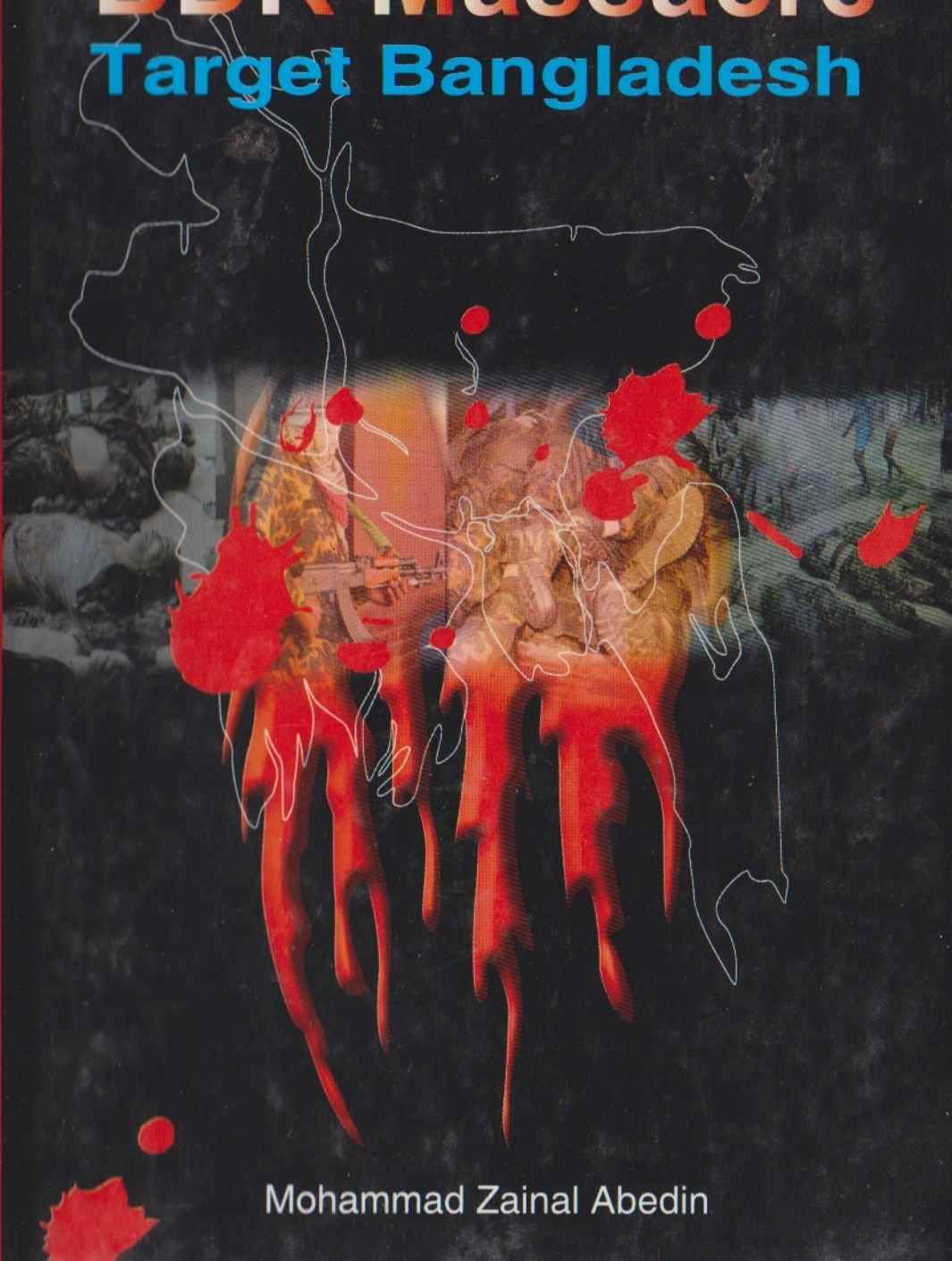


# BDR Massacre

## Target Bangladesh



Mohammad Zainal Abedin

# **BDR Massacre: Target Bangladesh**

**Mohammad Zainal Abedin**



**Dedicated**  
**To our those beloved Army officers**  
**Who were killed in BDR Headquarters**



# **MASSACRE: TARGET BANGLADESH**

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## Foreword

It gives me immense pleasure to write foreword for the book *BDR Massacre: Target Bangladesh* authored by Mohammad Zainal Abedin. The author has taken severe pains to chronicle one of the most tragic events of our contemporary history, the massacre of 57 army officers of our army on the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> February this year in a heinous plot to give a mortal blow to our independence and sovereignty of our country. The author has presented the massacre in the backdrop of Indo-Bangladesh relations, which has not been savory so to speak, though the expectations were that the two neighbours would be very friendly in the interest of welfare of the people of both the countries.

One need not agree with everything that the author wrote in the book. But his efforts to record the events of this massacre are commendable. Every sentence of the book is an explosion of his emotion that rocked his mind by the tragic incident. Naturally any emotional outburst cannot be fully objective. For his write-up he has depended entirely on newspaper and internet sources, which often verge on mere speculation and conjecture. As source materials for history these are useful, but not entirely dependable. I appreciate the reasons for this limitation, as he could not access the classified documents, nor could he personally interview relevant persons. Yet the value of the book lies in putting together whatever he could gather in so short a time. In a genuinely open society a book written on such a grave incident of contemporary nature is usually more incisive and thoroughgoing. Ours is not an open society, nor our State strong. I do not therefore expect Abedin to achieve the heights attained by Thomas L. Friedman, Adrian Levy and Catherine Scott-Clark or others in the west.

In this book the author has pointed his fingers at India. Many in our country would agree with Abedin. That is one thing, but

