

BLOODSHED IN BANGLADESH

JAN 2025



‘My son was killed... I demand the State to bring those perpetrators to justice. I demand the Government to bring to justice those who shot my son and those who gave orders for carrying out the shooting. ... I want justice for the killing of my son after a thorough investigation’.

**Mominul Islam Ridoy,
Father of 24-year-old student, Biplob Hossain.**



Rampura, Dhaka, 19 July 2024. By Suman Kanti Paul, Drik

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Six months after the student protests began in Bangladesh there is no comprehensive list of the hundreds killed by law enforcement authorities between 16 July and 5 August 2024 and uncertainty lingers over whether those responsible will be brought to justice through a credible process. The student protests began over privileged access by descendants of freedom fighters to government jobs and then escalated, drawing in the wider public, who were outraged by the increasingly violent and deadly response of the authorities. The protests finally resulted in the fall of the Awami League government and the flight of the Prime Minister to India.¹

This report focuses on just one day of the protests – 19 July 2024, the day on which the second largest number of people were shot dead by law enforcement authorities. The only other day with a larger death toll was 5 August, the day Sheikh Hasina fled the country. While the report focuses on the dead, it is important to remember that there are many more who were injured in the protests, and that they, along with the families of the dead and missing, urgently need assistance and support.

19 July began with the government blocking all access to the internet, both mobile and broadband, throughout the country. It ended with the army being deployed to impose a curfew and with the blanket suspension of international mobile phone lines.

While the media initially reported that 56 people had been killed that Friday,² this number is now known to be three times higher. The ITJP has confirmed that on 19 July, at least 148 people were shot dead by law enforcement authorities (or on occasion pro-government activists). Their names and where possible photographs are in the Annexure to this report as well as online at <https://itjpsl.com/reports/bangladesh>. However, this is not a final list, and we urge anyone with additional information to get in touch.

The list – along with the photographs of those who died – illustrates that most of those killed that day were young people with long lives ahead of them, which were brutally cut short. 40 of the dead were 18 years or younger. Shockingly 54 of the dead were shot in the head or throat. Many of those killed were not even part of the protests, but bystanders and people who happened to live or work close to shooting that was completely indiscriminate. The maps indicate the overwhelming majority of those killed that day were in Dhaka and that within the capital city most were killed in particular locations, including in three adjacent sectors of Mirpur where 24 people died, in the Rampura and Banashree areas, where 23 people died, and in Mohammadpur, where 13 people died.

The report also provides detailed information from preliminary investigations into 32 of the killings which took place on 19 July in Dhaka and Narsingdi. In all these cases, we have carried out in-depth

interviews with family members but in 18 of the deaths found eye-witnesses to the shooting or obtained video evidence of the killing or its immediate aftermath. The investigation focus is on the victims of the violations and at this stage does not identify alleged perpetrators.

The information collected so far indicates that law enforcement authorities made no attempt to maintain non-violent crowd control, and that no warnings were issued by police for crowds to disperse before using live fire that caused lethal injuries. Protestors appeared genuinely shocked by the violent law enforcement response. Furthermore, in no instance did the authorities assist with treatment for the wounded; indeed, they often hindered the process.

Interviews with families include harrowing accounts of how, feet literally soaked in blood, they were forced to search overflowing hospital morgues for their children. The search often began with a phone call – usually from a stranger – urging them to come at once to a clinic to see a family member who had been shot. There are agonising accounts of moving acutely injured people around town in a succession of ambulances, three wheelers or even motorbikes, often from hospital to hospital in a desperate attempt to find life-saving treatment amid the turmoil and chaos. Accounts describe medical services which were overwhelmed, in one case a hospital literally ran out of gauze and bandages. Families described Dhaka as looking like a war zone that day.

Siblings had to go to strangers to ask for blood for transfusion. Students tried to assist the injured, often at risk to their own lives. To compound the trauma, the bereaved had to confront hostility from the authorities. In a state of panic, people fought to find transport, navigate their way through checkpoints and the continuing unrest, and then struggled to obtain death certificates and postmortem reports in order

to have a relative's body released for burial. Some became trapped in hospital because of the curfew imposed that night; others were frightened to go home in case they came under scrutiny for having a dead protestor in the family. Funerals were suffused with fear, with some families opting to hold them clandestinely in the village at dawn to avoid obstruction from local Awami League leaders.

The unlawful and targeted use of force by the police described in this report constitutes gross violations of human and if proven, amounts to crimes against humanity. An independent credible investigation of the killings is now urgently required in Bangladesh, as well as a comprehensive programme of security sector reform.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are indebted to the bereaved families who in their grief took time to speak to our team in Bangladesh to recount what happened on 19 July, a day of tragedy. To compound the trauma, many have been left without breadwinners and in financial difficulties.

We are extremely grateful for the generosity of colleagues at Manabadhikar Shongskriti Foundation (MSF) in sharing their own meticulously compiled list of those killed on 19 July. This allowed for cross referencing with the cases we investigated to corroborate names and details. We would also like to thank Human Rights Support Society, and Odhikar as well as the newspapers *The Daily Star* and *Prothom Alo* for sharing the lists that they compiled.

Our thanks also go to our team of investigative journalists in Bangladesh who tracked down families and eyewitnesses so quickly, and who listened to their harrowing accounts, documenting them and ensuring that information was preserved to help with future accountability mechanisms and memorialisation. The team started collecting information six days after Sheikh Hasina was forced to leave Bangladesh, including videos related to the shootings, as well as medical documentation identifying causes of death. To date, the ITJP has investigated over 60 deaths which took place during the 2024 protests.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Awami League: the ruling party in Bangladesh while the protests were taking place. Its leader was Sheikh Hasina, the Prime Minister.

BGB or Border Guards of Bangladesh: a paramilitary force primarily responsible for the security of the borders of Bangladesh.

Bhai: a term meaning brother, often used after male names.

Chhatra League: the Awami League's student wing.

Jubo League: the Awami League's youth wing.

INDEX

1. BACKGROUND	08
POLITICAL BACKGROUND	
STUDENT QUOTA PROTESTS START: 1 – 13 JULY 2024	
“RAZAKARS’ CHILDREN”: 14 AND 15 JULY 2024	
PRELUDE TO THE 19TH: THE KILLINGS START	
FRIDAY, 19 JULY 2024	
2. THE VICTIMS	13
AGE	
GENDER	
PROTESTOR OR PASSERBY?	
OCCUPATION	
LOCATION OF THE SHOOTING	
PART OF BODY WHERE PERSON SHOT	
3. THE KILLINGS	19
ACCORDING TO THE FAMILIES	
ACCORDING TO THE EYEWITNESSES	
OBSERVATIONS	
4. LEGAL ANALYSIS	42
5. RECOMMENDATIONS	47
6. ANNEXURE	50
NAMES AND PHOTOGRAPHS	

1. BACKGROUND

In July 2024, Bangladesh was convulsed by student-led protests demanding that the government significantly reduce the use of quotas for civil service jobs. In the first half of the month, the authorities used mostly limited force to police the protests. However, from 16 July until 5 August, law enforcement officials started firing deadly rounds directly at protestors. The killings stopped at the end of 5 August, some hours after Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina resigned and fled to India for her own security.³

By the time the government fell, newspapers were reporting that the number of people killed by law enforcement totalled around 440.⁴ Journalists speculated the number was in fact much higher given that it had been so challenging to collect accurate data with curfews, internet shutdowns and a highly adverse political situation. Since then, human rights organisations, student groups, political parties and the government have sought to determine the death toll. There is still no accurate number of deaths, however we now know that at least 800 people died⁵ (though government authorities estimate the number at around 1,500).⁶

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Awami League came to power in Bangladesh in 2008 following elections that gave the party an overwhelming majority, replacing the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and the Jamaat-e-Islami, which together formed the government between 2001-2006. However, long before 2024, by which time

it had been in power for 15 years, the Awami League government with Sheikh Hasina as Prime Minister had become increasingly authoritarian. For a number of years, political dissent and civil society were harshly suppressed, and free and fair elections were suspended.

The seeds of this authoritarianism date back to 2011, when the government passed a law to remove a provision from the country's constitution requiring governments to hand over power three months before a national election to an interim caretaker government to administer national elections. This caretaker government system, which had been introduced by a constitutional amendment in 1996,⁷ had been crucial in ensuring relatively fair elections in Bangladesh and was popular. When the Awami League government removed it, democracy was undermined, and no further fair and contested elections took place. In 2014 and 2024, the opposition parties boycotted the elections, judging that without a caretaker government, polls would not be fair; indeed, in 2018, when the opposition did take part, the elections were systematically rigged.⁸

The lack of free and fair elections is important context to the 2024 protests; people in Bangladesh had not freely elected their government since 2008 and there was significant resentment within the country about the lack of a properly constituted and contested poll.

In parallel, civic space had shrunk. Opposition parties were prevented from

operating freely and their leaders, activists and supporters became the target of arbitrary criminal cases, enforced disappearance and extrajudicial executions.⁹ The media, including social media, was increasingly censored, with limited dissent allowed and with the government prosecuting opponents for vague and broad-ranging digital media offences, which resulted in hundreds of journalists and social media users being sent to jail.¹⁰ By 2024, the Awami League controlled all the key public institutions, in particular capturing the police, judiciary and the civil service to ensure that they were led by, and comprised of, staunch party loyalists. Through its student wing, the Chhatra League, the Awami League government also controlled the universities.

When the protests started, two conflicting narratives were true. On the one hand, the Awami League was too strong for anyone to imagine it could lose power, on the other hand the country was a powder keg of resentment waiting for an issue to ignite it. The student protests against civil service job quotas provided this spark.

STUDENT QUOTA PROTESTS: 1 – 13 JULY 2024

Protests against the job quotas first broke out on 2 July with just a few hundred students from the country's main public university, Dhaka University. Their banner was 'Students Against Discrimination', and for a few hours the Shahbagh intersection in the centre of the capital was blocked. The catalyst was a June ruling by the High Court that invalidated a 2018 government circular abolishing job quotas for specific groups. The students' frustration was particularly directed at a policy which ringfenced 30% of government jobs for the grandchildren of veterans from the 1971 War of Independence. Altogether, quotas accounted for 56% of all government positions, leaving less than half of the total number of jobs available open to general competition. The protestors demanded the reinstatement of the government circular. 'After that, if

the government wants, they can reform quotas gradually in a logical way rather than a blanket reinstatement,' one of the student organisers said at the time.¹¹

The protests soon spread to other public universities, both in Dhaka and elsewhere in the country. On 4 July, the Appellate Division refused to stay the High Court order pending an appeal, a decision that fanned wider protests.¹² From 7 July, in a programme called 'Bangla Blockade' protestors blocked key intersections of the city. The capital was brought to a standstill, though the protests remained generally peaceful and the policing was relatively light touch.¹³

On 10 July, the Appellate Division agreed to stay the High Court order so that the 2018 government order ending the job quotas remained operative until a full appeal was heard. The court also called on the students to end their protests. However, the student protestors pushed back saying that they would continue until the government agreed to form a commission to reform the quota system with the government changing the law.¹⁴

The decision to continue protests despite the Appellate Court decision resulted in a tougher stance by the police, who sought to control the students with barricades. There were reports of violence,¹⁵ and on 11 July riot police and water cannons were seen on the streets, and the police used tear gas and rubber bullets, causing injuries.¹⁶ The police warned that they would take legal action against the protestors unless they stopped.

Though there were only limited violent confrontations between the protestors and law enforcement authorities, the language of some Awami League politicians hardened with the president of the governing party's student wing reportedly saying that they were ready to face those trying to use the movement to gain political mileage.¹⁷ The

Home Minister also said: 'We have instructed the security forces, especially the police, to listen to [the students'] demands, but there are limits. They are crossing those limits.'¹⁸

"RAZAKARS' CHILDREN'" 14 AND 15 JULY 2024

The government could probably have brought the growing student protests to an end, were it not for a 'disparaging' remark made by the Prime Minister on 14 July at a press conference following her return from a trip to China. In response to a journalist asking the Prime Minister about the protests, Hasina said: 'Why do they have so much resentment towards the freedom fighters? If the grandchildren of the freedom fighters don't get quota benefits, should the grandchildren of Razakars get the benefit?'

Razakar is a pejorative term used in Bangladesh to describe a person who collaborated with the Pakistani military during the country's 1971 war of independence.

The protesting students were riled by the use of this language against them and it catalysed further demonstrations across different university campuses, with students chanting the following slogans: 'Asked for rights and became a Razakar' and 'Who are you? Who am I? Razakar, Razakar!'¹⁹. At the end of the slogan, they added the words, 'Who said so? Dictator, dictator!'

On the following day, 15 July, Awami League politicians strongly criticised the protesting students. Mohammad Ali Arafat, the State Minister for Information, said, 'No demands will be accepted for those who want to become Razakars.' Mohibul Hassan Chowdhury, the Education Minister, said, 'It is not possible for this state to respect these traitors' and Awami League's General Secretary, Obaidul Quader said, 'Chhatra League [the governing party's student wing] will give a fitting reply to those student leaders of the quota reform movement who

last night labelled themselves Razakars and showed arrogance.'²⁰ Quader also said, 'Student activities were previously limited to campus premises. However, their recent behaviour has been arrogant. We are ready to take action.'²¹

These comments, particularly those of the party general secretary, appeared to give a green light to student activists in the governing party. On the same day, wearing helmets and carrying sticks and iron bars, they attacked the quota protestors at Dhaka University, chasing them into Dhaka Medical College Hospital where dozens had already come to seek treatment.²² The governing party students also called for the government to prosecute the protestors for 'supporting Razakars'.²³

PRELUDE TO THE 19TH: THE KILLINGS START

On the following day, 16 July, with private university students now beginning to join the protests, the situation seriously escalated. Chhatra League students appeared on the streets alongside the police and there were violent clashes between the two sides. The Border Guard Bangladesh was also deployed in different parts of the country.²⁴ For the first time, law enforcement authorities began firing with deadly force on protestors in the cities of Dhaka, Chittagong and Rangpur, resulting in the deaths of 6 people. A video of the student Abu Sayeed being shot dead in Rangpur as he stood unarmed with his arms outstretched went viral and catalysed support for the protestors.²⁵ A Chhatra League student also died, allegedly beaten to death by those involved in the protests.²⁶ As the unrest spread, the government deployed the paramilitary Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB) force in five major cities including Dhaka and Chittagong.²⁷

Foreign Minister and Awami League Joint General Secretary, Hasan Mahmud, blamed 'BNP-Jamaat terrorists' for 'being behind the evil efforts to create anarchy across the country' and claimed that 'BNP-Jamaat

wanted dead bodies. They got that.’²⁸ That evening, the government ordered that all universities, colleges and secondary schools should be shut down for an indefinite period.²⁹ Late at night, police also raided the headquarters of the main opposition party, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party.

The killings changed the nature of the protests so they were no longer just about the quota system but also about justice and accountability for those who had been killed. On 17 July, police attacked students at different public universities when they tried to hold symbolic funerals (known as ‘absentee funerals’ because of the corpse being unavailable) for those who had died the previous day. At an Awami League meeting, the party’s General Secretary and Road Transport and Bridges Minister, Obaidul Quader called on party activists ‘to take position to resist the evil forces. ...Be ready in every ward. Take position in your own ward. They will try to create anarchy today also. They have a subversive agenda.’³⁰

Later in the evening the Prime Minister addressed the nation on television, expressing sorrow over the deaths, and promising to form a judicial probe committee into the killings, but blaming ‘terrorists ... for entering into the movement and creating conflict and anarchy’.³¹

In response, the student leaders announced a ‘complete shutdown’ across the country for the following day, protesting ‘...against the brutal attacks of the police, BGB, Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) sanctioned by the United States in 2021,³² SWAT³³ on the peaceful movement of students, to protest the murders, to demand the prosecution of the murderers, to ensure a terror-free campus and to push our one-point demand [of quota reform in government jobs].’³⁴

On 18 July, the protests widened, with more students from private universities and people from all walks of life joining in the call for a complete transport blockade. Early in the day, university

authorities ordered students to vacate their dormitories.

Using force, law enforcement officials along with ruling party activists sought to disperse the protests, with local media reporting they had spread to 19 of 64 districts around the country.³⁵ During the day, the Law Minister, Anisul Haque, announced that the government was ready to sit down for talks with the student organisers, who responded by saying that ‘We can’t sit for dialogue while stepping onto the blood of our brothers.’³⁶

At the time, newspapers reported that at least 56 people were killed on 18 July; since then, a total of at least 148 have been identified as being shot dead.³⁷ In response to the law enforcement shootings, protestors set fire to a number of government buildings including the government TV station, BTV Bhavan.

The Home Ministry issued a press release which stated: ‘Law enforcers have been showing extreme patience so far. But if the miscreants continue to engage in destructive activities, law enforcement will be compelled to use the full force of the law to protect peoples’ lives and public properties.’³⁸

The government also responded, first by switching off mobile internet on the evening of 18 July and then suspending all other internet and international telecommunication services at the end of the following day.³⁹

FRIDAY, 19 JULY 2024

Friday 19 July can be considered a turning point. The student protests had already expanded in terms of their range and number, spreading from private university students to ordinary citizens, and tapping into both their anger over the killings since 16 July and also wider political grievances. Protests had already spread way outside the capital, to a third of the districts in the

country. The preceding day, 18 July, had been the bloodiest to date, with dozens killed and hundreds of protestors injured. Armed paramilitary forces were drafted in to help after, according to the police, 100 of their officers were injured on the Thursday.⁴⁰

Particularly significant was that 19 July was a Friday, a weekend holiday when for the first time following the killings by law enforcement authorities, working people and other members of the public could join in the protests in very large numbers after midday prayers.⁴¹

Many young people were also inspired to go out onto the streets after following events on social media, including the iconic image, which had already gone viral, of Abu Sayeed being shot on 16 July with his arms outspread in a gesture of total surrender. The state broadcaster, Bangladesh Television (BTV), was off air on Friday after protestors set fire to its headquarters.⁴¹

Significantly, by the morning of 19 July the government had shut down mobile internet. This appeared to have been done to hinder the co-ordination of protests as well as to prevent the widespread distribution of videos and images of law enforcement action that had triggered so much public anger since 16 July. By the end of 19 July, the BBC reported ‘an almost complete communications shutdown, with mobile internet and telephone lines reportedly down’, as well as train and bus services suspended, and schools and universities closed. A curfew had been imposed with the army on the streets of the capital.⁴² An indicator of law enforcement authorities losing control was the protestors’ attack on a prison in Narsingdi, a district to the North East of Dhaka, which resulted in the release of hundreds of inmates.



