

Age, Gender and Religion of the Victims of the Bangladesh Genocide: A Case Study

Shahid Kader Chowdhury*

Abstract

One of the most brutal genocides since the Holocaust has taken place in Bangladesh in 1971. Pakistani Military and their local collaborators killed almost 3 million people, raped 4-5 lakhs women, and displaced around 10 million people within just nine months. The article analyzes 100 genocidal events in 91 Upazilas of 40 districts and highlights some salient features of the genocide. The case study shows that the genocide of 1971 was a process of annihilating national and religious groups. Bengali women and children were not spared from the hatred and animosity of the Pakistani elite and military rulers. The article argues that, although the carnage was irrespective of age group, able-bodied young people were targeted and killed so that they cannot resist the domination of Pakistani rulers. The article highlights the horror of genocide in 1971 through the statement of 1200 eyewitnesses, relatives of victims, and victims of 100 genocidal events.

Truth will come to light; murder cannot be hid long
-Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*

Introduction

One of the main features of the Liberation War of Bangladesh 1971 is genocide and torture.¹ During the nine-month-long war, the Pakistani military force, with the help of local collaborators, killed around 3 million people that constitute the genocide. One of the prime features of genocide is that the victims have to be deliberately targeted because of their real or perceived groups, and this deliberate and systematic persecution was visible in the Bangladesh genocide. Village after village has been destroyed, burnt down, and looted just because the houses belong to Bengali. The intensity of genocide, i.e. persecuting 3 million within just nine months on such a small geographical area, is unprecedented in history. The intensity is comparable to the Holocaust during World War II. What was the intention of the genocide? Which groups were targeted, only Hindus? What about the women and children? Were they persecuted or unconstrained? The article seeks to deal with these questions using recent data.

The Hindu community was the most persecuted group in 1971, which is very similar to the phenomenon of Jews being persecuted in the Holocaust and Serbs Muslims during the Bosnian genocide. Various narratives on the role of women, from being raped and tortured to extermination, are available, although it has hardly been saying about their role on the battlefield as freedom fighters. Hundreds of women were killed. Besides targeting young people, school students, infants and even elderly people were also targeted in the genocide.

* Associate Professor, Department of History, Jagannath University, Dhaka

The Pakistani forces used the genocide as a tactic of war to suppress the Bengali calls for independence and the right to self-determination. The case study will reveal the brutality and the intensity of the genocide.

On 22 February 1971, Yahya Khan, the then president of Pakistan, outlined a strategy to suppress the mass movement in East Pakistan: 'kill three million of them and the rest will eat out of our hands.'² Under the direction of Yahya Khan, the Pakistani military forces launched 'Operation Searchlight' on the night of 25th March 1971, consequently killing 3 million, raping 4-5 lakhs women, and displacing around 10 million people within the nine months.

100 Case Studies of Genocide

The genocide of 1971 was a systematic persecution. Anthony Mascarenhas, a renowned Pakistani Journalist who was the whistle blower of this genocidal event, visited the headquarters of the 14th Division of the Pakistan Army in Comilla in April 1971, where an army officer told him: 'we have killed only men of the Hindu community; we are soldiers, not cowards to kill, women and children.'³

The questions then arise is: whether the women and children were exempted from this brutality? Did the religion played any role to protect the lives of the Muslims, majority of East Bengal, from the genocide?

To analyze the nature of victims of the genocide based on their religion, gender and age, 100 genocidal events is selected. The basis of this selection must be explained. The Genocide Museum⁴ has taken an initiative to publish extensively researched books on each genocidal event of 1971, under the editorship of Professor Muntassir Mamoon; the title of the publication is '*Genocide Index Series*'. Although the victims are still haunted by the memories of conflict and genocidal events, the history of genocide is neglected in the mainstream historiography of the liberation war. The history of 'victory' suppressed the history of genocide. But for objective historiography, detailed history of genocide is compulsory. So, highlighting the history of genocide, mass killing fields, mass graves, and preserving the memories and the history is one of our national duties. Only by these means, the history and spirit of the liberation struggle could be revealed to the next generation. As part of its multidimensional activities, the Genocide Museum initiated the project of publishing the *Genocide Index Series*. The series exclusively focuses on genocidal events.

It includes a detailed background of the genocidal event, geography, situation of the place, details of the genocidal event, the identity of the victims and the collaborators, statements of victims and eyewitnesses, attempts to preserve the sites, current situation, and an overall assessment. The research is exclusively based on primary sources. The researchers received data and information from face-to-face interviews with the victims, eyewitnesses, and family members of the victims. The information is to be re-examined. The contesting memory and narratives of an event, that occurred almost 50 years ago, has to be analyzed carefully to conclude. In other words, the Index Series is very carefully and extensively composed. It is to be mentioned that, this is one of the first attempts of such kind in the history of Bangladesh.

Until now 100 books on genocidal events have been published as part of the *Index*. It is believed that the *index series* will shed light on the history of genocide. Moreover, it will provide indispensable components for social history, as the work is based on oral testimony. Among the *Indexes*, there are genocidal events such as Chuknagar and Pahartali, where about 10,000 people were exterminated. Similarly, the series includes genocidal events of Bhatarmari Ikku farm (sugarcane farm), where only 7 people were killed. The event of Chuknagar is one of the most intense genocidal events of the Bangladesh genocide.

Our analysis suggests that the selected genocidal events took place in 91 Upazilas of 40 districts of the country. The highest number of genocides took place in Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts. It is to be mentioned there are innumerable genocidal events that happened throughout the country in 1971. But for our study, only 100 of them are selected which are extensively researched.

Serial	Name of the District	Number of Genocide	Name of the Genocide	Name of the Upazila
1.	Bagerhat	4	Damerkhand Genocide	Mongla
			Dakra Genocide	Rampal
			Sridham Lakshmikhali Genocide	Morrelganj
			Abdur Rosulpur-Bahbaria Genocide	Sadar
2.	Sylhet	3	Lalmatia, Jainapur, and Khajanchibari Bari Genocide	South Surma
			Khadimnagar Tea Garden Genocide	Sadar (2)
			Tarapur Tea Garden Genocide	
3.	Chittagong	7	Muzaffarabad Genocide	Patiya
			Pahartoli Genocide	Pahartoli
			Unosottorpara Genocide	Raozan(2)
			Jagat Mollapara Genocide	
			Bondorgram Genocide	Anowara
			Nathpara and Abdurpara Genocide	Halisohor Thana
			Chhuti Kha Dighi Genocide	Mirsorai
4.	Comilla	4	Beltoli Genocide	Laksam
			Krishnapur-Dhananjay Genocide	Sadar (3)
			Comilla Police Lines Genocide	
			Borguna Zilla Genocide	
5.	Nilphamari	3	Golahat Genocide	Syedpur
			Kaliganj Genocide	Joldhaka
			Balarkhail Genocide	Sadar
6.		2	Binodbari Mankon Genocide	Mukttagacha
			Shalihor Genocide	
7.	Khulna	7	Badamtola Genocide	Batiyaghata (2)
			Chakrakhali Genocide	
			Chuknagar Genocide	
			Rangpur Genocide	
			Bajua Genocide	Dacope
			Ajgora Genocide	Therokhada
Deyara Genocide	Dhighaliya			
8.	Barishal	3	Kathira Genocide	Agailjhara
			WAPDA Genocide	Sadar
			Gava-Norerkathi Genocide	Banaripara
9.	Kurigram	2	Hatiya Genocide	Ulipur
			Shankar Madhabpur Genocide	Rajibpur

