar, the adviser said the statement was “politically motivated.”

Asif said that though he is an adviser, his family has no political affiliation.

“I would urge you [media] to visit Muradnagar and talk to the locals to find out who is establishing mafia rule there,” he said.

Earlier, Nasir, after visiting 13 BNP leaders and activists in Cumilla jail, told reporters, “While positive politics exists across the country, it is absent in Muradnagar. Those who led the anti-fascist protests in July last year and had faced imprisonment multiple times before that have been sent to jail after August 5 at the behest of Asif Mahmud.”

“Thirteen leaders and activists of BNP and its affiliated organisations have been imprisoned, but not a single activist of the fascist Awami League from Muradnagar is in jail,” he added.

[Our correspondent from Cumilla contributed to the report]

## Russian train slams into bus, killing one and injuring 11

AFP, Moscow

A freight train rammed into a tourist bus at a level crossing near the Russian city of Saint Petersburg yesterday, killing one person and injuring 11, officials said.

The accident in northwestern Russia occurred at 0300 GMT, Russia’s rail network said. The bus was on the tracks when the train hit it at full speed.

The train driver applied emergency braking “but the distance was too short and he could not avoid a collision,” the railway statement said.

“According to preliminary information, 12 passengers on the bus were injured and one of them died of injuries,” it said.

## Trump to raise tariff

FROM PAGE 16

“buying massive amounts of Russian Oil” and selling it for “big profits.”

“They don’t care how many people in Ukraine are being killed by the Russian War Machine,” Trump added. “Because of this, I will be substantially raising the Tariff paid by India to the USA.”

But he did not provide details on what tariff level he had in mind.

For now, an existing 10 percent US tariff on Indian products is expected to rise to 25 percent come Thursday.

## Bangladesh to expand access

FROM PAGE 16

firms to build silos and related infrastructure for storing US soybeans in Bangladesh.

Washington has also urged Bangladesh to reduce purchases from China as part of its broader Indo-Pacific strategy.

Bangladesh will accept prior marketing authorisation from the US Food and Drug Administration as sufficient for approval of medical devices, and will recognise the US dairy-safety system as equivalent to its own. It will also recognise USDA Food Safety and Inspection Service oversight

for US meat, poultry, and egg products, including associated cold storage and processing facilities.

In addition, Bangladesh has pledged to submit a comprehensive notification to the World Trade Organization disclosing all government subsidies, and to address outstanding arrears owed to US firms in accordance with its commitments under the International Monetary Fund programme.

On the regulatory side, the government will ensure that laws, administrative rulings, and proposed regulations are published promptly and made accessible online. This

## Third phase begins

FROM PAGE 16

timeline for completing the process is not yet confirmed, but sources say informal talks with experts have already begun.

Last October, the interim government formed six reform commissions on the constitution, electoral system, judiciary, Anti-Corruption Commission, administration, and police reforms.

The commissions submitted their reports in February. Later, under the leadership of Chief Adviser Prof Muhammad Yunus, the National Consensus Commission was formed to build political agreements on the reforms.

The recommendations were divided into two categories – those that could be implemented immediately, and 166 key proposals requiring further discussions.

In the first phase (March 20-May 19), the commission held separate talks with 33 political parties and reached consensus on more than 65 issues.

In the second phase (June 3-July 31),

it discussed issues thematically with 30 parties, reaching agreement or decisions on 19 core reform proposals. Nine of these had unanimous approval, while 10 had differing opinions from one or more parties.

The July Charter draft says the proposals will be executed within two years after the next elected government takes office.

The BNP supports this timeline, but Jamaat-e-Islami, National Citizens Party, and several others object, demanding that the charter be placed within a binding legal framework.

In the third phase, the commission will focus on deciding how to implement the agreed reforms.

Experts will review which proposals could be enacted through ordinances and advise on the government’s role in the process.

Proposals requiring constitutional amendments will be discussed further with political parties.

The commission will also seek expert advice on proposals with dissenting

opinions and try to reduce those disagreements.

Commission sources say that they are concerned that without a shared understanding on implementation, many parties may refuse to sign the July Charter.

Efforts will be made to bring parties to a reasonable common position and provide an acceptable legal basis for the charter.

A member of the commission, wishing to remain anonymous, told The Daily Star that the third phase will proceed through continuous discussions with legal, constitutional, and political experts, as well as political parties, to secure signatures on the charter and mitigate disagreements.

Commission Vice-President Prof Ali Riaz chaired the Sunday’s meeting at the parliament building, where members Badiul Alam Majumdar, Justice Md Emdadul Haque, Ittekkharuzzaman, Safar Raj Hossain, Md Ayub Mia, and Monir Haider were present.

## Sheikh Hasina ordered

FROM PAGE 1

and ex-IGP Chowdhury Abdullah Al-Mamun.

The tribunal also recorded statement of a third prosecution witness yesterday. Parvin, 27, a labourer and mother of two, in her deposition recounted how police shot her in the eye as she tried to save a wounded teen on July 18, 2024. She said the teen later died as police shot him again under Jatrabari Flyover in the capital that day.

State-appointed defence counsel for Hasina and Kamal cross examined the witnesses. Another accused Mamun, who became the state witness, was in the dock during the hearing.

Witness Emran, a Dhaka College student, told the tribunal that as he joined a protest near Bijoynagar water tank around 3:00pm on July 19 last year, police shot him in his left leg with a rifle.

Two protesters took him to Mitford hospital and doctors referred him to the National Institute of Traumatology & Orthopaedic Rehabilitation (NITOR), also known as Pangu hospital.

He said as he was being taken there in an ambulance, joint forces intercepted him near the home of former home minister in Dhanmondi. The vehicle was not allowed to move for an hour.

Emran said Hasina visited the hospital either on July 26 or 27. He said, “Sheikh Hasina came to see me. I addressed her as ‘Madam,’ but she asked me to call her ‘Apa’ instead. She asked me where I studied. I told her that I was a student at Dhaka College. She then asked if I lived in the college dormitory, and I said no, I stayed outside the dorm. She seemed to realise then that I was a protester.”

Emran said Hasina asked him if he had seen who shot him. He responded by saying police opened fire, although

he couldn’t identify them.

He saw Hasina briefly speak to four or five other victims.

“Afterwards, she went to the hospital help desk, where doctors, staffers, and others were present. I heard that she gave an instruction – ‘no release, no treatment.’ But at the time, I couldn’t fully understand what she meant.”

Emran said, “My surgery was scheduled for the following morning. However, after Sheikh Hasina’s instruction, the hospital refused to do the surgery. I received no further treatment. My condition began to deteriorate, and standard medications were not provided. As antibiotic supplied by the hospital was not working on me, I needed stronger one from outside, but the hospital didn’t allow us to bring any from outside.

“My father tried to have me discharged so that I could get proper treatment elsewhere. But the hospital refused. Instead, they planned to send me to jail after amputating my leg. However, my senior brothers did not allow that. That’s when I finally understood what her chilling instruction truly meant.”

Emran said, “Sheikh Hasina incited the police force by labelling us as descendants of Razakars, and I hold her responsible.”

He also held Kamal and Mamun responsible for being shot by police.

During cross-examination, defence lawyer Amir Hossain asked, “Are you affiliated with any political party?”

Emran said, “Yes, I’m associated with a student organisation.”

The lawyer then stated, “Since you subscribe to an ideology different from that of my client, you have made a false testimony against the accused.”

Witness Parvin in her testimony described the horror she witnessed

## ‘July rekindled the hope for a just country’

FROM PAGE 1

President Shahabuddin, in his message, said the July Uprising was a mass eruption of the youth and people against decades of deprivation, misrule, corruption, looting, enforced disappearances, killings, and the denial of voting rights.

Its goal, he said, was to dismantle a discriminatory system, restore democracy, empower citizens, and ensure freedom of expression.

He expressed hope that the uprising’s ideals would guide the reform process and help build a just, prosperous, and democratic Bangladesh.

The president paid tribute to the martyrs and injured fighters of the uprising, pledging that the state would ensure justice for their families.

Asserting that July rekindled the people’s hope for a just, equal, and corruption-free country, Chief Adviser Prof Yunus, in his message, called upon all to come forward to build a Bangladesh where tyranny will never rise again.

He said the sacrifices of thousands had created this rare opportunity for national reform, and it must be protected at any cost.

The fallen autocrats and their self-serving allies remain active, conspiring to derail the nation’s progress, he said, adding, “Let us stand united beyond all divisions to confront and defeat these threats....”

“August 5 marks an unforgettable chapter in the history of Bangladesh. It was on this very day, one year ago, that the July Uprising reached its triumph, liberating our beloved nation from the grip of long-standing fascist rule.”

Yunus extended his heartfelt congratulations to the people of Bangladesh, whose united struggle brought about this achievement.