Injured come to Dhaka Medical College Hospital, 19 July 2024, By Sultan Mahmud, Drik.

THE VICTIMS

We have confirmed the names of at least 148 people who were shot on 19 July by law enforcement authorities (or on occasion, activists of the ruling party) and who died as a result of their injuries on 19 July or a subsequent day. Their names and where possible photographs are contained in the Annexure to this report as well as online at <https://itjpsl.com/reports/bangladesh> along with an explanation of how the information was collated. We have spoken directly to 136 of these families and have confirmed the other 12 deaths.⁴³

This list of those killed should not be considered final. We have omitted names from other lists where we have been unable to obtain sufficient confirmation. In addition, at least 45 bodies were not claimed from hospitals between 16 to 31 July and were buried without identification.⁴⁴ There are also reports of people who went missing and disappeared from those days, and allegations that the police took bodies and buried them secretly.

Below is an analysis of our confirmed list of 148 people who were shot on 19 July and died.

AGE

The young age of some of those killed is notable: three children under the age of 10; ten children aged 11-15; eleven who were 16-17; and thirty-three who were 18-21. In total, 57 of those killed on 19 July were aged 21 or less. See Table 1.

Among the children under 10 are Abdul Ahad, Riya Gope and Safkat Samir. Each was shot in the head. Four-year-old Abdul was standing between his parents on the balcony of his family's apartment in the Rayerbag neighbourhood of Dhaka when he was shot in the eye. The family were watching a clash on the street below between a small group of protestors throwing stones at a larger group of men, understood to be members of the student wing of the Awami League, one of whom was seen shooting Ahad. 'The floor was covered with blood. I don't know where the bullet came from. My world went dark at that moment,' his father Abul said. He rushed downstairs with his son. Armed men came forward and halted him, but later moved aside when they saw that his son was covered in blood. The 4-year-old died the next day at Dhaka Medical College Hospital. 'I am a government employee. My grandfather was a freedom fighter. My child was innocent,' Abul said.⁴⁵

Six-year-old Riya, an only child, was shot in the back of her head as her father was bringing her down from the roof of her family's four-storey building in Nayamati in Narayanganj while clashes erupted outside on the street below. Dipak took the bleeding child to a local hospital. She was transferred to Dhaka Medical College Hospital, but died five days later. 'She was on my lap when the bullet hit her from the top. I don't know who fired it,' her father, Deepak, said.⁴⁶

Safkat, a nine-year old madrassa student, was shot in the head closing a window in his home in Dhaka's Mirpur area as he tried to stay safe from tear gas shells during clashes between law enforcement authorities and protestors outside. His uncle also sustained bullet injuries to his shoulder. His father, Sakibur, came to know about the shooting when he was on the way home. He arrived to find his son Samir lying lifeless on the floor. He rushed him to a nearby clinic, where it was confirmed that Samir was dead. The police persuaded Sakibur to sign a form saying that he would not pursue any legal action. 'The police station presented me with a written form, saying that if I didn't sign, there would be many troubles, including investigation, interrogation, and providing evidence. The corpse would become a political tool,' he said.⁴⁷

AGE CATEGORY	NUMBERS
0-10	3
11-15	11
16-17	14
18-21	32
22-29	43
30-39	25
40-49	16
50+	4

Table 1: Ages of Victims

GENDER

The vast majority of those killed were male, but 4 females, none of whom were involved in the protests, were also shot and killed. See Table 2.

14-year-old Naima Sultana was shot in the head at about 5pm standing on the balcony of her family's third floor rented house in Uttara in the capital city. She had gone onto the balcony to collect clothes that were drying. 'I saw her slowly lying down on the floor while she was holding the railing,' her mother Aynun said. Her family members took her to a hospital in Uttara where she was declared dead. 'I could not even imagine

that we would become so unsafe inside the house. Fear has gripped me,' she added.⁴⁸ Another was 24-year-old Nasima Akhter who was shot in the head standing with her two nephews on the roof of her flat in Dhanmondi. The bullet that killed her had first entered the body of Ayman, one of her nephews. Nasima was taken to hospital but died the next day.⁴⁹ Ayman survived the injury and returned home after 15 days of treatment in the hospital.

MARITAL STATUS	NUMBERS
Male	144
Female	4

Table 2: Victims by Gender

PROTESTOR OR PASSERBY?

Some families knew that their relative was involved in the protests at the time they were shot; others were certain their relative was not involved. However, many families were uncertain as to the exact circumstances in which their relative was killed - whether as a protestor, someone helping the protestors, or just someone just trying to get on with normal life. See Table 3.

In 120 of the deaths, families or eyewitnesses were able to provide contextual information. In 77 of these cases the person killed was a protestor or helping protestors but in 43 they were not involved in the protests at all.

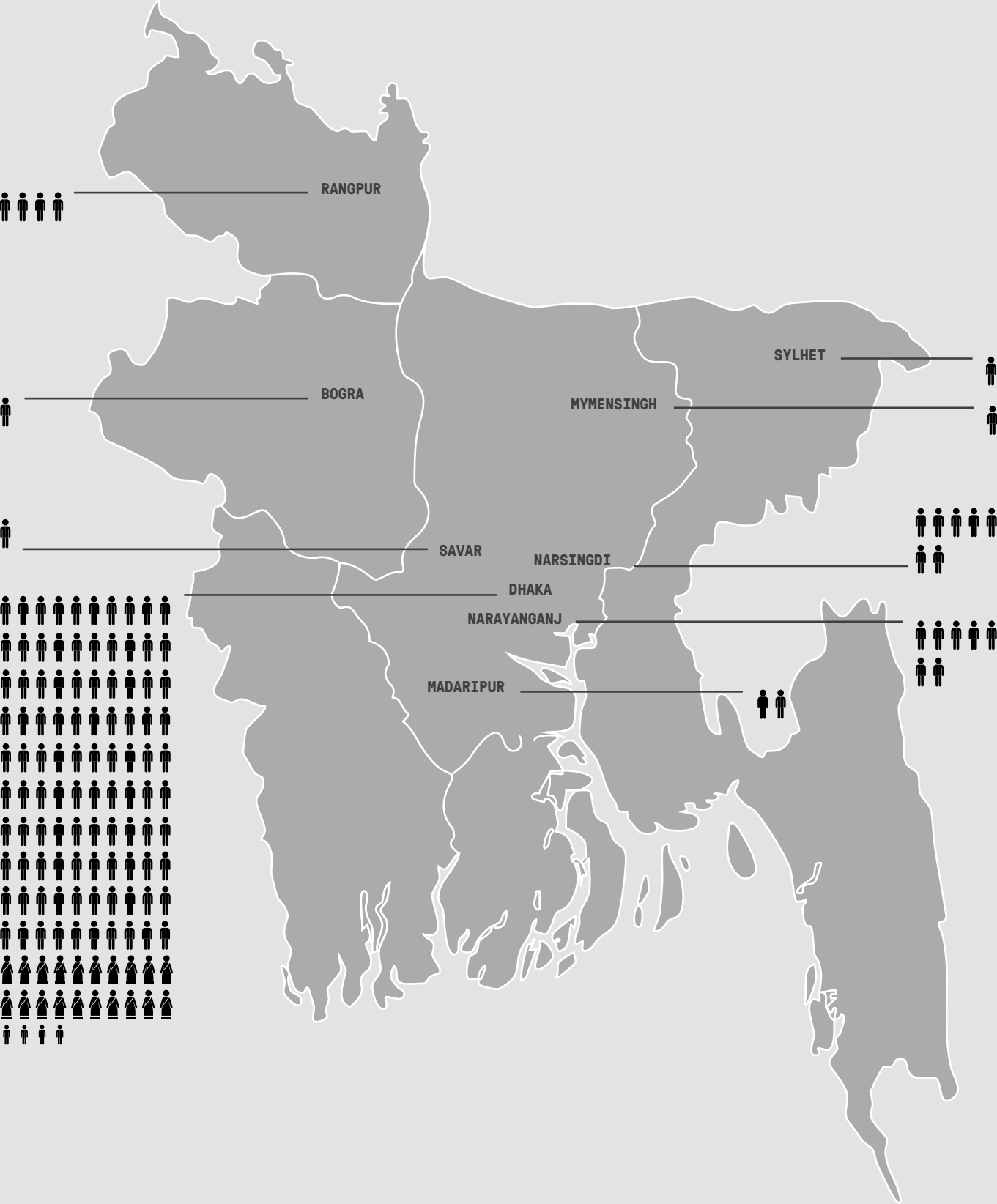
PROTESTOR OR PASSERBY?	NUMBERS
Protestor or helping	77
Not involved	43

Table 3: Protestor or Passerby?

OCCUPATION

It is clear from the statistics regarding the occupations of those killed that even by 19 July the protests included people from all walks of life. In fact, a minority of the people shot and killed that day were

MAP 1: AREA OF BANGLADESH



Dhaka (city)	124	Madaripur	2	Savar	1
Narsingdi	7	Mymensingh	1		
Narayanganj	7	Bogra	1		
Rangpur	4	Sylhet	1		

students: only 42 out of 148. That day, 99 of those killed were working people. See Table 4.

OCCUPATION	NUMBERS
Students	42
Employed or working	99
Other/unknown	7

Table 4: Occupation of Victims

Even if we look at just those who were actively taking part in the protests it is still the case that most were employed or working, and not students: 47 out of 77.

LOCATION OF THE SHOOTINGS

The overwhelming number of shootings (124) took place in the country's capital city.

DISTRICT	NUMBERS
Dhaka (city)	124
Narsingdi	7
Narayanganj	7
Rangpur	4
Madaripur	2
Mymensingh	1
Bogra	1
Sylhet	1
Savar	1

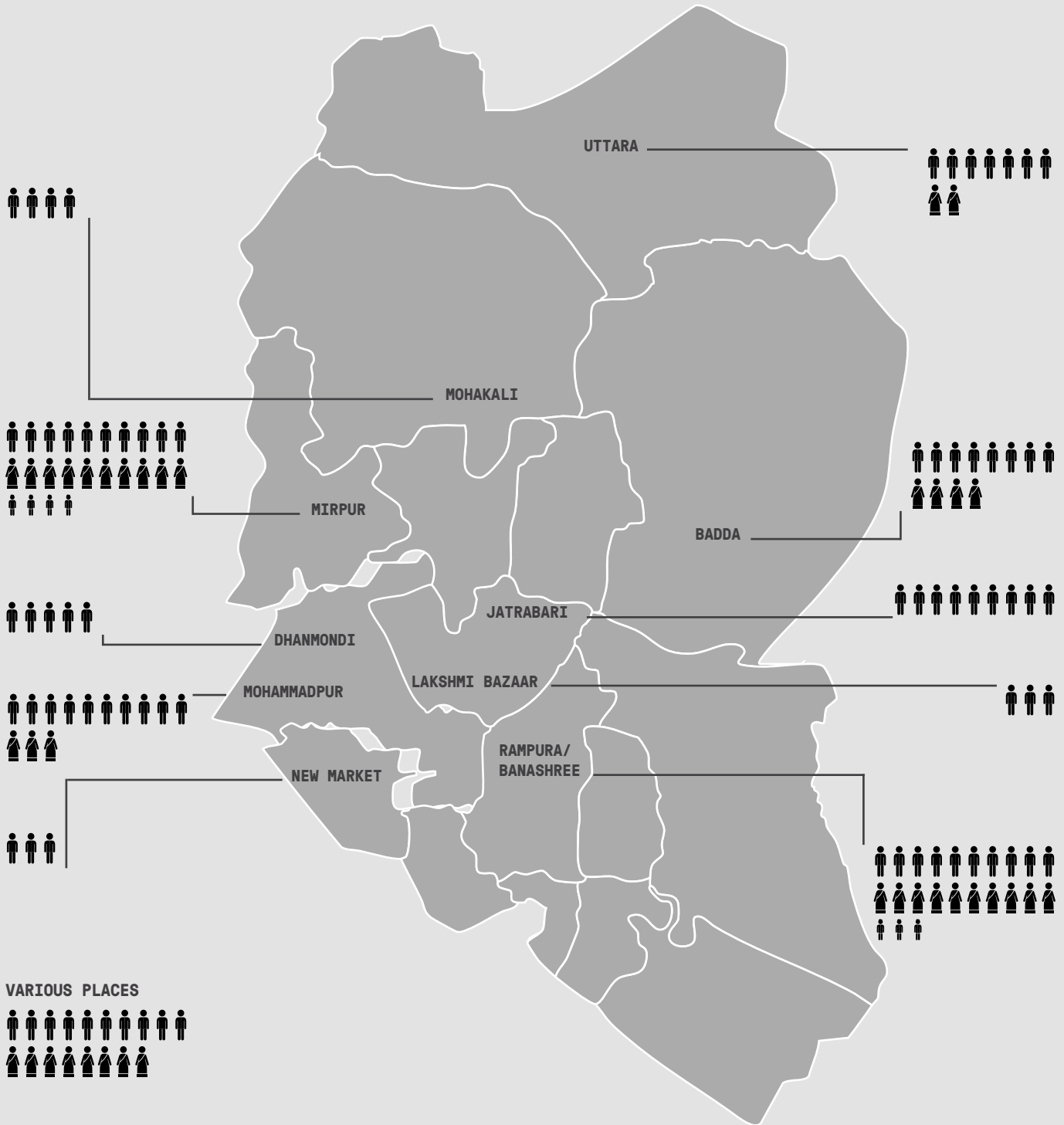
Table 5: Locations

In Dhaka City, there were six particular hotspots that day. The greatest number of killings took place in Mirpur (sectors 10, 13, and 14 which are adjacent to each other) where 24 people were shot dead; 23 people were shot in Rampura/Banashree); 13 were shot dead in Mohammadpur; 12 in Badda; 10 in Jatrabari and 9 in Uttara.

DHAKA AREA	NUMBERS
Mirpur (10,13,14)	24
Rampura/Banashree	23
Mohammadpur	13
Badda	12
Jatrabari	9
Uttara	9
Dhanmondi	5
Mohakali	4
Lakshmi Bazaar	3
New Market	3
Various places	18

Table 6: Locations in Dhaka

MAP 2: WITHIN DHAKA CITY



Mirpur	24	Jatrabari	9	Lakshmi Bazaar	3
Rampura	23	Uttara	9	New Market	3
Mohammadpur	13	Dhanmondi	5	Various places	18
Badda	12	Mohakali	4		

MAP 3: KILLINGS IN RAMPURA AND BANASREE

- 01 SALAUDDIN SUMON (53)
 - 02 MD. NADIM MIZAN (37)
 - 03 MAYA KHAN (60)
 - 04 ABDULLAH IFTY (15)
 - 05 SAYED NAZMUL HASAN (23)
 - 06 MD. MARUF HOSSAIN (19)
 - 07 MD. MIZANUR RAHMAN (28)
 - 08 MOHAMMAD ZAN SHARIF (45)
 - 09 TAMIM SHIKDAR (11)
 - 10 MOSLEH UDDIN (33)
 - 11 MOHAMMAD RAKIB HOSSAIN (24)
 - 12 SAROWAR HOSSAIN SHAWON (18)
 - 13 ALAMGIR HOSSAIN (36)
 - 14 REAZUL KARIM (40)
 - 15 MD. GOLAM RABBANI (16)
 - 16 AMIR HOSSAIN (30)
 - 17 MD. ISMAIL (46)
 - 18 MD. SAIFUL ISLAM (26)
 - 19 DOSUMUDDIN (45)
 - 20 MD. RAMZAN (18)
 - 21 IMTIAZ AHMED JABIR (19)
 - 22 MD. SAJIB
 - 23 NAZMUL HASAN (19)
- NO EXACT LOCATION



THE KILLINGS

The ITJP undertook preliminary investigations into the deaths of 32 people who were shot on 19 July in Dhaka and Narsingdi. We interviewed family members and, where possible, spoke to eye-witnesses, obtaining copies of videos, photos and relevant supporting documentation.

ACCORDING TO THE FAMILIES

Many of the accounts of what happened to these young people come from parents who had to live through their worst nightmare – a call from a stranger informing them their offspring were critically injured in hospital.

INSPIRED TO PROTEST

The sister of 19-year-old Mahmudur Rahman Saikat remembered feeling it was going to be a terrible day. ‘After the tragic events of July 18 and the internet being shut down overnight, I was apprehensive,’ she recalls. Saikat’s mother pleaded with her brother not to go out that day.

Saikat was the youngest of the children and his sisters adored him. ‘Both of us were completely smitten with our little brother, and he adored us just as much,’ says his sister Sabrina. She remembers how he was inspired by the image of Abu Sayeed who had been filmed three days earlier with his outstretched arms confronting the police. ‘Since the protests began, Saikat was restless, repeatedly watching the video of Abu Sayeed’s death. He expressed

a desire to be as brave as Abu Sayeed.’ That day, Sabrina was constantly anxious: ‘I kept checking in with my family, I was particularly concerned about Saikat, fearing he might join the protest. He answered my calls and assured me he was at home until noon, even after Jumma prayer.’ Later that afternoon Saikat was shot dead in Noorjahan Road in Mohammadpur.

