

Mithun Saha *

Hatia Genocide

Genocide is considered one of the most heinous crimes in human history. The English word ‘genocide’ comes from the Greek word *genos*, meaning race, class, or gender, and the Latin word *cide*, meaning killing (as in homicide, fratricide, etc.). In international law, genocide refers to the deliberate extermination of an ethnic, religious, or tribal group by a government. Although genocide has occurred since ancient times, the English term “genocide” is relatively modern. Raphael Lemkin first used this term during World War II. Some prefer alternative terms like “Racial Massacre,” “Homicide,” or “Annihilation of the Nation” instead of “Genocide.” Genocide involves arbitrary killing, targeted killing, and the suppression of a group’s political, economic, and cultural rights, constituting horrific acts. The concept of genocide is detailed in a United Nations convention. According to Resolution 260 (III), adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1948, genocide is a punishable crime, and all states are committed to preventing it. Genocide involves acts intended to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group.

The definition of genocide is not limited to killings alone. Under Article 2 of Resolution 260 (III), the acts legally considered genocide are:

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genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

“In 1971, the Pakistani Military did not commit any genocide in Bangladesh” – this claim is frequently made by the Pakistani military, the then administration, and their supporters. Let’s see if the statements of Pakistani military officials support this claim.

On March 19, 1971, senior officers of the Pakistani military held a meeting where they revised the plan ‘Operation Blitz’ and finalized a more destructive plan called ‘Operation Searchlight.’ Yahya Khan stated, “Kill three million of them, and the rest will eat out of our hands.” Niazi said, “We will change the ethnic identity of East Pakistan.” Rao Farman Ali’s diary notes, “The green of East Pakistan must be painted red.” General Tikka Khan, known as the ‘Butcher of Balochistan,’ said, “We do not want the people of this land, just the land.”

The statements by the top leadership of the Pakistani military clearly show the scale of the genocide and destruction they planned to carry out in Bangladesh. The Hatia Genocide is just one example of the Pakistani military's brutality, barbarity, and perverse mentality. The full extent of such atrocities committed by the Pakistani invasion forces in the 56,000 square miles of the Ganges Delta, known as Bangladesh, in 1971 has yet to be fully accounted for.

The definition of genocide provided at the beginning of the text is now universally accepted. Mentioning this definition allows readers to determine whether the brutal genocide carried out by the Pakistani military and their local collaborators in Hatia Union, Ulipur Upazila, Kurigram, on November 13, 1971, constitutes genocide.

The Hatia genocide affected the villages of Dagar Kuti, Anantapur, Bagua, Ramkhana, Nilkantha, and nearby areas within the Hatia Union. People from several villages in the neighboring Buraburi Union, including Kolakata, Noyadora, Jalanger Kuti, and Fakir Mohammad, also fell victim. According to available information, in a nearly ten-hour assault, the Pakistani army and Razakars killed over 700 innocent, unarmed villagers and subjected countless women to unspeakable torture. Hatia Union and Buraburi Union were their primary targets, with the highest number of casualties occurring in Dagar Kuti within Hatia Union. Thus, the local people refer to this as the Hatia Genocide.

Hatia Union, located in the remote regions washed by the Brahmaputra and Dharla rivers and near the border, saw

its residents staying within the country throughout the entire Liberation War. They could not have imagined the Pakistani military coming to such a remote area and carrying out such horrific genocide. On the other hand, many young men from this region joined the Liberation War, and several villages had numerous Mukti Bahini camps. More importantly, the local people voluntarily supported the freedom fighters. This is why the Pakistani military committed genocide in this area and attempted to change the ethnicity through the brutalization of women. The Hatia genocide has not been given due importance in the history of the Liberation War. As a remote area incident, it has not been mentioned or discussed in national-level writings and media. It is not mentioned in the “Bangladesh Liberation War Documents,” or in the “Muktijuddho Kosh” edited by Muntassir Mamoon. Many other books about the 1971 genocide also do not mention this incident. However, some information about the Hatia genocide can be found in “Kurigram in Search of the History of the Liberation War” by Tajul Mohammad and “Bangladesh 1971: Genocide, Resistance, Liberation” edited by Harun Habib.¹

It is true that many years after the Liberation War, creating an objective account of the genocide and torture is extremely difficult. The affected individuals, eyewitnesses, and other historical materials from the war period are rapidly disappearing. The accurate history of this horrific genocide must be shared with the new generation. This responsibility extends beyond this effort; it is our sacred duty as Bengalis to implant this history in the consciousness, minds, and existence of every individual in

Bangladesh. The “Hatia genocide” is a small step toward fulfilling this responsibility.

Geographical Context

Kurigram is one of the 64 districts of Bangladesh. Formerly part of the Rajshahi Division, Kurigram was recognized as a district in northern Bangladesh before 2010. It now falls under the Rangpur Division, which was established in March 2010 when eight districts from the Greater Rangpur-Dinajpur region were separated to form this new division. Located near the Indian border, Kurigram is characterized by numerous rivers such as the Brahmaputra, Teesta, Dharla, and Dudhkumar weaving across its terrain.

Historically, the present-day Kurigram District was part of the Kamrup and Gauda-Bardhaman kingdoms. Various ethnic groups, including the Koch, Garo, Hajong, Rajbanshi, Kirat, Kuki, and Bodo, inhabited this region. Today, the people, culture, language, and customs of Kurigram reflect a blend of these diverse ethnicities.

On January 23, 1984, Kurigram was officially declared a district, comprising nine upazilas: Kurigram Sadar, Nageshwari, Bhurungamari, Fulbari, Ulipur, Rajarhat, Rajibpur, Roumari, and Chilmari.

Ulipur Upazila, located in the heart of Kurigram District, is the largest upazila in terms of area. It shares borders with Kurigram Sadar and Rajarhat upazilas to the north, Chilmari upazila to the south, Roumari upazila and Assam state to the east, and Rangpur and Sundarganj upazilas to the west. Ulipur Upazila is situated between 25° 33' and 25° 51' north latitude and 89° 31' and 89° 51' east longitude. The

district town of Kurigram is about 18 km from Ulipur, which covers an area of approximately 458 square kilometers, including 76.40 square kilometers of rivers and 0.72 square kilometers of water bodies. This upazila consists of thirteen unions, with Hatia being one of them. Hatia Union is located about 9 km east of Kurigram Sadar Upazila and spans about 35 square kilometers. It shares borders with Buraburi Union to the south, Chilmari Upazila to the north, Saheber Union to the east, and Dharanibari Union and Dhamshreni Union to the west.

Hatia Union declared itself an independent entity in 1933 under the Ulipur Police Station. The area was significantly influenced by the Muslim League, with its leader and former prime minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin, being elected from this region. Additionally, Jamaat-e-Islami had a strong presence in the area. However, following Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Six-Point Movement in 1966, the people of this region were notably impacted. Consequently, the residents, particularly the youth, became involved in Awami League politics. The people of this region were courageous and proactive, playing significant roles in various opposition movements like the 'Fakir', 'Sannyasi Rebellion', and 'Peasant Rebellion' against British rule and subsequent post-colonial regimes.

During the 1970s, agriculture was the primary occupation in this area, with predominantly double-cropped farming practices. The main agricultural products were rice, wheat, and jute.

In addition to the agrarian economy, there were small settlements of various communities. The economic

structure relied mainly on agriculture, with a significant portion of the population consisting of small and landless farmers who worked as agricultural laborers. Immediate families often worked together on agricultural land for their livelihood. However, there has been a shift towards individual families sustaining themselves in recent times. Social hierarchy was determined by wealth, experience, and participation in social activities. Currently, all forms of leadership are predominantly held by political figures. The population was predominantly Muslim, with about 20% belonging to the Hindu community. Education rates were relatively low, with few highly educated individuals, and the number of educational institutions was quite limited. Despite this, the people of this region were politically aware and believed in active political participation—a trend that continues to persist.

Peripheral Conditions

Dagarkuti village serves as the central hub of Hatia Union, located near the eastern market and the Hatia Union Parishad office. In addition to Dagarkuti, several other villages lie scattered to the north and south, forming parts of Hatia and Buraburi unions. The Brahmaputra River and other waterways facilitate transportation in these riverine areas. The distance from Dagarkuti village to the Roumari Free Zone is approximately 10 kilometers.

The Background of Genocide

The residents of Kudigram played a pivotal role in the Liberation War, a fact that shines brightly in national history. For nearly nine months, approximately a thousand

square miles within two liberated zones remained free from enemy occupation. Local freedom fighters received training on their native soil, leading to the strategic position of Chandmari. Here, they organized and bravely stood against Pakistani militarys, engaging in fierce battles.

A civil administration was established in the liberated areas, operating autonomously. Judicial functions were carried out, and the police, postal, and revenue departments continued to function. All these activities were overseen by the provisional government, led by Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed and other leaders. Military commanders of the Liberation War, including General Osmani and other prominent war leaders, visited the area. As a result, Kudigram received special attention from the Pakistani military junta, who viewed the local populace as enemies.