Serial	Name of the District	Number of Genocide	Name of the Genocide	Name of the Upazila
10.	Jhalokati	1	Kathipara Genocide	Rajapur
11.	Sherpur	2	Jogotpur Genocide	Jhinaigati
			Shohagpur Genocide	Nalitabari
12.	Dinajpur	9	Bohola Genocide	Birol
			Chorarhat Genocide	Nobabganj
			Paschim Rajarampur Genocide	Birol
			Jhanjira Genocide	Sadar
			Katolmari Genocide	Nobabganj
			Jolapukurpaar Genocide	Birganj
			Doumahonoghat Genocide	Bochaganj
			Chowpukuria Majhpara Genocide	Birganj
			Majhdanga Genocide	Sadar
13.	Dhaka	2	Kalyanpur Genocide	11 no Ward DCC
			Malakartola Genocide	Sutrapur Thana
14.	Moulvibazar	1	Panchgao Genocide	Rajnagar
15.	Jhalokati	3	Beshainkhan Genocide	Sadar (3)
			Romanathpur Gabhkan Genocide	
16.	Tangail	2	Goran Satiya Genocide	Mirjapur
			Chhabisha Genocide	Vuapur
17.	Rangpur	1	Jharuar Bil Genocide	Bondorganj
18.	Chadpur	1	Boro Rail Station	Sadar
19.	Sirajganj	3	Harinagopal-Bagbati Genocide	Sadar
			Boroitola Genocide	Kajipur
			Choriya Shika Genocide	Ullapara
20.	Kishoreganj	2	Boroitola Genocide	Sadar
			Aila-Biddanagar Genocide	Karimganj
21.	Brahmanbaria	2	Bitghar Genocide	Sorail
			Dharmathirtho Genocide	Sorail
22.	Chuadanga	2	Lalbridge Genocide	Alomdanga
			Sorojganj Bazar Genocide	Sadar
23.	Bhola	1	WAPDA Colony Khyakhat Genocide	
24.	Noakhali	3	Gopalpur Genocide	Begumganj
			Sreepur- Sonapur Genocide	Sadar
			Mohammadpur- Gandhi Ashram Genocide	Chatkhil
25.	Rajshahi	9	Biraldah Genocide	Puthia
			Taherpur Genocide	Bagmara
			Yogisho and Palsha Genocide	Durgapur
			Mugrul Genocide	Mohonpur
			Bagdhani Palpara Genocide	Poba
			Haripur Genocide	Poba
			Sakoya Genocide	Mohonpur
			Talaimari, Raninagar, Ramchandrapur Genocide	Boyalia
Tokipur Genocide	Tokipur			
26.	Munsiganj	2	Kewar Genocide	
			Gosaichar Genocide	Gojaria
27.	Satkhita	1	Satkhira	
28.	Naogaon	3	Pakura Genocide	Manda
			Ataikula Genocide	Raninagar

Serial	Name of the District	Number of Genocide	Name of the Genocide	Name of the Upazila
			Dogachi Genocide	Sadar
29.	Faridpur	1	Kodalia Genocide	Nagarkanda
30.	Jessore	1	Rail Station Madrasha Genocide	Sadar
31.	Natore	4	Uttorbongo Sugar Mill Genocide	Lalpur
			Bilmaria Bazar Genocide	Lalpur
			Choukirpaar Genocide	Sadar
			Parkole Genocide	Boraigram
32.	Norail	1	Tulalampur Genocide	Sadar
33.	Narsingdi	1	Danga Genocide	Palash
34.	Feni	1	Haripur Genocide	Chhagalnaiya
35.	Pabna	1	Lakshimpur Genocide	Atgharia
36.	Gaibandha	2	Kashiyabari Genocide	Palashbari
			Boiri Harinmari	Palashbari
37.	Thakurgaon	1	Vatarmari Ekkhu Farm Genocide	Pirganj
38.	Panchagarh	1	Zilla Parishad Dak Bungalow	Sadar
39.	Borguna	1	Tailakupi Genocide	Sadar

Table 1: Genocidal Events on District and Upazila

The *Index series* show that around 50,000 civilians were killed in the above-mentioned events. Among them, the identification of 5013 people has been found and confirmed. That is, nine-tenths of the victims remained unknown. Victims of the genocidal events that happened especially in the border regions remained largely unidentified. Internal and external displacement is one of the main reasons for this unavailability. The geographical location of the selected events also suggests that Pakistani military forces carried out genocides even in some very remote areas. For example, Dakra Genocide took place in a place which is around 20 km away from Rampal Upazila Sadar of Bagerhat. Same is true for the events of Bagdhani Palpara in Rajshahi, Charerhat in Khulna, and Atgharia in Pabna. Those 100 genocidal events, containing almost all the features of the official definition of genocide, provide an overall picture of the Bangladesh genocide. Initiating on 2014, the latest *Index* has been published in June 2020. Analyzing the information provided by this six-year-long extensive research, an overall scenario about the victims could easily be found. The editor of the *Index series*, Professor Muntassir Mamoon, opines that ‘each book is composed on a specific framework while maintaining the individuality of the author. It includes a detailed background of the genocidal event, geography, and situation of the place, details of the genocidal event, the identity of the victims and the collaborators, statements of victims and eyewitnesses, attempts to preserve the sites, current situation, and an overall assessment. The whole work is research-oriented and exploratory.’⁵

Research Methodology

This article analyzes the data of 100 genocidal events that took place during the Liberation War of 1971. Among the 100 index, published by the Genocide Museum and the Centre for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, I have researched 6 of the events. Due to having personal association with the Museum and the Centre, I was involved with the publication of the rest of them.⁶ Largely, it is an attempt to reconstruct the history of genocide based on oral history.

The genocidal events used in the case study are based on primary sources, i.e. direct interviews of eyewitnesses, victims, and relatives of the victims. Every *index* contains the details of genocide, its nature, the identity of the perpetrator and collaborators, identification of victims.

Some common features of the genocide based on the 100 selected events are highlighted below.

Serial	Name of the Resercher	Name of the Book	Date of Genocide	Name of Upazilla	Name of District	Date of Publication
1	Satyajit Ray Mazumdar	Damerkhand Genocide	May	Mongla	Bagerhat	December, 2014
2	Tapan Palit	Lalmatia, Jainapur, and Khajanchibari Bari Genocide	-	South Surma	Shylet	December, 2014
3	Chowdhury Shahid Kader	Muzaffarabad Genocide	3 May	Patiya	Chittagong	December, 2014
4	Mamun Siddiqui	Beltoli Genocide		Laksam	Comilla	December, 2014
5	Ahmmmed Shorif	Kaliganj Genocide	27 May	Jaldhaka	Nilphamari	December, 2014
6	Santa Potronobish	Binodbari Genocide	2 August	Muktagacha	Mymensingh	December, 2014
7	Gaurango Nandi	Badamtola Genocide	19 May	Batiyaghata	Khulna	December, 2014
8	Ahmmmed Shorif	Golahaat Genocide	13 June	Syedpur	Nilphamari	December, 2014
9	Chowdhury Shahid Kader	Pahartoli Genocide	10 November	Pahartali	Chittagong	December, 2014
10	Himu Adhikari	Kathira Genocide	30 May	Agailjhara	Barishal	December, 2014
11	Mithun Saha	Hatia Genocide	13 November	Ulipur	Kurigram	March, 2015
12	Munira Jahan Sumi	Kathipara Genocide	17 May	Rajapur	Jhalokati	March, 2015
13	Md. Rokonzaman Khan	Jhinaigati Genocide	Sherpur	Jhinaigati	Sherpur	March, 2015
14	Chowdhury Shahid Kader	Unosottorpara Genocide	13 April	Raozan	Chittagong	March, 2015
15	Ahmmmed Shorif	Balarkhail Genocide	12 April	Sadar	Nilphamari	March, 2015
16	Azharul Azad Jewel	Bohula Genocide	19 December	Birol	Dinajpur	March, 2015
17	Ali Akbor Tabi	Kallyanpur Genocide	28 April	11 no Ward DCC	Dhaka	March, 2015
18	Tapan Palit	Panchgao Genocide	7 May	Rajnagar	Moulvibazar	March, 2015
19	Gaurango Nandi	Deyara Genocide	27 August	Dhiloliga	Khulna	March, 2015
20	Munira Jahan Sumi	Beshaikhan Genocide	20 June	Sadar	Jhalokati	March, 2015
21	Muntassir Mamoon (Edited)	Chuknagar Genocide	20 May	Dumuria	Khulna	May, 2015
22	Chowdhury	Jagat Mollapara	13 April	Raozan	Chittagong	December,