Parents describe locking their gates to stop their sons going out to the protests. But the pull was often too strong.

Fourteen-year-old Mohammad Rustam slipped out of his home on 18 July and was hit by rubber bullets in the chest but not injured. ‘When we found out, we were upset,’ said his father. ‘My wife, Sufia Begum, and I tried to persuade him not to participate in the protest. I even scolded him for joining. Secretly, I too had joined the protest, but I didn’t tell my family. On 19 July, before leaving the house, I made eye contact with my wife and asked her to look after our son.’

Thirteen-year-old Mubarak Hossain was shot by police near the Tasty Treat shop in Dhanmondi. He’d gone out that morning to deliver milk with his cattle trader father and had seen the protests. He told his mother Farida Begum he wanted to join the students and that many people his age were involved. She describes him as a gentle boy who was upset by the police violence. That day she cooked dried fish and rice for lunch but he refused to eat it. At 3pm when Farida

noticed he was missing she assumed he'd gone outside to eat. 'Our house is small and congested, so Mobarak sometimes went outside to sit at a tea shop or play at a nearby construction site. We assumed he was doing one of these things,' added his father.

Hasina Begum, the mother of 18-year-old Md. Shawon, who lived in Narsingdi, had 'strictly told her son not to go out', however he ignored his mother's warning and left around 3.45pm:

"At around 4.30pm, someone came to inform me, 'Your son has been shot; you need to go to Madhabdi.' I didn't take it seriously because Shawon had been hit by pellet shots the previous day, which wasn't severe. Also, I was upset with him for disobeying me and going out. Gradually, more and more people started gathering outside my house. I asked why so many people were coming, but no one gave me an answer. A short while later, three people brought Shawon back in a CNG auto-rickshaw. I rushed to him and saw that my son had been shot in the head."

GOING OUT TO WORK

The mother of 16-year-old Muhammad Shuvo was also concerned about the risks to the family, but her son insisted he had no choice but to go outside as they needed to feed their family. 'Shuvo expressed the need to reopen his [bicycle repair] shop, as we lacked the money to buy food. Our livelihood depended on our daily earnings, and we couldn't afford to miss a day,' Renu said. Shuvo's work took place directly on the roadside in Dhanmondi where protests were taking place. When his mother, who sold balloons, suggested to him in the afternoon that they should leave the area as it was getting dangerous, 'Shuvo insisted on staying, saying he would feel like a coward if he went home. He wanted to support his peers who were joining the student protesters. Despite my concerns, we all decided to stay.'

Work also propelled 34-year-old Shah Jamal into danger. Together with his brother, Jamal ran a poultry farm and shop in Jalkuri Bazar in Narayanganj. On the morning of 19 July, Jamal's brother Almas opened up the poultry shop, a kilometre from their house, but by 11am, because of the escalating protests, he decided to close the shop and head home. However, at around 4pm, Jamal told his brother he thought he should go and feed the chickens. 'I advised him against going, as we had learned during Friday's Jummah prayer that police, BDR, and Ansars were firing live bullets at the protesters,' Almas said. 'Despite my concerns, Shah Jamal insisted and left for the shop around 4.30pm.'

Others had no initial sense of foreboding. For the family of 53-year-old Salauddin Sumon, the day started in a relatively festive mood. Normally Sumon had to work on Friday, but his employers had called him that morning and told him not to come to work as the roads were dangerous. 'The three of us were sitting down and just watching TV and my father was saying to my mother that she must be happy that I am home on a Friday as usually I am not,' his son Adib said.

THEIR LAST DAY ALIVE

Kamal Mia's wife described cooking good food because it was a holiday on Friday and she planned to share it with her children living in local madrassas. However, as the day proceeded they realised that it might be dangerous to take the food to their children. 'My husband told me not to go because of the situation outside with the protests and clashes going on. He said that the police are firing. I thought it would be safer in the late afternoon and the curfew wouldn't be in force until midnight.' Both she and her husband delivered the meals in the early evening, unaware that a bullet would kill him during that errand.

Maruf Hussain's father remembered how his 19-year-old son, a second-year student at Ekata Degree College in Barisal, borrowed

his brother's rubber shoes because he found it difficult to run in leather ones when the police started shooting. Maruf was spotted by his uncle in front of BRAC university just before he was hit by bullets.

Mohammad Mustafizur Rahman's six-year-old son, Mohammad Musa Khan, wanted ice cream. So he took him out after Friday prayers on his way to deliver Friday lunch to his own father. Heavy police firing broke out and he decided to return home. He was sheltering in the corner of the stairs to his own home with others when he realised his little son Musa had been shot. The first clinic put on a dressing and told him to take his child to Dhaka Medical College Hospital. Students gave them a lift in an ambulance they'd organised for someone else. 'It took us two hours to reach Dhaka Medical College Hospital as police stopped the ambulance several times and didn't allow us to go. We had to take various alternative roads to reach it.'

Hardly imagining things could get worse, Mustafizur called home and this point learned his 60-year-old mother had been injured by the same bullet that hit Musa. She was taken to another hospital. The family were trapped in that hospital because by then the entire area had become a war-zone. Meanwhile, Mustafizur was in Dhaka Medical College Hospital ICU with his child, unable to see his injured mother. By morning he managed to arrange an ambulance to bring his mother to Dhaka Medical College Hospital. However, she was dead on arrival.

A 12-hour struggle followed to obtain police clearance so that he could retrieve his mother's corpse. 'The police and hospital authority refused to provide me the dead body as we had mentioned in the application for that she was shot by police. I saw it myself the police was firing at us and people, when my son and mother get shot. They harassed us a lot.'

Six-year-old Musa fought for his life in the ICU and survived three surgeries in six

weeks. He was then taken out of the country for specialized treatment.

'I'll never understand why my mother had to die like this or my kid is in the deathbed. If the culprits are brought to justice that's the only thing I want,' said Mustafizur.

THE TELEPHONE CALLS BEGIN

Abdul Wadud's sister-in-law was the one to receive the call. It came from his phone, but the person on the other end was not Wadud. 'Instead, it was a young man who identified himself as either Sohan or Sohag.' She couldn't hear him clearly, but he urgently informed her that a bearded man had been shot in the head and he had dialled the first number in his phone, which luckily wasn't locked. She started crying and begged him to take Wadud to the hospital, but the call was abruptly cut off. The family called Wadud's phone repeatedly, but there was no answer. Hours later the person who had identified himself as Sohan answered and said that Wadud was at Dhaka Medical College Hospital.

By early afternoon, Abu Shahed's wife Asiya was worried about her husband who had left his shop and was not answering the phone.

"After four or five calls, someone finally answered. I asked, 'Where are you?' The person on the other end replied, 'Who are you?' I said, 'I am Arafat's mother.' The other person said, 'The man who had this phone was shot and has died.' I couldn't speak any further after hearing this and handed the phone to my neighbour, Rajia, who was with me just outside the door of my house. Rajia called the number back, and the person who answered said, 'You should come here and bring the body back.'"

The father of 16-year-old Tamim Hridoy lived in his village home in Narsingdi and did not have a mobile phone. On Friday, the family was expecting Tamim, a mechanic who lived in

the town, to make the journey to the village home for lunch. They waited all day, but he did not turn up. Around 11pm, his father Tamiz Uddin Mir recalls, there was a knock on the house gate, but he was asleep.

"I couldn't wake up, so my mother went to open the gate. Sadeq [a friend] told my mother, 'Your grandson has passed away.' My mother screamed and started crying. Hearing her cry, I woke up. Sadeq told me, 'Let's go to Itakhola.' I asked, 'Why do we need to go?' They didn't tell me anything and just said, 'Let's go to Itakhola.' At that moment, I thought my son might have been arrested by the police. I quickly went to Itakhola, where I saw my son lying on the road island in front of the police station. People were lifting his body into a car. I screamed and started crying. Later, I brought the body home. My son was already dead on the spot. I couldn't even take him to a hospital."

The mother of 13-year-old Tamim Shikder also did not hear the news on the phone. She was home that day: 'Tamim went out around 3pm with friends to play. Around 4.30pm, some people came with his picture in our area. The picture was taken in a hospital. They showed the picture to people and someone identified it as Tamim's photo. They brought the man with the picture to me. I was told Tamim was shot dead. After seeing the picture of my son lying in a hospital, blood soaked, I immediately fainted.'

20-year-old Muhammad Sagar, a waiter at Rabbani Restaurat in Senpara, Mirpur, in Dhaka had left his phone at home charging when he went out to protest. When he didn't return his parents had to search three police stations and five hospitals, showing his picture to everyone to ask if anyone had seen him. Eventually they found his bandaged body in a morgue.

In Narsingdi town, the father of 22-year-old Amjad Hossain only got to know that his son was shot in front of Itakhola Police Station

three hours after it happened. Amjad had been playing football earlier in the day and then went off with his friends to Itakhola. He was shot at 6pm, but his friends could not rescue Amjad until 9pm 'due to the intense gunfire'. His friends told his parents that the police had removed several bodies, but couldn't take Amjad's. He was found wounded on the south side of Itakhola Police Station and died later that evening.

TRAVEL THAT DAY

Reaching the hospitals was not easy as the city became increasingly chaotic. After Friday prayers parts of Dhaka were described by the families as a 'battlefield'. 'I was afraid for my own life when I walked to Mouchak and then to Dhaka Medical College Hospital', said Rahman who received a call at 4pm that his nephew 40-year-old Nobin Talukdar had been shot.

19-year-old Mahmudur Rahman Saikat's sister Sabrina received a call from her father at 4.15pm who was 270km away in Sandwip. As he choked on his words, he told her Saikat had been shot and urged her to go to the Suhrawardy Hospital at once to see him. 'The next few hours are a blur of chaotic images,' she explained. 'I rushed out of my office, crying and pleading with any CNG auto rickshaw drivers to take me, but the few that were still on the road were already occupied. There were clashes between protestors and police in the Bashundhara area and along the main road near Baridhara, forcing me to navigate these dangerous zones.'

Other families like that of rickshaw puller 29-year-old Kamal Mia described being stopped on the way to hospital and questioned. 'We were stopped in two places on our way to Dhaka Medical College Hospital. We were stopped in front of the High Court and just before the hospital,' said his 29-year-old daughter Suraiya. A family friend Ashfaque who went separately said, 'We were stopped at least 7 or 8 times. Police did not want to let us go. I

told them my uncle died and I must go.’ Maruf Hossain’s uncle described how on the way to Dhaka Medical College Hospital, crossing Rampura Bridge, the BGB [Border Guard Bangladesh] stopped the ambulance. ‘We had a heated exchange with them. Eventually, they allowed us to pass.’

Alamin Ronny’s brother Abdur Rahim had his phone stolen on the way to hospital with his injured brother. ‘Some people stopped our CNG and took my phone away. They held a knife on me. This was in the Dhaka University’s TSC⁵⁰ area.’ He had to borrow other people’s phones to communicate with his family and try and save his brother’s life.

Abu Shahed’s brother-in-law, Delwar Hossain had been phoned and told that his brother-in-law’s body was at Momtaj Market. ‘I took two people with me on a rickshaw but at the 40 Feet [road] protesters stopped us and told me that you can’t go there, they are shooting. I told them ‘I need to get the dead body of my brother-in-law’. They told me, ‘If you go there, you will be another dead body soon.’

In some areas the shooting was so bad that families could not get to the hospital. Helena, the sister of Abdul Wadud said that at the time their family heard that after he was shot their area ‘was engulfed in intense gunfights and clashes between students, local residents, and the police, with some Jubo League⁵¹ activists also involved. We were terrified and stayed indoors due to the violence.’ They could only get to Dhaka Medical College Hospital the next morning.

At 9pm, Emon received news that his cousin Sujon had been shot in Narsingdi town. ‘I immediately started searching for him, but due to the intense gunfire, I couldn’t get close to the police station,’ Emon said. He continued searching the surrounding areas for about 2-2.5 hours. At 11.30pm he managed to reach the front of the police station. ‘There, I found Sujon leaning against a pillar near the gate, struggling to breathe.

I held him in my arms, but he passed away moments later. Sujon had been alive for two to two-and-a-half hours after being shot, but I couldn’t rescue him in time due to the gunfire.’ His cousin found out later that Sujon had gone there that day to help rescue his friend Tamin, who was shot during the first wave of gunfire. While attempting to rescue Tamin, Sujon had been shot.

Leaving the hospitals at night was also problem, as the government announced a curfew at the end of the day. Al Amin Ali Alamin’s brother said that after he died, they were stuck. ‘We couldn’t go anywhere because a curfew was in effect. We spent the night there.’

INSIDE THE HOSPITALS

After people were shot, injured victims were first taken to the nearest clinic or private hospital – places that weren’t equipped to deal with gunshot wounds. That meant another traumatic journey to a major hospital like Dhaka Medical College Hospital (DMCH) that many didn’t survive.

18-year-old Mohammad Ramzan was shot in Rampura, standing at an intersection with protestors. Mubarek, who was also there, took him to the nearby Better Life Hospital. ‘The doctor gave a dressing. Ramzan was alive at that time. The doctor sealed the wound but did not realise that the bullet had come out the other side.’ Along with a friend, Mubarek then tried to take Ramzan to Khidmah Hospital, but he died on the way. ‘I felt that Ramazan had died as he was motionless. At Khidmah, the doctors checked him out and confirmed his death. They tied his toes together to show that this was a dead body.’

Even the bigger hospitals were unprepared for the surge of casualties on 19 July. Mohammad Faisal managed to get his injured 19-year-old nephew, Maruf Hossain, to AIMS Hospital, only to find it was already running low on bandages and gauze. They were told



to go on to Dhaka Medical College Hospital. 'Inside the ambulance on our way, Maruf made a sound, and we couldn't find his pulse anymore,' he said.

When Mohammad Shuvo's uncle reached Dhaka Medical College Hospital, Shuvo was bleeding heavily. 'The hospital was overwhelmed with bullet-wound patients, creating a chaotic scene. We saw Shuvo lying on a bed, untreated and bleeding from his wound.'

Robiul Islam arrived at DMCH in an ambulance with three other injured men: 'After he was admitted the doctors said my brother needed oxygen. But the hospital was under a lot of pressure with a high volume of patients and they couldn't give him oxygen,' Razaul said. The man who had brought Robiul to the hospital was very angry. 'He lashed out at the medical staff, as my brother was gasping for air. After that, the doctors gave him oxygen, which they took from another patient.'

23-year-old Al Amin was first taken to Metro Hospital and then to Dhaka Medical College Hospital and then Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University Hospital and then back to Dhaka Medical College Hospital, where he died. At one point in the ambulance late at night going between hospitals, Al Amin said to his brother, 'I was shot around 4 or half past 4pm. Why aren't you taking out the bullet yet?' His brother remembers that '...he was in pain. He wanted to live so much.'

The hospital care outside Dhaka was often more restricted, requiring families of the injured to organise difficult and long trips to the capital city. Shah Jamal was shot in Narayanganj outside Dhaka. 'We first took him to a local clinic where the doctor applied bandages and recommended immediate surgery at Dhaka Medical College Hospital,' said his brother Almas. 'We hired a microbus and set off for the hospital around 7pm. While crossing Postogola Bridge, Shah Jamal asked for water but was unable to drink and fainted.' When they reached the hospital, the doctor declared him dead.

When the father of 22-year-old Azizul arrived at Narsingdi District Hospital, they found him 'barely alive'. The bullet, his father said, 'had entered through his lower back and exited near his navel. The doctors told us to take him to Dhaka immediately, but we couldn't find a car or ambulance to transport him.' The hospital also required a medical test, which would usually cost 4,000 Taka. However, at a nearby clinic they demanded 14,000 Taka. 'After pleading with them, we managed to get it done for 12,000 Taka. At 1am, we finally found an ambulance and took Azizul to Dhaka Medical College Hospital. On Saturday morning, at around 10am, Azizul underwent surgery.' After the operation, he seemed to recover but died the following morning.

SEARCHING FOR RELATIVES

Most injured people who had been shot, and even those who had died, were brought to the hospitals by people in the streets where the incident happened. When relatives arrived at Dhaka Medical College Hospital, they had to search for their loved ones through wards filled with injured people and then ultimately among the dead in the morgue.

'I looked at all the dead bodies and looked at the faces. I didn't have any fear then, I wasn't afraid to look through the dead bodies,' said rickshaw puller Kamal Mia's wife. She thought a covered body in the morgue might be his, and opened it to see it was actually a woman's. 'I became hopeful that maybe my husband didn't actually die. Then I saw there was another morgue... They opened the door for other people and then I went in with them and saw that the first dead body was my husband's. There were about 25 more corpses in that room.'

Rahman, the uncle of Nobin Talukder, also found his nephew in the morgue at Dhaka Medical College Hospital. 'After entering I saw my nephew's dead body. There were around 10 dead bodies just beside him. In the other room next to where he was, there were

countless corpses. Both of my feet became drenched in blood. The floor was completely filled with blood.'

After 26-year-old Robiul Islam died, he was taken to the morgue. 'At the morgue I saw about 40 dead bodies. The whole room was filled up with dead bodies. There was no place to stand on the floor as the whole place was completely covered by bodies,' his brother Razaul said.

Some families were present when the governing party's student wing, the Chhatra League, attacked the emergency ward of Dhaka Medical College Hospital causing the lights to go out for a moment. 'I started recording some video but soon became too scared to keep it, as the Chhatra League members were checking people's phones,' the uncle of Maruf Hossain said. In the midst of chaos and grief, the family's ordeal in trying to retrieve the body was painfully prolonged.