Based on democratic principles, a general election was announced and conducted within a legal framework. “Bangabandhu” emerged prominently during the election campaign, with his call resonating throughout the region. In December 1970, the Nationalist Awami League won a significant number of seats in both the Upazilas and regional councils in Kudigram. Notably, the Muslim League heavyweight, Abu Kashem, suffered a major defeat in the Ulipur constituency, where Awami League leader Abdullah Sohrawardi emerged victorious. In this region, the activities of religiously motivated political parties, excluding the Muslim League, were noteworthy but did not significantly influence the election outcome. Despite the presence of leftist parties such as NAP (Bhasani) and NAP (Mozaffar), they mostly aligned with the Awami

League during the elections. It was claimed that even amidst political uncertainties, these parties supported the Awami League. However, the Muslim League, Jamaat-e-Islami, Nejam-e-Islami, and a few other religiously motivated political parties continued to spread propaganda. They accused the Awami League of being allied with India and portrayed it as an enemy of Pakistan. These parties propagated that the Awami League conspired with India to break Pakistan, labeling the Awami League, along with the Sheikhs and Sammils, as adversaries of Pakistan.²

Despite the widespread propaganda, the people of Hatia, including Kudigram and Ulipur, did not fall prey to such campaigns. They did not believe in these narratives. Hence, the participation of the elected public in Ulipur's spontaneous participation was seen as a swift transfer of power, as seen in meetings, rallies, and gatherings. These activities began in February 1971. It was during this time that Yahya announced the inauguration of the National Assembly session on March 3. The people of Ulipur were optimistic about it. However, the subsequent announcement on March 1 by Yahya changed the situation. He declared that the National Assembly session scheduled for March 3 would be postponed indefinitely. Different slogans emerged immediately from the minds of local people. Almost unanimously, slogans like 'Lathi in hand for independence,' 'the path to liberation through struggle,' 'your address is Padma-Jamuna,' 'who are you, who am I - Bengali, Bengali,' 'not East Pakistan - Dhaka, Dhaka, Dhaka' echoed. The protestor's gatherings were intensified in the Upazila headquarters and surrounding unions in

Ulipur. Meetings, rallies, and protests continued under the leadership of Awami League leader Kanailal Sarkar in Hatia Union. Such political activities involved local youths, educated individuals, and aware businessmen.

Then Bangabandhu called for non-violent non-cooperation, initiating an undeclared protest movement in Kudigram town and Upazila. A massive public gathering was organized in Kudigram, following Bangabandhu's directive-based speech on March 9 at Dhaka's Maidan. Subsequently, on March 10, the Kudigram Upazila Resistance Committee was formed. The leaders of this committee were Ahmad Hossein Sarkar and Ahmad Ali Bakshi. Among its members were National Assembly member Riazuddin Ahmad (Vola Mia), Mojahar Hossein, and Sadakat Hossein (Chakku Mia), along with regional members Shamsul Haque Choudhury, Abdul Abul, Abdullah Sohrawardi, Abul Hossain Hossain, and Nurul (Pappu). Additionally, the committee included members from the Awami League, NAP, Progressive Party, business and cultural activists, student unions, and the Ansar commando unit. On March 17, for the first time in the city, the flag of Bangladesh was hoisted during a student-citizen gathering. Student leaders took a blood oath for independence. Following the formation of the Mahkuma Resistance Committee, a control center was established at the warehouse of Ahmad Ali Bakshi in the Ghoshpara area. Thus, preparations were underway.

On March 25th, Pakistani military launched a genocide on the Bengalis, leading to a brutal genocide. In response to this news, a massive gathering was organized at the park in

Kudigram on March 28th. The assembly was chaired by High Command Khairi and included committee members Ahmed Ali Bakshi, Ahmed, [missing information].

Concerns arose regarding the arrival of Pakistani military. Amidst this, a group led by Captain Nowazesh stationed themselves in Kudigram. They directed the soldiers of the East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) in the liberation war at locations such as Bhurungamari, Nageshwari, Ulipur, and others. Following the Captain's orders, they joined the liberation war and eliminated Pakistani soldiers in their respective areas of operation.

Meanwhile, a group of Pakistani militarys from the Rangpur Cantonment marched towards Kudigram city.

In accordance with the Combat Committee's decision, resistance was mounted near Tista Bridge. Under the leadership of Nowazesh, a defensive grid was established. The battle continued for an extended period. Ultimately, on April 7th, the freedom fighters were militaryd to withdraw and seek refuge in safer locations. On that same day, Pakistani militarys invaded Kudigram city and commenced widespread genocide. Within a few days of capturing the city, they established camps in Ulipur and were joined by members of the Muslim League-Jamaat faction. Anti-liberation activities were subsequently initiated in the city police station and local union under the influence of prominent Muslim League leader Abu Kasem.

By the end of April, a peace committee was formed in Ulipur police station under the leadership of Mahbub Alam Chowdhury. Similarly, a peace committee was established in Hatia Union, led by Dr. Babar Ali.

Towards the end of April, local collaborators and brokers held a meeting at Anantapur Bazaar in Hatia Union. They invited the villagers to attend the meeting. As per the decision of the meeting, Dr. Babar Ali was appointed as the head of the peace committee and other members of the committee were nominated.

Description of Genocide and Torture

This report details the atrocities committed during the genocide in Hatia, Bangladesh, in 1971. Hatia Union, situated approximately nine kilometers east of Ulipur Sadar in the Kurigram district and adjacent to the Brahmaputra River, was the site of egregious violence perpetrated by local collaborators in conjunction with the Pakistani military. These military inflicted severe harm upon innocent and defenseless individuals within the union, leaving the area in a state of utter devastation.

In the village of Hatia, a significant number of Mukti Bahini, including Indian troops, were stationed. This information rapidly disseminated, leading the Pakistani invader soldiers to retreat to the stronghold of the local authorities in Ulipur. A delay could have allowed the Mukti Bahini to consolidate further and advance towards Ulipur, potentially extending their attack as far as Kurigram. This urgency was underscored by the fact that the Mukti Bahini had already destroyed the Durgapur Bridge, attacked Pakistani military outposts, and engaged in combat with Pakistani soldiers in the battles of Balarhat and Mondalhat. Consequently, it became imperative to launch an immediate counter-operation against the

infiltrating Pakistani military militarys. Preparations for this operation began promptly. Hundreds of Pakistani soldiers were mobilized for the Hatia Operation, supported by the Razakar militia. Razakars from the Ullipur police station were summoned, and similar calls were made to neighboring areas for this notorious militia. Jamaat-e-Islami had aligned itself with the Pakistanis. All available bullock carts in the region were requisitioned, with hundreds of carts departing late at night, carrying both soldiers and supplies, including ammunition. The exact number of soldiers and Razakars involved remains difficult to ascertain. However, by dawn, the entire Hatia Union was encircled by the invading militarys. Hatia is bordered by the Dharla River on one side, while Pakistani military had surrounded it from the other three directions.

It was the 27th day of Ramadan, a Saturday. After finishing their pre-dawn meal (Sehri), the fasting people were in prayers and supplications. The call to prayer (Azan) resonated from the mosques. Some had already started their prayers, while others were heading towards the fields after finishing their prayers. Many went to work in the fields, and some went fishing. At this time, the silence was shattered by a loud sound. The innocent and unarmed villagers were startled. Before they could realize what was happening, the rumbling sounds continued. Loud explosions echoed from all directions. People started running in panic, losing their sense of direction. As soon as they opened the door, their eyes widened in horror. Sparks of fire were reaching the sky. Flames immersed every house in every village. Everywhere was burning, smoldering. Houses and properties were turning into

ashes. Those who couldn't get out of their houses were burning to death inside, especially children, the elderly, and women. Those who managed to escape faced firearms. They were struck down by bullets from Pentagon and Beijing. The genocide by the brutal military lasted for almost ten hours. They were collaborated by the Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami. They guided the Pakistani military, showing them the way. They also participated in the genocide. The semi-military militarys of Jamaat-e-Islami, Al-Badr, and Razakars, were also present.

In Hatia Union, the perpetrators made a massive violence on the women of the area. The Jamaat members made a list of houses with women and handed them over to the Pakistanis. Women were abused by Pakistani military, Razakars, Badr militarys, Jamaat-e-Islami members, and Muslim League leaders.

The Pakistani military arrived at Anantapur market. It was the headquarters of the Hatia Union Council. Posters and banners from the elections held a few months ago were still visible. Upon seeing the Awami League's banners, they began shooting at them. They continuously fired bullets. Then they headed to Babar Ali's house. Babar Ali, a prominent figure, Ziaur Rahman once became his guest and had lent 700 taka to him. His house also displayed the Awami League's posters. Consequently, they fired the house, killing people there. However, in the disorder of venting their anger on the posters, Babar Ali managed to escape. During his escape, he carried cash and gold, which he used to bribe a Pakistani military and save his life. Unfortunately, by then, his brothers, Jobed Ali and Abdul Wahab, had already lost their lives. Those who managed to

evade the Pakistanis' attention fled towards the Dharla River. There, they took cover behind the riverbank, huddling together.

In this manner, in the neighboring villages of Anantapur, Ramkhana, Noyadora, Neelkantha, and Dagarkuti within the Hatia Union, countless innocent people were brought and mercilessly killed. This atrocity was not confined to that day alone; similar incidents occurred in several nearby villages, including Jalangarkuti and Fakir Mohammad in the adjacent Buraburi Union.

After a long operation, the captured Bengalis numbered in the thousands. The Pakistani military took everyone to Anantapur Bazaar and immediately set up a camp there. Following that, they reached the Dhala River. They selected a muddy area near the bank as their mass killing field. Hundreds of Bengalis were lined up. The rural, and uneducated people could not realize what was happening or what was about to happen. They simply followed orders. Suddenly, there was a brief pause. The row of people stood still. The demonic weapons in the hands of the invaders thundered. Boom, boom, bang. Just a few seconds. Then everything fell silent. The soil turned red in blood and mixed with the river of Dhala. The invaders rejoiced and laughter. They invaded the surrounding villages, and assaulted and run violence on the women. As the Pakistani military left the mass killing fields, some locals came and searched for their loved ones. It was a mountain of corpses there, piles of bodies. Only those present could understand the extent of the horror. Many bodies were buried by the villagers. Some had sunk into the depths of the Dhala. Most of the dead were buried in the mud of the marshes. The

injured were rescued. Many were nursed back to health through medical treatment. Among them today are Babar Ali, Shaher Ali, Mal Uddin, Sultan Ali, and a few others.