Serial	Name of the Resercher	Name of the Book	Date of Genocide	Name of Upazilla	Name of District	Date of Publication
	Shahid Kader	Genocide		Upazilla		2015
23	Vishnupad Bagchi	Dakra Genocide	21 May	Rampal	Bagerhat	December, 2015
24	Mamun Torofdar	Goran Satiyachora Genocide	3 April	Mirzapur	Tangail	December, 2015
25	Shahin Alom	Chorahaat Genocide	10 October	Nobabganj	Dinajpur	December, 2015
26	Motahar Hossen Mahbub	Krishnapur-Dhananjay Genocide	11 September	Sadar	Comilla	December, 2015
27	Satyajit Ray Mazumdar	Sridham Lakshmikhali Genocide	24 May	Morelganj	Bagerhat	December, 2015
28	Ahmmmed Shorif	Jharuyar Bil Genocide	17 April	Dodorganj	Rangur	December, 2015
29	Delwar Hossen	Boro Rail station Genocide	April	Sadar	Chadpur	December, 2015
30	Munira Jhan Sumi	Romanathpur Genocide	16 May	Sadar	Jhalokati	December, 2015
31	Azharul Azad Jewel	Paschim Rajarampur Genocide	5 Jaistho	Birol	Dinajpur	December, 2015
32	Susmita Das	Harinagopal-Bagbati Genocide	27 May	Sadar	Sirajganj	May, 2017
33	Chowdhury Shahid Kader	Bondorgram Genocide	21 May	Anowara	Chittagong	May, 2017
34	Hares Uz-Zaman	Boroitola Genocide	13 October	Sadar	Kishoreganj	May, 2017
35	Joydul Hossen	Bitghor Genocide	31 October	Sorail	Brahmanbaria	May, 2017
36	Imran Mahfuz	Lalbridge Genocide		Alomdanga	Chuadanga	May, 2017
37	Mithun Saha	Shankar Madhabpur Genocide	2 October	Rajibpur	Kurigram	May, 2017
38	Rehana Parveen	Wapda Colony – Kheyaghat Genocide			Vhola	May, 2017
39	Dibboduti Sarkar	Rangpur Genocide	15 April	Dumuria	Khulna	May, 2017
40	Md. Nur Nabi	Gopalpur Genocide	19 August	Begumganj	Noakhali	May, 2017
41	Airin Ahmed	Sohagpur Genocide	25 July	Nalitabari	Sherpur	May, 2017
42	Chowdhury Shahid Kader	Nathpara and Abdurpara Genocide	31 March	Halisohor Thana	Chittagong	September, 2017
43	Satyajit Ray Mazumdar	Bajua Genocide	12 May	Dacope	Khulna	September, 2017
44	Haimanti Sukla Kaberi	Biraldoho Genocide	12-13 April	Puthia	Rajshahi	September, 2017
45	Shohidul Islam Khondokar	Chhuti Kha Dighi Genocide	27-28 March and 6 December	Mirsharai	Chittagong	September, 2017
46	Azrin Afrin	Kewar Genocide			Munshiganj	September, 2017
47	Shankar Mallick	Jhaudanga Genocide			Satkhira	September, 2017

Serial	Name of the Resercher	Name of the Book	Date of Genocide	Name of Upazilla	Name of District	Date of Publication
48	Susmita Das	Baraitala Genocide	November	Kajipur	Sirajganj	September, 2017
49	Dibbendu Dip	Malakartola Genocide	27 March	Sutrapur Thana	Dhaka	September, 2017
50	Mukta Akter	Gosairchar Genocide	9 May	Gojaria	Munshiganj	September, 2017
51	Amol Kumar Gain	Ajgara Genocide	17 April	Terokhada	Khulna	May, 2018
52	Nazrul Islam Mondol	Taherpur Genocide	13 April	Bagmara	Rajshahi	May, 2018
53	Md. Nurul Islam	Chakrakhali Genocide	24 April	Batiaghata	Khulna	May, 2018
54	A K M Kaisaruzzaman	Yogisho and Palsha Genocide	16 May	Durgapur	Rajshahi	May, 2018
55	Atiya Akter Luna	Mugrul Genocide	18 November	Mohonpur	Rajshahi	May, 2018
56	Hosne Ara Khanom	Bagdhani Palpara Genocide	29 April and 16 November	Poba	Rajshahi	May, 2018
57	Md. Golam Sarwar	Haripur Genocide	13 November	Poba	Rajshahi	May, 2018
58	Aminur Rahman Sultan	Shalihar Genocide			Mymensingh	May, 2018
59	Mamun Siddiqui	Comilla Police Lines Genocide	25 Marcg	Comilla	Comilla	May, 2018
60	Mousumi Rahman	Pakuria Genocide	28 August	Manda	Naogaon	August, 2018
61	Masud Rana	Kodialia Shahidnagar Genocide	1 June	Nagarkanda	Faridpur	August, 2018
62	Munira Jahan Sumi	Gabkhanb Genocide	May	Sadar	Jhalokati	August, 2018
63	Syed Md. Abdullah Al Mamun Chowdhury	Sankoya Genocide	April	Mohonpur	Rajshahi	August, 2018
64	Vishnupad Bagchi	Abdul Rasulpur-Bashbaria Genocide	16 May	Sadar	Bagerhat	December, 2018
65	Azharul Azad Jewel	Jhanjira Genocide	28 October	Sadar	Dinajpur	December, 2018
66	Joydul Hossen	Dharmatirtha Genocide	16 October	Sorail	Brahmanbaria	December, 2018
67	Mamun Tofordar	Shabbisha Genocide	17 November	Bhuapur	Tangail	December, 2018
68	Shirina Parveen	Talaimari, Raminagar, Ramchandrapur Genocide	13-14 April	Boalia	Rajshahi	December, 2018
69	Rakib Siddiqui	Railway Station Madrasa Genocide	4 April	Sadar	Jessore	December, 2018
70	Md. Helal Uddin	Katolmari Genocide	6 May	Nababanj	Dinajpur	December, 2018
71	Md. Mahbubor	North Bengal	5 May	Lalpur	Natore	December,