RECOVERING THE DEAD

On being shot, some people died immediately on the street or at a local clinic. When that happened, and when it was not possible to contact the person's family, protestors or onlookers would often take the body to the nearest government hospital allowing the family to collect it later. Sometimes, however, the family collected the dead body from the street or local clinic. Local clinics advised families to take the bodies away as quickly as possible to avoid harassment by law enforcement.

Alamgir was taken to Bangladesh Special Hospital where he was pronounced dead. The hospital authorities told driver Alamgir Hossain's friend: 'If you are going to take the body then take the body now. If not, then leave as the BGB [Border Guard Bangladesh] are coming and beating the relatives of the victims.' He had to take his friend's corpse in a rickshaw, holding him in his arms.

When families retrieved the corpse from the street or a local clinic, they had to decide whether to bury their relative without an official death certificate or take it to a government hospital to get one.

Abdullah Ifty's family in Rampura debated what to do: 'Some suggested to bury it before the police came and took it away. Others suggested taking the body to Dhaka Medical College Hospital,' said his mother, Mina. They decided to take the body to Dhaka Medical College Hospital so the death would be recorded by the government.

The families of those who died at hospital or were brought to the hospital dead often experienced a traumatic ordeal to recover a body from the morgue. The process required that the hospital conduct a post mortem, which meant the family first had to obtain permission from the police. In the middle of the protests and the curfew getting the police to sign the requisite forms was not easy.

When Ifty's family went to get the police permission '...the police in the station behaved very rudely with us. They didn't allow us inside the station and threatened to shoot us if we didn't leave immediately. So at around 3am we came back home,' said the child's mother, Mina.

Abdul Wadud's sister was told to go to Nilkhet police station to get a paper signed by an officer to release the body: 'After navigating through the police station and back to the hospital, we faced constant harassment and were unable to retrieve the body that night.'

Mustafizur called the Rampura police station Officer in Charge to ask for a police clearance for his mother. Hours later, two police officers came and examined all the other files of dead bodies, but not his mother's:

"Finally, they examined my papers, but they wrote three versions for the paper. It's

like they wrote the clearance paper, then they said it's wrong and tore the paper, then wrote again and tore again. Then they decided they will examine the body before giving the paper, but then they went away from the hospital. They came back after two hours, examined the body. Then they started writing the clearance paper but finally did not give it. The police asked me to go to the Deputy Commissioner's office in Kakrail for the clearance. So, I met the DC at Kakrail, he said he will request the Officer in Charge to release the body. Then I went back to hospital. The police were still trying not to give the body. Then they made me write the application. Finally, we had to submit another application saying that my mother died during a chase-counter-chase and we want to take the body without postmortem."

The family of Kamal Mia also suffered police harassment. Ashfaque, a family friend, called Kamal's wife to find out why it was taking so long to retrieve his body:

"I asked her what the situation was with the dead body. I asked her where she was. She told me that the authorities had not handed over the dead body yet and she was still at DMCH morgue. I asked her why that is the case. She told me that the police made us [the family] sign a paper saying that my husband did not die from police fire, but was killed by fire from other unknown attackers."

The ordeal suffered by Maruf Hossain's family was not atypical:

"At 11.30pm, the doctor at Dhaka Medical College Hospital informed us that they had received an order from higher authorities stating that no dead body could be released without clearance from the relevant police station. So, Maruf's father and I went to Badda Thana [police station] around 12.30am. The police told us they couldn't provide any paperwork because they claimed that no protesters had died under their jurisdiction. We returned empty-handed. The next morning, 20 July, we went back to

Badda police station, but they directed us to Rampura Thana [police station], which then sent us to Shahbagh Thana, insisting we needed to go there for clearance of protesters' bodies. When we arrived at Shahbagh, they were unable to assist us, so we returned to Badda police station, but again received no help. Around 10.30pm, we visited the Dhaka Medical College Hospital morgue and discovered that Maruf's body was almost decomposed as it had been stored in an air-conditioned room rather than a freezer. That night, we requested that his body be placed in the freezer. On the morning of 21 July, we returned to Rampura police station, where the police finally granted us clearance. We then went to Shahbagh police station, where they registered the case in their records. We finally received clearance and returned to Dhaka Medical College Hospital, only to find that his body had been moved to Sheikh Hasina Burn Unit. We ultimately retrieved Maruf's body around 5.30pm."

Nobin Talukdar's family had a similar experience:

"[W]e went to the Shahbagh Thana [police station] because medical staff told us to go there because they will need the police station clearance to hand over the dead body to us. At Shahbagh Thana they told us to go to Ramna Thana. We didn't realise that we should have gone to Paltan police station first. We reached Ramna Thana at around 11pm to 12am. "At Ramna they told us to go to Paltan Thana. After that we went to Paltan Thana. We stayed there until 3.00am (on 20 July). .. At the Paltan Thana they took details and we got some paperwork done. They told us to come back at 12 noon... On 20 July at 2.30pm we and police officers went to DMCH. There, paperwork was submitted. Then medical staff took the dead body for post mortem after getting police clearance."

Some families found the idea of waiting for a post mortem report difficult, particularly as some were concerned a post mortem would

desecrate the bodies. 'I bowed down and held the Officer in Charge's feet to not do the post mortem. My husband died a horrible death. I only want the dead body back without a post mortem', said Kamal Mia's wife.

'The doctor informed us that a post-mortem was necessary, which caused my mother to weep at the thought,' said Mahmudur Rahman Saikat's sister.

In Narsingdi, some families had a different concern about post-mortems. Rumours were spreading that bodies were disappearing from hospitals. Tamin Hridoy's father said 'We decided not to perform a postmortem, considering that the bodies taken to the hospital were not being returned. As far as I know, nine people died that day in front of the Itakhola police station, but only three or four names appeared on the official list. Considering everything, we buried my son the next day at noon.'

Shawon's mother said that, 'As soon as Shawon was brought home, people started insisting on burying him. I objected and said, "I won't bury my son until I know who killed him and how". But no one listened to me.' Shawon was hastily buried at around 11.30pm that night.

DIFFICULTY WITH FUNERALS

The police and governing party activists often created difficulties for the families holding funerals.

The father of school boy Mohammad Rustam was prevented from holding the funeral in his locality in Dhaka. 'When we brought the body back to our area, local Awami League leaders told us not to hold the funeral prayer there, and threatened us with dire consequences. Despite my pleas, they refused to listen. We had no choice but to transport the body to our village in Narsingdi for burial.'

After the family of Saikat managed to obtain the release of his body, they took it to a mosque on Taj Mahal Road. According to his sister Sabrina, one of their cousins '...advised my sisters and me to stay away from home, fearing that Chhatra League and Juba League members might harass us if we stayed there. He had heard reports of them targeting the families of the deceased protestors. So, [my cousin] took on the responsibility of washing and preparing Saikat for burial. When my father arrived late that night, Saikat was laid to rest in the graveyard of Taj Mahal Road Jame Masjid.'

Abdur Rahim managed to take his brother's body Al Amin to their village home in Barisal. 'Before the prayer, two police cars arrived with officers. They spoke to me and took details about the incident, making notes.' But he said they were not aggressive and surprisingly offered their condolences.

The family of Nobin Talukdar also transported the body to Patuakhali for burial but when they arrived the local Awami League people called the police. As a result of this, last prayers (*janaza*) were never said.

On the way to burying his mother Maya in Tangail, Mustafizur Rahman said the ambulance was stopped several times by the police. 'One time a policeman tickled his mother's feet to check if she really was dead.'

LAST WORDS

Family members and friends often witnessed their loved ones being shot in front of them compounding the trauma. There were final telephone calls by the dying, appealing for help, often to employers whom they hoped could muster medical help. Al Amin Ronny's brother remembers him calling his boss and saying 'Sir, please save me. I will die. I may not live,' and then beginning to cry.

Some family members tried to delay telling each other about the deaths - Shuvo's uncle

didn't tell his mother when he learned he was dead because he feared it would be too much. She found out by accident and fainted with shock after she met a neighbour who asked her about Shuvo's body.

SUBSEQUENT POLICE INTIMIDATION

Nadim Mizan was shot on the afternoon of 19 July near Rampura police station having gone out earlier to deliver gas cylinders. Three days later, on 22 July, approximately half a dozen police officers stormed into family house and took away Nadim's brother-in-law Rubel from the lunch table:

"...they didn't hit me or touch me but the way they spoke to me was very rude and loud. They took me to our garage. They asked a lot about the death, how he died, was he affiliated with any political party, his family details in Mirpur. Then they asked me to go with them to the crime scene and I got very scared and refused. They forced me to go with them. So, I walked with them to the crime scene. At the scene they interrogated some shopkeepers nearby. One of them admitted that the body was taken from here. Then the police tried to take me into their pickup. When I refused strongly at one point they allowed me to go. But also said they will contact me again. The police were from Khilgaon police station."

The next thing that happened was the family were invited to meet Sheikh Hasina. Nadim's wife said the meeting with the Prime Minister was arranged by the local MP because her husband was well known in the area as a sportsman. She, her two sons and her brother met the PM on 28 July. 'I was handed 50k cash, a 10 lakh worth saving certificate, and promise of 8k every month for my kids,' she said.

One of the people who helped carry the body of Ifty Abdullah after he was shot faced threats: 'Around 6pm, I was called to the local club owned by local Awami League leader, and my auto owner [boss] was there.

I was scolded and beaten up in the club for getting involved with the incident. Then they asked me to leave town immediately,' the person said. He was left traumatised: 'I carried the body of that young boy for several hours. Half of his head was blown, I can't forget.'

In some cases, families began to remove videos from their phones as police were checking them. Mohammad Sazzad Hossain Sabbir's wife, Jakia said, 'We had footage of how he was rushed to hospital after he was shot. But all of it was deleted as the police were checking phones afterwards.'

The family of Saikat tried to file a First Information Report (FIR) at the local police station. 'We attempted to file a case on August 26, but the police at Mohammadpur Thana delayed taking it for nearly two weeks because we were accusing two senior officers in the Mohammadpur zone,' Saikat's sister Sabrina said. 'Eventually, we managed to file the case on September 8.'

THE KINDNESS OF STRANGERS

In the face of harassment and cruelty from law enforcement authorities, the crisis at the same time brought out the best in many people who risked their lives to help the injured.

When Mohammad Shuvo was shot that Friday in Dhanmondi, his mother didn't have the money to pay for a vehicle to carry his injured body to hospital, but a kind CNG driver took them to Dhaka Medical College Hospital for free. At first Shuvo was left on the floor as the emergency room was overwhelmed. She begged a doctor to move him to a bed. The doctor told the family to get blood, and somehow within half an hour Shuvo's 16-year-old sister Jannatul managed to collect enough from strangers.

33-year-old Titu Howlader was a driver who normally enjoyed 'cha and singara' on the Green Road with his friends, but on 19 July

the area was crammed with thousands of people; noise and gunshots filled the air and Titu was shot. People took him to Al Helal Hospital where Tayef had been intending to assist the demonstrators. Unsure of how to help, Tayef noticed a group of four people carrying Titu who was bleeding profusely from a bullet wound to his throat. He went inside and asked the doctors why they had only bandaged the wound and not removed the bullet. They explained such treatment could only be provided at Suhrawardy Hospital. Tayef searched for an ambulance, but found none of the teenager's friends remained with him after he was taken to the hospital. Tayef arranged an ambulance to Suhrawardy Hospital, where they rushed the boy to the operating theatre. Sadly, they were too late.



THE INJURED

While the focus of this report is on those who died on 19 July, scores of people were also injured. The most well-known example is perhaps eighteen-year-old Amir Hossain who was pursued by law enforcement officers to the fourth floor of a building under construction. After the internet was restored, the video of Amir being shot as he hung on to a projecting steel rod went viral. The video gave the impression that he had died, but in fact he survived.

Amir was coming home early from working in a restaurant in Banashree at about 3pm that afternoon. He walked his usual route home, but found himself near Rampura Police Station caught in the middle of running battles between about 100-150 protesters and the police. The crowd advanced towards the police station carrying sticks, throwing objects and setting vehicles on fire. In a series of advances and retreats, the police responded with tear gas and gunfire. Video shows them taking aim at the crowd from a distance of about 50 metres, and huge plumes of dark grey smoke rising up from burning vehicles.

The police were joined by members of the paramilitary force, Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB) who arrived in a vehicle outside the police station, fired at protestors and chased them. Amir Hossain ran to find shelter in a 4-storey construction site opposite Famous Hospital. Panicked and alone, he climbed the stairs, looking for somewhere to hide. By the time he reached the third floor, he realised he was being followed. When he got to the roof and couldn't go any further, he tried to get away from the helmeted and uniformed police officers by hanging off a rod projecting from the side of the building.

Little did Amir know, but from a nearby building someone was filming him and the four policemen chasing him. What happened was caught on camera and through social media was later watched across the world.



Photo from social media footage.

Out of the picture, from ground level, an individual likely to be a member of the Bangladeshi security forces discharged a shotgun at Amir. Video shows his reaction to the shot and indicates that he was injured. An analysis of photographs of injuries to his lower leg conducted by an arms expert found them to be consistent with shotgun wounds caused by 00 Buckshot cartridges, or similar. Three policemen then approached Amir from the upper floors of the same building and, in a shocking sequence of events, fired five or six shots at him while he clung to the steel construction rod.

Despite being shot at multiple times, Amir survived by hanging on and then eventually making his way down to the second floor. After attempting to make Amir fall, the police officer left.

Amir remembers lying screaming for help for what felt like hours. Eventually someone heard him and around 6pm he was carried to hospital where he was stitched up and bandaged. By midnight he was sent to Dhaka Medical College Hospital where he remained for three days. He remembers not getting much medical attention because the doctors there were so busy with other people shot in the head or chest.

Amir's mother called him early evening to tell him to be careful coming home because of all the violence. A student picked up the phone and told her he was in hospital. Every penny of the money that she'd saved for her daughter's wedding was spent on Amir's medical treatment.

ACCORDING TO THE EYEWITNESSES

Our investigations have not yet focused on which individual police officers were involved, or who had command responsibility for the killings. However, out of the 32 killings on 19 July that we have investigated so far, we have interviewed eyewitnesses or/and obtained videos⁵²

relating to 18 of the deaths, all of which took place in Dhaka.

ABDUL WADUD

There was at least one eyewitness to the killing of Abdul Wadud, a 39-year-old tailor with a wife and a 7-year-old son. A devout believer, Wadud left his tailoring shop in Azimpur at 5pm to pray. A restaurant owner saw him crossing the Nilkhet intersection near Azimpur and New Market and heard gunshots. Police and protestors were at the time involved in clashes in the locality with police positioned at various places including the Azimpur bus stand. 'When I stepped out at 5.30pm, the situation was chaotic. Suddenly, the police began firing bullets. I recognised Abdul Wadud, a well-known tailor in the New Market area on the opposite side of [entrance] gate No 1, moving quickly towards the BDR gate as people rushed around him in panic due to the gunfire,' the restaurant owner said. 'Then, unexpectedly, I saw Wadud fall to the ground.' He saw at least two other people being shot and after witnessing the shootings quickly retreated inside the market, seeking refuge in a shop. The Dhaka Medical College hospital medical certificate gave Wadud's cause of death as a 'gunshot injury'; a photograph from the hospital shows him bleeding from the head.

ABDULLAH IFTY

A video shows two young men carrying in their arms the bloodied body of a similarly aged young man in Block G in Banashree, with a very serious head injury. He was identified as 15-year-old Abdullah Ifty, an assistant mechanic at a CNG workshop who had started work aged 10, and who had left home that day to go swimming. Earlier in the day, Ifty had gone to work, returned home and then left again at around 2pm. He was shot close to Rampura police station, where another man, Nadim Mizan, had earlier been shot and killed (see below). At around 3pm, a CNG driver who had joined the protests

and who was standing in front of Nadim's house saw Ifty's body being carried away. 'Half of his head was blown away,' he said. 'I helped carry the body and put it near the madrassa lane. People in the street started crying, people who were watching from nearby buildings were also crying out loud. We covered the body and I and some other student protestors took the body near to the police station. The aim was that police might stop firing if they saw the dead body. But police were still firing so we had to move the body.' At 5.30pm a neighbour informed Ifty's family he had died. Ifty's sister, Amena, said 'Then my mother and I become almost crazy and went looking from street to street to find his body. At around 7pm we found the body near Adarsha Bag, Goran.'

MARUF HASAN

An uncle of 19-year-old Maruf, a second-year college student at Ekata Degree College in Barisal, was an eye-witness to the killing of his nephew who was in Dhaka at the time. On the morning of 19 July, they had gone together to protest outside BRAC university. His uncle had gone home at around 1.30pm, however, on Maruf's urging, at about 5pm he returned. 'I went to the area in front of Road No 4, about 100 meters from BRAC University' the uncle said. 'I called Maruf, and he said he was near Badda police station. I spotted him standing on the footpath, roughly 30 metres away. Suddenly, we heard several gunshots, and everyone started running from the police station. After about two minutes, I looked back and saw Maruf on the ground, waving his hands. We rushed over to him and realised he had been shot in the right side, near his kidney. He begged me to save him, and I felt overwhelmed and confused.' By the time the uncle managed to get his nephew to Dhaka Medical College Hospital it was 7.30pm and the doctor said Maruf had died. The cause of death on the medical certificate confirmed a 'gunshot injury'.

MOHAMMAD SHUVO

'Who fell? Whose son died?', Renu asked on seeing a boy fall. She then crossed the road to get closer. 'I discovered that the fallen boy was my son. He had been shot in the head.' 16-year-old Shuvo ran a small rickshaw repair shop on the footpath at Road No 3 in Dhanmondi, and was the primary breadwinner of her family. On 19 July, business was slow and his mother Renu wanted to leave, but Shuvo insisted they stayed. At around 3pm, violence erupted between the police and the protesters. 'The police were firing rubber bullets, while the protesters were throwing bricks. There was a distance of approximately 70-100 metres between the two sides, and helicopters hovered above us,' she said. 'Around 3.15pm, I saw a boy fall on the street after a loud gunshot. I screamed,' she said, and soon discovered tragically that it was her own son. The cause of death on the medical certificate states, 'Severe head injury. Gunshot.'