He remembered with deep reverence

the brave youths, labourers, and professionals who sacrificed their lives while confronting the fascist forces.

The chief adviser added that the uprising was a collective eruption against 16 years of oppressive authoritarian misrule.

He also said that since assuming responsibility, the interim government has launched extensive reform efforts across all sectors of the state to fulfil these aspirations.

The trials related to the July killings are progressing swiftly, he said, adding that measures have been taken to preserve the memory of the July martyrs and rehabilitate the injured fighters.

“To accelerate our democratic journey, dialogue continues with political parties and stakeholders on necessary reforms, including the political and electoral systems.”

Yunus added that the interim government is committed to restoring state power to the people through a peaceful, fair, and transparent election, as part of a sustainable political solution.

Meanwhile, BNP has decided to send a five-member delegation to today’s programme on Manik Mia Avenue. The decision was made at a meeting held at the party chairperson’s Gulshan office, presided over by acting chairperson Tarique Rahman. The delegation will be led by BNP Secretary General Mirza Fakhru Islam Alamgir.

With the day announced a public holiday, the July Declaration is set to be unveiled by the chief adviser at a public gathering at the South Plaza of Jatiya Sangsad Bhaban in the capital’s Manik Mia Avenue at 5:00pm.

The unveiling will be broadcast live on Bangladesh Television.

The event, organised by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in collaboration with the Bangladesh Parliament Secretariat and managed by the

## Authoritarian system

FROM PAGE 1

e-Islami and the National Citizen Party accounted for 5 and 1 percent respectively, the report added.

Following the fall of the AL regime last year, political parties took control of various businesses and operations once dominated by AL men.

“Political parties collect Tk 2.21 crore every day from 53 transport terminals and stands in Dhaka city. They have also taken over leases of bridges, marketplaces, jetties, and quarries across the country,” researcher Julkamnayeen said.

Moreover, these parties also filed politically motivated cases and disrupted law and order by forming mobs, blocking roads, and surrounding police stations, he added.

In response, the interim government has often appeared lenient, he noted.

“Some religion-based parties, including Jamaat-e-Islami, rejected the Women Reform Commission and its report, while Hefazat-e-Islam’s derogatory remarks towards women ran counter to the spirit of the July uprising.”

Julkamnayeen further added that such parties were involved in destroying shrines, halting cultural programmes, attacking libraries and minority communities, and harassing women in the streets.

“Political parties tabled many proposals but have not initiated democratic practices or internal reforms for integrity.

“Political parties also continue the politicisation of administration and educational institutions.”

In his presentation, researcher Shahzada noted an alarming rise in mob violence, saying people have been killed in mob beatings, and the chief adviser’s press secretary referred to such mobs as “pressure groups.”

He said cases have been accepted indiscriminately, and incidents of extrajudicial killings and deaths in custody persisted. “Police remained inactive in fulfilling their responsibilities during such events.”

While the interim government formed a commission to probe enforced disappearances, Shahzada said its position on holding the armed forces accountable remains unclear. He added that its stance on dismantling the Rapid Action Battalion (Rab), accused

of numerous human rights violations, is also ambiguous.

The government has formed 11 reform commissions, Shahzada said, but the rationale behind the process of forming commissions on media, health, women, labour, and local government was unclear. He pointed out that important sectors such as education and the private sector have been sidelined.

Moreover, there is no clear roadmap for implementing the recommendations of these commissions, he observed.

He flagged complaints that the six reform commissions on administration, judiciary, election, constitution, police, and anti-corruption lacked representation from religious and minority communities.

“There is no initiative to reform intelligence agencies such as the DGFI, DB, NSI, and NTMC, which were used to institutionalise authoritarianism, violate basic rights, extort, and manipulate the financial sector.

“We continue to witness chaos and indecision in public administration. There is a serious lack of transparency in recruitment and promotion within the administration, judiciary, and educational institutions.”

Shahzada noted that many who were promoted had previously faced allegations of corruption and breaches of administrative discipline. Yet, they received privileges under the pretence of having been deprived.

“The trend of political partisanship in the judiciary still prevails.”

He warned that banning the Awami League’s activities under pressure from certain political parties risks future repression of political opposition.

TIB’s research report said that a political party, or “king’s party,” was formed with the support of the government.

When a journalist asked, “Who is this king’s party?” In reply, Dr Ittekkharuzzaman said, “There is nothing to hide. It is the Jatiya Nagorik Party [National Citizen Party]. It has been described as a king’s party. Because two of its allies are currently part of the government, it qualifies as a king’s party.”

The TIB executive director said the political journey after August 5 was unfortunate.

## Promises won’t work

FROM PAGE 16

leader, adding that creating safe jobs at home and abroad will be one of the main goals of the party.

“If the people give us the responsibility to run the country, the party will start working to implement these plans as quickly as possible,” he added.

Tarique urged party members to connect with the people and share BNP’s promises.

“We need people’s support and cooperation,” he said, urging party leaders and activists to earn and uphold public trust. “Remember, if you earn people’s trust, then you are a leader. If the people reject you, then you are not a leader,” he added.

Tarique said, “Leadership can be sworn in with the help of the administration. But you can truly lead if the people are with you.”

At the event, BNP Secretary General Mirza Fakhru Islam Alamgir warned that conspiracies and plots are being

Bangladesh Shilpakala Academy, will be held to commemorate the unity and sacrifice that defined the uprising.

The formal proceedings will begin at 11:00am with a series of musical and cultural performances. The morning session will open with Tong er Gaan, followed by performances from Islami Chhatra Shibir’s cultural wing Saimum Shilpigoshthi at 11:20am and Kolorob Shilpigoshthi at 11:40am.

Solo acts by Nahid and Tashfee will follow, leading up to the Zuhr prayer break at 1:00pm.

The afternoon will feature a mix of musical performances and commemorative events. At 1:10pm, Chittagong Hip-Hop Hood will perform, followed by Sezan, who gained popularity during the uprising for his rap songs “Kotha Ko” (Speak up) and “Awaz Uda” (Raise your voice), at 1:30pm.

The band Shunno will take the stage at 2:00pm, with a special segment titled “Fascist’s Flight” scheduled for 2:25pm.

Performances by Shayan at 2:40pm and the duo of Ethun Babu and Moushumi at 3:00pm will follow.

Popular rock bands Souls and Warfaze will perform at 3:30pm and 4:00pm respectively, before the Asr prayer break at 4:45pm.

At 5:00pm, the July Declaration will be unveiled by the chief adviser, followed by a performance from the Basic Guitar Learning School at 5:30pm.

This will be followed by performances from the indigenous female band F Minor, after which singer Elita Karim will take the stage. A special drone drama, Do You Miss Me, written by The Anonymous, will then be presented.

The event will conclude with a performance by popular rock band Artcell.

Explaining this, he said, “From that afternoon, some top leaders of the existing political parties started favouritism, extortion, and making money from legal cases. Over the past year, these things have increased. Even actions taken from the top level of the parties could not stop it.

“The new political parties also followed the same model from the beginning. They got involved in extortion, and moved forward on a self-destructive path.”

Ittekkharuzzaman acknowledged that, despite many challenges, there have been positive developments, including reforms in the judiciary, preparations for the upcoming national election, and improvements in governance.

“However, the standards of good governance are yet to be achieved. Political parties, civil society, and even the media have not consistently fulfilled the roles demanded by these times,” he said.

Ittekkharuzzaman criticised the government’s tendency to cherry-pick trivial recommendations from commissions while neglecting deeper reforms.

He said that although consensus was reached on curbing executive overreach – a hallmark of authoritarianism – some political parties only offered conditional support, agreeing to this reform only if they came to power. This, he said, is extremely troubling.

“There is still no clarity about the legal standing of the July Charter. Even if signed by all parties, what enforceable power will it hold?” he asked. “How will it be implemented?”

“I’m not suggesting these concerns have triggered a crisis yet. But they deserve national attention, as they pose a significant risk.”

Ittekkharuzzaman concluded by saying that the opportunity to build a new Bangladesh must not be squandered.

“If the July Charter can be transformed into a legally binding document, allowing citizens to hold politicians accountable for their commitments, we may avoid repeating past authoritarianism.

“If not, we risk slipping backwards. And next time, it may take 54 days, not 54 years, for people to rise again.”



## Is health reform not a priority?

Govt must expedite health sector overhaul

We share the frustration expressed by public health experts over the lack of visible action in introducing much-needed reforms in the health sector. At a recent policy dialogue on health reform, speakers highlighted the fact that it took the health ministry about three months to take the first step towards implementing the Health Sector Reform Commission's recommendations. This unexplained delay is not only dismaying, but also raises questions about whether the interim administration is as committed to health reform as it is to reform in other key sectors.