Serial	Name of the Resercher	Name of the Book	Date of Genocide	Name of Upazilla	Name of District	Date of Publication
	Rahman	Sugar Mill Genocide				2018
72	Abdur Razzaq	Takipur Genocide	29 May	Tokopur	Rajshahi	December, 2018
73	Juhurul Kaiyum	Kashiabari Genocide	11 June	Palashbari	Gaibandha	December, 2018
74	Md. Masudur Rahman	Wapda Genocide	25 April	Sadar	Barishal	December, 2018
75	Mousumi Rahman	Ataikula Genocide	25 April	Raninagar	Naogaon	June, 2019
76	Mousumi Rahman	Dogachi Genocide	25 April	Sadar	Naogaon	June, 2019
77	Hafiz Ahmed	Bilmaria Bazar Genocide	27, 28 July	Lalpur	Natore	June, 2019
78	Suma Karmakar	Chowkirpar Genocide	19 April	Sadar	Natore	June, 2019
79	Afroza Pirveen	Tularampur Genocide	17 July	Sadar	Norail	June, 2019
80	Mousumi Rahman	Sarojganj Bazar Genocide	16 April	Sadar	Chuyadanga	June, 2019
81	Tanvir Shehin Emon	Ayla-Vidyanagar Genocide	20-21 April and 12-13 November	Karimganj	Kishoreganj	June, 2019
82	Suraiya Akter	Danga Genocide	29 November	Palash	Narsingdi	June, 2019
83	Ariful Haque	Haripur Genocide	22 June	Chhagalnaiya	Feni	June, 2019
84	Jahid Subhan	Lakshmipur Genocide	20 August	Atgoria	Pabna	June, 2019
85	A. K. M Gias Uddin Mahmud	Sreepur-Sonapur Genocide	15 June	Sadar	Noakhali	June, 2019
86	Tasnim Alom	Mohammadpur: Gandhi Ashram Genocide	4 Septemebr	Chatkhil	Noakhali	June, 2019
87	Nazmun Nahar Laiju	Khadimnagar Tea-Garden Genocide	28 March and 19 April	Sadar	Slyhet	June, 2019
88	Nazmun Nahar Laiju	Tarapur Tea-Garden Genocide	18 April and 1 May	Sadar	Slyhet	June, 2019
89	Mita Chakraborty	Jalapukurpar Genocide	17 May	Birganj	Dinajpur	June, 2019
90	Rubi Afroz	Daumohani Ghat Genocide	22 May	Bochaganj	Dinajpur	June, 2019
91	Md. Saifuddin Emran	Boiri Horinmari Genocide	17 April	Palashbari	Gaibandha	June, 2019
92	Gally Binte Shirin	Bhatarmari Sugarcane Farm Genocide	17 April	Pirganj	Thakurgaon	June, 2019
93	Md. Mizanur Rahman	Chowpukuria Majhpara Genocide	13 June	Birganj	Dinajpur	June, 2019
94	Shamima Oyadud	Majhdanga Genocide	25 June	Sadar	Dinajpur	June, 2019
95	Mahfuzur Rahman	Chariya Shika Genocide	25 April	Ullapara	Sirajganj	June, 2019
96	Shapla Khatun	Parkol Genocide	11 April	Boraigram	Natore	June, 2019

Serial	Name of the Resercher	Name of the Book	Date of Genocide	Name of Upazilla	Name of District	Date of Publication
97	MD. Nurul Huda	District Council Post Bungalow Genocide	29 April	Sadar	Panchagarh	June, 2019
98	Abul Bashar	Gava-Narerkathi Genocide	2 May	Banaripara	Barishal	June, 2019
99	Mohammad Mostaq Ahmed	Tailakupi Genocide	29, 30 May	Sadar	Borguna	June, 2019
100	M A Halim Biswas	Barguna Jail Genocide	28 May	Sadar	Comilla	June, 2019

Table 2: 100 Genocidal events used for the Case Study

Were the women exempted from genocide?

Of the 5013 identified victims of the above-mentioned events, 178 were women, which constitute 3.55% of the total. The genocidal event of Muzaffarabad, located in the Patia of Chattagram, has witnessed the highest number of women victims of genocide. The reason behind this occurrence is noticeable from the statements of the interviewees. The Pakistani military and the collaborators wanted to terrorize the entire neighborhood, which results in killing women and children. There is two more observation of this event: first, killing women after the rape and second, committing suicide by jumping fire because of the public shame of being raped.

During the genocidal events of Kodalia Shahidnagar, a village of Faridpur, 24 women were killed, which constitute 65% of the total identified victims (24 out of 37). From the two-year-old Parveen to the seventy-five years old Majjum Khatun, hardly anybody was spared from the carnage of the Pakistani military force. It was a revengeful genocidal event. Before the events, on 28 May 1971, 17 Pakistani soldiers were killed in Nagarkanda. In retaliation, the Pakistani forces attacked Kodalia, and they persecuted them systematically. Children, elderly, pregnant women none were spared from their vengeance.⁷

Name of the Genocide	Causalities Identified in the Genocide	Women among the Identified
Damerkhand Genocide	37	0
Lalmatia, Jainpur, and Khajanchi Bari Genocide	10	1
Muzaffarabad Genocide	263	86
Beltali Genocide	6	0
Kaliganj Genocide	71	6
Binodbari Mancon Genocide	104	41
Badamtala Genocide	24	5
Golahat Genocide	49	22
Pahartali Genocide	60	1
Kathira Genocide	29	2
Hatia Genocide	414	12
Kathipara Genocide	38	0
Jagatpur Genocide	30	13
Unsattarpara Genocide	51	5

Name of the Genocide	Causalities Identified in the Genocide	Women among the Identified
Balarkhail Genocide	14	0
Bohula Genocide	38	0
Kalyanpur Genocide	25	1
Panchgaon Genocide	98	5
Deyara Genocide	14	0
Besaikhan Genocide	25	0
Chuknagar Genocide	62	5
Jagatmallapara Genocide	40	14
Dakra Genocide	100	7
Goran Satiyachara Genocide	57	15
Chararhat Genocide	98	2
Krishnapur-Dhananjay Genocide	33	11
Sridham Lakshikhali Genocide	68	15
Jharuar Bill Genocide	367	63
Boro Railway Station Genocide	3	0
Ramanathpur Genocide	14	0
West Rajarampur Genocide	25	0
Harinagopal-Bagbati Genocide	39	2
Bandargram Genocide	82	3
Baraitala Genocide	171	0
Bitghar Genocide	80	0
Lalbridge Genocide	0	0
Shankar Madhabpur Genocide	53	0
Wapda Colony – Kheyaghat Genocide	71	2
Rangpur Genocide	13	0
Gopalpur Genocide	24	0
Sohagpur Genocide	121	0
Nathpara and Abdurpara Genocide	45	1
Bajua Genocide	25	0
Biraldoho Genocide	45	7
Chhuti Kha Dighi Genocide	19	0
Kewar Genocide	22	7
Jhaudanga Genocide	27	2
Baraitala Genocide	73	4
Malakartola Genocide	15	0
Gosairchar Genocide	102	10
Ajgara Genocide	19	2
Taherpur Genocide	33	1
Chakrakhali Genocide	3	0
Yogisho and Palsha Genocide	42	0
Mugrul Genocide	15	0
Bagdhani Palpara Genocide	18	0
Haripur Genocide	51	0
Shalihar Genocide	12	0
Comilla Police Lines Genocide	35	0
Pakuria Genocide	73	2