TITU HOWLADER AND MOBAREK HOSSAIN

A video shows two bodies lying on the road after they had been shot. One of them was 33-year-old Titu who worked as a driver for PG Hospital. Another was 13-year-old Mobarek Hossain.

Titu: at about 4.15 pm on 19 July one of Titu's flatmates met up with him in front of Green Life Hospital where Titu was on duty. They went over the road to have tea and snacks. 'That day, as we were heading in that direction, the area was filled with thousands of people, and we could hear numerous sounds and gunshots coming from the Science Laboratory area,' Titu's flatmate said. 'The sounds of gunshots made us anxious, but the large crowd around us piqued our curiosity as we watched the clashes between students, common people, and the police. We weren't participating; we were just observers.'

As they crossed the road, Titu was a few steps ahead:

"Suddenly, I heard several gunshots very close by, and people around us began to panic and run in all directions. The scene became chaotic. The police were not very close - at least 150 to 200 metres away, if not further. I couldn't pinpoint where the gunshots had come from. In the commotion, I searched for Titu. I found him lying on the footpath a few steps ahead, along with a 16 or 17-year-old boy. Both had been shot in the head, with blood pooling around them. I shouted for help."

Titu was later pronounced dead at the Green Life Hospital.

Mobarek: a video shows a group of protestors at an intersection with Green Road facing a line of police about 100 metres away. One man has taken off his shoe and is waving it in the direction of the police. A young boy is also there in a pale-coloured shirt, close to the police, and concealing some of his body behind a lamp post. He is thirteen-year-old Mobarek who was studying at Mohmmadia Madrassa in Dhanmondi and who also helped his father sell milk. Moments later Mobarek was shot. A witness to the shooting was Ekramul, a student who was taking part in the protests around the Science Laboratory, Green Road, and Dhanmondi. 'We were positioned in the alley by Central Hospital and Road No 6 in Eastern Dhanmondi. The police were stationed about 500-600 metres away near the Science Laboratory. They were advancing, firing tear gas, rubber bullets, and live rounds, while we were throwing bricks in their direction,' he said. The running back and forth, brick-throwing, and firing by the police continued for about an hour. 'At around 5.20pm, I witnessed two individuals - one young and one in his 30s - suddenly collapse on the road. We approached and saw they were bleeding from their heads. Realising they had been shot, we quickly retreated but mustered the courage to return within ten

minutes. Myself and two others took Mobarak, now severely bleeding from the head, to Green Life Hospital.' The cause of death on the medical certificate states 'Head injury due to bullet'.

MUHAMMAD RAMZAN

The video shows a line of Border Guard Bangladesh officers at the intersection of Wapda Road and the main DIT Road in Rampura. The streets initially appear empty, as the law enforcement officers slowly turn around to go back down the road they came. After a cut in the video, we see a group of young men throwing stones in the direction of the retreating BGB officers. In the group of men there is one in an orange shirt moving around but not obviously involved in throwing stones. Suddenly, there is the sound of a shot. The man in the orange shirt falls to the ground, and two men nearby come to his aid. After a few seconds, a third man, initially looking in the direction of the BGB officers, turns round and then rushes to the man on the ground, and three of them take the body away to the Better Life Hospital just metres away.

The man who was shot is 18-year-old Ramzan, who worked as a bread distributor for the company Akhi. The third man who came to Ramzan's assistance just after he was shot was his friend who had met Ramzan earlier that morning at the road intersection. He said that as the BGB started to turn around to retreat in the direction they had come from, the people started to return to the main road from the alleys where they were hiding. 'At the time I was looking towards the BGB. I saw that there were several men aiming, but did not see them firing,' the friend said. Suddenly, he heard shots. 'Then I heard screaming and turned round and saw Ramzan on the ground and then ran towards him. I saw that there was a bullet wound and blood coming out. I am very confident that the shooting was coming from the BGB on the road, but I did not actually see the shot.' Another witness looking out from buildings that overlooked the intersection said,

'There was a gunshot by the BGB. I saw that, and the boy just fell down.'

MOSLEH UDDIN

A shopkeeper witnessed the moment 33-year-old Mosleh Uddin was shot in the head, less than 100 metres from his dry-cleaning business. At about 2.40pm, around the corner from the dry-cleaner in Block A, Banashree, the shopkeeper said there were 'a lot of people' congregating, 'but they were not protesting'. He had walked towards the main Banashree main road to see what was happening, when he saw 'the BGB kneeling and shooting'. He then rushed back down the road in the direction of his shop. 'When I got to the shop, I ran inside and then saw a man, grabbing his neck, running towards me, and he fell down close to the shop. I think the man died instantly.' An ambulance was passing that way and Uddin was put into it and taken to Farazi hospital where he was declared dead.

NADIM MIZAN

A 17-year-old student was standing on Avenue No 7 opposite the Rampura police station the moment Nadim was shot on 19 July. At about 2pm, half an hour before he was shot, Nadim, a 37-year-old worker at a gas cannister company, told his brother-in-law, who was at his home, that he had a gas delivery to make. At around 2.30pm, his wife Niha said that the family heard gunshots from the direction of the police station. 'We came back upstairs. Then the gunshots increased and there was almost non-stop firing. We went downstairs again as protestors were running inside this lane,' she said. The 17-year-old student, who was attending the protests for the first time, says he saw Nadim at Road No 2 opposite the police station. 'Shortly after 2pm a BGB armoured car came to the lane where we were gathering and opened fire on us directly. I rushed towards safety and after few moments I saw some people carrying Nadim bhai to the side of the lane,' he said. Nadim's wife, Niha, then said she heard someone shouting 'Niha's husband

got shot!' Shortly afterwards some people brought Nadim's body to the house and she saw two bullet wounds which were heavily bleeding. His eyes were open but he was unable to speak. They took him to Advance Hospital where he was declared dead.

MD SALAUDDIN SUMON

This video comes from a CCTV camera at a mosque in Kaji Bari road in South Banashree. There is no sound. It shows about 20 people on the road, spread out and standing still, all looking ahead. Suddenly a man in the centre of the picture seems to kneel down and collapse forwards. A second later, another man behind him keels forward without his legs buckling.

These two deaths are the consequence of one bullet. The man in the front is 39-year-old Mahburur Rahman Sabuj, an officer at BRAC bank who had just gone out for a walk. 'People were telling me that there was heavy shooting around the Rampura Police station and were suggesting me not to go. But I was curious and wanted to see what was happening'. He then says, 'All of a sudden I just fell down.' The bullet went through his throat. After weeks in hospital, he is now back home.

The same bullet then went into the head of 53-year-old Sumon, a senior sales manager at a ceramics company. Shortly after 3.30pm, Sumon told his family he was going out from the house to buy a cigarette. Later, he spoke to his wife on the phone and said he was near Rampura police station where 'the situation was very bad' but that he was just returning home 'coming back through Kaji Bari road'. Sometime after 6pm, Sumon's wife received a phone call from an unknown number asking about her relationship to Sumon. She said, 'I am his wife.' The man said that her husband was injured and she should come to Mugda Hospital. She arrived, only to discover that he had died.



TAMIM SHIKDAR

This video shows the lifeless body of a young boy in a yellow shirt with blood on his back being carried onto a rickshaw. He is 11-year-old Tamim, and the video was filmed by a university student who was a few metres away when he was shot. It was just after 5pm and the university student was standing close to the intersection between the main Banashree Road and Avenue No 1. 'We were observing the situation from the sidewalk. Someone from the crowd tried to hold people back. Then people regrouped and tried to march towards main road. But the BGB opened fire again and people again came back to the lane,' the university student said. 'I heard a loud and sharp sound behind me. I looked back and saw people carrying a little boy from the road. It was a few feet from me. People started screaming and crying and shouting that the boy needed to be taken to the hospital. Then people stopped a rickshaw.' At that point Mujtaba started recording the video which has a time stamp of 5.09pm. Tamim was taken to Farazi Hospital.

MAYA ISLAM

CCTV footage shows the garage area of a block of flats which faces Rampura police station in Banashree. At the back of the garage area is a car parked on the right and on the left is the entrance to the flats. People are milling around. The video then shows a group of young men enter the garage from outside the building and go into the flats. After about 45 seconds, they come back out of the entranceway, carrying a woman by her legs and arms and take her out of the building. This is 60-year-old Maya who was shot in the lower abdomen by a bullet that had first entered the head of her six-year-old grandchild, Musa. At about 3pm, Maya and Musa had returned to the entrance of their rented flat in Rampura after popping out to buy ice-cream from down the road. There was a sudden increase in firing and a group of people ran to their entranceway seeking shelter.⁵³ Mustafizur, Musa's father

said, 'At this point I realized the Musa was shot; I froze for a moment then I took his body and rushed out to the hospital amid the firing.' Separate CCTV footage shows Mustafizur taking Musa's body out of the entranceway. It was only after Mustafizur arrived at Dhaka Medical College Hospital (DMCH) with his son, who remains in a serious condition, that he called home and learnt that his mother, Maya, had also been shot. 'As I rushed out with Musa, I didn't notice that my mother had fallen down at the same time,' he said. She was taken to Farazi hospital, where the doctors stitched up her wound but didn't realize that the bullet was still inside her. Her condition deteriorated overnight, and in the morning the family took her to DMCH, but she died on the way.⁵⁴

SHAH JAMAL

A shop owner in Jalkuri Bazar in Narayanganj was an eye-witness to the shooting of 24-year-old Shah Jamal, who ran a poultry shop with his brother. 'My shop is somewhat shielded from the main road, which allowed me to keep it open,' the shop owner said. 'However, the shops on the front were all closed due to the police firing live bullets outside.' While no one from the bazaar was actively participating in the protests, some were handing out water and biscuits to protesters, he added. At around 5.30pm the police gunfire intensified. 'People began seeking shelter inside the bazaar to avoid the bullets,' the shop-keeper said. 'At that moment, I saw Shah Jamal near the wooden counter of his poultry farm, bending down to pick something up. Suddenly, I heard a sharp cry from Shah Jamal and saw him fall to the ground with his hands on his knees. I realised that bullets had even penetrated the market, so I quickly ducked down to protect myself.' After about five minutes, the shopkeeper approached Shah Jamal and found him bleeding heavily. 'At first, I didn't understand what had happened until Shah Jamal showed me the bullet wound in his thigh. I immediately called his brother and asked him to come quickly.' Jamal rushed to

the shop and arrived within 10 minutes. 'I found Shah Jamal bleeding profusely, with bullets having hit his left thigh to exit through his right thigh. It appeared that the artery in his thigh had been severed, given the massive blood loss.' A video shows men using a makeshift wooden stretcher to carry Shah to a local hospital where the family was advised that he needed to go to Dhaka Medical College Hospital for an operation. However, he died enroute. The cause of death on the medical certificate says 'Bullet injury.'

ALAMGIR SHEIKH

A friend was observing the protests from the footpath of a road running towards the Bangladesh television centre (BTV) in Rampura, when he saw 36-year-old Alamgir (a driver for Digital Desh medical centre) get shot. The friend said he saw Alamgir at about 3.30pm moving along the road in the thick of the protests towards Bangladesh TV (BTV) station.

Alamgir asked me, 'What are you doing here?' I said 'Just coming to see the protests.' Alamgir then said 'Well come with me,' and I said that I would stay here. Alamgir then said he would carry on with the protestors.

At this point the firing was non-stop. Alamgir went back to the protests and the friend saw him on the street behind two other protestors who were holding up a tin sheet to safeguard themselves. 'Then the firing got intense, and so two of the guys holding the tin started running. At that point Alamgir was completely without protection. As he was turning to run he got shot in the shoulder. I saw him recoil from the impact of the shot. The second shot went through the chest and instantly he fell down. I was three to four metres away. It was BGB, who were 30 metres away, who shot him.' Two other protestors took Alamgir to a local hospital where, after 30 minutes, he was declared dead.

NOBIN TALUKDAR

A video shows a group of men carrying a man in a bloodied white shirt. One man in the front is holding his head up. Another, holding the man's arm, appears to be wailing. The body is that of 40-year-old Nobin Talukdar, an activist from the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) who was shot at Paltan in Dhaka. 'The entire main road was under police control,' said an eyewitness who was a fellow BNP activist. 'They were advancing in groups of around 50 to 60 officers, moving together and continuously shooting at people.' By 3pm, four or five people had already been shot. 'The wounded were being carried away by others, using motorbikes because no rickshaws were available. People were moving back and forth toward the main road and retreating as the police continued firing. ... This back-and-forth continued until 4pm, and by 3pm the police had significantly increased their use of live bullets.'

The eyewitness continued, 'When others moved forward, Nobin bhai went with them, but I stayed back at the alleyway. As the firing intensified, the crowd retreated, and Nobin bhai fell slightly behind the others. I was watching this unfold from the alleyway next to the Paltan Tower. As he fell behind, he was shot in the head. I saw him get shot and collapse to the ground. The people who were near him rushed back and carried him to the Paltan Tower. After that, they took him to Dhaka Medical College Hospital. I was completely drained and had no energy left.'

Rahman, Nobin's maternal uncle, reached DMCH and found his nephew's dead body in the morgue. The death certificate cites a 'bullet injury'.

MAHMUDUR RAHMAN SAIKAT

The first video shows a group of young male protestors standing at the end of a lane intersecting with Noorjahan Road in Mohammadpur in Dhaka, shouting and gesticulating at a group of police officers standing in line about 100 metres away. In

the second video taken shortly afterwards, a tall young man has fallen to the ground, with protestors trying to hold up the back of his lifeless body as they carry him away from the firing. The third video shows protestors trying to lift the body onto a rickshaw.

This is 19-year-old Saikat, a student who worked at his family sweet shop, and who was a keen cricketer. In the afternoon, he had been working at the sweet shop but left shortly after 3pm towards the entry to a lane off Noorjahan Road. 'By 3pm the area had become a battlefield, with the main clashes occurring near the Mohammadpur Bus Stand, but they soon spread to Noorjahan Road,' a witness said. 'Whenever the clashes intensified, protesters sought refuge in the alleys. The police were firing tear gas and shotgun pellets, and at one point, they began using live ammunition.' Saikat was among the protesters and was easily recognisable due to his height. 'I knew him from the local cricket field, where he often played. Around 3.30pm, we suddenly heard a series of loud noises. Then chaos erupted as people started running. I too ran, trying to reach an alleyway. When I turned back, I saw Saikat suddenly collapse on the road. The police were about 150 metres away. A few of us rushed toward him and discovered that a bullet had struck his head, and blood was streaming from the wound. We quickly dragged him into the alley, and two people then took him to the hospital.' He was dead by the time he reached DMCH. His death certificate describes the cause of death as 'Gunshot.'

MD. RUSTAM

14-year-old Rustam, a class IX student at National Bangla High School in Mirpur, was close to the Shah Ali Market at the Mirpur-10 intersection in Dhaka with a group of friends when he was shot. Shortly after 2.30pm, Rustam had left his house and met up with his friends to take part in the protests. 'We were chasing the police, and they were chasing us,' one of the friends said, adding that they took shelter in

an alley behind Shah Ali Market when the police started opening fire indiscriminately. 'The gunfire was so loud, I couldn't hear anything.' It was then that Rustam was shot.

Another student protestor remembers standing in front of Al Helal Hospital and seeing a group of four people carrying a teenager with a severe bullet wound to his throat which was bleeding profusely. The doctors could not take the bullet out of his throat, so Tayef searched for an ambulance to take him to Suhrawardy Hospital where he died on the operating table. As Tayef was leaving the hospital floor, a group of teenagers came and uncovered the face of the deceased and cried out, 'Rustum.' The death certificate describes the cause of death as 'Gunshot.'

ABU SHAHED

A video shows a man in a white vest lying on the ground in Mohamadpur in Dhaka, a black cloth around his head soaking up the blood from a bullet wound. Another man puts his hand around the injured man's head as they carry him away. This is 45-year-old Abu Shahed, an activist from the Bangladesh Nationalist Party who ran a small grocery store. On Friday afternoon, Shahed had gone to the store, but left it in the hands of his brother telling him that he was going to buy some polythene for the shop, though in fact he was going to take part in the protests.

Shahed's wife, Asiya, found out about her husband's death when a man answered his phone and said that the family should collect his body from Montaj Market close to where he was shot.

OBSERVATIONS

Information collected so far indicates that the law enforcement authorities were involved in shooting at protestors at close range and that in none of these cases was the victim or other persons nearby armed

with a gun, though in some cases protestors were carrying a stick or pole.

Additionally, there is no indication that the protestors posed any threat to the police or to buildings which would justify the use of deadly force.

Eyewitnesses seemed genuinely surprised to come suddenly under fire. Some described the fear they experienced going to the aid of those who were left bleeding on the floor. A significant proportion of victims were shot in the head or throat. In no case did law enforcement assist with the medical treatment or evacuation of the acutely injured. Though members of the Chhatra League may have been involved in the violence, eyewitnesses did not mention seeing them in the police lines. Action by law enforcement was at best indiscriminate, with in some cases children and the elderly hit by stray gunfire while sheltering in their own homes, indicating the use of live rounds in densely populated areas.

The case of Amir Hossain shows how a team of armed police went hunting for a lone young man wrongly assumed to be a protestor and shot and taunted him, possibly leaving him for dead. Amir could have been arrested rather than fired at as he hung from a 4-floor high construction rod, his arms outstretched and posing no threat. It indicates the security sweep through the area was not about intelligence gathering or law and order, but instead revolved around revenge and punishment.