The commission, formed on November 18, 2024, submitted its report on May 5, proposing a wide range of recommendations, including making primary healthcare a constitutional obligation and forming an independent commission to oversee the health sector. It also recommended the formation of a powerful inter-ministerial committee to carry out the proposed reforms. Upon receiving the report, the chief adviser then instructed the relevant authorities to immediately act on the "actionable recommendations."

What disappoints us is that, despite this directive, the authorities concerned sat on the report for three months without taking any visible steps to implement the recommendations. The inter-ministerial committee has yet to be formed. This inaction even frustrated a member of the commission, who questioned the point of going through the entire exercise if health sector reform was not going to receive the attention it deserves. Considering the painstaking effort put in by commission members to identify the problems plaguing the health sector and to propose solutions, one can hardly blame them for feeling disheartened.

Speakers at the policy dialogue also expressed concern about the all-too-familiar cycle of policy recommendations being shelved—a concern we share as well. As no mechanism has yet been developed to translate the reform proposals into action, experts suggested forming a high-powered task force to help with the implementation process. They also suggested setting up a civil society platform to help "sharpen reform priorities" and engage major political parties to solidify their commitment to improving our healthcare system.

However, all these efforts will be in vain if the government does not make health reform a genuine priority. The health ministry has scheduled the first meeting on August 6, at which the commission's report will be reviewed and critically analysed, followed by the formulation of a short-term action plan to begin implementation. We expect to see some concrete decisions from this meeting that can kickstart the long-overdue revamping of this sector. Ordinary patients have suffered for far too long due to the lack of access to proper healthcare, the shortage of trained health workers, exorbitantly high out-of-pocket expenses, and widespread corruption and mismanagement. It is high time this sector was straightened out.

## Make level crossings safe, curb accidents

Ctg-Cox's Bazar crossings need gates, gatemen

We are alarmed by the recurring accidents and fatalities at the level crossings along the Chattogram-Cox's Bazar rail line. As per data from the Railway Police, 30 people have lost their lives on this route over the past 20 months—17 last year, and 13 so far this year. The latest tragedy occurred on August 2 in the Rashidnagar area of Ramu, Cox's Bazar, when a train collided with a CNG-run auto-rickshaw, killing four people, including three from the same family. These repeated tragedies expose the authorities' utter disregard for public safety. In October last year, an elephant was also killed after being struck by a train.

Partly explaining this cycle of tragedies is the fact that, out of the 72 level crossings on this newly constructed railway, 56 have no gatemen or gates. It is no surprise, then, that accidents continue to claim lives at these points. The level crossing where the latest accident occurred was also unprotected and had no gatekeeper. While local authorities have long been demanding the installation of gates and gatekeepers at these risky crossings, allegedly no action has been taken by the higher authorities. We must ask: why is it taking so long to build gates or barriers and appoint gatemen, which are crucial to curbing such accidents?

Reportedly, in many of these crossings, railway authorities have fulfilled their duty merely by putting up signboards—signs that are often barely noticed or heeded by drivers or commuters. Their disregard for public safety is also evident in the absence of gates or gatekeepers at a level crossing near a school in Lohagara, used daily by students and thousands of other commuters. Some crossings are not even visible from a distance due to sharp bends and dense vegetation, making them especially hazardous.

We urge the authorities to investigate the frequent accidents on the Chattogram-Cox's Bazar rail line and take immediate steps to prevent further loss of life. Gates or barriers must be installed at all crossings without exception, while gatemen must be appointed at those with high traffic flow. Special safety measures must be implemented at crossings located near bends, where approaching trains are difficult to detect until dangerously close. Moreover, people should be made aware of the risks of crossing railway tracks haphazardly and encouraged to use the underpasses, where available, built for pedestrian movement. It is the responsibility of the railway authorities to ensure that rail crossings are safe for all users.

## THIS DAY IN HISTORY

### Mine collapses in Chile



On this day in 2010, as many as 33 workers became trapped after a mine in the Atacama Desert of Chile collapsed, and the resulting rescue took 69 days, attracting international attention.

# Economic reform yet to pick up



**MACRO MIRROR**  
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this article are the author's own.

FAHMIDA KHATUN

Bangladesh inherited a fragile economy when the mass uprising ousted the previous regime on August 5, 2024. Economic growth was decelerating, inflation was high, revenue mobilisation was low, and foreign exchange reserves were depleted, which strained the external sector along with low remittance flow. Meanwhile, domestic and foreign investment stagnated, and the banking sector was fragile. When the interim government took office on August 8, 2024, the common citizen had high expectations of the restoration of democratic governance, reform of state institutions, economic stabilisation, and most importantly, holding credible national elections so that people can exercise their voting rights freely.

A year on, while some economic indicators have improved slightly, most remain weak. The economy benefited from macro-financial management measures. Interest rate controls were eased to tighten money supply in the face of high inflation. The government also intervened administratively to curtail inflation. It removed import duties on essential goods, eliminated the requirements for letter of credit (LC) for daily commodities, and lifted borrowing caps for importers of food and fertiliser, to ease supply bottlenecks and prevent inflation from spiralling further.

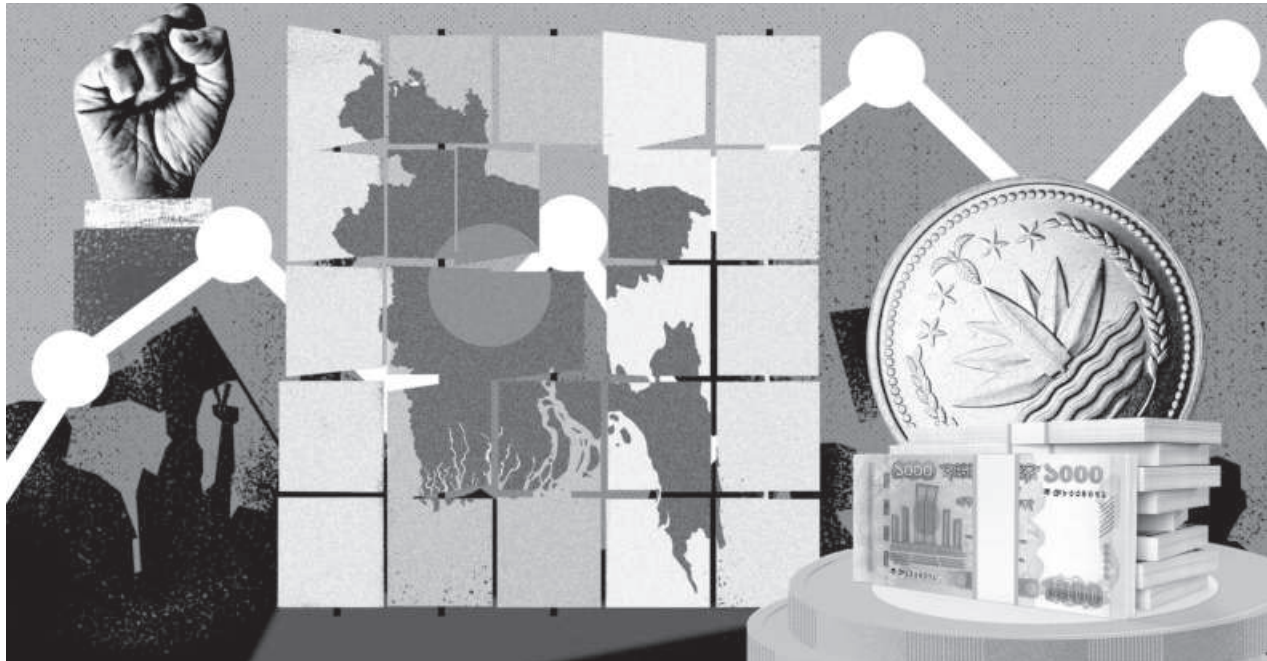
Inflation started to ease after staying around double digits for over two years. In July 2024, point to point inflation was as high as 11.66 percent which came down to 8.48 percent in June 2025. Growth of GDP for FY2025 has been projected to be 3.97 percent by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS). In FY2024, the GDP growth was 4.22 percent. The underperformance of growth is due to deep-rooted structural problems such as low investment, political uncertainty, supply-side constraints, reduced demand and the absence of fiscal stimulus.

#### Institutional reform agenda

The interim government's main selling point was initiating reforms in various sectors. Several reform commissions were formed. Though there were no reform commissions on economic issues, a task force was formed to strengthen the BBS to promote data-driven decision making, and the planning adviser formed a task force on "Re-strategising the Economy and Mobilising Resources for Equitable and Sustainable Development." The latter made actionable recommendations for economic growth, social development and environmental sustainability in the short, medium and long terms. The planning adviser handed over the task force report to the chief adviser, expecting that all relevant ministries would implement at least a few of the immediately implementable

reform measures. Unfortunately, the government has not shown any interest in that yet.