Name of the Genocide	Casualties Identified in the Genocide	Women among the Identified
Kodalia Shahidnagar Genocide	37	24
Gabkhanb Genocide	8	6
Sankoya Genocide	38	8
Abdul Rasulpur-Bashbaria Genocide	28	1
Jhanjira Genocide	22	1
Dharmatirtha Genocide	49	0
Shabbisha Genocide	42	7
Talaimari, Raninagar, Ramchandrapur	34	9
Railway Station Madrasa Genocide	16	0
Katolmari Genocide	67	37
North Bengal Sugar Mill Genocide	42	0
Takipur Genocide	7	0
Kashiabari Genocide	57	6
Wapda Genocide	12	0
Ataikula Genocide	52	0
Dogachi Genocide	53	2
Bilmaria Bazar Genocide	40	0
Chowkirpar Genocide	18	0
Tularampur Genocide	12	0
Saroganj Bazar Genocide	25	0
Ayla-Vidyanagar Genocide	8	0
Danga Genocide	43	6
Haripur Genocide	9	0
Laxmipur Genocide	28	0
Sreepur-Sonapur Genocide	40	0
Mohammadpur: Gandhi Ashram Genocide	15	0
Khadimnagar Tea-Garden Genocide	65	3
Tarapur Tea-Garden Genocide	43	1
Jalapukurpar Genocide	10	0
Daumohani Ghat Genocide	65	2
Boiri Horinmari Genocide	13	0
Bhatarmari Sugarcane Farm Genocide	7	0
Chowpukuria Majhpara Genocide	16	5
Majhdanga Genocide	6	0
Chariya Shika Genocide	150	4
Parkol Genocide	25	10
District Council Post Bungalow Genocide	44	1
Gava-Narerkathi Genocide	57	8
Tailakupi Genocide	87	0
Barguna Jail Genocide	28	6
In 100 genocides	5013	178

Table 3: Gender-Based Analysis

No women were killed in 46 cases; one or two women were killed in 13 cases. In his analysis of the Bangladesh genocide, Adam Jones writes that men were deliberately

targeted here. Our study is consistent with his analysis. Moreover, there is less evidence of the indiscriminate persecution of women in genocidal events. Although the exact number of women victims could not be estimated, it must be much higher than 10,000. This is a common feature of Bangladesh's genocides. For example, about 10,000 people were exterminated in the genocidal events of Chuknagar, but it was possible to confirm the identification of only 37 people.⁸ But why the number is only 37 out of 10,000? Some implied that the estimation is an exaggeration. But the background of the case study reveals that the victims were gathered in Chuknagar from different areas of the southern parts of the country on that specific date to cross the Bangladesh-India border. A large part of the masses were women and children. As it was not possible to identify the victims of the genocidal events that especially took place in the border areas, the total number of female victims remains undetermined. But it is clear from the data that women were also persecuted indiscriminately. In some places, the whole village was set on fire. The women were burnt to death. Sometimes they were raped; sometimes they were killed after rape.

The circumstances of 1971 put women's lives at risk. They had to face a multidimensional crisis during that period. Their vulnerable situation is revealed from the statement of an eyewitness. 'On that day, said Matiur Rahman, an eyewitness of the Jhaudanga genocide, 'I saw a child still trying to drink from its dead mother.'⁹ However, events of exempting women are also noticed in some cases. For example, in the genocidal events of Doumohani Ghat, children, elderly people and women were released, and only men were persecuted.¹⁰

Bishakha Samaddar, an eyewitness to the Tarapur Tea Garden genocide in Sylhet, said that all the men were persecuted in the genocide.¹¹ During the genocidal events of Sohagpur village, located in Sherpur, 187 men were killed within 6 hours. The village is known as the village of widows.¹²

How Considerable the Age was

Although any specific age group is not considered as a target during the nine months of brutality, the analysis of 100 events suggests that young people were one of the prime targets. During the genocidal event of Pakuria, a village in Noagaon, the Army separated young people from children and elderly ones and then persecuted the young people.¹³ Each of the 73 identified victims belongs to the age group of 20-45.

Gita Mondol, an eyewitness to the genocidal events of Jhaudanga, said that, 'they killed the young and the men more in number';¹⁴ women, children, and the elderly were exempted. Each of the 40 victims of genocidal events in Bilmaria, a bazar of Natore, belongs to the age group of 20-40.¹⁵

During the genocidal events of Haripur, a village in the Chagalnaiya Upazila of Feni, the Pakistani Army had persecuted the young people, while leaving the elders unharmed.¹⁶ All men aged 20-45 were killed in the genocidal events of Barguna District Jail.¹⁷ The Pakistani forces killed 16-year-old school students Idris Hossain, Riazuddin, Habibur Rahman Sheikh in the genocidal events of Mugrul, located in Mohanpur of Rajshahi.¹⁸ The main target of this genocide was younger ones.

The age-based analysis of 100 case studies shows that 59% of the identified victims were aged 16-40; 30% aged 41-60 years. This suggests that, during the nine-month-long Liberation War, 89% of the victims were aged 18-60 years.

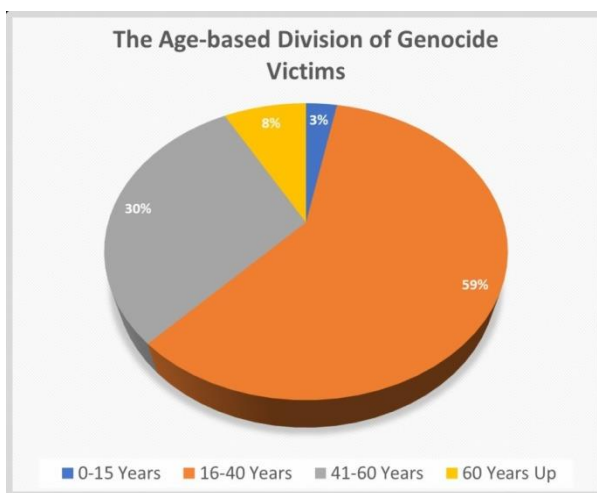


Fig. 1: Age-based distribution of Victims

It is observed that young people were mostly targeted during revengeful genocidal events. Particularly, after any attacks carried out by the freedom fighters on the army troops, or on the camp of the collaborators, young people were regarded as the possible attacker during the retaliation. It became more evident after analyzing the background and the age of victims of the genocidal events of Bitghar in Brahmanbaria.¹⁹

Killing young people is also noticed from the events of Chabbisha. In that case, several Pakistani soldiers were killed during the Chabbisha battle. So, when the Pakistani Army attacked to avenge afterward, they were suspicious of the young people and regarded all of them as probable freedom fighters. As a result, they killed as many as they could.²⁰

People aged 16-50 were mostly in vulnerable situations during 1971. They were targeted because of three possible reasons mainly; they might be the freedom fighter, or they might be the member of Awami League, or they might join in Liberation Struggle. But a different scenario is seen in the genocidal events of Shalihar, located in Mymensingh. After being attacked, everyone left the neighborhood except some elderly persons. They are Kailas Das, Mohini Kar, Gyanendra Kar, Kaminikanta Das, Tarini Kant Das, Shirda Sundori, Raicharan Das, Sachindra Das, Yogesh Chandrapandit, Chabed Ali. They were above the seventies, so they were not able to escape after the sudden attack of the Pakistani Army. But they were not spared from the brutality, all of them were exterminated.²¹

At least six of the twelve people, killed in the genocidal events of Rangpur, a village in Dumuria of Khulna, were over the sixties. They were not killed randomly, rather

they were killed systematically. The Pakistani army picked them up from their homes and killed them in cold blood.²² In the genocidal events of Azgara, located in the Terokhada of Khulna, 60-years-old Hiralal thought that the Pakistani army would not kill him at this age. 73-years-old Dhirendranath Ghoshal believed that as he was good at Urdu, he could explain to them that there is no Awami League or freedom fighter here. But none of them were spared from the brutality.²³ Even 80-years-old Sonnashi Sikder was not able to escape from this brutality.

