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## The Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide

### [Abstract

The Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide, carried out on 20 August 1971 in Atgharia upazila of Pabna district, represents one of the many localized atrocities during the Bangladesh Liberation War. This study investigates the massacre in which 28 out of 29 villagers—predominantly Hindus and supporters of the Awami League—were executed by the Pakistani army, with the participation of local collaborators including Razakars, Al-Badr, and Al-Shams. The attack followed a clash between freedom fighters and Pakistani forces along the Nagarbari highway, after which the army systematically rounded up villagers, bound them, and executed them in front of the Kali temple. Eyewitness testimonies document not only mass killings but also widespread sexual violence against women, forced displacement, and social trauma.

Using field interviews conducted in June 2017, this research reconstructs the events, identifies the victims, and contextualizes the atrocity within the broader campaign of genocide perpetrated by the Pakistani military. The Lakshmipur incident exemplifies the targeted persecution of religious and political groups, revealing the intersection of communal identity and political allegiance in the violence of 1971. By documenting survivor testimonies and corroborating local narratives, the study contributes to the historiography of Bangladesh's Liberation War, emphasizing the human cost of military aggression and the importance for preserving memory at the micro-level of individual villages.

*Keywords: Liberation War, mass killings, sexual violence, testimony, local collaborators]*

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## Introduction

The most significant chapter in the process of the formation of Bangladesh is the Liberation War. However, that Liberation War was not confined only to the nine months of 1971; its intellectual and cultural components had been taking shape over a long period of time through diverse movements. This process became most clearly visible in the Language Movement of 1952. When the Government of Pakistan declared only Urdu as the state language of Pakistan, excluding Bangla, the movement that the Bengalis launched was later identified by researchers as the primary seed of a secular Bangladesh. In continuity with the blood-stained history of the Language Movement, the land of Bengal gradually moved step by step toward assuming its own distinct name. Along the path of this movement, one historic moment after another began to take shape on the streets. The Six-Point Demand, the charter of Bengali liberation; the Mass Uprising of 1969; the landslide victory of the Awami League in the 1970 election; and the Non-Cooperation Movement of March—each of these stands as a milestone in the history of Bangladesh.

The election of 1970 was essentially an expression of the Six-Point Demand of 1966. Therefore, through the victory of the Awami League in that election, it was fundamentally the Six Points that triumphed. However, the Pakistani government in state power could not accept the absolute victory of the Awami League. A tug-of-war and procrastination over the transfer of power began, the ultimate outcome of which turned into an event like genocide—something the Bengalis could hardly have imagined. When the forces in control of Pakistan’s state power realized that the people were articulating their distinct aspirations through democratic means, conspiracies began. In this conspiracy, influential politicians of West Pakistan joined hands with military officials; and in its implementation, another group from East Pakistan also became involved—those who were later identified as “collaborators.”

At the beginning of March, the postponement of the National Assembly session ignited a new spark. On 2 March, the red-and-green flag bearing the map of Bangladesh was hoisted at Dhaka

University. In continuation of this, on 7 March, the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman delivered his historic speech to the nation at the then Racecourse Maidan, now Suhrawardy Udyan. This speech, on the one hand was a powerful expression of the prevailing situation; on the other hand it provided directives on how to confront that situation.

The military and civilian authorities of Pakistan, according to a pre-planned design, finalized their decision and blueprint to attack the people of Bengal. On the night of 25 March, they launched a ferocious assault like savage hyenas upon unarmed, innocent, sleeping Bengalis in Dhaka and various other places across Bangladesh. Thus began Bengal's struggle for liberation against West Pakistan. It marked the beginning of mass killings, torture, and atrocities committed by the Pakistani invading forces against the Bengali population, including civilians, children, and women. There is no district, upazila, or union in Bangladesh where the invading Pakistani forces did not leave the scars of their brutal claws.