However, the central bank has formed three task forces to carry out reform measures in the banking sector to improve its ailing condition. The specific objectives of the task forces are to conduct a comprehensive asset quality review of banks, strengthen the capacity and efficiency of Bangladesh Bank (BB) and recover stolen assets and manage non-performing assets of banks. The interim government has approved the Bank Resolution



VISUAL: ANWAR SOHEL

Ordinance 2025, which lays out BB's power to take measures to improve the health of commercial banks. However, the cleaning up of the banking sector will hinge upon the willingness of the future political government to continue the reform measures.

A much-talked-about reform of the National Board of Revenue (NBR) is yet to be implemented. The interim government announced the Revenue Policy and Revenue Management Ordinance, 2025 on May 12, 2025, to restructure and split the revenue authority into two separate entities—the Revenue Policy Division and the Revenue Administration Division. This is a requirement by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as part of its \$4.7 billion loan programme. Also, experts and the private sector have long suggested this to improve tax system efficiency and governance. However, the implementation of the ordinance is currently on hold, pending amendments from the Ministry of Finance.

#### Agenda for the coming months

With the national elections coming up in February, it is unlikely that the interim government will pursue new reforms. However, in the months leading up to national elections, the interim administration should consolidate what it has gained so far and address the underlying fragility of the economy. Some of these are briefly presented here.

Macroeconomic stability must be restored and maintained. Interim policymakers should continue a prudent interest-rate policy to tame inflation, but the productive sectors should not suffer from a lack of credit. Exchange rate stability will be crucial for higher export income, remittances and investment.

Boosting private investment is critically important for economic growth and employment generation. Unfortunately, investors' confidence has been low during the interim government's tenure because of the weak law and order situation.

Besides, structural issues such as policy coherence, regulatory predictability, infrastructural smoothness, technological adoption, and bureaucratic efficiency should be addressed to signal the government's seriousness and mitigate perceived instability.

Fiscal institutions should be upgraded through consensus and inclusive dialogue with all concerned officials. No excuse should stall the NBR reform process and the restructuring ordinance should be amended to allow time-bound transition of the institution, preserve institutional knowledge, and integrate officials into the reform design. Instead of using a top-down approach, the consensus method could improve revenue collection.

Targeted economic relief should be provided for poor and low-income households. Given that inflation is still high and wages have not increased at the same rate, the government should expand social protection—especially

cash transfers and food subsidies—to support the vulnerable population. Open market sales of essential commodities should be expanded to include more people.

Export vulnerabilities should be mitigated through strategic actions. Diversification of export items and destinations has become more important than ever before in the context of high US tariffs and the expected graduation from the Least Developed Country (LDC) category in November 2026. The government should provide policy support to exporters and improve the business environment to boost their competitiveness in the global market.

The resilience of the financial sector should be strengthened. The ongoing banking reform measures to address non-performing loans, improve the health of distressed banks through mergers and adopt strong governance and transparency initiatives should be expedited and continued. Independent oversight and audit capabilities should be strengthened to restore credibility

and unlock lending space for the private sector.

The government should prepare for the post-election transition. The independent status of key economic institutions—central bank, NBR, finance ministry—should be retained. Legal protections against undue politicisation should be embedded and a seamless transition to a democratically elected government should be enabled with intact reform momentum.

Despite the interim government's success in several areas, economic and institutional weaknesses prevail, and poor governance overshadows the early euphoria among common people. The government struggled to translate ideas into credible practice, and its capability waned in the public eye as the inner weaknesses became clearer over time. Between now and the next elections, the interim government has both an opportunity and an obligation to pivot by delivering measurable institutional and economic progress and reclaiming moral authority.

# A case for critical thinking in curriculum



**MIND THE GAP**  
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NOSHIN NAWAL

If Bangladesh's national curriculum were a recipe, it would go something like this: take a bright, curious child, add 12 years of rote memorisation, sprinkle in fear of GPA disasters, mix well with coaching centre propaganda, and bake under pressure until all signs of individuality are thoroughly extinguished. Serve cold, preferably with a side of exam-induced anxiety that manifests as vehement vomiting or diarrhoea.

But what if I told you that, after all this academic seasoning, the finished product barely qualifies as half-baked on the global scale? According to the World Bank, Bangladesh's Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) is now functionally equivalent to Grade 7 internationally. Yes, after 12 years of schooling, our students are emerging five years behind the global standard. That's not a learning gap, it's a canyon and not the grand kind.

Despite noble intentions and plenty of committees with acronyms longer than novels, our national curriculum still operates on one central principle: education is less about learning and more about surviving a system designed

to test memory rather than meaning. The National Curriculum Framework 2021 promised to revolutionise education through "competency-based learning," "integrated assessments," and "lifelong learning skills." Lovely. But the intentions are only there—just not the follow-through.

The truth is that the curriculum continues to reward regurgitation over reflection. Want proof? Open any board exam script. You'll find students rewarded for copying textbook paragraphs verbatim.

Science, meanwhile, is less about discovering the world and more about memorising definitions like a corporate compliance manual. Religion is taught as moral absolutes with minimal room for interpretation. And civic education remains stuck in the glorious past of the Liberation War, with little engagement on democratic values, constitutional rights or climate justice.

And speaking of values: where is the conversation around consent, gender equity or mental health? We have an entire generation going through puberty with the emotional intelligence of a brick because the word "sex" still

sends policymakers into a shameful panic. There is no comprehensive sex education, no guidance on bodily autonomy, and no meaningful engagement with the reality of gender-based violence.

If we are to believe the curriculum is designed to prepare children for the 21st century, then can someone please explain why financial literacy, digital safety, media misinformation, and climate adaptation are still missing from the syllabus?

To be fair, the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) has tried to modernise. The new curriculum for classes 1-5, launched in 2023, ditched final exams and introduces continuous assessment. It also encourages thematic learning across disciplines. But implementation has been chaotic. Teachers remain undertrained, class sizes balloon, and textbooks are riddled with errors. According to the 2022 BRAC Education Watch report, only 23 percent of primary school teachers had received in-depth training in competency-based instruction.

And let's not forget the elephant in the classroom: inequality. Students in elite urban schools get smart classrooms, extracurriculars, and debate clubs. Meanwhile, rural schools still lack toilets, let alone trained teachers for integrated learning. The English version of the national curriculum is marginally better resourced, but it still suffers from the same outdated pedagogy, just in awkwardly translated English.

The truth is, we need an education

system that doesn't just manufacture employees or engineers, but nurtures citizens to become curious, compassionate, and capable of questioning the status quo without fearing that a red pen will ruin their future. This means reimagining the entire philosophy of the curriculum. Ditch rote learning entirely. Reward analysis over memorisation. Infuse classrooms with real-life context.

Teachers are the backbone of this transformation, and they must be treated as such. This means proper pay, professional development, and pedagogical freedom—not just strict instructions to finish the syllabus like a robot with a whistle. It also means democratising the curriculum design process. Right now, it's a top-down exercise dominated by bureaucrats, where educators, psychologists, parents, and—dare we suggest—students have minimal input. The 2024 textbook controversy, where glaring errors and politically sanitised omissions made headlines, should be a wake-up call for genuine transparency and public review.

We also need to audit the relevance of the curriculum. Why are children still learning about out-of-date agricultural production figures instead of sustainable farming practices? Why are their moral lessons framed around obedience, but not empathy or ethics in the digital age? These questions must be addressed seriously, otherwise we would have to keep handing out Grade 12 certificates for a Grade 7 education.



ONE YEAR OF SHEIKH HASINA’S FALL

The unfinished journey of Drohojatra



Anu Muhammad is a former professor of economics at Jahangirnagar University.