It is seen that, on the one hand, there are 15 cases where young people were targeted as revenge; on the other hand, there is some case where peoples irrespective of ages were targeted as revenge. For example, during the genocidal events of Jhanjira, a village in Dinajpur, the Pakistani Army killed everyone from the young to the old to avenge their defeat in the Dakshin Ghat battle.²⁴

The Pakistani army executed 80-year-old Kartik Chandrapal, 75-year-old Dhiren Pal, 70-year-old Bholanath Pal, or 60-year-old Shankar Pal, Prafunna Chandra Pal, and Abani Kumar Pal in the genocidal events of Pabar Bagdhani, a village in Rajshahi. Generally, such elderly people were exempted, but in this case, the rage was on the people of the neighborhood.²⁵

The event of Nathpara, a locality in Chattagram city, shows the irrelevance of age. 8-years-old Minu, daughter of Banamali Nath, was forcefully taken from her mother's lap and killed brutally.²⁶ Similarly, the Pakistani forces killed a 2-year-old child in the Kodalia genocide,²⁷ 5-month-old Musa, and 2-year-old Tuhin in the genocidal events of Raninagar, Rajshahi. In this event, comparatively more women and children than men were targeted, as the men already had left the area. They thought that women and children would remain safe.²⁸ Children were brutally killed in the genocidal events of Biraldah.²⁹

On the other hand, there are also some incidents where children were exempted from the brutality. For example, Pankaj Kumar Gupta was a survivor of the genocidal events of Tarapur Tea Garden. When he was about to be killed, along with the men, one of the soldiers said, '*Baccha lok hai*' (he is just a kid).³⁰

However, the study shows that 03% of the victims were aged 0-15 years and 08% were above the sixties. That means, the primary target of the military was younger and able-bodied Bengali, who could join in the Mukti-Bahini, or who could resist the domination of the Pakistani military. So, the intention of suppressing the movement of independence and the resistance against domination is evident from the study. Even when child or the elderly were targeted, the action was revengeful. In some cases, children were killed instead of his/her father.

Did Religious Identity become a Nightmare for Hindus?

Being a Hindu was like a punishable crime in 1971.³¹ The Hindu community was a special target in the genocide. Being a target a large number of Hindus took shelter in India as a refugee. Those who were not able to leave the country faced brutality. They were killed, raped, and tortured. Pakistani military and the elite had a strong anti-Hindu and communal sentiment which put the lives of the Hindu community at

a greater risk. Hindu women used to wipe their vermilion from their heads, men dressed topi and lungi instead of the dhoti. The military used to verify Hindus and Muslims through Char Kalima (Four Kalima). Sometimes Hindus or Muslims were forced to unclthe to cheek their circumcision! A soldier told Anthony Mascarenhas that, ‘we arrested an old man, the bastard had a beard and began to behave like a devote Muslim. He even mentioned his name as Abdul Mannan. But we check his circumcision, and then the game was over.’

To the Pakistani elite and rulers, the Hindu community was pro-Indian. So, the attack was designed to hold the so-called unity of the two wings of Pakistan and preserve the ideology.³² This desire and ideology intensify the carnage on the Hindu community. Anthony Mascarenhas also writes, the Hindus were being hunted down. The ruling class thought they were pro-India and they were corrupting the Muslims of East Bengal.³³ To him, the genocide was a part of the exploitation of the Pakistani elite. They sought a solution to the political crisis in East Pakistan by killing Hindus systematically.

Realizing the fact that the Hindu community is one of the prime targets of the genocide, a large number of Hindus started leaving the country after the crackdown of 25th March. Many of them were killed on their way to India. Analysis of data on 100 cases shows that out of 5013 identified victims, 2114 were Hindus, i.e. 42% of the total victims.

According to the census of 1961, there were 94.5 lakhs Hindus in East Pakistan. After independence in 1974, the total population of Bangladesh was 7,14,78,000. At that time the total number of Muslims was 6,10,39,000. And the number of Hindu populations was 96 lakh 63 thousand.³⁴ That means 42.17% of the 13.5% of the total population were killed in the genocide. Therefore, it can be generally assumed that religion has played an influential role in the genocide. Our study suggests that only Hindus were targeted and killed in 23 cases (out of 100). The intensity of Hindu victims will increase if the issue of refugees is taken into consideration.

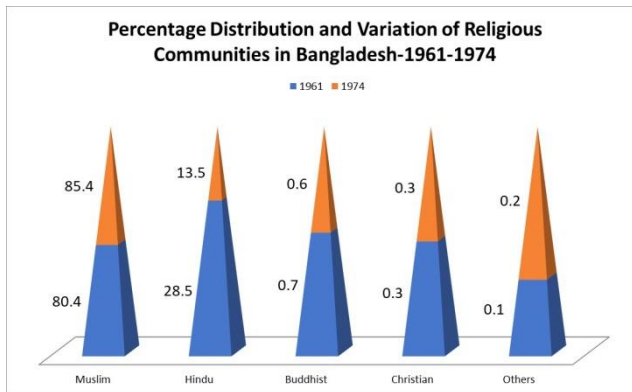


Fig. 2: Population based on religion

In 1971 around 10 million refugees took shelter in India, which amounts to one-seventh of the total population. Bangladesh Documents gave an account of the religious identity of the refugees in mid-August. It suggests that out of 75.56 lakhs refugees, 69.71 lakhs were Hindus, 5.41 lakhs were Muslims and 0.44 lakhs were others. Following this account, it can be said that 92% of the total refugees were Hindus.³⁵

If the number of Hindus in 1971 was 97 lakhs, then according to Bangladesh Documents, about 92 lakh Hindus took refuge in India. Contemporary researches suggest that about 60% of the refugees were Hindus.³⁶ It can be assumed that at least 6 million Hindus became refugees in India. In other words, the Hindu population in occupied Bangladesh was only 37 lakhs. The results of the case study show that about 42.17% of Hindus had lost their lives in the genocide. In other words, out of 36 lakh Hindus in the occupied territory, about 12 lakh Hindus had lost their lives. About one-third of the Hindus became a victim of the genocide in 1971.

According to the census of 1961, the Hindu population in East Pakistan was 18.5%. In the first census conducted after independence (in 1974), it was supposed to be 13.2 million Hindus (according to the percentage of the earlier census). But the actual number of the Hindu population stands at 96 lakh 50 thousand, which highlights a decrease in the percentage. This is one of the implications of the planned genocide towards the Hindu community. The number of Hindus in the country has reduced to 13.5%. However, Banglapedia, published by the Asiatic Society, suggests emigration as a reason for this declination. ‘...Due to the oppressive measures of the Pakistani government and especially the atrocities committed by the Pakistani army during the Liberation War in 1971, many Hindus decided to migrate to India’.³⁷ But it is evident from our study that, the main reason for this decline is the systematic persecution of Bengali Hindu.

Some incidence is to be mentioned. The main intention of the genocidal events of Katolmari, a village in Dinajpur, was the persecution of Hindus. Though both Hindu and Muslims used to live in the village, only the Hindu community was targeted and persecuted in the event.³⁸ A similar phenomenon is evident in the events of Gabkhan village of Jhalkathi. Rajakars used to roam around the village and if anyone was detected as Hindu, he/she would be persecuted.³⁹ The intention of this genocide was systematic persecution of Hindus.