During the nine months of the War of Independence, the Pakistani invading forces and their local collaborators—Razakars, Al-Badr, Al-Shams, and the Peace Committee—established a reign of destruction and murder throughout Bangladesh. In every corner of the country, they carried out Genocide. Alongside burning various regions, they engaged in widespread looting. Like the rest of the country, the Pakistani invading forces did not spare the remote village of Lakshmipur in Atgharia upazila of Pabna district. There, they rounded up ordinary Hindu villagers, lined them up beside the Kali temple, and opened brush fire on them. In this Genocide at Lakshmipur, all but one person was killed.

Approximately 28 people were victims of the Genocide in Lakshmipur village. For this reason, in my research I have chosen the Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide—the only Genocide spot in Atgharia upazila of Pabna district. The interview method was used in this research. Information was collected through field investigation in Lakshmipur and its neighbouring villages. The data were gathered in June 2017. It should be mentioned here that after I

completed my fieldwork, Zahid Subhan authored a book on the Lakshmiপুর Kalibari Genocide, which was published by the Genocide Museum. Therefore, there is a strong possibility of similarities in the narrative of events. However, this research is independent and separate.

### Geographical Location

Lakshmiপুর is a union under Atgharia upazila, which is located in the central part of Pabna district. Pabna district is situated at the confluence of the Jamuna and Padma rivers and is bordered by the districts of Natore, Sirajganj, Kushtia, Rajbari, and Manikganj. Pabna has a total of nine upazilas. Among them, Atgharia upazila is located at the center of the district. To the west of Atgharia lie Ishwardi upazila and Natore district; to the north are Chatmohar and Faridpur upazilas; to the east is Sathia upazila; and to the south is Pabna Sadar upazila. The total area of Atgharia upazila in Pabna district is 186.15 square kilometers. There are five unions in Atgharia upazila.



Map of Atgharia Upazila

Source: Banglapedia

The Genocide site is located near the Lakshmipur Union Parishad. It is situated approximately half a kilometer east of Lakshmipur Bazar, beside the Ichamati River. The Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide site is located at 24°02'45.9" north latitude and 89°24'02.8" east longitude.

The Ichamati River flows along the southern side of Lakshmipur village. Since Pabna district consists largely of floodplains formed by rivers, there are numerous canals and wetlands. For this reason, Lakshmipur union falls within a low-lying area. To its north lies Bill Chatra, which is one of the primary sources of livelihood for the people of this region. During the dry season, the inhabitants of Lakshmipur and surrounding areas engage in agricultural activities there, while in the rainy season they depend on fish farming and fishing for their livelihood. At present, with the advancement of technology, improved communication, expansion of education, and an increase in marketplaces, significant changes have occurred in their traditional means of livelihood.

### **The Condition of the Area in 1971**

As nearly 45 years have passed, the differences between present-day Lakshmipur and Lakshmipur of 1971 are as clear as daylight. For example, in 1971 there were no paved roads or organized educational facilities like those of today. The land was lower than it is at present, and during the monsoon season most of the area would go under water each year. Essentially, the Lakshmipur region was low-lying and primarily agricultural land.

It can be said that during the Liberation War this region was remote. Lakshmipur is located about 2 kilometers away from the Nagarbari–Pabna main road. For this reason, Pakistani forces traveling from Nagarbari toward Pabna could easily make incursions into the area. As a result, very few civilians fleeing from urban centers took shelter in this region. On the other hand, because of its proximity to the main road, the Mukti Bahini could take positions and launch attacks on the Pakistanis relatively safely.

The only river near Lakshmipur is the Ichamati, which still exists today, although its current and flow area have narrowed over time.

The social structure of the region was based on the joint family system. Even today, many joint families can still be found. At present, political parties—and especially the party in power—provide leadership in almost all matters in this area.

In 1971, the Hindu population in this area outnumbered the Muslim population. For this reason, the Pakistani forces and the Razakars paid particular attention to the locality. The Hindu families were influential, although some ordinary Hindu families also lived there. Among the Hindu inhabitants were members of the Das, Kar, Nath, Dutta, Pal, Halдар, Bhadra, and Shil communities. At that time, only a small number of Muslims resided in Lakshmipur.



