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Some of the intellectuals included Professor Muneir Chowdhury, Dr. Alim Chowdhury, Professor Muniruzzaman, Dr. Fazle Rabbi, Sirajuddin Hossain, Shahidullah Kaiser, Professor G. C. Dev, Professor J. C. Guha Thakurta, Professor Santosh Bhattacharya, Mofazzal Haider Chowdhury, journalists Khandaker Abu Taleb, Nizamuddin Ahmed, S. A. Mannan (Ladu Bhai), A. N. M. Golam Mustafa, Syed Nazmul Haq, and Selina Parvin.

In various installation exhibitions in Bangladesh, this red piece of cloth has been one of the exhibits and is recognized by many as a signifier of the killing of the intellectuals. (M. Guhathakurta, personal communication, 16th December 1997).

The Bengali Muslim identity is based on a practice of Islam and folk practices (see Ahmed, 2001), and it is this combination that composes the secular identity in Bangladesh.

Judith Butler (2004) has recently shown the process of nation building in America after September 11 through emphasis and de-emphasis of obituaries.

I will show later that the visitor is not a homogenous category.

Bishonno refers to being sad, dejected, despondent, sorrowful, downcast, out of spirits, depressed, morose, melancholic, darkened, and gloomy.

As cited in the *Daily Star*, December 14, 2005.

1. The collaborators are usually considered to be Bihari Muslims who spoke in Urdu and came to Bangladesh during the 1947 partition. The religious reactionary parties, such as Jamaat—e-Islami, were also considered to be allies of the Pakistani forces (Salek, 1977). Today the word *Razakar* is used as verbal abuse for a betrayer similar to Mir Jafar or Judas.
2. After the war, 42 cases were filed against the collaborators by the family members of the slain intellectuals until March 1973. However, over the years, no progress was made. On September 24, 1997, Farida Banu, sister of slain intellectual Ghasiuddin,

filed a case, and subsequently some police investigations were carried out. But as the old files and police records became untraceable, there was little progress.

3. Rabindranath Tagore, the famous Nobel Laureate Bengali poet, is the cornerstone of Bengali identity in Bangladesh and in West Bengal in India. The fact that, as a Hindu poet, his song is the national anthem of “Islamic” Bangladesh attests to the significance of the Bengali Muslim identity for which the intellectuals stand.
4. The circulatory role of the memoirs written by the martyred intellectual's family, the press reports commemorating the Martyred Intellectual Day, and the photograph of the murdered intellectuals in the brick kiln significantly stand in for the loss of the intellectuals. Furthermore, these visual and press accounts enable a mediation with the commemorations, remembrances, and emotional expressions that are triggered at the site of the memorials.
5. Sheikh Mujib was assassinated in 1975, and this was followed by 15 years of military rule. Through democratic elections, Khaleda Zia (the widow of General Zia, the latter being the president of Bangladesh from 1977 to 1981, who was assassinated in 1981) of the Bangladesh National Party came to power in 1990. In 1996, Mujib's daughter, Sheikh Hasina, as leader of the Awami League, became head of state, and, in October 2001, Khaleda Zia became the prime minister after defeating Sheikh Hasina in the elections. Since independence, many collaborators have been progressively rehabilitated in the political landscape of Bangladesh and occupy ministerial posts in the current Khaleda Zia government.
6. Also see Kuper (1972) and Grant (2001) for accounts of how memorials and monuments condense various politicized dramas.
7. See Berezin's (2002) discussion of “community of feelings.”
8. One GBP is calculated to be equal to 117 Bangladeshi *taka*.
9. Tombs also have a long tradition in Bangladesh and are often linked to the *majars* (shrines) of Sufi saints. Famous among them is the majar of the Sufi saint Lalon Shah in Kushtia, western Bangladesh, who has inspired a genre of music that is very popular in Bangladesh. The majar is one of the most popular tourist spots. The link that Ahmed established between Sufi shrines and the tombs of the memorials also highlights how the idiom of Sufi traditions symbolizes the Marafati sect of Islam, which is linked to a Bengali Muslim identity in contrast to a Shariati version.
10. See Buckley (1985, p. 61) for a similar description of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as both a shrine and a memorial.
11. Ad hoc memorials are those that are abstract and very quickly built in response to deaths occurring as a result of state repression of various resistance movements. The ad hoc notion also conveys the spontaneity of people that underwrites the building of

these memorials. A notable ad hoc abstract memorial is that dedicated to Milon in one of the most popular roundabouts of the Dhaka University area. Milon was killed by state violence against the prodemocracy movements, which led to the elections in the 1990s. James Young's (1993) discussion on Holocaust memorials similarly highlights the popular resistance to modernist memorials because of their inadequacy to gather together personal memories into a collective space.

12. A similar emotion is expressed by Mohaiemen (2006): "These days it is hard to sit still for a song *ashor* [session] during 1971 commemorations without choking on the failure of the nation project."
13. Both the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Martyred Intellectual Memorials are meant to be reflexive and contemplative in character and harmonious with their sites and surroundings. For an in-depth account of the intense contestations surrounding the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, see Buckley (1985).
14. Griswold (1986, p. 688) suggests that the Vietnam Veterans memorial is interrogative, whereas Lincoln memorial is an act of closure around the figure of the nation.
15. See Whitaker (1972/1982) for a further discussion of this.

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