The citation from the prepared list by Mizanur Rahman, who collected immediate death tolls, indicates that on that day, more than 700 villagers lost their lives. Matiar Rahman, president of the Hatia Rural Development Youth Committee, also confirmed this.³

Identification of Perpetrators

The main perpetrators of the genocide in Hatia were the Pakistani military. A vast number of Pakistani soldiers launched attacks on the ordinary people of Hatia on that day. The identity of the invading Pakistani military was not confirmed. However, the Pakistani army was actively aided by local collaborators known as Razakars. Below are their identifications:

Dr. Babar Ali

Dr. Babar Ali's home is in the village of Hizli within Hatia Union. In 1971, he was known as Dr. Babar. His father's name was Buddhi Byapari. In 1971, he worked as a compounder for Afaz Doctor in Ulipur. Due to this connection, he had close ties with Mahbub Alam Chowdhury, the head of the Ulipur Peace Committee. Through this association, he also developed a close relationship with the Pakistani military camp at Ulipur police station. It is known that during this time, he was involved with the Muslim League.

Towards the end of April, a peace committee was formed in Hatia Union, of which Dr. Babar was a key organizer. On November 3, he was one of the main organizers who brought the Pakistani military to Hatia. Dr. Babar Ali assisted in the horrific activities that they carried out.

After independence, he remained quiet for some time. Following the change of power in 1975, he joined Jamaat-e-Islami and became the chairman of Hatia Union Parishad. His family is currently involved in the politics of Jamaat-e-Islami.

Maulana Akbar Ali

Akbar Ali, son of Hatia Maher, was a madrasa student in 1971. As a prominent member of the Union Peace Committee, Akbar Ali played a notorious role during the Liberation War. He was one of the masterminds behind the Pakistani army's operations in Hatia. The locals hold him responsible for the bloodshed in Hatia, particularly for the genocide in his own village.

Abdul Majid

Abdul Majid was a student in 1971. He was an active member of the Hatia Union Peace Committee, particularly involved in providing moral support to the Pakistanis. He was responsible for the freedom fighters and pro-independence activists in his own village. After joining as a teacher at the Yudh Miq Bidyalaya, he is a lifelong Jamaati and his relatives are currently involved with Jamaat.

In 1971, Abdul Majid was a student. The son of Kudratullah Munshi. Abdul Majid was an active member of the Hatia

Union Peace Committee. Known as a Razakar (collaborator), Majid assisted the Pakistani military in the genocide in Hatia. He directly aided in the killing of freedom fighters and pro-independence families in his village.

After the war, he joined Bewa Anantapur Government Primary School as a teacher. A lifelong supporter of Jamaat-e-Islami, his descendants are currently affiliated with the Jamaat.

Sayedur Maulana (70)

Saidur Maulana was a prominent collaborator in the Liberation War of Hatia. He was a member of the Jamaat-e-Islami and served as a key associate in the Hatia genocide.

He held the position of principal at a madrasa established in his own home. According to the allegations from freedom fighters, he continues to be active in his roles. Not only he, but also his descendants are involved in these activities. Jamaat-e-Islami holds significant influence in the area.

The Identification of the Martyr

During the Liberation War, Hatia Union witnessed the presence of valiant freedom fighters in various villages, where they established several strongholds. These camps were situated at the residences of prominent individuals like Bashir Uddin in Kadamtala, Babar Ali in Chaumuhani, or Bauar in Sudhir Master's house in Hijli-Gopapara, and a bit farther in Dolon Gram. Primarily, these camps served as targets for the Pakistani militarys to carry out operations aimed at eliminating the stationed freedom fighters. They

initiated attacks from multiple directions (from Dharanibari to Hatia, Ulipur to Hatia, and Chilmari to Hatia), but their attempts to capture the freedom fighters were futile. Subsequently, they resorted to mass killings of Bengalis. (Appendix 2)

Victim's Accounts

Md. Babar Ali (85)

Father: Md. Ansar Ali, Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ullipur, District: Kurigram. Interview

Location and Date of Interview: Own home, February 13, 2015

That day was Saturday. Early in the morning, hearing the sound of fire and screams, I went outside and saw that the military had set fire to the market and the houses in the village. They were capturing and beating anyone they came across and shooting them. I tried to escape with my family. My mother covered me with her shawl. However, I was caught and they began to beat me. At that time, our house still had posters from the 1970 election. The posters featuring the boat symbol were torn down and destroyed. In my room, there were three framed photographs: one of martyrs Suhrawardy, one of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and one of Sheikh Mujib. The soldiers shot at Sheikh Mujib's photograph, smashed it, and then trampled it with their boots. They took away the other two photographs. They shot me, hitting three different parts of my body. Despite being shot three times, I survived. After being shot, I lost consciousness and later woke up in the hospital. Meanwhile, our house, shops, and livestock were all burned

down. Additionally, while burying the seven bodies of my deceased relatives, they also dug a grave for me, as my condition made it seem that my survival was inconceivable. Since then, I have been ill and nearly paralyzed.⁵

Md. Shaher Ali (75)

Father: Late Ali, Village: Hatia Union, Upazila: Ullipur, District: Kurigram. Place of Interview: Old Anantapur Market, February, 2015, Post Office: Bagua

This simple man, who was a farmer by profession, is still haunted by the horrors of that day. The terror of the genocide and the inhumane atrocities of the Pakistani military still haunt this man almost perpetually. From dawn till the call to prayer of Asr, he was caught by the Pakistani military and tortured. This man witnessed the horrific genocide. In Shah Ali's account:

"In 1971, I was a farmer. Early in the morning, upon hearing the sound of fire, I went out on the street and saw the Pakistani military setting houses on fire and beating people in front. Those who tried to escape were shot. Seeing all this, I ran towards the river. But I got caught. But I got caught. They began beating me. They asked me, 'Why were you trying to escape? Where are the freedom fighters?' They kicked me with their boots on my chest, face, and back. I was left unconscious. Then they took me to Dagarakuti. Many other people were brought there. Many people from neighboring villages were there. They lined us up near a sloped area close to the Dhalla (Dharla) River. They pulled me out of the line and beat me again before handing me over to another group of soldiers. This

continued until around 4 or 5 in the evening. They shot me in my left leg. Due to the severe beating, I eventually lost consciousness. When I regained consciousness, I found myself in a hospital. With my own eyes, I saw them shoot and kill at least three to four hundred people in Dagarakuti alone. They burned everything to ashes. Since the war, I have been sick. One side of my body is paralyzed. I still experience pain in my body.”⁶

Md. Kamal Uddin (60)

Father: Martyred Babar Uddin

Village: Ram Ram Pur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Place and Date of Interview: Home, February 14, 2015.

During the war, Mohammad Kamal Uddin was a 15-year-old boy. At that time, their home was in the village of Anantapur, Kuttirpara, which has now been eroded by the Brahmaputra River. Kamal Uddin’s father was martyred during the Pakistani military’s Hatiagenocide, and many other members of their family were also martyred and tortured. Kamal Uddin himself was brutally tortured by members of the Pakistani military. He still bears the marks of five bullet wounds on his body. Recalling the brutality, torture, and horror of that day, Kamal Uddin said:

“I was in class 7 at the time. The Pakistani military entered the village and set fire to houses, shops, cowsheds, and everywhere. In fear for my life, I ran towards the river but was captured by them. They began beating me mercilessly. I was crying, but they continued to beat me. When they hit

me in the face with boots, my nose started bleeding. Then they took me to the village of Dagar Kuti near Dhalla (Dharla). Many people had been brought there from other villages as well. Then they lined us up. There were about seven to eight hundred of us. Then they started shooting us. Many people, around four hundred, died from the gunfire. Even after that, they shot many more to death. Those who survived the gunshots were brutally killed by the soldiers with bayonets. In that attack by the Pakistani soldiers, my father, uncle, and six members of our family were killed that day. The torture of that day is unforgettable. Due to the river erosion, that village (Dagar Kuti) no longer exists, and the people of our village (Kuttirpara) have all moved to different places.”⁷

Md. Sultan Ali (58)

Father: Late Oshim Uddin

Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Place and Date of Interview: Own office, February 14, 2015. Mohammad Sultan Ali was an eyewitness and victim of the Hatia genocide.