ANU MUHAMMAD

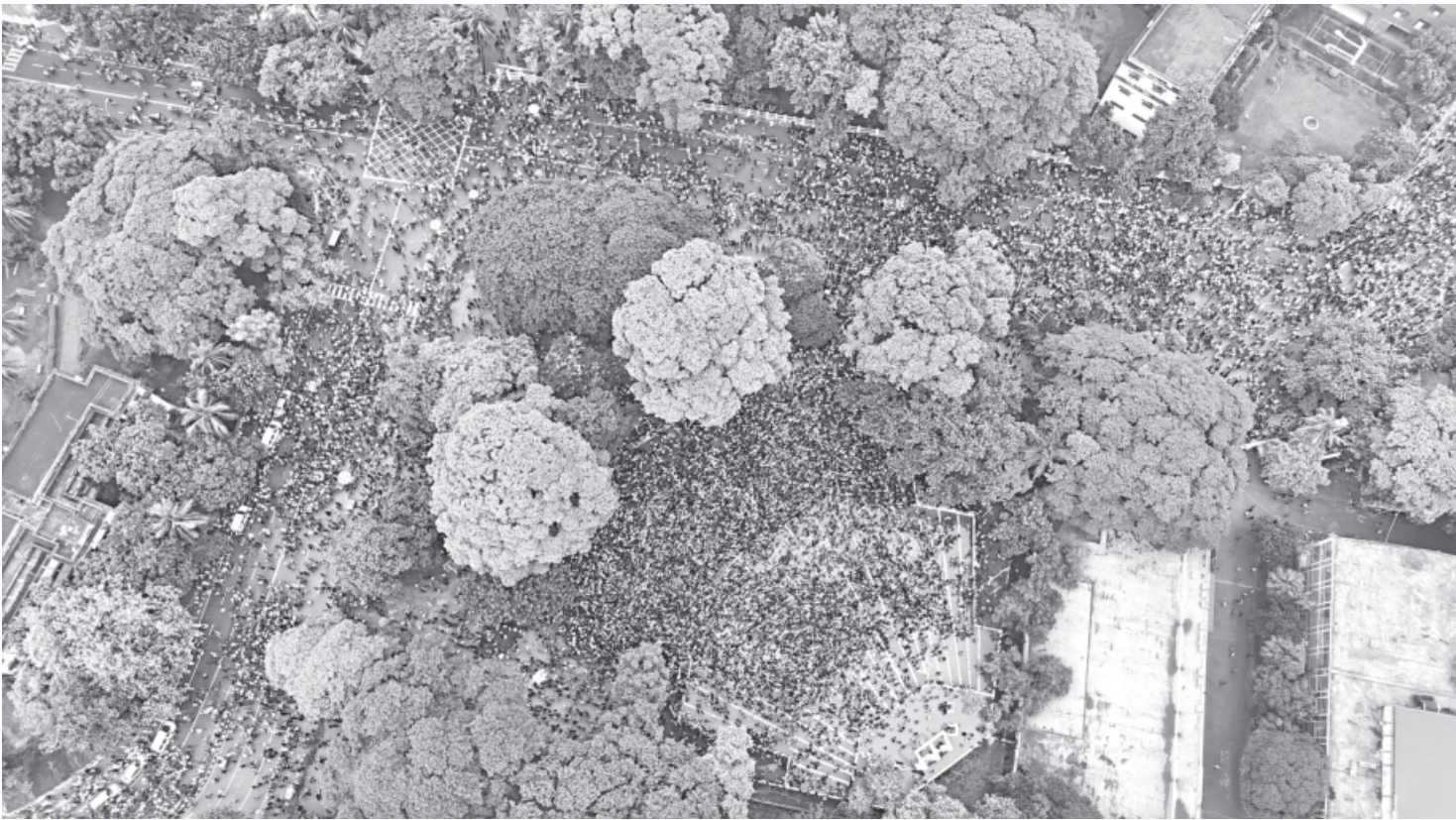
In the face of the people's collective power, the coercive tools of the state—police, law, curfews, propaganda, RAB, military, Section 144—become powerless. When people take to the streets with unity and determination, these mechanisms collapse. That moment of truth—when fear is cast aside and resistance becomes collective—is what we call a mass uprising.

Bangladesh has experienced such moments before: in 1952, 1969, 1971 (when people's resistance turned into an armed Liberation War after the Pakistani forces started committing genocide), and in 1990. And then came July 2024. In each instance, the strength of ordinary people overcame repressive regimes. But in every case, we have also seen how those moments of possibility have been derailed or co-opted, either by betrayal from within or by the failure to

based on historical experience.

One year later, these fears have proven justified. The promises of a new beginning have begun to fade. The interim government, in its own way, has repeated many of the same practices of previous regimes: repression of dissent, evasion of transparency, backroom deals, disregard for justice. Many who actively took part in the uprising—workers, women, students, the poor, and minority communities—find themselves once again under attack.

The very people who made this political shift possible are being silenced or sidelined. Female worker Champa Khatun became the first martyr under this government. Auto-rickshaws have been flattened in mass drives. Villages have been raided. Protesters have been shot. And all the while, those in power try to justify this violence using the same



FILE PHOTO: NAIMUR RAHMAN

July-August 2024 was one of those moments in Bangladesh's history when fear was shed and resistance became collective.

One year later, these fears have proven justified. The promises of a new beginning have begun to fade. The interim government, in its own way, has repeated many of the same practices of previous regimes: repression of dissent, evasion of transparency, backroom deals, disregard for justice.

Liberation War belongs to the people, just as the 2024 uprising does.

These struggles—1971, 1990, 2024—were not isolated events. They are part of a continuum. But each time, the people have paid the price, and others have taken the gains. We cannot let that cycle repeat itself.

To build a just and inclusive Bangladesh, we must confront the four key areas of discrimination that structure our society: class, religion, ethnicity, and gender.

**Class:** Economic inequality continues to increase. The majority of people continue to suffer, while the rich grow richer.

**Religion:** Discrimination persists both between and within religious communities.

**Ethnicity:** Non Bangalee communities remain marginalised and underrepresented.

**Gender:** At every level—home, street, institution—patriarchy continues to dominate.

Until these axes of inequality are addressed head-on, no amount of electoral change will bring true freedom. And unless people remain mobilised, active, and organised, the forces of autocracy will return, again and again.

This is why the movement must go on. It is not over. It cannot be over.

Our struggle is not just for one country or one moment—it is part of a global struggle for justice and dignity. The resistance here echoes the resistance in Palestine and beyond. And just as our uprisings inspire others, we too draw strength from global movements.

The future depends on us. The path ahead is difficult. But the people of this land have shown time and again that they can rise. Now, we must ensure that this time, we do not let that rising be captured, diluted, or destroyed. We continue.



Expectations were high after the fall of the autocratic regime of Sheikh Hasina on August 5, 2024.

FILE PHOTO: FIROZ AHMED

sustain the momentum.

The most recent uprising toppled the Hasina-led government on August 5, 2024. Just three days later, an interim government led by Mohammad Yunus took office. Expectations were high. However, on August 2 last year, at the beginning of Drohojatra, just before the transition, I had warned that removing Hasina and the Awami League would not automatically result in people's empowerment. Without dismantling the structures of power and dominance that had been built over the years, the risk of reverting to old patterns remained high.

That warning was not pessimism—it was

language of “stability” and “order” used by previous regimes.

The mass killing of July 2024 is still waiting for credible justice. Proper investigations are yet to be completed. Many of the injured have suffered from a lack of proper attention and treatment. Meanwhile, thousands face harassment, threats, and financial pressure from fabricated cases filed against them. Extortion and the everyday fear of speaking out continue. Mob violence has become a regular practice to get one's way—be it to punish someone illegally, grab a position of power, acquire land, or make money. All the old habits persist under a new banner.

And like the Hasina government, the current administration has shown little respect for democratic processes when it comes to policy decisions. The Chattogram Port is being handed over to a foreign company without open tenders. LNG import deals are being signed behind closed doors. An order has been officially placed to purchase 25 Boeing aircraft, without any public discussion or explanation. Whose interests are being served by these decisions?

The government makes public statements against Indian domination, but key deals like the Adani power contract, the Rampal coal project in the Sundarbans, and the controversial transit agreements have not been cancelled. The US, meanwhile, is emerging as a growing military and strategic partner. Secret agreements are being signed. The same policy of subservience to global powers continues, now with slight variations in tone. Dependence on the World Bank, IMF, ADB, and JICA for policy formulation and determining the development path remains the same, thus leading to the same outcome as before. The sources of increasing inequality, environmental destruction, corruption, and erosion of public rights remain the same too.

This is not a break from the past; it is a continuation of the same ruling logic, repackaged. The names have changed. The structure remains.

This is why the struggle cannot end with the fall of a government. It must be a deeper, more committed fight for justice, equality, and democracy in every sense. The state must take responsibility—responsibility for the judicial process for July killings; responsibility for the fabricated cases; responsibility for the

culture of impunity that continues to dominate our institutions.

It must also commit to not signing any long-term deals—on ports, defence, ICT, energy—without public debate and transparency. It must stop the harassment of women, minorities, and gender-diverse communities, both online and offline.

Democratic transformation is impossible without dismantling the corrupt alliance of money, muscle, and communalism in politics. Electoral reform is needed at every level, from local government to the national parliament. But that is only one part. We need institutional changes in the judiciary, administration, and law enforcement. Without these, any election is merely a change of faces.

At the same time, there is a growing attempt to distort history. Forces that claim the 1971 Liberation War as their own have used it to silence dissent and loot resources. They have turned a people's struggle into party property. That must be resisted. The

Nightmares of sleepless nights



Manzur al-Matin is an advocate of the Supreme Court and a freelance anchor at Channel 24.