*Laxmipur Kalibari Genocide spot*

When the Genocide took place in Lakshmipur, everyone was busy with their respective daily activities. The site of the Genocide was a tin-roofed temple structure situated on a mound. The main building of the temple, which was elongated from north to south, stood on the northern side, while to the south there was an open courtyard and a small tin-roofed room. In front of the temple, 29 people were lined up and shot dead.

## **Present Condition of the Site**

At present, the Lakshmipur Genocide site is located within a bamboo grove, approximately 200–300 meters away from the bank of the historic Ichamati River of Pabna, a silent witness to time. In 1971, there was a temple at the exact location where the Genocide occurred. However, there is no temple there now. The temple has been relocated slightly to the north of its original position. The former temple site has been purchased by an influential individual and is currently being used as private property.

According to the claims of the local Hindu community, as a result of the Genocide during the Liberation War, nearly all Hindu families were forced to leave the village. Upon returning later, instead of rebuilding the temple at the very spot where they had lost their relatives in that accursed place, they constructed a new temple nearby.

## **Surrounding Environment**

In 1971, Lakshmipur was a secluded village under Atgharia upazila. At present, it has been established as a union named Lakshmipur, centered on the village itself. Because of the presence of canals, wetlands, and the nearby Ichamati River, most people in this area used boats as their primary mode of transportation. During the dry season, in place of boats, people traveled on foot as well as by bullock carts and buffalo carts.

Each year, during a specific period between July and September, the canals and wetlands would remain filled with water; for the rest of the year, they would stay dry. Abundant fish were available during the monsoon season, while agricultural activities were carried out during other times of the year.

## **Background of the Genocide**

In 1971, the primary target of the Pakistani army's planned blueprint was the people of this land called Bangladesh. On the one hand, they intended to kill a section of the population; on the other

hand, they aimed at the systematic cultural and intellectual suppression of the entire nation.

This plan encompassed everyone—from ordinary day labourers to people of all classes and professions in the country. Alongside this, as in other genocides around the world, women and children were also subjected to planned attacks. Intellectuals, in particular, were among the principal targets. Various events of 1971, especially the tragic Genocide of 14 December, bear testimony to this. In planning and executing the genocide, the Pakistani army was actively assisted by the Razakars, Peace Committee, Al-Badr, Al-Shams forces, and others.

However, in the case of Pabna, a different situation also emerged. A section of the East Bengal Communist Party—which was active in Pabna—played a negative role during the Liberation War, and in some cases, there is evidence of their siding with the Pakistani forces; although in other parts of the country the role of the Communist Party was different. In popular testimony, they were labeled as “Naxals,” but in reality, there was no presence of Indian Naxalite rebels there. In popular discourse, active armed Maoists are commonly referred to as “Naxals.” Therefore, when the term Naxal/Maoist appears in the narrative, it actually refers to that particular section of the East Bengal Communist Party.

The Bangladesh Movement, that is, the Liberation War, was not merely a nine-month event of 1971; rather, it had a vast historical background. Numerous historical developments had been shaping its outline. Those who opposed the Bangladesh Movement were also making their presence known in various ways. However, the violent attitude of those who supported the Pakistani state and opposed the Bangladesh Movement became particularly evident after the election of 1970—not only in Pabna but throughout the entire country.

Only four days after being elected, Ahmed Rafiq, MPA and General Secretary of the Pabna Sadar Subdivision Awami League, was brutally killed in front of his residence at 7:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 22 December 1970. Through leaflets circulated in the name of the East Bengal Communist Party and wall writings across the town, the

Maoists of Pabna claimed responsibility for the murder of Ahmed Rafiq, MPA. Citing this incident, the situation between the Awami League and the Maoists became extremely complex and escalated into armed conflict. Several members from both sides were killed and injured. A grave situation emerged in Pabna. On the one hand, there was a nationwide mass uprising; on the other hand, local conflicts combined to render the government administration in Pabna nearly ineffective.