it is difficult to establish this conclusion with aid of hard evidence. Cunning and crafty operators hardly leave any evidence for a weak and gullible suffer. How could a weak and powerless country dare to speak against a powerful one with immense capacity to create troubles? That explains why the terms of reference of the enquiry committees did not contain instruction to unearth involvement of foreign powers. However, irreparable damage has been done to the very foundation of our country. We had not been vigilant. Now we pay the price. Let us bring an end to the blame game and concentrate our energies and commitment to protect the honour and dignity of our State. To find the involvement of foreign powers in this case would be just like seeing the reflections in a mirror without ever being able to catch them.

Writing contemporary history irrespective of size and depth is always very difficult. R. Palme Dutt in the preface to his book, 'Problems of Contemporary History' has written, "Contemporary history is a dangerous subject to handle. It is full of explosive material. Much essential information will not be known until many years later, as documents are released and memoirs published. Passions and partisanship can obscure objective judgment. Anyone who attempts to write contemporary history in a more durable form than a current journalistic article is laying his head on the block for the executioner. Nevertheless, contemporary history is the most important history of all to handle. It is the events of our day which need to be studied and assessed, not only in current polemical treatment, but with an attempt at serious understanding of how they have arisen and where they leading." The reader is thus amply forewarned despite the pitfalls I recommend that the book should be read with interest by all those who are interested in the affairs of Bangladesh.

June 30, 2009  
Dhaka.

Mahbub Ullah

## **Author's Explanation**

Bangladesh survived yet another debacle that extremely stunned and aggrieved the Bangladeshis living in home and abroad. Bangladeshis have no room to mourn the brutal murder of the 57 brilliant officers of our beloved and glorious Army, the vanguard of our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity who were the victims of the abrupt and unimaginable BDR (Bangladesh Rifles) mutiny inside its headquarters in Dhaka on February 25 and 26 (2009). We express our heartfelt solidarity with and sympathy to the members of those bereaved families that lost their beloved ones.

The shocking holocaust that occurred at Peelkhana has little precedence in the contemporary history. Even the horrible atrocities of the Serbian beasts against the Muslims, destruction of Khyazom by Changish Khan, ruination of Baghdad by Halaku Khan, etc. were not so abrupt and selective. It cannot be compared even to the annihilation of the Jews by Hitler. The bloodstained BDR massacre was added to scar of 1971 that all along pained the nation caused by our adversaries.