Injured come to Dhaka Medical College Hospital, 19 July 2024. By Jibon Ahmed, Drik

LEGAL ANALYSIS

INTERNATIONAL BEST PRACTICES AND GUIDELINES ON THE RIGHT TO PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND MANAGING PROTESTS

THE RIGHT TO PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND PROTEST

The United Nations Human Rights Committee has adopted General Comment No 37 on the right of peaceful assembly emanating from Article 21 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which affirms the fundamental human right of peaceful assembly enables individuals to express themselves collectively and to participate in shaping their societies. The right to protest⁵⁵ is thus recognised as an individual and collective exercise of existing and universally recognised human rights, including the rights to freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the right to participation in cultural life, the rights to life, privacy, liberty and security of a person, and the right to non-discrimination. This right is important, as it protects the ability of people to exercise individual autonomy in solidarity with others, and together with other related rights, it constitutes the very foundation of a system of participatory governance based on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law and pluralism.⁵⁶ The right to protest is therefore also essential to the enjoyment all human rights, including civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights.

The International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights(ICCPR)⁵⁷ imposes obligations on State Parties to:

a) Respect the right to protest:

State Parties should not prevent, hinder or restrict the right to protest except to the extent allowed by international human rights law;

b) Protect the right to protest:

They should undertake reasonable steps to protect those who want to exercise their right to protest, which includes adopting measures necessary to prevent violations by third parties; and

c) Fulfil the right to protest:

They should establish an enabling environment for the full enjoyment of right to protest.

The Principles and Guidelines on Protest and the Right to Information are based on international law and standards relating to the scope of protection and ensuring that the obligations of the state as well as professional policing, police action and the use of force are met.⁵⁸ The General Comment of the UN Human Rights Committee also establishes that an assembly that is peaceful falls within the scope of state protection, covering coordinated as well as spontaneous gatherings. The emphasis of the commentary is clear: police should de-escalate situations in case of the potential for violence and not resort to the use of force.

Any use of force must therefore comply with the fundamental principles of legality, necessity, proportionality, precaution and non-discrimination applicable to Articles 6 and 7 of the Covenant, and those using force must be accountable for each use of force.⁵⁹ Domestic legal regimes on the use of force by law enforcement officials must be brought into line with the requirements enshrined in international law, guided by standards such as the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials and the United Nations Human Rights Guidance on Less-Lethal Weapons in Law Enforcement.⁶⁰ Any action by state actors needs to meet the basic principles of ‘...legality, necessity, proportionality, precaution and non-discrimination’.⁶¹

In effect, protestors should not be detained, arrested, tortured and killed, and even in those instances where protestors have broken the law police action should be restrained.⁶² In addition, public authorities are also required to make information available to the public in respect of individuals who have been killed, wounded, and buried without any notice. The requirement for self-identification even for police officers in plain clothes, and the use of preventive detention as a means to prevent gathering, including unidentifiable police or security services abducting individuals off the streets in the course of gathering, is illegal and clearly falls within the prohibitions relating to detention and police identification.⁶³

APPLICABILITY TO BANGLADESH

The protests in Bangladesh in the period July-August 2024 have been met by restrictions on the right to protest and the concomitant rights of freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and the rights to public participation. The protests have also been met by the unlawful use of force, including the use of lethal weapons, used in the full knowledge that there is a high likelihood of causing death and injuries and that it will in

all probability lead to loss of life, in violation of international law and standards including of the ICCPR⁶⁴ as set out above. The General Comment reiterates that in regard to weapons and the use of force, only non-lethal weapons may be carried, and references the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials as well as the United Nations Human Rights Guidance on Less Lethal Weapons in Law Enforcement as guidance.⁶⁵

VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO LIFE

Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights establishes that everyone has the right to life,⁶⁶ liberty and security of person. Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which Bangladesh is a party, also provides that every human being has the inherent right to life, which shall be protected by law, and that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of their life. Moreover, Article 4(2) of the ICCPR provides that exceptional circumstances such as internal political instability or any other public emergency may not be invoked to justify any derogation from the right to life and security of the person.

USE OF FORCE

Article 3 of the UN’s Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials further provides that law enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty. The accompanying commentary emphasises that the use of force by law enforcement officials should be exceptional, and the use of firearms is considered an extreme measure that should not be used unless ‘a suspected offender offers armed resistance or otherwise jeopardizes the lives of others and less extreme measures are not sufficient to restrain or apprehend the suspected offender’.⁶⁷

The UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement

Officials (1990) also states that intentional lethal use of firearms may only be made when strictly unavoidable in order to protect life.⁶⁸ Moreover, in the dispersal of assemblies that are unlawful but non-violent, law enforcement officials shall avoid the use of force or, where that is not practicable, restrict such force to the minimum extent necessary; in the dispersal of violent assemblies, law enforcement officials may use firearms only when less dangerous means are not practicable, and only to the minimum extent necessary.⁶⁹

In terms of domestic laws, Bangladesh's Police Regulations provide that the use of firearms is permitted only (1) in the exercise of the right of private defense of person or property; (2) for the dispersal of unlawful assemblies; and (3) to effect an arrest in certain circumstances.⁷⁰ For the defence of person or property, force should not inflict more harm than is necessary for protection.⁷¹ For the dispersal of unlawful assemblies, an order to fire upon a crowd should be regarded as an extreme measure to be used only as the last resort when it is absolutely necessary for the defence of life or property or when a Magistrate, an officer-in-charge of a police-station or police officer superior in rank to such officer considers it impossible to disperse a mob by any other means.⁷² Even then, full and sufficient warning must be given to the crowd before they are fired on.⁷³

The police killing of civilian protestors and others not involved in the protests clearly constitutes violations of human rights.

This report confirms that the security forces responded to the protests with unnecessary and disproportionate force and that they appear to have used force indiscriminately, employing rubber bullets and firearms with live lethal ammunition.

The killings by law enforcement officers of protestors and other members of the

public as illustrated in this report clearly violate the victims' right to life. Violations of the right to life implicate the dignity and protection of the dead and the right of families to the remains of their loved ones.⁷⁴ The unnecessary and disproportionate use of force by law enforcement agencies against protesters constitutes a violation of Bangladesh's obligations to uphold their rights to life and physical integrity and with relevant international human rights standards, as further specified by the United Nations Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials.

Resolution 67/168 of the General Assembly '[acknowledges] that extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions may under certain circumstances amount to genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes, as defined in international law, including in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and recalling in this regard that each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from such crimes'.⁷⁵

In this context, the killings may amount to crimes against humanity.

Additionally, States have the procedural obligation to investigate suspicious deaths, as elaborated by the UN Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions (1989),⁷⁶ and its companion document, the UN Manual on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions (known as the Minnesota Protocol).⁷⁷ It is thus imperative that the Bangladeshi authorities hold perpetrators accountable, and the international community assists, especially when the national authorities lack the capacity to do so, or are unwilling to do so.

OBLIGATION TO PROTECT THE DEAD

Under international human rights law, the rights to life, to be free from torture and

ill-treatment, to be protected from enforced disappearance, and to a remedy contain obligations to protect the dead.⁷⁸ The rights to privacy, culture and religion also contain obligations to protect dead persons and their human remains. Related bodies of law, namely international humanitarian law (applicable in times of armed conflict) and international criminal law (applicable to the commission of serious human rights violations), set out these obligations within certain specific situations.

The lack of identification of a body results in an individual becoming a missing person, which not only harms families and deprives them of their right to mourning and closure, but also has legal implications and can hinder criminal investigations in the future in cases of potentially unlawful deaths. This impacts on the families' right to know the truth about the fate and whereabouts of loved ones,⁷⁹ and also impedes the dignified treatment of the deceased.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF ALL PERSONS FROM ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE.⁸⁰

The Convention contains specific requirements for States to take all appropriate measures to locate, respect and return the remains of victims of enforced disappearance.⁸¹ The duty to protect the dead has emerged in the UN Human Rights Committee's jurisprudence related to complaints about violations to the right to life. The Committee has indicated that disrespectful treatment of remains may amount to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment of the family of the deceased.⁸² The protection of the right to life, the rights of family members of the deceased and the treatment of the dead are therefore closely intertwined.

FREE-FLOW OF INFORMATION RELATING TO PROTESTS

States have an obligation to enable the free-flow of information relating to protests, including through all types of

media, so that everyone can freely receive information about protests before, during and after they occur, including information as to those who have been killed, those injured and the hospitals they have been taken to, as well as those who have been buried and in particular, the places of burial.



RECOMMENDATIONS

The police killings on 19 July are emblematic of the unlawful crackdown on civilian protestors by the police and other law enforcement authorities in Bangladesh. The unlawful and targeted use of force by the police directed against the protestors constitutes gross human rights violations and if proven could amount to crimes against humanity.

The present interim Government of Bangladesh has reconstituted an International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) to deal with the accountability of those responsible for the killings, including the former prime minister Sheikh Hasina for serious international crimes perpetrated during the student-led anti-discrimination mass uprisings 1 July-5 August, along with all persons involved in these crimes. The decision follows the first complaint made against her with the investigation agency of the ICT on 14 August together with former ministers, law enforcers and Sheikh Hasina's party men.

Previous trials held at the ICT involving those accused of international crimes during the country's war of independence were widely perceived to be highly partisan, unprofessional and grossly unfair. Experts identified at the time both substantive and procedural flaws in the legal framework and practice of the tribunal. For instance, human rights and legal monitor bodies had urged the ICT to define crimes against humanity and genocide comprehensively in compliance with

international criminal law, and to ensure the due process rights of the accused.

While a number of amendments have been made recently to the ICT statute to align it with international standards, some gaps remain. In addition, a significant concern is that the death penalty in Bangladesh has not been repealed, preventing bodies like the United Nations sharing evidence with the ICT. In addition, there is a need to establish a robust witness protection programme, failing which, witnesses will be intimidated and discouraged from coming forward, potentially compromising the integrity of the proceedings.

ICT investigators and prosecutors must be given the independence, resources and expertise to carry out their role in a manner that will result in justice and accountability for the families of those killed and injured during the protests. In addition, the judges and prosecutors appointed must be completely independent of the interim government and any political party.

While an international special advisor has been appointed to advise the Tribunal, Bangladesh nevertheless will need greater international assistance to ensure international standards are met.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY:

i. By providing appropriate training and assistance to judges, prosecutors and investigators, ensure that the International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) can hold fair and credible trials in accordance with international norms and standards;

ii. Noting that the interim government has set up commissions to propose reforms to the Judiciary, the Police, and Anti-Corruption work, provide assistance to the government urgently to strengthen its legal and judicial capacity to undertake investigations into crimes under international and national law and ensure the full independence of legal and judicial bodies, including ensuring there is an effective national human rights commission in line with the Paris Principles;

iii. Support the Government of Bangladesh to establish a comprehensive security sector reform programme;

iv. Support the Government of Bangladesh to make recommendations in respect of a comprehensive and holistic transitional justice programme, to address the structural and root causes of the violence including truth recovery, criminal accountability, reparations and institutional reform.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH:

In relation to the events that took place between 16 July to 5 August:

i. Take appropriate steps to ensure that the International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) becomes an independent body able to hold fair and credible trials of those responsible for the killings and injuries from 16 July-5 August;

ii. Fully resource the ICT's

investigation body so that it can effectively map the command structures of the security forces and identify those public and security officials responsible for the killings that took place between 16 July and 5 August 2024, including those in command positions who authorised the violence or failed to take action to stop it and/or failed to act against those officials responsible for the violations;

iii. Work with the international community to ensure that the ICT investigators and prosecutors have access to the relevant expertise in investigating offences under international criminal law and the expertise to conduct open source and digital investigations, including methodologies and procedures for gathering, analysing, and preserving digital information, particularly cell phone videos and images, in a professional, legal and ethical manner;

iv. Make further appropriate amendments to the ICT Act 1973 and its Rules of Procedure necessary to ensure that they as fully as possible align with international norms and standards and in particular ensure robust witness protection measures, and the due process rights of the accused;

v. Take appropriate steps to ensure investigators and prosecutors as well as administrative personnel are vetted and screened to make sure those employed are not compromised by having been involved in the violence;

vi. Immediately release those who are arbitrarily detained and ensure that all others are promptly brought before a court and afforded bail where possible. Ensure due process and legal representation for all detainees;

vii. Commit to abolishing and in the interim placing an official moratorium on the death penalty;

viii. Noting that some people have been buried in unmarked graves, use DNA testing to help match the bodies with families who have relatives missing since 16 July;

ix. Continue to develop an authoritative database to capture the names of those killed and injured during the protests;

x. Ensure that injured protesters and bystanders receive all necessary medical care and support, including reimbursement for emergency private medical expenses;

xi. Ensure that injured protesters and bystanders ultimately receive reparations including immediate interim reparations;

xii. Continue to instruct law enforcement agencies and other government forces to protect populations at risk against any retaliatory or revenge violence;

xiii. In order to build complementary ties between the international and domestic process, we recommend the interim government considers a referral to the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) of cases of international crimes including crimes against humanity committed by inter alia Sheikh Hasina which would include crimes committed both before and during the student protests.

In relation to the improvement of human rights in the future:

i. Actively denounce any human rights violations or abuses, and advocate for measures to ensure accountability and prevent further violations and abuses;

ii. Address the rampant corruption and politicisation of the security forces and embark on a comprehensive security sector programme;

iii. Noting that the tenure of the interim government is temporary, take appropriate steps to ensure the reforms have the backing of all key stakeholders so that they can be sustainable in the long-term and have the commitment of parties to future administrations;

iv. Establish a specialised dedicated prosecutorial unit and a special Office of Prosecutor, which is independent of the police and the existing prosecutorial authority, to focus exclusively on investigating crimes;

v. Taking note of any reforms proposed by the Commission on Police, develop a new legal framework on policing, including repealing the outdated colonial-era Police Act of 1861;

vi. Provide law enforcement agencies with clear instructions limiting the use of force, and especially firearms, in line with international human rights standards, ceasing any use of pellet guns, and, when use of force is absolutely necessary and proportionate, prioritising instead restrained use of less-lethal weapons; emphasise a de-escalation approach to all public order management.

ANNEXURE

This is a list of the names and photographs of those killed on 19 July 2024. It includes those shot on that day by law enforcement authorities or activists of the ruling party, who died then or as a result of their injuries on a subsequent day.

The list was compiled from a list of 165 names collected originally by Manabadhikar Shongskriti Foundation (MSF) based on their direct interviews with family members.

The ITJP started with MSF's list and sought to remove any duplicates and reconfirm that each name on the list was accurate. This involved speaking to a family member of each of the names listed as dead, to confirm the details of the circumstances in which their relative was killed and obtain death certificates and photos, where possible. Where no family member was available, we sought confirmation by looking for previously published interviews with the family published in reputable media. We also looked at lists put together by the human rights organisations the Human Rights Support Society and Odhikar and by newspapers including The Prothom Alo and The Daily Star.

This is by no means a final or comprehensive list because we were unable to confirm some names that existed on the various lists that we looked at.

NAMES AND PHOTOGRAPHS

4 year old Abdul Ahad was shot in the head whilst standing on the balcony of his house at Jatrabari, Dhaka.

6 year old Riya Gope was shot in the head on the roof of her house in Narayanganj.

9 year old Md. Safkat Samir was shot in the head at his home in Mirpur 14, Dhaka.

11 year old Tamim Shikder, a student, was shot in the chest at Rampura, Dhaka.

12 year old Md. Rakib Hassan, a Student, was shot in the head at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

13 year old Mubarak Hossain, a student, was shot while protesting at Dhanmondi, Dhaka.

13 year old Md. Rabbi Matbar, a Student, was shot in the stomach while protesting at Mirpur 14, Dhaka.

13 year old Md. Jobayed Hossen Emon, a student, was shot in the head while protesting at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

13 year old Ibrahim Khalil, a student, shot in the head, in Jatrabari, Dhaka.

14 year old Md. Rustom, a student, was shot in the throat at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

14 year old Naima Sultana, a Student, was shot in the head at Uttara, Dhaka.

15 year old Md. Ismail, who worked in a shoe factory, was shot in the throat, while protesting at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

15 year old md Abdullah Ifty, a CNG mechanic, was shot in the head at Rampura, Dhaka,

15 year old Shohag Miah, a rickshaw puller, was shot in the head, while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

16 year old Yamin Chowdhury, a garment worker, was shot in the waist at Badda, Dhaka.

16 year old Mohammad Shuvo, who repaired rickshaws, was shot in the head while protesting at Dhanmondi, Dhaka.

16 year old Golam Rabbani, a day laborer, was shot below the waist, while protesting at Rampura, Dhaka.

16 year old Siyam Shuvo, a day laborer, was shot in the upper body in Bogra town, Bogra.

16 year old Tamim Hridoy, a garage worker, was shot in the chest in Itakhola Bazaar, Narsingdi.

16 year old Md. Adil, a student, was shot in the chest, while protesting at Narayanganj.

16 year old Siyam, a student, was shot in the head in Itakhola Bazaar, Narsingdi.

17 year old Sohag, a worker, was shot while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

17 year old Sujon Miah, a driver, was shot in Itakhola Bazaar, Narsingdi.

17 year old Emon Miah, who worked in a footpath restaurant, was shot in the stomach in Baridhara, Dhaka.

17 year old Md. Nayem, a student, was shot in the chest while protesting at Jatrabari, Dhaka.

17 year old Mostafazaman Shomudro, a student, was shot in the armpit, while protesting at Mirpur, Dhaka.

17 year old Wasim Ahmed, who worked in a poultry shop, was shot in the head, while protesting at Dhaka.

17 year old Ridoy Ahmed, a worker, was shot in the abdomen whilst protesting in Dhaka.

18 year old Md. Arif, a student, was shot in the eye, in Jatrabari, Dhaka.