Very similar intention is evident from the genocidal events of Palpara, Takipur, Shalihar, Muzaffarabad, Unsattarpara, and Jagatmallapara. In the events of Shalihar, a village in Mymensingh, Pakistani military asked the villagers if there are any Hindus. Roy Charan Das, Sachindra Das, and Shatrughra Das raised their hands and declared their religious identity. The Pakistani army immediately killed them.⁴⁰ In the genocidal events of Taherpur, a village in Rajshahi, the Hindus were selectively killed. Pakistani soldiers asked Gaura Chandra to take off his clothes and recite Kalima.⁴¹ Regarding the genocidal events of Takipur, a village in the Paba Upazila of Rajshahi, the author writes, ‘this genocide has been perpetrated for wiping out the Hindus’.⁴²

The genocidal event of Jessore Railway Station exhibits a different note of 1971. Although Pakistani military and elite rulers were justifying their terror in the name of protecting Islam, in the events of Jessore, they killed Hafez, Moulavir, and Imams of the Madrasa.⁴³ A teacher of Jamia Ezazia Darul Ulum, Maulana Habbur Rahman, and three hafez were killed. Villagers of Baraitala were innocent Muslims and supporters of the Liberation War. They were associated with the liberation struggle in various ways. The Pakistani forces, therefore, killed everyone systematically.⁴⁴ The Muazzin of the mosque was killed brutally in the genocidal events of Dogachhi, Noagaon. Even some were killed while praying.⁴⁵

The Pakistanis used to propagate that the war is a 'jihad' and they did 'jihad' for the sake of Islam. But there are such genocidal events that show that the carnages continued even on the month of Ramadan, which is generally considered as a holy month by the Muslims. Some were killed while eating during the time of Seheri.⁴⁶ The Pakistani military, who claimed themselves the 'true' and the defenders of Islam, not only systematically perpetrated innocent Muslims but also denied to bury the bodies ritually.⁴⁷ In the Biraldah of Rajshahi, the Pakistani forces killed people irrespective of religion and caste. 'Believing that Pakistanis might not kill Muslims, many had stayed at home. But the belief was shattered'.⁴⁸ Even believing that the military would not attack Madrassa, religious school, some took shelter in the Madrassa. But the Madrassas were not spared.⁴⁹

However, there is some incidence where people were exempted from the brutality due to their Muslim identity. For example, during the genocidal events of Kewar, a village in Munsiganj, soldiers asked Jitu Bhowmik whether he knew kalima. Jitu knew Kalima as he had Islamic Studies in school. So, he was able to survive by hiding his Hindu identity and providing Muslim Identity.⁵⁰

Decisions

The study provides a convincing scenario of the Bangladesh genocide. First, there was systematic Hindu persecution in the genocide. While 1 in 34 of the Muslim population, which constituted 85% of the total population, was killed in the genocide, 14 Hindus were killed. Although 18 lakhs of Muslims were killed besides 12 lakh Hindus, the study clearly shows planned Hindu persecution.

In the genocidal events of Ayla Vidyannagar, people were killed irrespective of religion and caste. Like Narendra Nath, Mia Hossain, or Abdul Jabbar were also killed. No matter what the Pakistani military propagated about Islam and religion, none were spared from their brutal hand in reality. They used religion for political purposes. They did not hesitate to unclot a man to examine whether he is Muslim or Hindu.⁵¹

The Pakistani army and their collaborators planned to exterminate a community in 1971. Besides the systematic persecution of Bengali Hindu, they persecute Bengali Muslims also. 'The old man who ignored the curfew and gave more importance to Friday prayers was shot dead on the way to the mosque'.⁵² Researcher Abul Bashar writes in his assessment of the genocidal events of Gava Nar Kathi, a locality of Barisal, 'they targeted people from the Hindu community first. Later they carried out

genocide on Bengalis.⁵³ Here comes another important point to be mentioned. The Pakistani military and elites did not consider the Muslims of East Bengal to be 'true' Muslims. They used to joke that they were Muslims of Hindu Para. In 1971 Pakistani rulers and military wanted to get rid of Hindus on the one hand and wanted to make 'true' Muslims on the other hand. So, they undertook the process of purification. As a part of this process, they also wanted to kill those who were influenced by 'Hindu culture'. Muntassir Mamoon, after analyzing Niazi's blueprint for genocide, writes that the Pakistani military planned to brainwash the Bengalis for at least a decade to eradicate their emotional attachment with West Bengal (that means 'Hindu'). The time for showing sympathy has not come yet, 'there must be more killing, more moping and more with hunting.'⁵⁴

The main target of Hitler's ultra-nationalism was a religious group. Similarly, from Bosnia to Myanmar, certain religious groups are being targeted. In 1971, Pakistani elite and military rulers used religion as an ideological weapon in perpetrating genocide. But their tactics of using religion are somewhat different. They hated Bengalis, and they used religion, especially Islam to legitimate their hatred and justify the genocide.⁵⁵

Secondly, young people were mostly killed in the genocide. Especially, those belong to the age group of 20-40 were not spared by any chance. 59% of the victims belong to the age group of 16-40, 30% belong to 41-60 years. In other words, 89% of the victims of genocide were between 16-60 years old.

M. A. Hasan has been working on the genocide of 1971 for a long time. He writes, from the initiation of the war one of the prime targets of the military was the young and healthy youth. They were considered to be possible freedom fighters. Capable young men were the target of systematic persecution.⁵⁶

R.J. Rummel mentioned in his *Death by Government* that, the Pakistani forces and their collaborators have arbitrarily abducted the youth. None of them were found after that. The corpses of young men with their hands and feet tied in the fields, on the docks, on the banks of rivers, in swamps and near army camps were a daily sight at that time.⁵⁷

The first census of independent Bangladesh reflects the effects of the persecution of young people. 1961 census shows that the number of males in the age group of 20-44 years in the country is 31.6% of the total population i.e. about 8326234 persons. According to the 1974 census, the percentage of males in this age group is 28.5 percent or 10565446.⁵⁸ This number would have increased proportionately had it not been for the effects of the genocide.

Thirdly, one of the multidimensional effects of war on the life of women is highlighted in the study. Although the study could not confirm the statistics of women killed in the genocide, but it surely be more than 10,000. However, the large number of women killed in other epidemics, including cholera, in India as refugees are beyond this calculation.

Conclusion

..... we were told to kill the Hindus and Kafirs (non-believer in God). One day in June, we cordoned a village and were ordered to kill the Kafirs in that area. We found all the village women reciting from the Holy Quran, and the men holding special congregational prayers seeking God's mercy. But they were unlucky. Our commanding officer ordered us not to waste any time." – Confession of a Pakistani Soldier⁵⁹

Every genocide has a specific target group of its own. For example, Tutsi were targeted in Rwanda, Jews in Holocaust, and Muslims in Bosnia. In the case of Bangladesh, Bengali was targeted and among them, Bengali Hindus were the most vulnerable group. The study confirms the systematic persecution of the Hindu community. But their definition of 'Hindu' was not limited to the followers of Hinduism; they treated Bengali Muslims as pro-Hindu. So, to the elite rulers and military, Bengali Muslims are also not 'true' Muslims, they are also like Hindus. This mentality is traceable in the autobiography of Pakistani rulers⁶⁰ and is consistent with our study. It is to be mentioned that, pro-Hindu and pro-India were regarded as synonyms by the Pakistani rulers. So, religion has two folded roles in the genocide. One is to create 'other', i.e. Hindu, and the other is to justify the genocide, i.e. Islam.