Amid widespread clashes and violence between the two sides, on Wednesday, 24 March 1971, at 8:00 p.m., Maoists attacked the house of Abdus Sattar Lalu in Pailanpur. After attacking Lalu's house, they moved to the house of Masud Khandakar. Upon receiving this news, Bakul, Selim, Moni, Shafi, Shekhar, and others from Pabna proceeded through the area in front of the Alia Madrasa to Masud Khandakar's house, where intense fighting broke out. At around 10:00 p.m., during the clash, while attempting to scale the wall of the house, Abdus Shukur of Krishnapur, an Awami League supporter, was seriously wounded by a bullet from a .22 bore rifle. He was later taken to the hospital, where the doctor declared him dead.

Subsequently, at 2:30 a.m. on the night of 25 March—that is, in the early hours of 26 March—a unit of the Pakistani army arrived and took position in the BSCIC area of Pabna.

Although some Genocides occurred in Pabna during this initial phase, the Pakistani invading forces retreated in the face of resistance in Pabna. However, in April, they re-entered Pabna through the Nagarbari ghat, heavily equipped with weapons and ammunition. On 10 April 1971, when the Pakistani army captured Pabna district for the second time, they confined their attacks within Pabna town until 12 April. On 13 April, they first entered the villages and carried out Genocides. From that point onward, a planned genocide began in Pabna, which continued until 16 December 1971, when Bangladesh achieved independence.

Advancing through the route of Nagarbari ghat into Pabna, the Pakistani army carried out widespread destruction along the way. After crossing the Jamuna River, the 57 Brigade engaged in

frenzied activities of mass killing against Bengalis. The vast areas on both sides of their route were burned and reduced to desolate ruins. Women, men, children, youth, and the elderly—none were spared from their brutality.

### **Description of the Genocide**

On 20 August 1971, the Pakistani army carried out a brutal and barbaric Genocide at the Lakshmipur Kalibari in Atgharia police station. This occurred as a consequence of a clash between the freedom fighters and the Pakistani forces on 14 August along the Nagarbari highway.

On that day, about twelve miles from Pabna town, the freedom fighters launched an ambush on the Pabna–Nagarbari highway. During the clash with the army, two freedom fighters were captured. Later, they were subjected to brutal torture, and under such inhumane treatment the Pakistani forces extracted information about the positions of the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces).

At approximately 10:00 a.m., the army launched an attack on Lakshmipur. Hearing rumors that the Mukti Bahini had arrived and fearing for their safety, the villagers began fleeing in all directions. The Pakistani forces went around the entire village, searching house to house for Hindus and supporters of the Awami League. Those whom they found were tied with their hands bound behind their backs and taken to the front of the village’s Kali temple.

In total, 29 people were captured and brought before the idol of the Kali temple. Eyewitness Buddhishwar Biswas recalls: “The military came to our house and asked my father whether he was Hindu or Muslim, and whom he had voted for. My father was a simple man, so he said he had voted for the ‘Boat.’ Then the soldiers took him and brought him to the temple. From all the surrounding Hindu houses, they tied people with their hands bound behind their backs and brought them to the Kali temple.” Abu Taher recounted the same in his remembrance. He said, “My father and I hid in the bushes. From there we could see the soldiers going house to house, capturing Hindus and those who supported the Awami League and taking them away.” Seventy-year-old Anowara said, “The military

slapped my husband hard. After being slapped, he fell onto the paddy storage beside him. Then they asked whether he was Hindu. When he said he was Muslim, they let him go. From the Hindu houses, they captured everyone and brought them to the Kali temple.”

When they were taken to the temple, everyone realized what was about to happen to them. Eyewitness Abu Taher said, “Their crying and screams filled the temple with wailing. Many folded their hands and begged for their lives, but the soldiers did not listen to them.”

The army lined them up in a row. Twenty-nine people were made to stand together and were brush-fired. Of the 29, 28 were martyred there. Only one person miraculously survived.

The son of that fortunate survivor, Buddhiswar, described the incident: “When the brush fire started, my father lay beside the idol pretending to be dead. The bullets did not hit him. There was another man beside him named Nizam. He also was not hit at first. Thinking the soldiers had left, Nizam raised his head. When the soldiers saw that, they fired again. The bullet entered through Nizam’s chest and exited through his back, then struck my father’s leg, passed through it, and pierced the tin fence.”