18 year old Md. Maruf Hossain, a student, was shot in the waist while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

18 year old Md. Rohan Ahmed Khan, a student, was shot while protesting at Kajla, Dhaka.

18 year old Mohammad Sazzad Hossain, a student, was shot in the chest while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

18 year old Foyzul Islam Rajon, a student, was shot in the chest at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

18 year old Md Asif Mia, a garment worker, was shot in the head whilst protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

18 year old Ahsan Habib Tamim, a student, was shot in the armpit, while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

18 year old Md. Jahid Hossain, a flower seller, was shot while protesting at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

18 year old Saidul Islam Shovon, a student, was shot below the waistline while protesting at New Market, Dhaka.

18 year old Sarowar Hossain Shawon was shot in the chest, while protesting at Rampura, Dhaka.

18 year old Md. Shawon, a day laborer, was shot in the head at Narsingdi.

18 year old Md. Ramzan, who worked for a bread company, was shot in his upper body at Rampura, Dhaka.

19 year old Md. Shakil, who was a helper in a sweet shop, shot at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

19 year old Mahamudur Rahman Shoikot, a student, was shot at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

19 year old Imtiaz Ahmed Jabir, a student, was shot at Rampura, Dhaka.

19 year old Md. Maruf Hasan, a student, was shot in the back while protesting at Rampura, Dhaka.

19 year old Tawhid Sonnamat, a mason, was shot in the head while protesting at Madaripur.

20 year old Md. Sagor, a small businessman, was shot at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

20 year old Hridoy Hawlader, a shopkeeper, was shot while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

20 year old Md. Nahidul Islam, a private jobholder, was shot while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

20 year old Md. Sagor Hossen, a student, was shot in the head while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

20 year old Rabbi Alam, a businessman, was shot in the head at Palton, Dhaka.

20 year old Md. Al Amin, a student was shot in the upper body while protesting at Savar, Dhaka.

20 year old Md. Alamin Hossain, a construction worker was shot in the abdomen at Uttara, Dhaka.

21 year old Nazmul Hasan, student, was shot in Banasree Dhaka.

21 year old Md. Naimur Rahman, a student and part time worker, was shot while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

21 year old Imam Mahadi Hasan, a student, was shot at Mohakhali, Dhaka.

21 year old Mirajul Islam Arnob, a typist was shot while protesting at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

21 year old Reaz Hossain, a student, was shot while protesting at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

21 year old Md. Sajib, a garment worker, was shot in the abdomen at Rampura, Dhaka.

21 year old Sadik, a student, was shot at Uttara, Dhaka.

21 year old Redwan Sarif Riyad, a student, was shot in the head while protesting at Uttara, Dhaka.

21 year old Robiul Islam Rakib, a security guard, was shot while protesting at Uttara, Azampur, Dhaka.

22 year old Parvej Bepari, a furniture maker, was shot in the head and chest at Badda, Dhaka.

22 year old Junaid Farazi, a private service employee, was shot at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

22 year old Abdullah Al Abir, employed at North South University, was shot in the abdomen, while protesting at Narda, Dhaka.

22 year old Amzad Hossain, a dock worker, was shot in the head at Itakhola Bazaar in Narsingdi.

22 year old Azizul, a fruit vendor, was shot in the lower back at Jelakhana Mor in Narsingdi.

22 year old Ridone Hossain Sagor, a student was shot in the chest while protesting at Mymensingh town in Mymensingh.

23 year old Foysal Sorkar, a student, was shot in the head while protesting at Abdullahpur, Dhaka.

23 year old Sayed Nazmul Hasan, a student was shot in the chest while protesting at Banasree, Dhaka.

23 year old Md. Sayem Hossain, a motor mechanic, was shot in the head while protesting at Jatrabari, Dhaka.

23 year old Tariqul Islam Rubel, an employee, was shot in the head while protesting at Mirpur 13, Dhaka.

23 year old Md. Al Amin, who worked in a workshop, was shot all over his body while protesting at Mohakhali, Dhaka.

23 year old Md. Al Shahria Hossain, a small businessman, was shot while protesting at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

23 year old Md. Razu Ahmed, who worked at a courier company, was shot while helping protestors at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

23 year old Parvez Mollah, a laborer, was shot in the head in Fatullah, Narayanganj.

24 year old Md. Sohel, a student, was shot in the legs while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

24 year old Nasima Akhter was shot in Dhanmondi, Dhaka.

24 year old Md Jihad Hossain, a student, was shot in the head while protesting at Jatrabari.

24 year old Nadimul Hasan Alen, an employee, was shot in the head while protesting at Lakshmibazar, Dhaka.

24 year old Omor Faruk, a student, was shot while protesting at Lakshmibazar, Dhaka.

24 year old Ikram Hossain, a tutor, was shot in the head while protesting at Lakshmibazar, Dhaka.

24 year old Mominul Islam Hridoy, a student, was shot in the back while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

24 year old Md. Rakib Hossain, who worked for a power company, was shot in the waist at Rampura, Dhaka.

24 year old Shah Jamal, a small trader was shot in the leg at Narayanganj.

25 year old Kamrul, a hawker, was shot in his legs at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

26 year old Sawon Shikder, an electrician, was shot in the shoulder at Azimpur, Dhaka.

26 year old Tahir Zaman Priyo, a Journalist, was shot at the protests in Dhanmondi, Dhaka.

26 year old Md. Robiul Islam, a businessman, was shot in the chest while protesting at Jatrabari, Dhaka.

26 year old Md. Shaharia, an employee, was shot in the head while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

26 year old Md. Saiful Islam, a driver, was shot in the stomach while protesting at Rampura, Dhaka.

26 year old Roman Bepari, a driver, was shot in Madaripur.

27 year old Md. Ridoy, a day laborer, was shot in the back at Kadamtali, Dhaka.

27 year old Akram Khan Rabby, a student, was shot in the stomach while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

27 year old Mamun Hossain, a driver was shot in the abdomen in Mohakali, Dhaka.

27 year old Md. Jamal, a businessman, was shot in the thigh at Siddingonj, Narayanganj.

28 year old Rakibul Hossain, an employee, was shot at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

28 year old Md Asif Iqbal, who worked in the garment sector, was shot while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

28 year old Mizanur Rahman, who worked in a stationery business was shot in the leg at Rampura, Dhaka.

28 year old Md. Abdullah Al Tahir, a student, was shot in the abdomen in the city bazaar in Rangpur.

29 year old Selim Mondol, a contractor, was shot at Kanchpur, Narayanganj.

29 year old Kamal Mia, a rikshaw driver, was shot at Shanti Nagar, Dhaka.

29 year old Sajjad Hossain, a vegetable seller, was shot at Rangpur.

30 year old Md. Sujon Khan, a laborer, was shot in the waist at Jatrabari, Dhaka.

30 year old Amir Hossain, auto rickshaw driver, was shot in the head and chest at Rampura, Dhaka.

30 year old Md. Assadullah, a driver, was shot at Uttara, Dhaka.

31 year old Md. Sumon Sikdar, a driver was shot while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

31 year old Mubarak Hosen, an employee, was shot in the head at Rayerbagh, Dhaka.

32 year old Md. Atiqul Islam, who worked in a buying house, was shot at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

32 year old Mamun Sarder, an employee, was shot in the chest while protesting at Mirpur 13, Dhaka.

32 Abul Hossain Mizi, a driver, was shot in the stomach in Signboard area in Narayanganj.

33 year old Md. Titu Howlader a driver, was shot in the head while helping protesters at Dhanmondi, Dhaka.

33 year old Mosleh Uddin, a dry cleaner, was shot in the neck and stomach at Rampura, Dhaka.

33 year old Bokul Mia, a rickshaw driver, was shot at Uttara, Azampur, Dhaka.

34 year old Imran Kholifa, a student, was shot in the chest at Badda, Dhaka.

34 year old Akter Hossan, an auto rickshaw driver, was shot in the throat at Mohamadpur, Dhaka.

34 year old Md. Jakir Hossen, a tailor, was shot at Soniakhra, Jatrabari, Dhaka.

34 year old Abu Taher Md. Turab, a journalist, was shot in the head at Bandar, Sylhet.

35 year old Rahat Hassen, a peanut seller, was shot in the waist while protesting at Rampura, Dhaka.

35 year old Merajul Islam, a fruit seller, was shot in the abdomen close to the city corporation in Rangpur.

36 year old Md. Alamgir Sheikh, a driver, was shot in the chest while protesting at Rampura, Dhaka.

36 year old Md. Zakir Hossain, a daily worker, was shot in the back at Uttara, Dhaka.

37 year old Md. Rafiqul Islam, a worker, was shot while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

37 year old Md. Ali, a salesman, was shot in the head at New Market, Dhaka.

37 year old Md. Nadim Mizan, a businessman, was shot in the stomach at Rampura, Dhaka.

37 year old Moslem Uddin Milon, a worker, was shot in the chest at the city bazaar in Rangpur.

38 year old Md. Abdul Wadud, a shopkeeper, was shot in the head at New Market, Dhaka.

39 year old Md. Goni Mia, a rickshaw puller, was shot while helping students at Mohakali, Dhaka.

40 year old Dulal Mahmud, a bank manager, was shot in the chest, at Azampur, Dhaka.

40 year old Monirul Islam, a businessman, was shot in the head at Mirpur 13, Dhaka.

40 year old Md. Reazul Karim, a businessman, was shot in the chest at Rampura, Dhaka.

42 year old Monsur Miya, who worked at a petrol filling station, was shot at Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

43 year old Taufiqul Islam, a petrol pump worker, was shot while protesting at Badda, Dhaka.

43 year old Md. Amzad, a fish seller, was shot in the eye while protesting at Bushandara, Dhaka.

43 year old Md. Firoz Talukder, an employee, was shot in the chest while protesting at Mirpur 10, Dhaka.

44 year old Md. Jahangir Mridha, a van driver, was shot in the head while helping protestors at Jatrabari, Dhaka.

44 year old Nurul Islam was shot in the chest whilst protesting in Uttara, Dhaka.

45 year old Mohammad Zan Sharif, a clothing store owner, was shot in the chest while helping with water at Banasree, Dhaka.

45 year old Nobin Talukdar a shop keeper was shot in head at Palton, Dhaka.

45 year old Abu Shaed, worked at a grocery store, was shot in the head at Mohamadpur, Dhaka.

45 year old, Dosumuddin, was shot in the abdomen at Rampura, Dhaka.

45 year old Md. Abdul Gani, an electrician, was shot in the head at Badda, Dhaka.

46 year Md Ismail, a driver, was shot in the head at Rampura, Dhaka.

47 year old Jahangir Alom, small business man, was shot while protesting at Kajla, Dhaka.

50 years old Foyaz Ali, a dock worker, was shot in the chest at Itakhola, Narsingdi.

53 year Salauddin Sumon, a manager at a ceramics company, was shot at Banasree, Dhaka.

57 year old Awal Miah was shot in the stomach at Jatrabari, Dhaka.

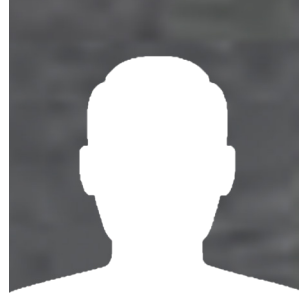
60 year old Maya Khan was shot at Rampura, Dhaka.