MANZUR-AL-MATIN

Zakir Shikder could tell from the grinding noise of the bone saw that he was losing a part of his body. His leg was being amputated. A couple of days ago, he had found himself amid thousands of others like him, protesting against the tyranny of Sheikh Hasina, who was directing the use of lethal weapons on the very people she had sworn to protect. One of the bullets fired from one of those lethal weapons would pierce through the bones of Zakir. The emptiness below his left thigh would forever remind him of the July of 2024.

Zakir would live to tell his horrific story. Soheli would not. He, too, was shot during those fateful days. Like so many others, he feared his parents would not allow him to join the protests, so he pretended he was going to the Jumma. Usually, he would don a panjabi for the Friday prayers. On that day, he wore a shirt instead—never to return home. Nupur, Soheli's sister, recollected his last moments at a Dhaka hospital. As they waited for his turn to get into the OT, Soheli asked, “Is Ma too mad at me for getting shot like this?” But at the same time, he was proud, because he was struggling for his country. Nupur soon realised her sandals were getting soaked with blood on the floor. Her brother's blood—and the blood of many, many others—who dared to tread the path to freedom.

Naima, a teenager, was eager to join the protests. Her mother Aynun Nahar, fearing the worst, would not agree. Naima, inquisitive as ever, was on the balcony when she heard gunshots. Instinctively, she started capturing footage of the shooting on her mobile



PHOTO: AMRAN HOSSAIN

‘The weight of sleepless nights is something that can only be felt by those who continue to relive the horrors of July 2024.’

phone. Her ever-protective mother was right behind her, believing she was safe inside her home. She could never have guessed what was to come. Moments later, a bullet would penetrate Naima's skull; her brain would be spattered all over the balcony. The blood

sticks. Yet, we fought, and we won!

But the victory has come at a hefty price. A part of this is visible in the lives lost, in the visions that were blinded, in the limbs that were severed from many bodies. But the weight of sleepless nights—of survivors

and grieving relatives like Zakir, Nupur, or Aynun Nahar—is something that can only be felt by those who continue to relive the horrors of July 2024. And that number, I fear, is not small.

July is the month of pride, the month of triumph against tyranny, and yet July is the month of irreparable trauma for the whole nation. Many of those who were on the streets have witnessed first-hand the death of their

A war that was thrust upon us because our children refused to be humiliated at the whim of a dictator. An unjust war, where on the one side were pistols, shotguns, machine guns even, and on the other, there were just pebbles and sticks. Yet, we fought, and we won!

dripping. It feels very much like the present. Sometimes it even feels like we are entrapped in an endless cycle of blood and death.

This trauma presents itself every day in diverse reiterations: when we overreact on social media with vulgar slurs, when we share horrific footage of burnt children without considering the consequences for their families, or for other children who might come across it. We are in a state of constant irritability, almost at daggers drawn, be it in the political arena or in our bedrooms.

I believe we are failing to realise that as a nation we need to heal. We need to heal the wounds for us to be able to move towards the future. Of course, we need to ensure justice for the July massacre. We need to agree upon the basic structural reforms for better governance. But more than anything, we need to be able to think straight without the overwhelming burden of nightmares that continue to haunt us.

As we continue to be shaken to our core by the images of children being starved to death in Gaza, let us admit: we live in an unjust world. Our leaders have forged a world order where reason and sensibility are in retreat. Yet, our own small nation has become a beacon of hope for the whole world. We have shown the world how the powerless can be victorious against all odds. Let us now show the world that we can heal our wounds, and pave the way for a world where things make a little more sense.





ILLUSTRATION: SHAMS RASHID TONMOY

One final takeaway is that skills, not degrees or job titles, are becoming the true markers of potential. Skills-based hiring is on the rise, and the study suggests it could expand the global talent pool for AI-related roles by over eight times.

SHAMS RASHID TONMOY

Artificial intelligence (AI) isn't just changing how we work; it's reshaping what skills are in demand, which jobs will grow, and how careers will evolve. Whether you are looking for your next role or aiming to stay ahead in your current one, adapting to this shift is no longer optional - it's mandatory. A new study from LinkedIn and Access Partnership, titled 'AI and the Global Economy: Unlocking Growth and Reshaping Work', offers interesting insights for job seekers and professionals navigating this new landscape.

According to the study, generative AI (GAI) tools that can create content, code, design, and analyse data are being rapidly adopted by companies across sectors. In fact, 76% of businesses that have integrated GAI report major time savings. But more interestingly, the majority are not just using AI to automate routine tasks, they are using it to unlock innovation, spark creativity, and fuel business growth. So, what does this mean for your career?

First, AI literacy is quickly becoming a must-have skill. You don't need to be an engineer or data scientist, but understanding how to use tools like ChatGPT or Microsoft Copilot is increasingly expected. As per the report, job postings that mention AI literacy skills have increased more than six times over the past

year. And two-thirds of business leaders now say they would not hire someone who lacks basic AI skills. The good news? These tools are accessible, and learning how to use them does not require a degree, just curiosity and practice.

However, being AI-literate alone is not enough. People skills are rising in value. While AI handles more of the technical and operational workload, human qualities like communication, leadership, problem-solving, and emotional intelligence are what make the real difference. The study found that eight out of the top ten fastest-growing skills on LinkedIn are actually people skills. In other words, soft skills are now hard currency.

Interestingly, this tech wave isn't expected to wipe out jobs, it could actually expand them. The report states that two-thirds of businesses using GAI plan to increase headcount, especially for roles involving creativity, strategy, and customer interaction. AI is freeing up time and opening new possibilities, and companies are looking to hire people who can capitalise on that potential.

For professionals early in their careers or those exploring new directions, it is worth noting that many entry-level roles are highly exposed to AI disruption. Positions like administrative assistant, legal associate, and customer service agent are likely to change significantly, according to the research. This

does not mean these jobs will disappear, but they will require new skills. If your role involves repeatable, routine tasks, it is especially important to start exploring how you can upskill or pivot.

And here's where agility matters most. By 2030, the report projects that 70% of the skills used in current jobs will have changed. That is a staggering shift. The professionals who thrive won't be the ones who resist change, they will be the ones who embrace learning, stay curious, and evolve.

One final takeaway is that skills, not degrees or job titles, are becoming the true markers of potential. Skills-based hiring is on the rise, and the study suggests it could expand the global talent pool for AI-related roles by over eight times. For job seekers, this is great news. It means your ability to demonstrate what you can do is becoming more important than where you studied or what your last job was called.

The bottom line? Whether you are job hunting or aiming to stay competitive in your current role, now is the time to invest in yourself. Explore AI tools, build your digital literacy, and polish your communication, leadership, and creative thinking abilities. The AI revolution is well underway, and those who upskill today will be tomorrow's front-runners.

If you are looking to future-proof your career, the best time to start is now.

## ChatGPT adds new 'study mode'

NEXT STEP DESK

OpenAI has launched a new 'study mode' for ChatGPT, intended to guide students through learning rather than directly providing answers. The feature is now available to all users, including free accounts.

Instead of giving direct answers,

Study Mode uses interactive prompts and techniques like Socratic questioning to encourage critical thinking, says OpenAI. The feature assesses a student's knowledge level through initial questions, then adapts explanations by breaking complex topics into manageable parts while incorporating knowledge checks to

reinforce understanding.

Developed in collaboration with educators and learning scientists, OpenAI says that Study Mode incorporates research-based teaching methods. OpenAI also acknowledges the current version has limitations, as it relies on system instructions

rather than being fully integrated into the AI model, which may lead to inconsistencies. The company plans to refine the feature based on user feedback, with future improvements including more personalised learning, progress tracking, and better visual explanations for complex concepts.

## Atlassian CEO fires 150 employees in pre-recorded home video

NEXT STEP DESK

Australian software company Atlassian is laying off 150 employees, with AI set to take over many customer service roles. The announcement came via a pre-recorded video from CEO Mike Cannon-Brookes, filmed in his home office.

In the video announcement, it was stated that impacted staff will receive six months' pay, though their laptops were reportedly disabled within minutes of the announcement. However, because no names were specified, affected workers were left waiting anxiously for follow-up emails about their fate.

The mass firing comes just months after the billionaire "climate activist" spent \$75 million on a private jet. Cannon-Brookes previously admitted the purchase gave him "deep internal conflict", but argued he needed it for security and to be a "present dad" while running a global business from Australia.

The cuts highlight a growing tension in tech, in which OpenAI CEO OpenAI's Sam Altman recently predicted AI will soon handle customer service better than humans. Employees around the globe face an uncertain future as companies rush to automate jobs.

While Atlassian's blog claims these "hard decisions" were made with "heart and balance", critics point to the stark contrast between lavish executive spending and sudden job cuts.



## Jaguar Land Rover CEO to retire

NEXT STEP DESK

Adrian Mardell, the CEO of Jaguar Land Rover (JLR), will retire after three years in the role and more than three decades with the British automaker. A company spokesperson confirmed his departure last week, stating that a successor will be announced later.