He survived for another thirteen years, bearing witness to the genocide. After the Genocide in Lakshmipur, the Pakistani forces attacked the neighboring village of Sripur. By then, news of the killings in Lakshmipur had reached the villagers of Sripur through those who had fled. Out of fear and panic, all the men and women of the village had already fled. The Pakistani invading forces found only one person there—his name was M. A. Gafur.<sup>12</sup> He was a renowned folk singer of Radio Pakistan at the time. The Pakistani forces brutally killed him in front of his own house.

### **Violence Against Women**

On that day, Pakistani soldiers entered several houses and carried out widespread violence against women, including rape. Eyewitnesses stated that when they captured the martyred Naresh Chandra Das, the army assaulted his wife, Urmila Rani. Five or six

soldiers together brutally tortured her, causing her to lose consciousness. After the invading forces left the scene, local people rescued Urmila Rani Das and took her to the hospital.

Additionally, on that same day, the daughters of the martyred Kanailal Das and Sadananda Kar were also assaulted. Several other incidents of rape occurred. Some women were raped inside their homes, some in betel leaf gardens, and some in bamboo groves. The Razakar forces were most heavily involved in these acts of rape.

Many of the women who were victims of rape, along with their families, were unable to endure the social discrimination and hardships they faced afterward. As a result, they left the country and migrated to India.

### **Identification of the Perpetrators**

According to eyewitness accounts, the number of martyrs of the Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide is known, because except for one person, all of them were residents of Lakshmipur village. Based on various interviews and other sources of information, a list of the names of the martyrs who were killed in the Genocide has been compiled.

### **Eyewitness Accounts**

#### **Buddhiswar Biswas (80)**

Father: Bhabanicharan Shil, Occupation: Farming, Village: Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna Interview Location: Lakshmipur Kalibari, Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna.

In the month of Bhadra, one morning, the Pakistani forces arrived in Lakshmipur village by boat. At that time, I was cleaning water hyacinths in the pond. From there, Baroipara could be seen, and all around there was floodwater from the monsoon. The soldiers, with guns on their shoulders, were moving from one bank to another. Keramat Daroga was there; he told me to go home. Following his advice, I returned home.

After reaching home, everyone told me to flee quickly because the military were coming. At that time, I used to work as a barber. Taking my shaving kit, I left through the side of the Biswas family's house. Outside their house, near the cooking place, I stumbled while tied to a mango tree branch, then freed myself and passed through the oil-pressers' (those who produce and sell oil) house. Crossing a pond and a bamboo grove, I kept running. Meanwhile, the son of Siraj Doctor ferried me across the marshland on a small raft. I then stood upright in a paddy field.

Meanwhile, my father, thinking of his son's wife and daughters, returned home. Kudrat Biswas had told him, "You go home; the military won't harm an old man."

The soldiers came to our house and asked my father whether he was Hindu or Muslim and whom he had voted for. My father was a simple man, so he said he had voted for the Boat. The soldiers then took him to the temple. From all the nearby Hindu houses, they tied people with their hands bound behind their backs and brought them to the Kali temple. My father tried hard to hide.

When the brush fire started, my father lay beside the idol pretending to be dead. The bullets did not hit him. There was another person beside him named Nizam; he too was not hit at first. Thinking the soldiers had left, Nizam raised his head. Seeing this, the soldiers fired again. The bullet entered through Nizam's chest and exited through his back, then struck my father's leg, passed through it, and pierced the tin fence.

After I returned home, everyone told me that my father had not died. I crossed the water and went to the temple. There I saw streams of blood flowing inside the temple. My father said to me, "See whether my leg is still attached; it feels like it is gone." His leg had become completely numb. With the help of a few others, I carried him home on a temple door panel. A local doctor from the neighboring house treated him. My father suffered greatly in pain. His leg never fully recovered. In that condition, he lived for thirteen more years.

### **Abu Taher (63)**

Occupation: Farming, Village: Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna,  
Interview Location: Lakshmipur Kalibari, Lakshmipur, Atgharia,  
Pabna.