He provided a detailed account of the killings and cruelty of the Pakistani military, which he witnessed firsthand as a refugee fleeing the country with his elderly mother:

On November 13, 1971, I stayed at our business establishment in Anantapur Bazaar at night. Early in the morning, the Pakistani military suddenly opened fire from the west. Hearing the sound, I woke up and, stepping outside the shop, saw the Pakistani soldiers approaching the market. In such a situation, I locked the shop and

hurried back home to the east of the market to inform everyone. We all fled our homes. I then hid my books and the Bangladeshi flag I had in a trunk and buried it in a pit near our house. Meanwhile, I heard the Pakistani soldiers in Anantapur Bazaar shouting, "Burn it, set it on fire, where are the freedom fighters, find them." Within minutes, they arrived at our house and set it on fire, continuing to shout, "Where are the freedom fighters, find them, set it on fire." Fearing for my life, I emerged from the pit and ran eastward. They fired at me like rain. I fell in a paddy field but later got up and hid behind a door at my uncle's nearby house. From there, I was captured by the Pakistani military. They took me to the master's house by the Bamni River and gathered there, firing countless shots and killing anyone they found. While I was there, they held a grenade to my neck and a gun barrel to my throat but did not shoot. They kept telling me not to be afraid, that they would let me go. They asked me many questions such as, "Where are the freedom fighters, where do they live, when do they come, what kind of weapons do they bring?" I answered as strategically as I could. Before they left, they released me, and I started towards home. At that moment, our freedom fighters fired at them from the south, killing three Pakistani soldiers. As they headed south, they captured me again. They took me to Kailash's Vita and then to Hatiar Bil, where they slapped me and kicked my face with their boots. They then brought me to Dagarakuti village, where some collaborators like Saidur Maulana, Akbar, and others were present. They tied my hands behind my back and later took me to a spot near the homes of Basanta and Prashanta Kabiraj. There, they lined up people they had

captured from various places. Among them were my father and an uncle, Shaher Ali. The Pakistani soldiers opened fire on them, killing at least three to four hundred people. They then took me towards Lalmonirhat but released me along the way. When I returned home, I found everything reduced to ashes. I had lost everything. Later, my father returned, and we set out to find our other family members. By the river, we found another uncle, Babar Ali, wounded and writhing in pain, crying for water. We took him to the hospital. Seven of our relatives were martyred in this attack. I sometimes wonder how I survived. There was no chance of survival. They were killing people like dogs and jackals. Witnessing this genocide up close always pains me. I hope the government will also prosecute the local collaborators in their war crimes and crimes against humanity trials.⁸

Eyewitness Accounts of Genocide

Md. Monsur Ali (Age: 60)

Father: Late Sharafuddin, Village: Hijli Gopapara, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram

Location and Date of Interview: Anantapur Bazaar, February 13, 2015

Md. Mansur Ali is a valiant freedom fighter. After completing his training, he participated in various combat operations in Ulipur, including in Chilamari, Duragapur, and the surrounding areas, with Khairul Alam's company. Their company had two camps in the houses of Bashir Bepari and Azimuiddin Sarkar in the village of Nutan

Anantapur. During the Hatia operation by the Pakistani military and Razakars, he, along with other freedom fighters, moved to a safe location. As soon as the Pakistani military completed their operation and left, he returned to the villages of Dagarkuti and Anantapur. He recounts his harrowing experience in his own words:

“I was 16 years old then. I was staying in Madhupur village, a short distance from Anantapur and Dagarkuti villages. The local Razakars primarily called in the Pakistani military to kill us (freedom fighters). I saw their weapons from a distance. After setting fire to Anantapur market, the Pakistani military set fire to the nearby houses and killed several people there. Targeting a group of Pakistani soldiers, Shawkat Bhai and others (freedom fighter team) fired shots from the south, killing three Pakistani military. After that, like mad dogs, they started killing the local people. They entered the villages of Anantapur, Dagarkuti, and the surrounding areas, capturing villagers who had assisted the freedom fighters, and brought them to Dagarkuti. Local Razakars like Baurat Ali, Shahidur Maulana, Abdul Majid, Shahjahan, Akbar Ali, and others assisted the Pakistani military in this task. The villagers were brought to Dagarkuti, where many Razakars were present, and were lined up and executed by the Pakistani military with a burst of fire.

As soon as the invaders left, I entered the area. I saw nothing but corpses. Houses, shops—everything was burned. The bodies that their families could identify were buried, but many could not be buried. Several bodies were buried in the same pit, and many floated away in the

waters of the Dharla. In my efforts to compile the list of martyrs from the Hatia genocide, I gathered information on 697 martyrs.”⁹

Md. Mizanur Rahman (Age: 65)

Father: Mohammad Ashir Uddin Sarkar, Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram

Location and Date of Interview: Own Residence, February 13, 2015

In 1971, he was 20 years old, an intermediate-level student. During the Liberation War, he fought in the Dinajpur and Panchagarh regions under Sector 6. After the country became independent, he returned to his village and began collecting information about the Hatia genocide with other local freedom fighters. This dedicated freedom fighter, who served continuously for 22 years as the Union Freedom Fighters Commander, narrates:

“When the war started, local leaders Dr. Babar Ali, Monsur Ali, Maulana Akbar, Shahidur Maulana, Abdul Majid, organized a meeting in Anantapur Bazaar at the end of April. Everyone present at the meeting was fed beef. It was in this meeting that Dr. Babar Ali led the formation of the Hatia Union Peace Committee. They ordered people in the area not to participate in the liberation war and to refrain from helping the freedom fighters. If anyone did not listen, they threatened to take action against them. But, the people of Hatia did not heed their words. Only 63 freedom fighters were listed in this union. Apart from the list, there were several other freedom fighters. In this union, there were several camps of the freedom fighters and the residents of Hatia also assisted the freedom fighters. This caused a lot of

headaches for the local Razakars and collaborators. They were looking for a way out. In the meantime, a group of Pakistani army and local people from the Peace Committee camp in the Ulipur police station area came to Anantapur Bazaar and held a meeting with the local people to gather all the freedom fighters in the area. They wanted to know where the freedom fighters were, how they came from the other side of the river, etc.”

On the 27th day of Ramadan, November 13, the Pakistani military along with Razakars and collaborators arrived at the Anantapur market early in the morning. They demanded information about freedom fighters from the villagers they encountered in the market and surrounding areas. Those unable to provide information were taken to Dagarkuti village, where many were killed. Numerous villagers, especially the young, were brutally beaten.

Among the villagers was Abu Bakr, a freedom fighter who had come to visit his parents the previous night. The Pakistani soldiers first set fire to their house. After severely beating Abu Bakr, they tied his hands and feet and threw him into the flames in front of his parents. Meanwhile, the freedom fighters started firing from three directions, killing three Pakistani soldiers. In revenge, the Pakistani army entered the three surrounding villages, capturing anyone they found and taking them to Dagarkuti village. There, they lined up everyone and killed them, killing nearly four hundred villagers. Many who survived the initial shooting died later from their injuries.

Investigations into this genocide have revealed that the Pakistani military and Razakars killed 697 people in

Dagarkuti and surrounding villages. Due to the unavailability of materials for burial, many bodies were not given proper funerals. The attackers had destroyed everything, leaving no resources for proper burials. On the same day, a group of Razakars led by Hamid Maulana killed four more freedom fighters in Mandalharhat. The entire region was marked by blood, corpses, and cries of despair. Most of the bodies were hastily buried, while many were carried away by the waters of the Dharla River.¹⁰

Preservation of Memory

For a long time, no initiative was taken to preserve the memory of the Hatia genocide. Initially, several freedom fighters and some members of the victimized families, along with local freedom fighter commander Mizanur Rahman, would pay their respects by laying flowers at the Dagarakuti mass killing fields on November 13. In 1982, the non-governmental organization Proshika first attempted to preserve this memory.

Commander Mizanur Rahman, along with Mohammad Monsur Ali and Mohammad Shamsul Alam, actively participated in the effort to compile a list of martyrs of the Hatia genocide. Unfortunately, in 1985, during a change of administration, the list was lost. With the help of Abu Sayeed and the long efforts of freedom fighters, a list of 697 martyrs of the Hatia genocide was prepared. However, due to river erosion, the memorial established at the genocide site was lost along with the Hatia village. Subsequently, under the leadership of freedom fighter Commander Mizanur Rahman and other freedom fighters, a memorial

was constructed near the Hatia Union Parishad office. However, due to lack of maintenance and care, the deteriorating condition of the memorial caused distress to the local martyrs' families and freedom fighters. For a long time, the local residents have been appealing to the administration for the construction of a memorial to preserve the memory of the genocide.

Finally, in 2006, during a discussion meeting on the 'Hatia Genocide Day' organized locally, the District Commissioner announced the construction of a memorial plaque. He stated that if someone donates land, he would promptly arrange for the construction of a memorial. Following this announcement, Commander Mizanur Rahman donated two decimals of his own land adjacent to Anantapur Bazaar for the memorial. On that very land, a memorial plaque was constructed in 2009 under the direct supervision of the District Council. This plaque is currently the primary memorial of the genocide.¹¹

Every year on November 13, on the occasion of Hatia Genocide Day, homage is paid to the martyrs, and discussion meetings and prayer sessions are organized. Until now, primarily local entrepreneurs have been observing this day with the assistance of the Hatia Union Parishad. However, recently, under the initiative of the chairman of Hatia Union Parishad, BM Abul Hossen, both sub-district and district administrations have also been providing significant support. In recent times, several media outlets have aired reports and documentaries on Hatia Genocide Day. However, nationally, no initiative has been taken regarding this matter. The demand of the

people of this region is that Hatia Genocide Day be observed nationally, and efforts be made for the preservation of this memory, including the construction of libraries, naming of government institutions and roads after the martyrs, and rehabilitation of the families of the victims of the brutal genocide.¹²



Hatia Martyrs' Memorial

The Ulipur branch of the non-governmental development organization Prashika became involved with local freedom fighters in the early 1980s while conducting regular social development activities, particularly in compiling the list of martyrs from the Hatia genocide. Subsequently, Prashika's Ulipur office also engaged in this activity. A significant initiative of the organization was its rehabilitation program. Initially, Prashika distributed rice to the families affected by the Hatia genocide. Later, cash was distributed among some selected affected families. However, considering that such assistance would not be effective in the long term, Abu Saeed, an officer of Prashika's branch, endeavored further. Primarily based on his plan, Prashika adopted the program

of distributing building materials among the destitute villagers affected by the Hatia operation. Regarding this, freedom fighter commander Md. Mizanur Rahman said, "Saeed Bhai personally helped many affected families and freedom fighters." Prashika gained popularity due to these activities. However, this popularity alarmed the anti-independence elements. They conspired and burned down Prashika's Ulipur office in 1985.