Besides, it is evident that, young male were specifically targeted in the genocide. It does not necessarily imply that others were exempted, rather it proves that mostly young male were vulnerable in the situation. The military doubted young male because they had a fear that, they might be the member of pro-liberation, or they might join pro-liberation force. In other words, young male were considered as possible resistors of the domination and exploitation. Spreading fears and panic was another cause. These are consistent with findings of Raunaq Jahan: 'all through the liberation war, able-bodied young men were suspected of being actual or potential freedom fighters. Thousands were arrested, tortured, and killed. Eventually, cities and towns became bereft of young males who either took refuge in India or joined the liberation war.' Especially "during the first phase" of the genocide, he writes, "young able-bodied males were the victims of indiscriminate killings."⁶¹

R.J. Rummel likewise writes that "the Pakistan army [sought] out those especially likely to join the resistance — young boys. Sweeps were conducted of young men who have never been seen again. Bodies of youths would be found in fields, floating down rivers, or near army camps. As can be imagined, this terrorized all young men and their families within reach of the army. Most between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five began to flee from one village to another and toward India. Many of those reluctant to leave their homes were forced to flee by mothers and sisters concerned for their safety."⁶²

The study also confirms that a lot of actions of the Pakistani army were revengeful. On such events, people irrespective of religion, gender, and age were targeted and killed. The intention of perpetrating genocide was clear from the way of action. They wanted to suppress the Bengali call for self-determination, and the movement of national liberation. Their anti-Bengali racist approach was closely related to the anti-

Hindu sentiment. The Bengali Muslims were considered as ‘inferior’ Muslims because they are influenced by their Hindu neighbor. So, when they wanted to suppress the Bengali uprising through genocide, the communal mentality played a great role in shaping the overall situation. On the other hand Bengalis, along with other ethnic groups of the land, gave birth to an independent state by resisting the genocide.

Works Cited

1. For Details: Muntassir Mamoon, Bangladesh 1971: The Politics of Genocide-Torture, Subarna, Dhaka, 2019
2. Robert Payne, Massacre: The Tragedy at Bangla Desh and the Phenomenon of Mass Slaughter Throughout History, Macmillan Company, New York, 1973, P. 50
3. Anthony Mascarenhas, The rape of Bangladesh, Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1971, P. 110
4. 1971: Genocide-Torture Archive and Museum is the first genocide museum of the South Asia, which is situated in Khulna. The museum is conducted its activities under a Trustee Board of 11 member. The main building of the museum is currently under construction as a project of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The museum is conducting its activities in a temporary building.
5. Muntassir Mamoon, ‘Introduction’; In: Satyajit Ray Majumder, Damerkhand Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2014
6. I have researched and written the books on Pahartali, Jagatmallapara, Unasattarpara, Muzaffarabad, Bandagram and Nathpara of this Index series. Moreover, as a secretary of the Trustee Board, I have to read most of the books of this series while editing the manuscript. As a result I had to talk with the respective researcher more than once.
7. Masud Rana, Kodalia Shahidnagar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018
8. For Details: Muntassir Mamoon, Chuknagar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2015
9. Shankar Mallik, Jhaudanga Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P.17
10. Rubi Afrooz, Doumohani Ghat Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2020, P. 53
11. Nazmun Nahar Laizu, Tarapur Tea-Garden Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2019, P. 56
12. Ayrin Ahmed, Sohagpur Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P. 14
13. Mousumi Rahman, Pakuria Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 40
14. Shankar Mallik, Ibid, P. 17

15. Hafiz Ahmed, Bilmaria Bazar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2019, P. 23
16. Ariful Haque, Haripur Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2019, P. 15
17. M A Halim Biswas, Barguna Jail Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2020, P. 59
18. Atia Akter Luna, Mugrul Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P.
19. oydul Hossein, Bitgar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P.
20. Mamun Tarafdar, Chabbisha Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 23
21. Aminur Rahman Sultan, Shalihar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 23
22. Dibyaduti Sarkar, Rangpur Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P. 33
23. Amal Kumar, Azgara Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 13
24. Azharul Azad Jewel, Jhanjira Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 96
25. Husn-e-Ara Khanam, Bagdhani Palpara Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 34
26. Chowdhury Shahid Kader, Nathpara and Abdurpara Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P. 36
27. For details: Masud Rana, Kodalia Shahidnagar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018
28. Shirina Parveen, Talaimari, Raninagar, Ramchandrapur Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 52
29. For details: Haimanti Shulka Kaberi, Biraldah Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017
30. Nazmun Nahar Laizu, Tarapur Tea-Garden Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2019, P. 58
31. M A Hasan, Ekattarer Gonohottya o Juddhaparadh, Tamrolipi, 2010, P. 23
32. Afsan Chowdhury, Hindu Jonogushtir Ekattor, UPL, Dhaka, 2020
33. Anthony Mascarenhas, Ibid, P. 111
34. Population Census, *www.pbs.gov.pk. Islamabad, Pakistan: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics*
35. Sheelendra Kumar Singh et al. Bangladesh Documents, UPL, Dhaka, 1999, P.446
36. U.S. State Department, Foreign Relations of The United States, 1969–1976, Volume XI, 'South Asia Crisis, 1971', P. 165

37. Sirajul Islam and Sajahan Miah (ed.), 'Population', Banglapedia, Asiatic Society, Dhaka, 2013 [online source: <https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Population>]
38. Md. Helal Uddin, Katolmari Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 84
39. Munira Jahan Sumi, Gabkhan Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 13
40. Aminur Rahman Sultan, Ibid, P. 22
41. Nazrul Islam Mandal, Taherpur Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 14
42. Abdur Razzak, Takipur Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 77
43. Rakib Siddiqui, Rail Station Madrasa Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 101
44. susmita Das, Baraitala Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P.31
45. Mausumi Rahman, Dougachi Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2019, P. 78
46. Azharul Azad Jewel, Jhanjira Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 95
47. Ariful Haque, Haripur Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2018, P. 35
48. Haimanti Shulka Kaberi, Biraldah Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P. 36
49. Ibid.
50. Azreen Afrin, Kewar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2017, P. 19
51. Tanvri Salehin Emon, Ayla Vidyanagar Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2019, P. 41
52. Statesman, 13 May 1971
53. Abul Bashir Emon, Gava-Norerkathi Genocide, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2020, P. 100
54. Muntassir Mamoon, Bangladesh 1971: The Politics of Genocide-Torture, Subarna, Dhaka, 2019, P. 18.
55. Sohul Ahmed, Muktijuddhe Dhormer Opobabohar, Center for Genocide-Torture and Liberation War Studies, Khulna, 2019, P. 15
56. M. A. Hasan, Juddhaporadh Gonohotta O Bicharer Onneshon, War Crimes Facts Finding Committee, Genocide Archive, and Human Studies Center, Dhaka, 2001, P. 6
57. M. A. Hasan, 71-Er Gonohotta O Juddhaporadh, Tamralipi, Dhaka, 2010, P. 22
58. Bangladesh Census 1974, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), Dhaka, 1974

59. Bangladesh Genocide Archive: <http://www.genocidebangladesh.org/>
60. For details: Muntassir Mamoon, *Pakistani Generalder Mon: Bangali, Bangladesh, Muktijuddho* (5th Ed), Somoy, Dhaka 2018, Fifth edition.
61. Rounaq Jahan, "Genocide in Bangladesh", in Samuel Totten and William S. Parsons et al., *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts* (2nd ed.). Routledge, P. 298
62. R.J. Rummel, *Death by Government: Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1900*, Routledge, 1997, P. 329