It was the rainy season, the month of Bhadra. The day was Wednesday. After finishing breakfast, I was preparing to go to the market with my father. Suddenly, we heard that the military were coming. When I stepped outside, I saw many soldiers on the road with guns on their shoulders. Hearing of their arrival, everyone began to flee. My father and I hid in the bushes.

From there, we saw the soldiers going house to house, capturing Hindus and Awami League supporters. They tied everyone's hands behind their backs and took them away. The crying was unbearable. I sat quietly with my father, terrified. They took everyone to the temple and lined them up in front of it. Their cries and screams filled the temple with wailing. Many folded their hands and begged for their lives, but the soldiers did not listen. They lined them up and shot them. It was such a horrifying scene that it cannot be described in words. They shot 28 people; one survived. In front of the temple, there was blood everywhere.

After this, all the Hindus of the village fled. There was no one to cremate the bodies of the deceased. We villagers gathered together and dug a large pit beside the temple, burying them all in one place.

### **Subala (57)**

Village: Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna, Interview Location:  
Lakshmipur Kalibari, Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna.

20 August 1971. Suddenly, at around 10 a.m., the soldiers arrived by boat. My mother had finished cooking and was serving us breakfast. At that moment, the soldiers entered our house. They captured my father and uncle. They asked whether they were Hindu or Muslim and whom they had voted for. While asking these questions, they tied them up and took them to the Kali temple. The temple could be seen from our house.

Earlier, rumors had spread that the military were coming to form a Peace Committee. Hearing this, my mother and aunts remained silent. Soon after, gunfire was heard from the Kali temple. Then no one had any doubt about what was happening there.

After the soldiers left, we went and saw that they had killed both my father and uncle. My mother fainted upon seeing my father's blood-soaked body. Neighbors carried her back home. So many people had been killed together, and there was no one to perform their last rites. The Muslim villagers dug a long pit in the garden beside the temple and buried the bodies one after another. That pit still exists today. Even if it is filled with soil, it sinks again and forms a hollow.

**Anoara (70)**

Village: Lakshmipur, Atgharia,  
Pabna, Interview Location:  
Lakshmipur Kalibari, Lakshmipur,  
Atgharia, Pabna.



During the month of Bhadra, with floodwaters all around, I was sitting near the stove cooking Aush paddy. Meanwhile, soldiers had already filled the area in groups. Upon hearing of their arrival, and some were moving chairs, some were preparing tea. The soldiers ran to all the Hindu houses. People were busy gathering water or fishing.

My husband stood near my uncle's father-in-law's house. The soldiers slapped him heavily, causing him to fall on a sack beside him. They asked whether he was Hindu. If one said Muslim, they would release them. From the Hindu houses, they captured everyone and took them to the Kali temple, which was an eight-roofed temple at that time.

They lined up 26 Hindus and 2 Muslims, tied them with ropes, and opened fire. Two survived while the rest were killed. After the

soldiers left by boat, the villagers saw the temple stained with blood. The Muslim villagers dug a pit nearby and buried the dead.

### **Sadhana (67)**

Village: Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna, Interview Location: Lakshmipur Kalibari, Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna.

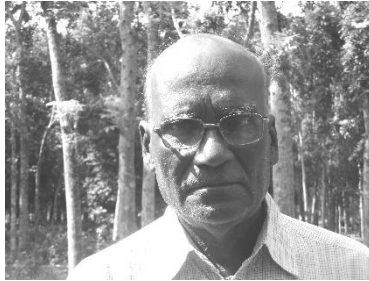


During Bhadra, on a Wednesday, floodwaters surrounded the area. Around 10 a.m., after finishing cooking, I was at home as a newlywed. My husband had gone fishing with a net. The soldiers arrived suddenly. My mother-in-law guided us along the side of the

house to escape. My uncle-in-law, an elderly and sick man named Haran Gosai, could not flee. The soldiers captured him, tied him with others, and shot them at the Kali temple. Later, we fled to India.

### **Shree Shree Gopal Das (65)**

Village: Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna, Interview Location: Lakshmipur Kalibari, Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna.