Abdul Ahad, 4



Riya Gope, 6



*Md. Yasin, 8



Md. Safkat Samir, 9



Tamim Shikder, 11



Rakib Hassan, 12



Mubarek Hossain, 13



Rabbi Matbar, 13



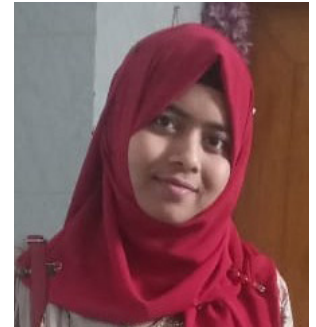
Jubayed Hossen Emon, 13



Ibrahim Khalil, 13



Md. Rustom, 14



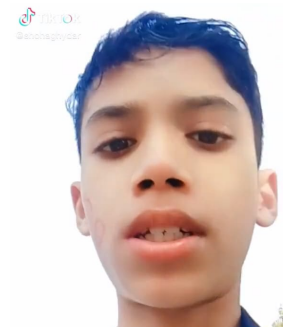
Naima Sultana, 14



Md Ismail, 15



Abdullah Ifty, 15



Shohag Miah, 15



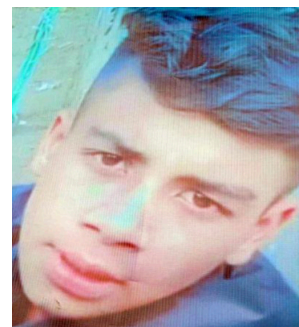
Yamim Chowdhury, 16



Md. Shuvo, 16



Golam Rabbani, 16



Siyam Shuvo, 16



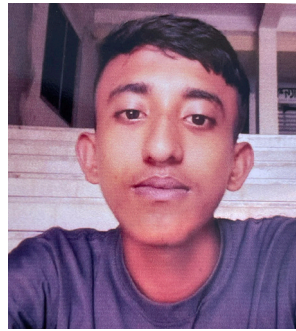
Md. Adil, 16



Tamin Hridoy, 16



Md. Siyam, 16



Sujon Mia, 17



Emon Miah, 17



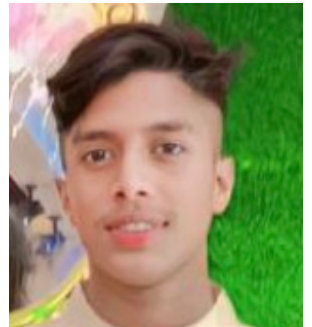
Mostafa Zaman Shomudro, 17



Wasim Ahmed, 17



Sohag, 17



Ridoy Ahmed, 17



Md. Nayem, 17



Foyzul Islam Rajon, 18



Md. Asif Mia, 18



Ahsan Habib Tamim, 18



Jahid Hossan, 18



Saidul Islam Shovon, 18



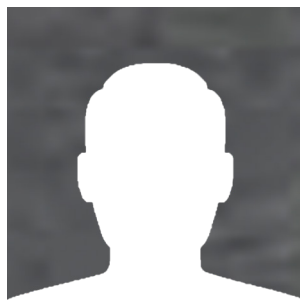
Sarowar Hossain Shawon, 18



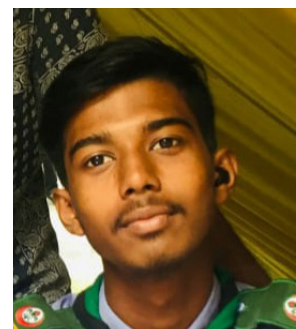
Md. Ramzan, 18



Md. Shawon, 18



Md. Arif, 18



Md. Rohan Ahmed Khan, 18



Md Sazzad Hossain, 18



Md. Maruf Hossain, 18



Mahamudur Rahman Shoikot, 19



Imtiaz Ahmed Jabir, 19



Md. Maruf Hasan, 19



Towhid Sonnamat, 19



Md. Shakil, 19



Hridoy Hawlader, 20



Md. Nahidul Islam, 20



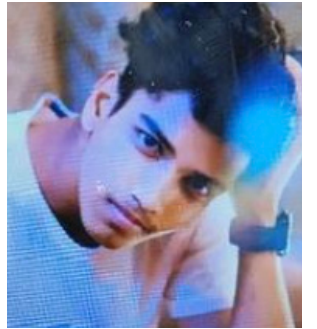
Md. Sagor Hossen, 20



Rabbi Alam, 20



Al-Amin, 20



Md. Alamin Hossain, 20



Md. Sagor, 20



Naimur Rahman, 21



Imam Mahadi Hasan, 21



Mirajul Islam Arnob, 21



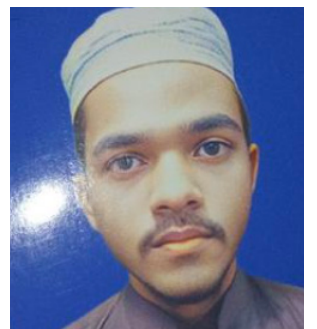
Nazmul Hasan, 21



Reyaj Hossain, 21



Md. Sajib, 21



Sadik, 21



Robiul Islam Rakib, 21



Redwan Sarif Riyad, 21



Azizul, 22



Junaid Farazi, 22



Abdullah Al Abir, 22



Ridone Hossain Sagor, 22



Amzad Hossain, 22



Parvej Bepari, 22



Sayem Hossain, 23



Parvez Mollah, 23



Tariqul Islam Rubel, 23



Al Amin, 23



Al Shahría Hossain, 23



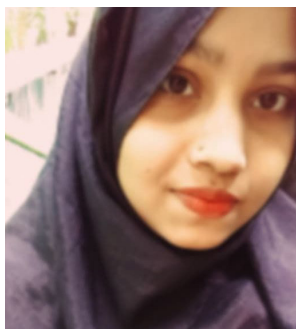
Md. Razu Ahmed, 23



Sayed Nazrul Hasan, 23



Md. Foyzal Sorkar, 23



Nasima Akhter, 24



Shah Jamal, 24



Md. Jihad Hossain, 24



Nadimul Hasan Alen, 24



Omor Faruk, 24



Ikram Hossain, 24



Mominul Islam Hridoy, 24



Md. Ramjan, 24



Md Sohel, 24



Mohammad Rakib Hossain, 24



kamrul Mia, 25



Md. Sawon Shikder, 26



Md. Robiul Islam, 26



Md. Shaharia, 26



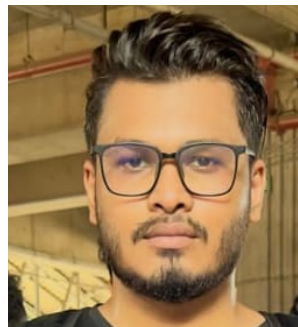
Md. Saiful Islam, 26



Roman Bepari, 26



Tahir Zaman Priyo, 26



Akram Khan Rabby, 27



Mamun Hossain, 27



Md. Jamal, 27



Md. Ridoy, 27



Md. Asif Iqbal, 28



Md. Mizanur Rahman, 28



Abdullah Al Tahir, 28



Md. Rakibul Hossain, 28



Kamal Mia, 29



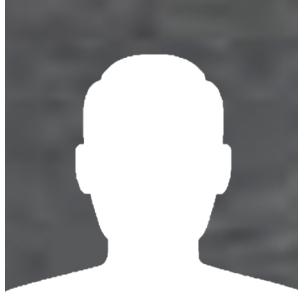
Sajjad Hossen, 29



Selim Mondol, 29



Amir Hossain, 30



Md. Asadullah, 30



Md Sujon Khan, 30



Mobarak Hosen, 31



Md Sumon Sikdar, 31



Mamun Sarder, 32



Md. Abul Hossain Mizi, 32



Md. Atiqul Islam, 32



Mosleh Uddin, 33



Bokul Mia, 33



Md. Titu Howlader, 33



Akter Hossan, 34



Md. Jakir Hossen, 34



Abu Taher Md. Turab, 34



Imran kholifa, 34



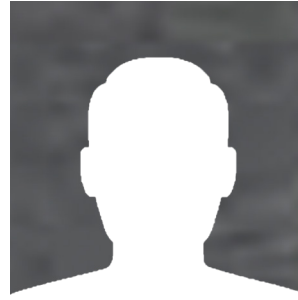
Rahat Hassen, 35



Merajul Islam, 35



Alamgir Sheikh, 36



Zakir Hossain, 36



Md. Ali, 37



Nadim Mizan, 37



Moslem Uddin Milon, 37



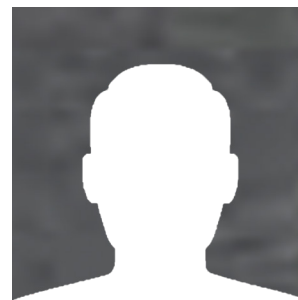
Md. Rafiqul Islam, 37



Md. Abdul Wadud, 38



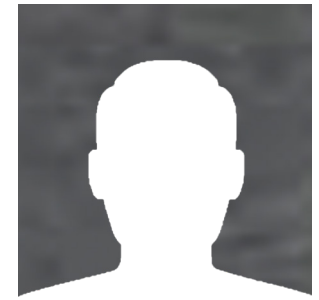
Md.Goni Mia, 39



Monirul Islam, 40



Dulal Mahmud, 40



Reazul Karim, 40



Monsur Miya, 42



Md. Amzad, 43



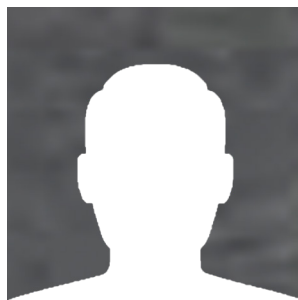
Md. Firoz Talukder, 43



Taufiqul Islam, 43



Md. Jahangir Mridha, 44



Nurul Islam, 44



Nobin Talukdar, 45



Mohammad Zan Sharif, 45



Dosumuddin, 45



Md. Abdul Gani, 45



Abu Shaed, 45



Md. Ismail, 46



Jahangir Alom, 47



Foyaz Ali, 50



Salauddin Sumon, 53



Awal Miah, 57



Maya Khan, 60

ENDNOTES

- 1** Bangladeshi media reported that on 18 July, 27 people were killed and about 1,500 injured. দেশজুড়ে বক্ষি়োভ, সংঘর্ষ-গুলি, নহিত ২৭, Prothom Alo, 19 July 2024, <https://epaper.prothomalo.com/Home/>
- 2** সংঘর্ষে তনি দনিহে নহিত ১০৩, Prothom Alo, 20 July 2024, <https://epaper.prothomalo.com/Home/ShareArticle?OrgId=20778445fee&eid=1&imageview=0&epedate=20/07/2024&sedId=1>; 'Bangladesh imposes curfew as death toll from student protests mounts', Al Jazeera, 20 July 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/20/bangladesh-imposes-shutdown-as-death-toll-from-student-protests-mounts>
- 3** This report focuses on killings of protestors by law enforcement authorities. After 5 August, reprisal killings took place of those considered to be close to the Awami League government, as well as against minority communities. These are not considered in this report.
- 4** সংঘাত এক দনিহে নহিত ১০৯ জন, Prothom Alo, 6 August 2024, <https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/iy5uhztb6r>
- 5** On basis of research by Manabdhikar Shongskriti Foundation shared with the ITJP.
- 6** Around 1,500 killed in Bangladesh protests that ousted PM Hasina, Reuters, 17 November 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/around-1500-killed-bangladesh-protests-that-ousted-pm-hasina-2024-11-17/>
- 7** Ironically, following a political movement driven by the Awami League itself.
- 8** 'Bangladesh: Election Abuses Need Independent Probe', Human Rights Watch, 2 January 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/01/02/bangladesh-election-abuses-need-independent-probe>
- 9** See for example 'Political Conflict, Extremism and Criminal Justice in Bangladesh', International Crisis Group, 11 April 2016 at <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/bangladesh/political-conflict-extremism-and-criminal-justice-bangladesh>
- 10** 'Bangladesh: End crackdown on freedom of expression online', Amnesty International, 25 June 2021 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2021/07/bangladesh-end-crackdown-on-freedom-of-expression-online/>

-
- 11** Protests against Quota Intensify, The Daily Star, 3 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/protests-against-quota-intensify-3647571>; 'Anti-quota movement intensifies, calls for class, exam boycott', The Business Standard, 5 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/anti-quota-movement-intensifies-calls-class-exam-boycott-892736>
- 12** 'Anti-quota protest swells across univs', The Daily Star, 5 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/education/news/anti-quota-protests-swell-across-univs-3649171>
- 13** Quota Protests bring city to a standstill, The Daily Star, 8 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/quota-protests-bring-city-standstill-3651286>
- 14** 'Quotas in govt jobs: Protestors won't back despite SC status quo', 11 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/quotas-govt-jobs-protesters-wont-back-down-despite-sc-status-quo-3653966>
- 15** Amnesty concerned over reported injuries to anti-quota protestors, Amnesty International, 11 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/amnesty-concerned-over-reported-injuries-anti-quota-protesters-897301>; 'Bangla Blockade: Police baton charge on protesting students in Chittagong', The Business Standard, 11 July 2024 <https://www.tbsnews.net/videos/bangla-blockade-police-baton-charge-protesting-students-chittagong-897296>
- 16** হার্ডলাইনে পুলিশি শাহবাগে ব্যারিকেডে ভাঙলো শিক্ষার্থীরা, Manob Jabin, 12 July 2024, <https://mzamin.com/news.php?news=118270#gsc.tab=0>
- 17** Quota protests heat up as govt mulls hard line, The Daily Star, 12 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/quota-protests-heat-govt-mulls-hard-line-3654791?amp>
- 18** Protesting students crossing limits: Home minister, The Business Standard, 11 July 2024 <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/protesting-students-crossing-limits-home-minister-897116>
- 19** 'PM's Quota Remark: Late-night protests rock DU, other universities', The Daily Star, 15 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/pms-quota-remark-late-night-protests-rock-du-other-universities-3657201>
- 20** 'The 'Razakar' back and forth: Who said what?' 15 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/the-razakar-back-and-forth-who-said-what-3657341>. It should be noted that student wings of the governing parties in Bangladesh have a history of acting as 'enforcers' of their party. Awami League's student wing, known as the Chaatro League has often been in violent confrontation with those seen as threats to the government.
- 21** 'BCL ready to strike back on quota protesters' audacity: Quader', The Business Standard, 15 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/bcl-ready-strike-back-quota-protesters-audacity-quader-900046>
- 22** 'BCL unleashes fury on quota protesters', 16 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/crime-justice/news/bcl-unleashes-fury-quota-protesters-3657866>

-
- 23** On the following day the Foreign Minister is reported to have said ‘When the anti-liberation war and anti-national forces are conspiring against the country, trying to mislead the youth, trying to attack the altar of the liberation war spirit, we have to be on the streets to stop them and guard the country.’ ‘Legal action needed against those shouting slogans ‘in favour’ of Razakars: Foreign minister’, The Business Standard, 16 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/legal-action-needed-against-those-shouting-slogans-favour-razakars-foreign-minister>
- 24** ‘Quota protest: BGB deployed in Dhaka, Gazipur, Ctg, Bogura, Rangpur, Rajshahi’, The Business Standard, 16 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/videos/quota-protest-bgb-deployed-dhaka-gazipur-ctg-bogura-rangpur-rajshahi-900961> The government has strengthened security by deploying the paramilitary, Border Guards Bangladesh, in five main cities, including Dhaka and Chittagong. ‘Deadly unrest over job quotas grips Bangladesh’, BBC, 17 July 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cd1rzm4kx0o>
- 25** Bullets end life of family’s brightest star, 17 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/bullets-end-life-familys-brightest-star-3658926>
- 26** ঢাকা কলেজে সামনে পড়ে থাকা মরদহে ‘ছাত্রলীগ কর্মী’ সবুজরে, Bdnews24.com, 17 July 2024, <https://bangla.bdnews24.com/bangladesh/e73b22a5647d>
- 27** <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/16/at-least-one-student-killed-during-anti-quota-protests-in-bangladesh>
- 28** ‘BNP-Jamaat behind Tuesday’s anarchy: Hasan Mahmud’, 17 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/bnp-jamaat-behind-tuesdays-anarchy-hasan-mahmud-901521>
- 29** ‘6 killed as violence spreads’, The Daily Star, 17 July 2024 <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/crime-justice/news/6-killed-violence-spreads-3658766>
- 30** ‘Quader asks party men to take position to resist “evil forces”’ The Business Standard, 17 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/politics/quader-asks-party-men-take-position-resist-evil-forces-901471>
- 31** ‘PM declares judicial probe into killings, calls for restraints until top court verdict’, The Business Standard, 17 July 2024, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/pm-addressing-nation-901536>
- 32** ‘Treasury Sanctions Perpetrators of Serious Human Rights Abuse on International Human Rights Day’, US Department of Treasury, 10 December 2021, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0526>
- 33** Special Weapons and Tactics – an elite law enforcement unit.
- 34** Quota protesters announce nationwide “complete shutdown” tomorrow, The Business Standard, 17 July 2024 <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/quota-protesters-announce-nationwide-complete-shutdown-tomorrow-901566>

-
- 35** Violence escalates across country, The Daily Star, 19 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/violence-escalates-across-country-3660671>. The BBC was reporting that it had spread to 22 districts, 'Bangladesh imposes curfew as protests continue', 20 July 2004, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cl4ymjrx10xo>
- 36** "No dialogue with bullets": Quota reform leaders refuse to sit with government, say movement will continue', <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/quota-reform-leaders-refuse-sit-government-say-movement-will-continue-902051>
- 37** Documentation by Manabdhikar Shongskriti Foundation shared with the ITJP
- 38** 'At least 29 dead in daylong mayhem', The Daily Star, 24 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/news/least-29-dead-daylong-mayhem-3660416>
- 39** NetBlocks on X, Confirmed: Live network data show #Bangladesh is now in the midst of a near-total national internet shutdown; the new measure follows earlier efforts to throttle social media and restrict mobile data services, and comes amid reports of rising deaths at student protests, 1742 UK time, 18 July 2024, <https://x.com/netblocks/status/1813977740028301318>
- 40** 'Bangladesh imposes curfew as protests continue', 19 July 2024, BBC, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cl4ymjrx10xo>
- 41** Bangladesh has erupted over jobs reserved for the children of "freedom fighters." Here's what you need to know', 21 July 2024, CNN <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/07/19/asia/bangladesh-job-quota-protests-explainer-intl-hnk/index.html>
- 42** Bangladesh imposes curfew as protests continue, 19 July 2024, BBC, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cl4ymjrx10xo>
- 43** It should be noted that the list does not include 2 deaths of people (including one law enforcement officer) who were beaten to death and a couple of people who died from a heart attack and an explosion.
- 44** Information provided by Anjuman Mufidul Islam.
- 45** "Why was my child killed?" Parents grieve a month after Bangladesh clashes', Al Jazeera, 1 Sept 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2024/9/1/why-was-my-child-killed-parents-grieve-a-month-after-bangladesh-clashes>. Bullet hits little Ahad in the eye and lodges in his head, Prothom Alo, 26 July 2024, <https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/b4ez754jvi>
- 46** Family failing to make sense of 6-year-old's death during unrest, Dhaka Tribune, 27 July 2024, <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/352793/family-failing-to-make-sense-of-6-year-old-s-death>, '6-year-old shot while in her father's arms passes away', The Daily Star, 30 July 2024, <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/lives-we-lost/news/6-year-old-shot-while-her-fathers-arms-passes-away-3665151>. '16 children killed, scores injured during deadly protests in Bangladesh', 30 July 2024, <https://www.newagebd.net/post/country/241261/16-children-killed-scores-injured-during-deadly-protests-in-bangladesh>

-
- 47** ‘Fifth-grader shot dead while shutting window amid tear gas’, Prothom Alo, 25 July 2024, <https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/1eyljrpgqe>
- 48** ‘Daughter’s death leaves family in trauma’, The New Age, 28 July 2024 <https://www.newagebd.net/print/post/246363>, ‘Let the Almighty do the justice, says father of student shot dead in Uttara’, Prothom Alo, 27 July 2024, <https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/sfyk4d6xd8>. ‘Who killed my daughter, and for what crime?’, bdnews24.com, 29 July 2024, <https://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/d698e903e818>
- 49** ‘Quota reform movement: Six women, girls shot dead’, Prothom Alo, 15 August 2024, <https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/u3qys2dpk1>
- 50** This stands for Teacher Student Centre, but is known as TSC.
- 51** This is the youth wing of the Awami League, the governing party at the time.
- 52** All videos are kept on file at ITJP.
- 53** This took place before the events in the CCTV footage described above.
- 54** Investigated by ITJP.
- 55** <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/general-comments-and-recommendations/general-comment-no-37-article-21-right-peaceful-CCPR/C/GC/3>
- 56** <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g20/232/15/pdf/g2023215.pdf>
- 57** UN General Assembly, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol 999, p171, 16 December 1966, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/agreements/unga/1966/en/17703> [accessed 16 December 2024]
- 58** https://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/38581/Right_to_protest_principles_final.pdf
- 59** General comment No 36 (2018) on the right to life, paras 13-14
- 60** United Nations publication, Sales No E.20.XIV.2. See also the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials
- 61** *ibid.*
- 62** OSCE/ODHIR “Guidelines on Freedom of Peaceful Assembly” (2nd Ed, 2010), Guidelines 2.6 and 2.7, and Explanatory Memorandum, paras 61-63.
- 63** <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/general-comments-and-recommendations/general-comment-no-37-article-21-right-peaceful-CCPR/C/GC/37>
- 64** UN General Assembly, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol 999, p171, 16 December 1966, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/agreements/unga/1966/en/17703> [accessed 16 December 2024]

65 Ibid

66 UN General Assembly, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol 999, p171, 16 December 1966, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/agreements/unga/1966/en/17703> [accessed 16 December 2024]

67 Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, adopted on 17 December 1979 by General Assembly resolution 34/169, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/codeofconduct.pdf>.

68 'Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials', adopted on 7 September 1990 by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, Cuba (27 August to 7 September 1990), Principle 9, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/basic-principles-use-force-and-firearms-law-enforcement>.

69 Id., Principles 13 and 14.

70 Police Regulations Bengal 1943, Art. 153.

71 Id.

72 Id.

73 Id.

74 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Art 17.

75 Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 2012, 67/168. Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, [A/RES/67/168](https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n12/488/68/pdf/n1248868.pdf), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n12/488/68/pdf/n1248868.pdf>.

76 Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions Recommended by Economic and Social Council resolution 1989/65 of 24 May 1989, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/executions.pdf>.

77 The Minnesota Protocol on the Investigation of Potentially Unlawful Death (2016): The Revised United Nations Manual on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Publications/MinnesotaProtocol.pdf>.

78 <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/thematic-reports/ahrc5656-protection-dead-report-special-rapporteur-extrajudicial-summary>

79 The Minnesota Protocol on the Investigation of Potentially Unlawful Death (2016): The Revised United Nations Manual on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Publications/MinnesotaProtocol.pdf>

80 UN General Assembly, International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from

Enforced Disappearance, 20 December 2006, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/agreements/unga/2006/en/57490> [accessed 16 December 2024]

81 Art 24 (3)

82 Kandel et al v Nepal (CCPR/C/126/D/2560/2015) and Nakarmi and Nakarmi v Nepal (CCPR/C/119/D/2184/2012)

THE INTERNATIONAL TRUTH AND JUSTICE PROJECT

The ITJP began its work with the collection and preservation of evidence pertaining to the final phase of Sri Lanka's civil war in 2008-9 and post-war torture and sexual violence. In 2017 the ITJP brought a series of universal jurisdiction cases in Latin America against a Sri Lankan General who was Ambassador there. In 2019 it filed a case in the USA against Gotabaya Rajapaksa who went on to become President of Sri Lanka. When he fled in 2022, the ITJP filed a criminal complaint against Gotabaya in Singapore. The ITJP has specialised in building dossiers on alleged perpetrators and identifying units involved in patterns of violations. We began working on Bangladesh in 2024.

TECH GLOBAL INSTITUTE

Tech Global Institute is an independent technology non-profit dedicated to promoting accountability and safeguarding the rights of Global South communities online. It specializes in digital information and systems research, open-source investigations, and forensic scholarships, which support its data-driven and evidence-based policy and legal advocacy efforts to strengthen human rights accountability for underserved groups worldwide.

itjpsl.com