Current Situation

The village that witnessed the genocide in Dagarkuti on November 13, 1971, is now itself a memorial. The riverbank where Dagarkuti was located has now disappeared into the river. Today, there is no longer a riverbank at that location. The Brahmaputra River has submerged Dagarkuti, and the riverside village is almost gone. Most of these affected villages have dispersed and settled in various places (Ulipur, Kurigram, Rangpur, Bogura, etc.). As a result, it has not been possible to collect any memorial signs or pictures of martyrs from these villages.

Evaluation

In Professor Muntasir Mamun's book *Itihas Dokholer Itihas* and various other writings, a well-planned outline of destroying historical elements in this country and creating a generation that is indifferent to history is clearly evident. However, ultimately, such efforts are futile. History returns to its natural course and will continue to do so.

In a comprehensive analysis, several characteristics of the Hatia genocide can be identified. Firstly, the Hatia

genocide occurred in the village of Dagarkuti, which was dominated by the Razakars. Secondly, the Pakistani militarys were identified as the perpetrators of the genocide. Thirdly, this genocide occurred suddenly, without warning. The villagers became victims of indiscriminate genocide before they could comprehend what was happening. Fourthly, boundless brutality was evident in this genocide. This vast genocide and destruction lasted for almost ten hours. Fifthly, there was no specific religious group targeted in this genocide; rather, Bengalis were the primary targets. Among the characteristics of the genocide, there is also the remark that when devout Muslims rose for the pre-dawn meal during fasting, the Pakistani militarys attacked. This reflects their religious hostility.

November 13, 1971, was a day of despair for the residents of Hatia. The barbarity of the Pakistani military has left a lasting mark on the inhabitants of these villages. The affected families have not yet recovered from that trauma. Some survivors of torture, famine, and eyewitnesses express dissatisfaction with speaking about any aspect of sexual violence. It is believed that they want to forget this issue.

The lack of national initiatives regarding the Hatia genocide has affected all levels of people in this region. The influential Razakars, collaborators, and their descendants are still powerful in this area. They still do not acknowledge the existence of Bangladesh. The sincere hope of the affected families and local freedom fighters towards the government is to ensure justice through the International Criminal Court for those involved in the Hatia genocide.

The Liberation War and the Hatia genocide are daily topics of discussion among the people of this region, especially the experienced ones. However, due to the lack of visible establishments, formal programs, and government indifference, the new generation of this area knows almost nothing about the history of sacrifice. Those who do not know the history of their own area's Liberation War will not understand the national history of the Liberation War; this kind of thinking is absurdity. Therefore, there is a strong demand to preserve the memory of the Liberation War appropriately to spread the consciousness and ideals of the Liberation War among everyone. If this demand is not fulfilled, historically, the history-averse Bengali nation will certainly fall into a crisis of existence.

Appendix: 1

A list of Peace Committee of Hatia Union in 1971

Serial	Name	Father's Name	Union	Location
1	Dr. Babar Ali	Buddhi Byapari	Hizli	Hatia
2	Md. Akbar Ali Maulana	Taher (Tungku)	Bhobesh	Hatia
3	Riyad Uddin Sarkar	Abdul Gafur	Bhobesh	Hatia
4	Md. Jahir Uddin	Pondodin	Bhobesh	Hatia
5	Abdul Majid	Kudrutullah Munshi	Ramkhana	Hatia
6	Osimuddin Byapari	Anchhar Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
7	Dr. Sabdul Hossain	Johar Deowani	Bhobesh	Hatia
8	Omar Ali Supi	Ahar Uddin	Bhobesh	Hatia
9	Ajr Uddin Byapari	Ranga Mamud	Ramkhana	Hatia
10	Dr. Hafez Uddin	Nechhab Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
11	Kudrutullah Munshi	Mirullah Sheikh	Hatia Gram	Hatia
12	Kachu Byapari	Nazir Mamud	Hatia Gram	Hatia
13	Michir Uddin	Air Kuthir Gram	Hatia	Hatia
14	Osman Ali Byapari	Ataullah Byapari	Neel Kanth	Hatia
15	Ejab Uddin Munshi	Boksi Teli	Tanti Para	Hatia
16	Bakiatullah Munshi	Mohimuddin	Digal Halla,	Hatia
17	Arif Uddin	Notun Anantapur	Hatia	Hatia
18	Md. Jahir Uddin Master	Tonia Sheikh	Hatia Gram	Hatia
19	Bakiat Tohshildar	Haji Mohimuddin	Hizli	Hatia
20	Md. Chhabed Ali Mondal	Jahar Uddin Mondal	Hizli Goppara	Hatia
21	Osim Uddin Master	Fokor Uddin Shonar	Bhobesh	Hatia
22	Fukatu Munshi	Bhobesh	Bhobesh	Hatia
23	Pagla Munshi	Abhibulla	Anantapur	Hatia
24	Md. Ahamed Ali	Nasibulla	Ramramapur	Hatia
25	Md. A. Shamad	Alep Uddin	Shyampur	Hatia

The list of collaborators Razakars who assisted the Pakistani military in the genocide in Hatia:⁴

Serial	Name of the Martyr	Fathers Name	Village	Union
1.	Md. Abdul Jabbar Munshi	Ashmat Ali	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
2.	Md. Showkat Ali	Shomol Mistry	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
3.	Md. Abdur Shamad Deptari	Jalil	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
4.	Md. Eshob Ali	Komor Uddin Byapari	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
5.	Md. Hatem Ali	Ati Ullah	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
6.	Md. Abdul Salam	Md. Abdul Jabbar	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
7.	Md. Ahammed Ali	Badiyatullah	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
8.	Md. Monotaj Ali	Khizab Uddin Teli	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
9.	Md. Osman Ali	Pondodin Mondal	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
10.	Md. Fazl Uddin	Khar Sheikh	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
11.	Md. Wadud Ali	A. Gofur	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
12.	Md. Abdü Jalil Molana	Nozr Sheikh	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
13.	Md. Nozir Sheikh		Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
14.	Sojor Uddin	Bazari Sheikh	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
15.	Md. Shahab Uddin	Sojor Uddin	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
16.	Md. Abul Kashem Munshi	Echan Teli	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
17.	Md. Anjan Ali	Kachu Byapari	Hatia Gram	Hatia
18.	Md. Kobbach Ali	Komor Uddin		Hatia
19.	Manta Sheikh			Hatia
20.	Osman Byapari	Bakriyat	Ramkhana	Hatia
21.	Md. Abdul Hamid	Ramkhana	Hatia	Hatia
22.	Hekra Byapari	Choleman	Ramkhana	Karim Baksh
23.	Karim Baksh			Ramkhana
24.	Md. Akbar Ali	Ajraddin Byapari	Ramkhana	Hatia
25.	Md. Shahidur Molana	Tamij Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
26.	Miyazan		Ramkhana	Hatia
27.	Md. Shahjahan	Amin Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
28.	Md. Shamsur Ali	Nezhab Uddin	Neelkantha	Hatia
29.	Md. Akbar Ali	Chadiya Basheer	Ramkhana	Hatia
30.	Theru Sheikh	Anchhar Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
31.	Md. Abu Bakkar Sarkar	Kashem Ali Sarkar	Anantapur	Hatia
32.	Md. Jabiya Haque	Azimuddin	Anantapur	Hatia
33.	Md. Zaher Ali	Nozubuddin	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
34.	Md. Mazur Uddin	Nezhab Uddin	Sonar Para	Hatia
35.	Kashem Munshi	Anantapur Sonar Para	Hatia	Hatia
36.	Md. Moaj Uddin Munshi	Mehar Sheikh	Anantapur Gaburjan	Hatia

Serial	Name of the Martyr	Fathers Name	Village	Union
37.	Md. Abdullya Munshi	Hayapat Sonar	Hijli Goppara	Hatia
38.	Molana Hadibur Zaman	Fukatul Munshi	Hatia Bhavesh	Hatia
39.	Fazl Uddin	Tonu Mamud	Hijli Goppara	Hatia
40.	Md. Chamad Ali	Bakijatullah Munshi	Hijli	Hatia
41.	Ekka Munshi	Mahimuddin	Hijli	Hatia
42.	Md. Abed Ali	Jahir Uddin Mondal	Hijli Goppara	Hatia
43.	Md. Shamsur Ali	Bosartulla Byapari	Goyal Para	Hatia
44.	Md. Khalek Dulal	Kashem Ali	Chira Khaoyar Paar	Hatia

Appendix: 2

Below is the list of martyrs who sacrificed their lives in Hatia genocide:

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
1.	Kachu Sheikh	Neda Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
2.	Nochiyat Ulya	Manu Ulya	Anantapur	Hatia
3.	Anchhar Uddin	Ashar Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
4.	Abdal	Mesher Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
5.	Chhiruddin	Mesher Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
6.	Amzad	Amin	Anantapur	Hatia
7.	Chhapor Uddin	Amin	Anantapur	Hatia
8.	Ajim Uddin	Haradhan	Anantapur	Hatia
9.	Babur Uddin	Afnan Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
10.	Keru Mamud	Afnan Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
11.	Aji Sheikh	Bhantu	Anantapur	Hatia
12.	Babar Ali	Mati Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
13.	Dhania	Towa	Anantapur	Hatia
14.	Pachu Sheikh	Sumaddi	Anantapur	Hatia
15.	Jalil	Habibatul	Anantapur	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
16.	Jabbar	Habibatul	Anantapur	Hatia
17.	Yusuf	Ahsan	Anantapur	Hatia
18.	Somser Ali	Vasha Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
19.	Ibrahim	Vasha Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
20.	Shanto Rabidas	Vobesh Rabidas	Bakshiganj	Buraburi
21.	Abu Bakar	Shariat Ullah	Anantapur	Hatia
22.	Rahim Uddin	Imir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
23.	Achir Uddin	Nesab Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
24.	Foyez Uddin	Nosir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
25.	Neloch Mamod	Toker Mamod	Anantapur	Hatia
26.	Mazhar Ali	Asan Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
27.	Kofil Uddin	Anur Teli	Anantapur	Hatia
28.	Hafez	Checharu Shekh	Anantapur	Hatia
29.	Babar Uddin	Seper Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
30.	Mojibor	Asan Teli	Anantapur	Hatia
31.	Mohubar Rahman	Asan Teli	Anantapur	Hatia
32.	Jomila Khatun	Babar Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
33.	Kachua Shekh	Seper Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
34.	Faizan bibi	Foyez Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
35.	Abdur Rahman	Alep Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
36.	Sahab Uddi n	Isir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
37.	Kachua Sheikh	Bosir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
38.	Elahi Box	Soim Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
39.	Gasul Sheikh	Tusku Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
40.	Kopur Uddin	Boiragi Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
41.	Jotib Ali	Pagla Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
42.	Khoirab Ali	Pagla Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
43.	Ahammad Ali	Umalu Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
44.	Khasiat Ullah	Zahir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
45.	Gansar Ali	Soj Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
46.	Akbar Ali	Akoddi Sharkar	Anantapur	Hatia
47.	Ujir Ali	Shalka Choukidar	Anantapur	Hatia
48.	Azim Uddin	Ezam Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
49.	Alim Uddin	Azim Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
50.	Afaz Uddin	Azim Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
51.	Amin		Anantapur	Hatia
52.	Sohor Maulavi		Anantapur	Hatia
53.	Chuto Kachua	Nes Mamod	Anantapur	Hatia
54.	Nes Mamod	Haradon	Anantapur	Hatia
55.	Amzad Ali	Ajuddi	Satvita	Hatia
56.	Haidar Ali	Usman Ali	Ataro Paika	Hatia
57.	Husen Ali	Somir Uddin	Satvita	Hatia
58.	Abdur Rahman	Jomir Uddin	Ataro Paika	Hatia
59.	Ajor Uddin	Velu Mamod	Ataro Paika	Hatia
60.	Samser Ali	A Malek	Jolongar Kuti	Buraburi
61.	Ekabbor Ali	Babar Ali	Jolongar Kuti	Buraburi
62.	Bohaddi Shekh	Khaibor Ali	Bairagir Hat	Hatia
63.	Socha Shekh	Boiraga Ali	Nochir Beeta	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
64.	Babar Uddin	Boiragi Shekh	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
65.	Bocha Sheikh	Boiragi Shekh	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
66.	Abdul Jalil	Bocha Shekh	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
67.	Hamed Ali	Gedla Shekh	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
68.	Benssar Ali	Jod Shekh	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
69.	Ansar Ali	Jod Shekh	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
70.	Majar uddin	Asoddi Shekh	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
71.	Pagla	Jonab Uddin	Nochir Beeta	Hatia
72.	Abdul Jabbar	Ohor Uddin	Hatia Bhobes	Hatia
73.	Mamod Ali	Okor Uddin	Chor Bagua	Hatia
74.	Kesab Uddin	Hamu Shekh	Chor Bagua	Hatia
75.	Nesab Uddin	Ketab Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
76.	Haran Shekh	Karim Ullah	Anantapur	Hatia
77.	Haidar Ali	Forman Ali	Gola para	Hatia
78.	A Ajij	Mohammad Ali	Gola para	Hatia
79.	A Jobbar	Hami d Ali	Gola para	Hatia
80.	Mozammal Hoque	A Karim	Gola para	Hatia
81.	Umar Ali	Joinal Shekh	Sakhari Gram	Hatia
82.	Babar Ali	Joinal Shekh	Sakhari Gram	Hatia
83.	Mohammd Ali	Hashem Ali	Sakhari Gram	Hatia
84.	Umel Sheikh	Hojoddi Shekh	Sakhari Gram	Hatia
85.	Motia Rahman	Nojoddi Shekh	Sakhari Gram	Hatia
86.	Bahar Ali	Khoibor Ali	Kutir Par	Hatia
87.	Jobbar Ali	Johoddi Shekh	Kutir Par	Hatia
88.	Azhar Ali	Monia Shekh	Kutir Par	Hatia
89.	Motiur Rahman	Manik Shekh	Kutir Par	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
90.	Dukhu Shekh	Amuddi Shekh	Kutir Par	Hatia
91.	Joinuddin	Sabbar Ali	Kutir Par	Hatia
92.	Mangla Shekh	Azimuddi	Kutir Par	Hatia
93.	Noisdha Ali	Akalu Shekh	Majipara	Hatia
94.	Momena Khatun	Ujir Ali	Majipara	Hatia
95.	Bisamoi Das	Joma Das	Majipara	Hatia
96.	Samuk Barman	Madai Barman	Majipara	Hatia
97.	Soleya Shekh	Jonardi Shekh	Majipara	Hatia
98.	Manik Mia	Omullo Shekh	Majipara	Hatia
99.	Hossen Ali	Monardi Shekh	Majipara	Hatia
100.	Momor Uddin	Jainal Shekh	Moddhogram	Hatia
101.	Jomir Uddin	Soimuddin Shekh	Moddhogram	Hatia
102.	Emran Ali	Joinal Shekh	Bakshipara	Hatia
103.	Monoddi	Azimuddi	Bakshipara	Hatia
104.	Ajuddi	Noser Mamod	Bakshipara	Hatia
105.	Noklu Mia	A Malek	Bakshipara	Hatia
106.	Hazrat Ali	Belal Shekh	Bakshipara	Hatia
107.	Nazimuddi	Jamal Shekh	Bakshipara	Hatia
108.	Ammar Ali	Khailar Ali	Bakshipara	Hatia
109.	Mostofa	Rahimuddi	Bakshipara	Hatia
110.	Mizanur	Sonturla	Haparbita	Hatia
111.	Lokman	Nazimuddin	Haparbita	Hatia
112.	Monir Hossain	Lokman Ali	Haparbita	Hatia
113.	Aminul	Kabu Mamod	Haparbita	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
114.	Somser	Kolimuddi	Haparbita	Hatia
115.	Ataur	Bosiat Ullah	Haparbita	Hatia
116.	Monira Shekh	Abul Kashem	Chorbagua	Hatia
117.	Lal Babu	Kasher Mamud	Char Bagua	Hatia
118.	Nasim Uddin	A. Sattar	Char Bagua	Hatia
119.	Apas Sheikh	Kalu Sheikh	Char Bagua	Hatia
120.	A. Rashid	A. Karim	Char Bagua	Hatia
121.	Iqbal	Khachar Mamud	Char Bagua	Hatia
122.	Tamiz Uddin	Sona Ullah	Char Bagua	Hatia
123.	Gopal Uddin	Nazim Uddin	Char Bagua	Hatia
124.	Habibur	Mam Uddin	Char Bagua	Hatia
125.	Ekabbar Ali	Chamtullah	Char Bagua	Hatia
126.	Mobarak Ali	Osman Ali	Char Bagua	Hatia
127.	Alim Ullah	Taker Mamud	Char Bagua	Hatia
128.	Kasem Ali	Kasim Uddin	Char Bagua	Hatia
129.	Babor Uddin	Nasir Mamud	Chakir Para	Hatia
130.	Abdur Rahman	A. Majid	Chakir Para	Hatia
131.	Alal Haque	Golzar	Chakir Para	Hatia
132.	Mofiz Uddin	Dacim Uddin	Chakir Para	Hatia
133.	A. Karim	A. Aziz	Chakir Para	Hatia
134.	Onabddi	Majir Uddin	Chakir Para	Hatia
135.	Ala Box	Taker Mamud	Chakir Para	Hatia
136.	Nazmul	Haidar Ali	Chakir Para	Hatia
137.	Zahir Uddin	Joynal Uddin	Chandipur	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
138.	Golap Uddin	Joynal Uddin	Chandipur	Hatia
139.	Nayeb Ali	Alal Haque	Chandipur	Hatia
140.	Chakmal Hossain	Azuddin	Chandipur	Hatia
141.	A. Rashid	A. Rahman	Chandipur	Hatia
142.	Nozar Ali	Osman Ali	Chandipur	Hatia
143.	Hojrat Ali	Khoybar Ali	Baksiganj	Buraburi
144.	Emran Ali	Hazari Mamud	Baksiganj	Buraburi
145.	Ershadul Haque	Jomir Uddin	Baksiganj	Buraburi
146.	Jalal Uddin	Mobarak Ali	Baksiganj	Buraburi
147.	A. Karim	A. Rahman	Satbhita	Hatia
148.	Soleman Ali	Lokman Ali	Satbhita	Hatia
149.	Emdadul Haque	Faridul Haque	Satbhita	Hatia
150.	Zahidul	Farman Ali	Satbhita	Hatia
151.	Waliur	Kasem Ali	Satbhita	Hatia
152.	Mahtab Ali	A. Majid	Satbhita	Hatia
153.	Ejazul Haque	Phale Mamud	Mitaikar	Hatia
154.	Rohij Uddin	Phale Mamud	Mitaikar	Hatia
155.	Riazul Haque	Kasiddi Sheikh	Kaliganj	Hatia
156.	Farman Ali	Hossain Ali	Kaliganj	Hatia
157.	Siddiqur Rahman	Tamizuddin	Kaliganj	Hatia
158.	Bacher Ali	Jamal Uddin	Bharatbali	Hatia
159.	Habibullah	Jamal Uddin	Fulchhari	Hatia
160.	Sekandar Ali	Mojibur Rahman	Fulchhari	Hatia
161.	Tasher Ali	Faraz Uddin	Fulchhari	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
162.	Ala Bux	Joynal	Fulchhari	Hatia
163.	Harun Miah	Foyjar Ali	Chandpur	Hatia
164.	Elahi Bux	Foyjar Ali	Chandpur	Hatia
165.	Dewan Ali	Tariqul Haque	Balabari	Hatia
166.	Ismail Hossain	Tozammel	Badarganj	Hatia
167.	Johurul Haque	Farman Ali	Badarganj	Hatia
168.	Rofiqul Islam	Jomir Uddin	Kazigram	Hatia
169.	Fazlu Sheikh	Ekabbar Ali	Kazigram	Hatia
170.	Azizul Haque	Bachir Uddin	Botola	Hatia
171.	Nazrul Islam	Hojrat Ali	Belkuchi	Hatia
172.	Helal Miah	Kasem Ali	Belkuchi	Hatia
173.	Delbar Hos sain	Chotku Mamud	Belkuchi	Hatia
174.	Tofayel Haque	Kachu Mamud	Kashipur	Hatia
175.	Motin Miah	Chepatulya	Kashipur	Hatia
176.	Chand Miah	Johaddi Sheikh	Fatulla	Hatia
177.	Motiulya	Kalam Uddin	Fatulla	Hatia
178.	Umar Ali	Kasem Ali	Fatulla	Hatia
179.	Eshar Ali	Johaddi Sheikh	Tongar	Hatia
180.	Velka Sheikh	Azimuddin	Tongar	Hatia
181.	Asadul Haque	Shohor Uddin	Tongar	Hatia
182.	Moyen Uddin	Baru Sheikh	Tongar	Hatia
183.	Mojir Uddin	Nekat Uddin	Charbanda	Hatia
184.	A. Jalil	Mejar Ali	Charbanda	Hatia
185.	Harun Miah	Rahimuddin	Charbanda	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
186.	Kethat Uddin Sheikh	Haydar Ali	Charbanda	Hatia
187.	A. Gafur	Bachir Uddin	Charbanda	Hatia
188.	Madari Sheikh	Hazari Mamud	Charbanda	Hatia
189.	Belal Hossain	Kadimul Haque	Charbanda	Hatia
190.	Sookalu Mamud	Toker Mamud	Charbanda	Hatia
191.	Kal Mamud	Ichir Uddin	Charbanda	Hatia
192.	Sona Uddin	Seter Sheikh	Charbanda	Hatia
193.	Lutfur Rahman	Toker Ali	Charbanda	Hatia
194.	Niyamat Ali	Bachir Mamud	Sonarpara	Hatia
195.	Oshiyat Uddin	Fetro Sheikh	Sonarpara	Hatia
196.	Jonabuddin	Fetro Sheikh	Sonarpara	Hatia
197.	Bachuddin Sheikh	Jelal Uddin	Sonarpara	Hatia
198.	Monira Sheikh	Dhan Mamud	Sonarpara	Hatia
199.	Sharitulya	Phul Mamud	Sonarpara	Hatia
200.	Uzir Ali	Sona Sheikh	Sonarpara	Hatia
201.	Nawab Ali	A. Jalil	Anantapur	Hatia
202.	Bangu Sheikh	Tachedi Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
203.	Islam	Bachatulya	Anantapur	Hatia