On 20 August 1971, Wednesday, I was 20 years old and studying in Pabna. That morning I had gone to Pabna city and returned home via

the only paved road, the Nagarbari-Pabna highway. As I came down Gungaram Pur, I heard that many people had been killed in our village. I hurried to the temple and saw many bodies. The villagers dug a long pit next to a small temple house and buried all the dead. I recognized all 31 victims. Bhabanicharan Shil (50) survived because a bullet struck his leg.

## Preservation of Memory

The Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide remains one of the most significant genocides of the Liberation War. Over time, the local people had almost forgotten the scale of the atrocity—perhaps even out of grief or unwillingness to revisit the trauma. Only some of the younger generations have heard about it, while many eyewitnesses still shudder at the memory of that day.

On the 50th anniversary of Bangladesh's independence, the Department of Mass Graves has initiated the construction of a memorial at the site to commemorate the victims and preserve the memory of this horrific event. The Department of Mass Graves initiated the construction of a memorial at the Lakshmipur Genocide site. During excavation, the remains of several victims were recovered. On 10 December 2021, these remains were formally handed over to Dr. Muntassir Mamoon in a gathering at the Lakshmipur mass grave. The handover was facilitated by the Atgharia Upazila administration, with Dr. Mamun serving as the chief guest.

## Evaluation

When compared with other genocide and atrocity events across Bangladesh, the pattern and nature of the Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide are consistent with national trends. Evidence from eyewitnesses and historical documentation indicates that this Genocide was retaliatory in nature. The attack was a direct consequence of clashes between the Pakistani army and local Mukti Bahini forces.

Significant observations include:

**Targeted Groups:** Hindu villagers and supporters of the Awami League were the primary targets.

**Methodology:** Victims were lined up and executed through brush-fire shootings, a systematic method of mass killing.

**Female Victimization:** Eyewitness accounts confirm widespread sexual violence. Pakistani forces, assisted by Razakar collaborators, actively participated in the assault on women. Many survivors fled to India, with some families permanently leaving the country.

**Socioeconomic Profile:** Most victims belonged to lower economic classes. The majority were aged **20–40**, though teachers were also among the victims.

The ethos of the Bangladesh Liberation War was rooted in the establishment of a democratic, secular, and exploitation-free society. Preserving the memory of genocides and atrocities, such as the Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide, is essential to uphold our national history and honor the sacrifices of the martyrs.

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Interviews: Kala Master (65), Lakshmipur

Interviews: Buddhishwar Biswas (75), Lakshmipur

Interviews: Kala Master (65), Lakshmipur

### Appendix: 1

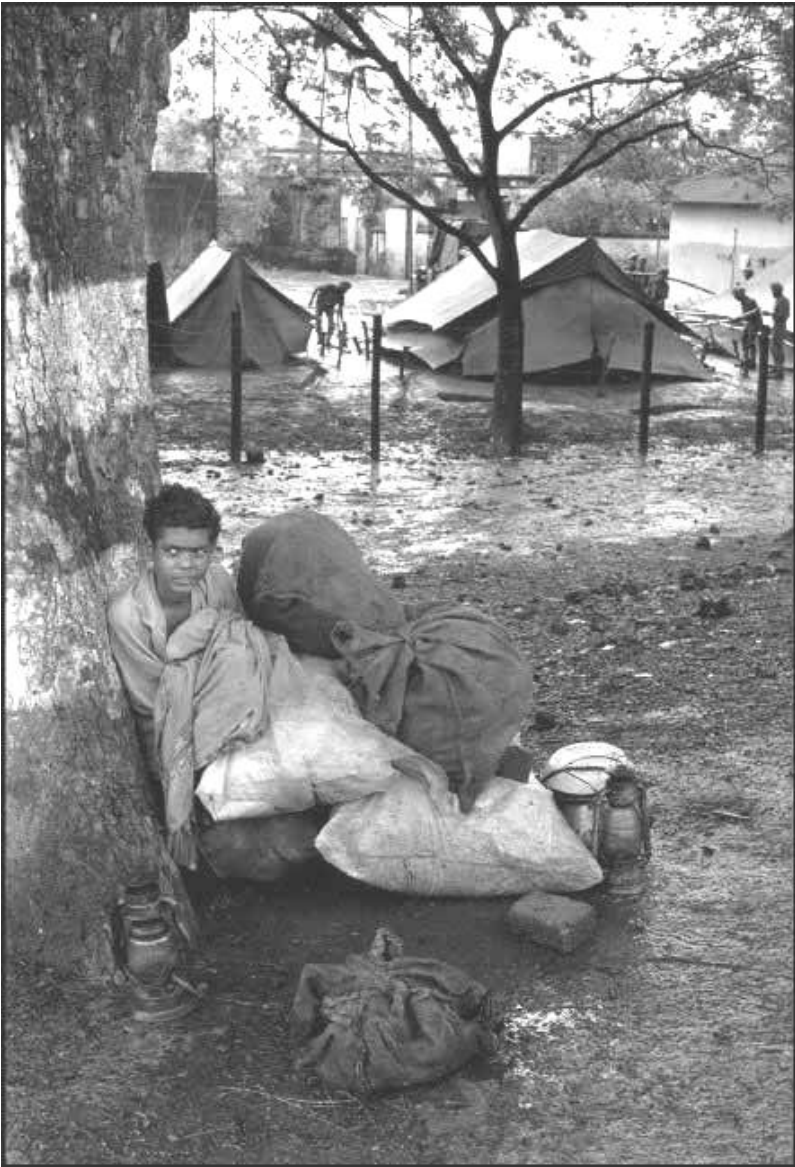
#### *List of martyrs of Lakshmipur Kalibari Genocide*