Mardell, 64, was appointed CEO of JLR in November 2022 after serving as Chief Financial Officer since June 2019, where he oversaw financial management and shareholder value creation. With 35 years of financial experience at JLR since joining in 1990, Mardell previously held roles including Deputy CFO, Operations Controller, and Chief Transformation Officer.

During Mardell's tenure, JLR achieved its highest profit in a decade, cleared £5 billion (\$6.6 billion) in debt, and posted record operational performance. He also led Jaguar's transition into an all-electric luxury brand, though the move faced criticism.

The announcement comes as JLR navigates challenges, including a recent one-month pause in US exports. Mardell's retirement was reportedly planned and unrelated to recent pressures, including job cuts and declining sales. JLR employs over 30,000 workers in the UK, with major facilities in Coventry, Solihull, and Merseyside.



## Is stress stopping your career from thriving?

SHAMS RASHID TONMOY

For years, workplace stress has been considered an unavoidable part of professional life. But according to ADP Research Institute's 'People at Work 2025' report, that narrative is shifting. While high levels of stress have declined significantly since the pandemic, most workers are still not thriving. Instead, many are stuck in a middle zone of emotional fatigue, low motivation, and limited fulfilment.

So, what does this mean for job seekers and professionals? The findings offer timely lessons about what it takes to succeed and stay well in today's working world.

Just 7.5% of workers reported experiencing high levels of negative stress every day in 2024, down from 15% the previous year. Yet, the percentage of 'thriving' workers, i.e. those who find their work rewarding and energising, has also dropped. Instead, more workers now fall into the 'rattled' category, where they experience a mix of good and bad days without real momentum.

In other words, less stress does not automatically lead to more happiness. And for many professionals, especially younger ones, this uncertain middle ground can lead to a stalled career.

ADP researchers classify workers into three types based on how they respond to stress. Thriving workers are engaged, productive, and motivated by challenges. Overloaded workers are burnt out and underperforming. Rattled workers are coping, but not reaching their full potential.

If you are job hunting or considering a new direction,



ILLUSTRATION: SHAMS RASHID TONMOY

understanding these categories is important. Choosing a company that actively supports well-being and stress management could make all the difference in your long-term success.

One surprising finding in the study is how much the feeling of being watched or judged can affect well-being. In 2024, nearly one in three workers said they felt judged for using flexible work options. Those who felt monitored by their manager were 3.3 times less likely to thrive.

This matters because even where hybrid or remote work is available, the culture around flexibility can create hidden stress. If you are exploring a new role, it is worth asking not only about policies, but also about how they are received and supported in practice.

Stress levels also vary with age. Workers aged 18 to 26 in North America reported the highest levels

of moderate stress and the lowest levels of low stress. In contrast, workers aged 55 to 64 in Europe and Latin America reported far lower stress levels. Younger professionals may need more support, mentoring, and realistic expectations to build confidence and resilience.

Finally, the report finds a clear link between well-being and retention. Thriving workers are less likely to be job hunting, while overloaded workers are far more likely to be planning a move. If your role consistently leaves you drained, it might not be a temporary slump. It could be a sign to change paths.

The takeaway? Do not just look for roles that offer flexibility or a competitive salary. Prioritise workplaces where you feel trusted, valued, and able to grow. Because in today's world of work, avoiding burnout is not enough. The real goal is to thrive.

## JOBS SPOTLIGHT

BRAC

Officer, Social Empowerment and Legal Protection



Deadline: August 9

Eligibility:

Master's degree in a relevant discipline, with sound knowledge of community mobilisation, group formation, meeting facilitation, and livelihood support.

Minimum experience: N/A

United International University (UIU)



Laboratory Officer, School of Life Sciences

Deadline: August 10

Eligibility:

Bachelor's degree in Pharmacy from a reputed university with minimum CGPA 3.00 out of 4.00.

Minimum experience: 1-3 years

Asset Developments & Holdings Ltd.



Manager, Sales & Marketing

Deadline: August 16

Eligibility:

Graduation from a recognised university with prior experience in sales and marketing.

Minimum experience: 5-7 years

The Institute of Cost and Management Accountants of Bangladesh (ICMAB)



System Support Engineer

Deadline: August 14

Eligibility:

Bachelor's degree (at least 2nd class or CGPA-3.25) in Computer Engineering with expertise in C#, .NET, .NET Web API, SQL Server, testing methods, and debugging processes.

Minimum experience: 3 years

FOR MORE DETAILS AND THE APPLICATION LINKS, SCAN THE QR CODE BELOW.

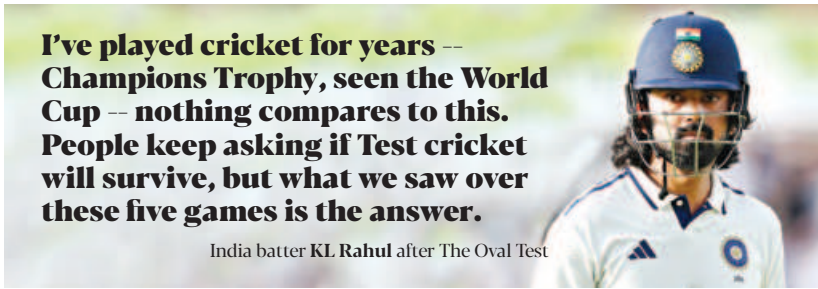


"If you cannot yet do great things, do small things in a great way."

NAPOLEON HILL







## Bazball pulled over

SHABAB CHOWDHURY

Fast bowler Mohammad Siraj wears his heart on his sleeve. Charging in with purpose, draped in India's whites, he barrels in, undeterred by conditions or expectations.

Up against the Bazball bandwagon -- England's intimidating swashbuckling batting style? It barely registered on his radar and was the least of his worries, it seemed. If anything, it was a challenge he relished.

Siraj, a Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) in the Telangana Police, seemed to have handed Bazball a speeding ticket, grounding the Ben Stokes-Brendon McCullum duo to a screeching halt in the fifth and final Test on Monday.

The 31-year-old workhorse was the only pacer to play all five Tests, sending down a series-high 185.3 overs and topping the charts with 23 wickets -- including a career-best 9 for 190 -- finally stepping into a spotlight that often misses the supporting cast.

While the home side attempted to set the tempo, Siraj kept at it throughout the tour and managed to create moments of brilliance for himself and his team, sometimes as the sidekick to star pacer Jasprit Bumrah, but in others as the sheriff himself. He did it without an ounce of thought spared about how England would try to impose their aggressive approach on the game.

In the Oval Test, he decided enough was enough, and it was his time to shine. He revelled in the limited sunshine on offer over the five days and wreaked havoc when the light was obscured.

When India faltered to 224 in first innings, it was Siraj who hauled them back, scalping four crucial wickets. His in-swingers sliced through England's middle order, leaving even the likes of Joe Root and Ollie Pope flailing. When England came out to chase a record 374, it was again Siraj who claimed vital scalps -- removing Zak Crawley with a deceptive slower yorker and cutting Pope in half before sealing a six-run win on a tense final morning.

And he did it without Bumrah. All series long, the narrative revolved around India's spearhead. But when it mattered most, Siraj rose from the wings again -- justifying his average which improves from 35.00 to 25.10 when Bumrah is absent.

"You always feel good when given extra responsibility," said Siraj on missing Bumrah after his four-fer in the first innings.

The badge he wears off the field now seems just as fitting as the whites he wears on it.



# Can Sohan make it count this time?

SPORTS REPORTER

When Nurul Hasan Sohan smashed three sixes and three fours in the final over to guide Rangpur Riders to a thrilling win over Fortune Barishal in last year's Bangladesh Premier League (BPL) league phase, many believed he was ready for the national T20I side.

Sharp behind the stumps and increasingly consistent as a finisher in both the BPL and Dhaka Premier League (DPL), Sohan appeared to be the ideal successor to Mahmudullah Riyad, who had long served as the team's late-order enforcer.

However, Sohan hasn't featured for Bangladesh in T20Is since the 2022 World Cup in Australia, where his batting fell short of expectations. In the most recent DPL, he impressed with 522 runs for Dhanmondi Sports Club, averaging 58 with a high strike rate. His two centuries, including a counter-attacking 132 against Mohammedan, highlighted his ability to anchor innings.

Despite his domestic form, a national recall remained elusive. Ahead of the Sri Lanka series earlier this year, hopes were high for his return, but his wait continued.

"Regarding Sohan, he is under consideration, but due to team balance, we can't include multiple wicketkeepers in the same squad," said BCB chief selector Gazi Ashraf Hossain Lipu when explaining Sohan's omission from the 16-member ODI squad for the Lanka series.

Lipu also noted that Litton Das needed ODI opportunities to regain form and lead the T20I side effectively.