204.	Wahid Ali	Bachatulya	Anantapur	Hatia
205.	Seru Sheikh	Hamed Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
206.	Amuddin Sheikh	Tachaddi Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
207.	Lal Miah	Harun Miah	Anantapur	Hatia
208.	Ohab Ali	A. Bari	Anantapur	Hatia
209.	Shohor Uddin	Bhola Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
210.	Shohor Mamud	A. Jabbar	Anantapur	Hatia
211.	Velku Sheikh	Nasir Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
212.	Jelabuddin	Aladdi	Anantapur	Hatia
213.	Asharu Sheikh	Betaru Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
214.	A. Baki	A. Hadi	Anantapur	Hatia
215.	Foyzar	Joynal	Anantapur	Hatia
216.	Monim	Johaddi Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
217.	Mamun	Rahim Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
218.	Khairul	A. Jabbar	Anantapur	Hatia
219.	Manik	Dhonia Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
220.	Tariq Uddin	Jatir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
221.	Borkat	Jeladdi	Anantapur	Hatia
222.	Tashru	Ajuddin	Anantapur	Hatia
223.	Ashraful	A. Gani	Chakir Para	Hatia
224.	Ketur	Azizul	Chakir Para	Hatia
225.	Helal	Azizul	Chakir Para	Hatia
226.	Matiulya	Jonabuddin Sheikh	Chakir Para	Hatia
227.	Nazir	Jonabuddin Sheikh	Chakir Para	Hatia
228.	Hesfari	Jamal Uddin	Chakir Para	Hatia
229.	Heddul	Jamal Uddin	Chakir Para	Hatia
230.	Nasiruddin	Ohaddi Sheikh	Chakir Para	Hatia
231.	Rezaul	Badiuzzaman	Chakir Para	Hatia
232.	Maju Uddin	Abdul	Anantapur	Hatia
233.	Shohor Uddin	Abdul	Anantapur	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
234.	Macher Uddin	-	Anantapur	Hatia
235.	Sabarat	-	Anantapur	Hatia
236.	Moyen Uddin	-	Anantapur	Hatia
237.	A. Aziz	Arjuddin	Anantapur	Hatia
238.	A. Latif	Arjuddin	Anantapur	Hatia
239.	A. Gaffar	Arjuddin	Anantapur	Hatia
240.	A. Jabbar	Osman Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
241.	Meher Bibi	Chamat Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
242.	Goljar	Shohor Misitri	Anantapur	Hatia
243.	Ali Sheikh	Kormot Ullah	Anantapur	Hatia
244.	Mojibur	Alef Udd in	Nilkathi	Hatia
245.	Fakuddin	Malgambhi	Anantapur	Hatia
246.	Jhor Sheikh	Hazar Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
247.	Shoru Sheikh	Hazar Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
248.	Khadim Mamud	Hazar Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
249.	Amin Uddin	Jenatulya	Nilkathi	Hatia
250.	Nazim Uddin	Fozar Chatu	Nilkathi	Hatia
251.	Sutku	Meher Pagla	Anantapur	Hatia
252.	Nazir Hossain	Alef Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
253.	Chattar Ali	-	Anantapur	Hatia
254.	Durlav	-	Nilkathi	Hatia
255.	Nechab Uddin	-	Nilkathi	Hatia
256.	Khatab Uddin	Ramkhana		Hatia
257.	Kachhim Uddin	Jenatulya	Gojimari	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
258.	Eyaaz Uddin	Jenatulya	Anantapur	Hatia
259.	Kashem Pagla	Pagla Byapari	Gojimari	Hatia
260.	Azaddin	Basbura	Gojimari	Hatia
261.	Nasim	Azuddin	Gojimari	Hatia
262.	Mahijon	Kachhim Uddin	Gojimari	Hatia
263.	Meherjon	Ejab Uddin	Gojimari	Hatia
264.	Kandra	Bengu Fakir	Gojimari	Hatia
265.	Ansar	Bengu Fakir	Gojimari	Hatia
266.	Joyen Uddin	Moyen Byapari	Ramkhana	Hatia
267.	Sahadul Sheikh	Hazar Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
268.	Babar Uddin	Sahadul Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
269.	Boktar Ali	Sahadul Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
270.	Shobhan	Alim	Anantapur	Hatia
271.	Kader Ali	Heskar i	Anantapur	Hatia
272.	Sabed Ali	Shoru Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
273.	Mohammad Ali	Macher Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
274.	Foyjar Ali	Osman Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
275.	Banu Sheikh	Babar Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
276.	Boktar Ali	Rojab Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
277.	Sangsar Ali	Thakal	Anantapur	Hatia
278.	Mondol Sheikh	Zahid Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
279.	Tashlim Uddin	Toyen Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
280.	Tahfel Hock	Toyen Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
281.	Mozammel Hock	Toyen Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
282.	A. Chattar	Sholimul Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
283.	Meja Sheikh	Pagla	Anantapur	Hatia
284.	Mozammel Munsif	Khadim Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
285.	Kashem Ali	Khadim Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
286.	Eshar Ali	Khadim Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
287.	Mahaddin	Amatulya	Anantapur	Hatia
288.	Ibra Sheikh	Sholk Byapari	Anantapur	Hatia
289.	Azimuddin	Gendala	Anantapur	Hatia
290.	Abbas	Gendala	Anantapur	Hatia
291.	A. Hafiz	Ahsan Akand	Ramkhana	Hatia
292.	Yakub	Miazuddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
293.	Foyjar	Afan Sheikh	Ramkhana	Hatia
294.	Fazal Sheikh	Hasu Sheikh	Ramkhana	Hatia
295.	Chapiyal	Zahid Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
296.	Azizul	Mahim	Ramkhana	Hatia
297.	Boniruddin	Najibuddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
298.	Gohur Dewani	Nasir Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
299.	Tepori Beg	Moghur Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
300.	Kensar	Moti Sheikh	Ramkhana	Hatia
301.	Abul Hossain	Keramat Ali	Ramkhana	Hatia
302.	Habibur Rahman	Najibuddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
303.	A. Hakim	Bacher Sheikh	Ramkhana	Hatia
304.	Pagla Sheikh	Kanchia	Ramkhana	Hatia
305.	Karim Box	Osman	Ramkhana	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
306.	Rostom	Karim Box	Ramkhana	Hatia
307.	A. Rahman	Osman	Ramkhana	Hatia
308.	Eza Sheikh		Ramkhana	Hatia
309.	Meher Ullah	Ghamir Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
310.	Kachu Sheikh	Meher Ullah	Ramkhana	Hatia
311.	Machu Sheikh	Meher Ullah	Ramkhana	Hatia
312.	Akbar Sheikh	Meher Ullah	Ramkhana	Hatia
313.	Jabbar Sheikh	Meher Ullah	Ramkhana	Hatia
314.	Azuruddin	Amiruddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
315.	A. Chattar	Bacher Sheikh	Ramkhana	Hatia
316.	Kashem	Mohij Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
317.	Mojibur	Michuddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
318.	Mojahar	Zahuddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
319.	Shutku	Beda Bhanga	Ramkhana	Hatia
320.	Kolomdi	Kashk	Neelkati	Hatia
321.	Mani Sheikh	Tuni Mamud	Neelkati	Hatia
322.	Naimuddin	Khaimuddin	Neelkati	Hatia
323.	Abul	Amuddin	Neelkati	Hatia
324.	Jobbar	Kosimuddin	Anantapur	
325.	Akbar	Kachimuddin	Anantapur	Hatia
326.	Montaz	Bengu	Anantapur	Hatia
327.	Emaj	Noji Bura	Anantapur	Hatia
328.	Alif Uddin	Abdul	Neelkati	Hatia
329.	Hossain	Osman	Ramkhana	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
330.	Lal Mia	Ashur Uddin	Ramkhana	Hatia
331.	Mohammad Ali	Poyatu Miazzi	Anantapur	Hatia
332.	Shaheed Abu Bakar	Kale Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
333.	Azgar Ali	Fazal Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
334.	Umar Ali	Mishir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
335.	Azahar Ali	Fazal Uddin Bapari	Anantapur	Hatia
336.	Bhedo Sheikh	Mishir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
337.	Javed Ali	Ansar Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
338.	Kheru Sheikh	Ansar Ali	Anantapur	Hatia
339.	Hazrat Ali	Ashraf Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
340.	Kazim Uddin	Bashar Uddin Bapari	Anantapur	Hatia
341.	Kalpana Baspo	Babhis Basfo	Anantapur	Hatia
342.	Ibrahim Ali	Bhasha Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
343.	Shamsher Ali	Bhasha Mamud	Anantapur	Hatia
344.	Ansar Manu	Asar Uddin Bapari	Anantapur	Hatia
345.	Babu Mia	Apan Teli	Anantapur	Hatia
346.	Mahaddin	Akkadi Shikari	Anantapur	Hatia
347.	Afzal Hossain	Hedel Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
348.	Ajit	Bhangtu Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
349.	Babar Ali	Moti Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
350.	Mangal Thakur	Deben Thakur	Bonarpara	Hatia
351.	Akbar Ali	Akkad Sarker	Anantapur	Hatia
352.	Eladdin Sheikh	Aptan	Anantapur	Hatia
353.	Gensar Ali	Sajar Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
354.	Khoyat Ulla	Zahir Uddin	Anantapur	Hatia
355.	Gohul	Tungsu Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
356.	Kapaddin	Boiragi	Anantapur	Hatia
357.	Khaibar Ali	Pagla Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
358.	Ahmed Ali	Rumal Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
359.	Kachua Sheikh	Pagla Sheikh	Anantapur	Hatia
360.	Amuddin	Eshan Teli	Char Gujimari	Hatia
361.	Sapar Maulvi	Eshan Teli	Char Gujimari	Hatia
362.	Amjad Al i	Amin Uddin	Char Gujimari	Hatia
363.	Amin Uddin	Hedel Sheikh	Char Gujimari	Hatia
364.	Apaz Uddin	Safar Maulvi	Airkathi	Hatia
365.	Azimuddin	Haradhan Mamud	Char Gujimari	Hatia
366.	Alimuddin	Azimuddin	Char Gujimari	Hatia
367.	A. Jalal	Haypuddin (Valkha)	Char Gujimari	Hatia
368.	Nes Mamud	Haradhan Mamud	Char Gujimari	Hatia
369.	Dhoniya Sheikh	Tora Sheikh	Char Gujimari	Hatia
370.	Babar Ali	Tora Sheikh	Char Gujimari	Hatia
371.	Aji Sheikh	Vangtu Sheikh	Char Gujimari	Hatia
372.	Abdal Hossain	Michir Uddin	Char Gujimari	Hatia
373.	Chini Sheikh	Azizur Sheikh	Char Gujimari	Hatia
374.	Nosiyatulya	Madu Sheikh	Char Gujimari	Hatia
375.	Kachua Sheikh	Neda Teli	Nayadora	Hatia
376.	Aktar Hossain	Gadlu Sheikh	Nayadora	Hatia
377.	Bahar Ullah	Khoti Mianji	Nayadora	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
378.	Akbar Ali	Genla Sheikh	Nayadora	Hatia
379.	Bhola She ikh	Sajim Teli	Nayadora	Hatia
380.	Abdul	-	Nayadora	Hatia
381.	Samchal	-	Nayadora	Hatia
382.	Eshak	-	Nayadora	Hatia
383.	Fukatul Sheikh	Safar Ullah	Nayadora	Hatia
384.	Nokor Ali	Kocher Ali	Nayadora	Hatia
385.	Baher Ali	-	Nayadora	Hatia
386.	Md. Abul Hossain	Khabir Uddin	Ha: Gram	Hatia
387.	Ansar Ali	Mati Ullah	Ha: Gram	Hatia
388.	Komor Uddin Bepari	Haji Meher Ullah	Ha: Gram	Hatia
389.	Kobān Ali	Deyanatulya Bepari	Ha: Gram	Hatia
390.	A: Rahman	Rahmatulya Bepari	Ha: Gram	Hatia
391.	Shishu Bachcha	A: Rahman	Ha: Gram	Hatia
392.	Sayed Ali	Kochim Uddi n	Ha: Gram	Hatia
393.	Mocha: Monamal	Karim Ullā	Ha: Gram	Hatia
394.	Mo: Foroj Ullā	Kale Mamud	Ha: Gram	Hatia
395.	Mo: Faraj Ullā	Nishpotulya	Ha: Gram	Hatia
396.	Mohir Ali	Faraj Ullā	Ha: Gram	Hatia
397.	Mo: Biburuddi	Oy	Ha: Gram	Hatia
398.	Mo: Ejab Uddin	Oy	Ha: Gram	Hatia
399.	Mo: Chan Mia	Sahir Ali	Ha: Gram	Hatia
400.	Mo: Mojibor Rahman	Ebaratulya	Ha: Gram	Hatia
401.	A: Latif	Mosijuddin	Ha: Gram	Hatia