No	Martyr's Name	Father's Name	Age	Occupation	Address
1.	Odhir Chandra Das	Mohon Das	25	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
2.	Akhil Chandra Chand	Khitish Chandra Chand	27	Grocery business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
3.	Abani Chandra Das	Tarapad Das	16	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia, Pabna
4.	Ashwini Kumar Kar	Akshay Chandra Kar	20	Farmer	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
5.	Anil Chandra Das	Meghlal Das	20	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
6.	Amal Kumar	Chaitanya	16	Fisherman	Lakshmipur,

No	Martyr's Name	Father's Name	Age	Occupation	Address
	Holdar	Holdar			Atgharia
7.	Ashutosh Dutta	Ratilal Dutta	25	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
8.	Kanailal Das	Kushal Das	30	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
9.	Kushal Chandra Pal	Manohar Pal	28	Teacher	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
10.	Kamal Chandra Pal	Manohar Pal	26	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
11.	Gour Chandra Bhadra	Chandan Bhadra	40	Pan business	Ekdanto, Atgharia
12.	Gopal Chandra Das	Mohon Das	25	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
13.	Tarapad Das	Kalicharan Das	40	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
14.	Tarapad Holdar	Makund Holdar	45	Fish seller	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
15.	Dhirendranath Swar	Radhakanta Swar	27	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
16.	Nizam Uddin Sheikh	Kushai Sheikh	27	Farmer	Rupur, Sujanagar
17.	Niranjan Chandra Pal	Manohar Pal	24	Teacher	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
18.	Naresh	Gor Chandra	25	Pan	Lakshmipur,

No	Martyr's Name	Father's Name	Age	Occupation	Address
	Chandra Das	Das		business	Atgharia, Pabna
19.	Braj Gopal Kar	Sadanand Kar	20	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
20.	Bimal Chandra Das	Bishnu Chandra Das	20	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
21.	Bhadu Molla	Jubbar Molla	35	Laborer	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
22.	Mohon Das	Miron Das	40	Laborer	Kashinathpur , Bera
23.	Surjakanta Das	Jugal Chandra Das	27	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
24.	Sadanand Kar	Ramanand Kar	40	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
25.	Sanatan Dutta	Rosik Dutta	38	Laborer	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
26.	Surendranath Das	Meghlal Das	32	Pan business	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
27.	Haran Holdar	Rosiklal Holdar	50	Farmer	Lakshmipur, Atgharia
28.	Ratilal Dutta	Goranath Dutta	45	Farmer	Lakshmipur, Atgharia

*Incomplete*



*Bengali Refugees , 1971*  
*Photographer: Raymond Depardon*