"Sohan is certainly in our minds. He's very effective in the No. 6 and 7 positions. I believe we'll see him again soon," the chief selector added in June.

That opportunity may now be within reach. On Monday, Sohan was named in both the Bangladesh 'A' squad for the Top End T20 tournament in Australia (August 14-24) and the preliminary national squad for the upcoming Netherlands series and the Asia Cup.

With the three-match Netherlands T20I series to start from August 30, the Top End T20 could be a crucial platform for Sohan's national return. After a frustrating wait, the door is ajar with the Asia Cup just around the corner. Now, it's up to Sohan to make it count.



## CWAB election on September 4

SPORTS REPORTER

The Cricket Welfare Association of Bangladesh (CWAB) announced that its first election in 15 years will take place on September 4, following a meeting yesterday in Mirpur.

CWAB formed the election commission, with Bangladesh Cricket Board (BCB) director Ittekkar Ahmed Mithu appointed as chairman, while Nasir Ahmed Nasu and Habibul Bashar have been appointed as members of the election committee.

Cricketers such as Najmul Hossain Shanto, Mominul Haque, and Mohammad Mithun were present during the media briefing.

### SHORT CORNER

#### Pakistan clinch series against WI

Sahibzada Farhan and Saim Ayub combined for a 138 opening partnership and Pakistan defeated the West Indies by 13 runs on Sunday to capture their T20 International Series. Pakistan won the series opener by 14 runs but dropped the second match by two wickets to set up a Sunday night decider at Lauderhill, Florida.

*\*\*Read full stories on The Daily Star's website*



Bangladesh football team's captain Jamal Bhuyan has become a brand ambassador of Surf Excel Bangladesh. Jamal follows the footsteps of global football stars such as Vinicius Jr. of Brazil and Bukayo Saka of England.

PHOTO: COURTESY

# Passara brings technical focus to Bangladesh TT



PHOTO: FIROZ AHMED

ANISUR RAHMAN

Under the low light at the Shaheed Taj Uddin Ahmed Indoor Stadium, it was somewhat difficult to spot the newly appointed Thai table tennis coach, Pattaratorn Passara, among the 30 or so paddlers preparing for the upcoming Asian Youth Games, Islamic Solidarity Games, and South Asian Games. The 25-year-old coach blended in with the players, wearing a jersey, shorts, and sneakers -- just like the rest of them.

However, it didn't take long to identify the lanky Passara, who was seen engaging with the players, demonstrating techniques on how the ball should be served and returned, where to position their hands, and offering numerous other technical instructions. He wasted no time and began working with the players in the morning session yesterday, following his arrival in Dhaka on Sunday night.

Passara called time on his playing career last year after an illustrious run, which included becoming the singles champion at the All Thailand Table Tennis Championships 2024 and

at the King's Cup Thailand Championships in 2021. He was also a gold medal-winning member of the Thailand team during the 31st Southeast Asian Games in 2021. Since retiring, Passara has taken up the challenge of coaching at the domestic level and has now joined the Bangladesh table tennis team on a two-month assignment.

"I know two months is a short time to improve the players significantly, but one thing I want to instil in the Bangladeshi players is technique," Passara told The Daily Star yesterday. "I want to teach the players specific techniques during the first month. If they can improve technically, then I will focus on developing their strength, which is also crucial for their performance. If they can manage both, they will improve in their respective games."

After conducting two training sessions with the paddlers, Passara believes that the Bangladeshi players already possess the basics, which he aims to reinforce. He noted, however, that the players lack strategic play.

Despite various limitations facing table tennis in Bangladesh, the 25-year-old coach remains

optimistic about the potential of the players.

"Actually, I'm not fully aware of the types of limitations Bangladesh table tennis is facing, but I think the players can progress if they are taught the correct techniques," said Passara, who aims to instil three key qualities in the team -- power, speed, and service.

Although Passara holds a degree in Business Administration with a focus on Logistics Management, he does not possess a formal coaching licence. However, Captain Maksud Ahmed Sonnet, general secretary of the Bangladesh Table Tennis Federation, is unconcerned about this.

"I brought in Passara through a Thai coach who is currently training in the USA. According to him, young players are turning to Passara because those receiving training under him are performing better. Even paddlers from Myanmar are coming to him for coaching," said Sonnet. He added that the BTTF is considering participating in an invitational tournament to assess the players' improvement under Passara's supervision.





Policemen impound battery-run autorickshaws and fine their drivers for violating traffic rules by entering the thoroughfare near the capital's Science Lab area yesterday.

PHOTO: PRABIR DAS

## Bangladesh to expand access to US goods under tariff deal

REFAYET ULLAH MIRDHA

Bangladesh is preparing to open its market to a wide array of American goods and services, including dairy, meat, liquefied petroleum gas, and aircraft, under a pending trade agreement with the United States, according to officials familiar with bilateral negotiations.

The agreement, which is expected to be signed shortly, forms part of a broader effort by the two countries to deepen economic ties and expand US access to the Bangladeshi market. Bangladesh is set to undertake significant policy and regulatory reforms, including removing foreign ownership restrictions, streamlining investment approvals, and improving transparency for American investors.

The Trump administration

“We will sign an agreement with the US when the US sends us the final document.”

Commerce Secretary MAHBUBUR RAHMAN

reduced tariffs on Bangladeshi exports from 35 percent to 20 percent, a shift that helped ease trade tensions and signalled Washington's interest in strengthening commercial ties with Dhaka.

The pending agreement is expected to broaden this engagement beyond apparel, into sectors such as agriculture, energy,

aviation, and infrastructure.

“We will sign an agreement with the US when the US sends us the final document,” Commerce Secretary Mahbubur Rahman told The Daily Star yesterday. He declined to share details of the potential agreement.

Under the proposed framework, Bangladesh will remove barriers to US investments in key sectors, including oil and gas, insurance and telecoms. It will also facilitate the issuance of no-objection certificates where required, and establish clear guidelines on capital transfers in freely usable currencies at prevailing exchange rates.

As part of the deal, Dhaka has agreed to increase its purchases of US soybean oil for the government and to partner with American

SEE PAGE 11 COL 1

## Trump to raise tariff on India over Russia oil

AFP, Washington

President Donald Trump yesterday threatened to “substantially” hike US tariffs on goods from India over its purchases of Russian oil — a key source of revenue for Moscow's war on Ukraine.

Trump's heightened pressure on India comes after he signalled fresh sanctions on Moscow if it did not make progress by Friday towards a peace deal with Kyiv, more than three years since Russia's invasion.

Moscow is anticipating talks with the US leader's special envoy Steve Witkoff, who is expected to meet President Vladimir Putin this week.

Yesterday, Trump said in a post to his Truth Social platform that India was

SEE PAGE 11 COL 3

## ‘Don’t waste the opportunity the July uprising gave’

Says Dr Kamal Hossain

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Dr Kamal Hossain, founder and emeritus president of Gono Forum, yesterday said the interim government must uphold the constitutional process through a free, fair, and inclusive election.

“The opportunity created by the July Uprising to build a humane, discrimination-free Bangladesh must not be wasted under any circumstances,” he wrote in a statement yesterday.

Gono Forum General Secretary Mizanur Rahman read out Kamal's written statement at a discussion titled “July Uprising: Conviction and Expectations”, organised by Gono Forum at the Jatiya Press Club.

Kamal Hossain, a noted jurist who led the committee that drafted

SEE PAGE 10 COL 4

## CONSENSUS TALKS Third phase begins to finalise implementation of July Charter

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The National Consensus Commission has begun its third phase of work, aiming to determine how the July Charter will be implemented.

In this phase, the commission will hold discussions with legal experts, constitutional specialists, and political parties. After that, signatures will be collected from political parties to finalise the charter.

This decision was made at the commission meeting on Sunday. The

SEE PAGE 11 COL 1

## Promises won't work, people want results

Says Tarique

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

People are no longer satisfied with just promises and dreams; they want those promises fulfilled, said BNP's acting chairman Tarique Rahman yesterday.

“The people of Bangladesh don't want politics driven by rhetoric anymore. People now want proper planning and the fulfilment of promises,” Tarique said at a discussion titled “Anti-Fascist Movement and My Untold Words.”

The event was organised by Jubo Dal at the Institution of Engineers, Bangladesh (IEB) in the city's Ramna area, marking the anniversary of the July-August mass uprising.

Speaking virtually from London, Tarique said the BNP is developing its future programmes based on the desires and demands of the people.

“Our future policy is about improving people's lives,” said the BNP

SEE PAGE 11 COL 4



প্রেরণার দীপ্তিতে  
জনতার জয়গানে  
মুখর হোক বাংলাদেশ  
মুক্তির উৎসবে

স্বপ্ন, সচেতনতা আর সাহসিকতায়  
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