Serial	Name	Father/Husband's Name	Village	Union
402.	Toneyal	Khadu Mamud	Vatigram	Hatia
403.	Akalu Sheikh	Khoshe Mamud	Vatigram	Hatia
404.	Tamij Uddin	Porobasu	Vatigram	Hatia
405.	Achor Uddin	Toneyā Sheikh	Vatigram	Hatia
406.	Darop Ali	Bochhoddin Teli	Vatigram	Hatia
407.	Amaddin	Guguru Sheikh	Vatigram	Hatia
408.	Mojibor Rahman	Guguru Sheikh	Vatigram	Hatia
409.	Hofez Uddin	Porobasu	Shyampur	Hatia
410.	Abdur Rahman	Arif Uddin	Hi: Goppôpara	Hatia
411.	Sharofen Bewa	Dhonai	Malchar Para	Hatia
412.	A: Jobbar	Ohoddi Sheikh	Malchar Para	Hatia
413.	Lokman Hosen	Sayed Ali Munshi	Kakrirchor	Hatia
414.	Hashim Sordar	Babon Sordar	Kakrirchor	Hatia

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Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Own home, February 13, 2015.

6. Md. Shaher Ali (75), Father: Late Ansar Ali, Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Old Anantapur Market, February 13, 2015.
7. Md. Kamal Uddin (60), Father: Shahid Babar Uddin, Village: Ram Ram Pur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Own home, February 14, 2015.
8. Md. Sultan Ali (58), Father: Late Oshimuddin, Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Own business place, February 14, 2015.
9. Md. Mansur Ali (60), Father: Late Sharafuddin, Village: Hijli Goppapara, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Anantapur Market, February 13, 2015.
10. Md. Mizanur Rahman (65), Father: Md. Ashir Uddin Sarker, Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Own home, February 13, 2015.
11. Md. Shamsul Alam (62), Father: Late Monir Uddin, Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bagua, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Anantapur Market, February 13, 2015.
12. BM Abul Hossain (36), Father: Late Badsha Mia, Village: Anantapur, Post Office: Bawa, Union: Hatia, Upazila: Ulipur, District: Kurigram. Interview Location and Date: Hatia Union Office, February 14, 2015.