In 1971 the mastermind of the massacre was open and we knew our enemies. We were fighting for a cause — to liberate our country. But it is somewhat difficult to identify the enemies of the Peelkhana incident. Some media reports mentioned that some killers came from a neighbouring country and sneaked to that country after the massacre. Bangladesh neighboured by India and Myanmar in three sides in the West, North and East and Bay of Bengal in the South. Bangladesh follows a universally accepted foreign policy – friendship with all, enmity to none. Being a peace-loving country Bangladesh was supposed not be disturbed by its neighbours. There is no record that Bangladesh ever intruded into its neighbours' territory using any excuse. We neither design to interfere in other's internal affairs nor will we allow others to play this ugly game in our

affairs. Still we are the victims of many hegemonic designs. Since its inception Bangladesh faces overt and covert sabotage and subversive attacks let loose by our neighbours, particularly India. To keep Bangladesh fragile in all sectors, India pulls us from behind our back so that we cannot stand on our own feet and proceed towards stability and economic prosperity. With this end in view, mercenaries were created from amongst us who are let loose to commit various overt and covert subversive activities. Two parallel and rival groups were created among the freedom fighters to compel the interim exile government to sign uneven treaty to make Bangladesh a subservient country. After December 16, 1971 Bangladesh was plundered, counterfeit paper currencies were printed to create unmanageable inflation that led to unprecedented famine; goodowns and mills and factories were set on fire to make Bangladesh a monopoly market of India and capture its international market, armed groups and so-called communist cells like Purbabangla Sharbahara Party, Gano Bahini, Jano-judda Lal Pataka, etc., and Islamic extremist groups like JMB and others were floated that caused reign of terror in the country. Uneasy non-academic was created situation in the educational institutions to arrange the migration of the Bangladeshi students to Indian schools and colleges. Bangladesh was kept politically destabilized and disunited. Two Presidents were killed who were India's eyesores for their patriotic role and the Armed Forces were weakened and made controversial by staging coups and countercoups. To ruin economy and local industries hartal (general strike), blockade and sit-in programmes, etc. were fueled and staged so that Bangladesh totally depends on India. It is difficult for us to get out from such curses.

There lies a real dilemma for Bangladesh in forging some form of much needed unity to stand concrete against constant onslaught of Indian hegemony. Indian policy makers are well aware that the traditional method of occupying a country by force is neither appreciable nor acceptable in the current world

scenario. Today, to run over a country, an aggressor psychologically cripples civil the force of a nation and reduces its economy to shambles and creates such a situation that its citizens no longer possess mental strength and inspiration to be self-reliant. Indian spy agency RAW (Research and Analysis Wing) persistently is attempting to create such a situation in Bangladesh. It is known to all that Indian intelligence agencies are engaged in disruptive activities to create such an unbearable awkward crisis in Bangladesh so that demand for Indian intervention in Bangladesh is raised from within. In fact, India has a condemnable history of forcibly swallowing many regions like Hyderabad, Manvadhar, Goa, Dumn, Deue and Kashmir and of course not forgetting the illegal and conspiratorial annexation of Sikkim, a tiny and rocky mountainous kingdom of the Himalayas. Even India's annexation of seven States of Eastern Asia what India terms as northeastern India, was not based on people's sentiment, hope and aspiration. It is to be mentioned that the entire region was never within Indian Empire before the East India Company hatching conspiracy captured and annexed it to the British Empire in between in 1826-30. Recalling all these it would be quite naive to believe that India is serious capture a strategically important country like Bangladesh as this annexation seems necessary for it to suppress the on-going liberation struggles in North-Eastern Indian States bordering Bangladesh. Such annexation is also imperative to implement its dream of so-called 'Akhand Bharat' theory.

With that end in view, India undertakes various notorious and uncivilised cruel steps. The latest one is the debacle in BDR Headquarters. To implement its multi-pronged intrigues, India fueled the BDR carnage to ruin the two main defense wings of the country. India desires that Bangladesh should not have a strong and viable Army in Bangladesh, its border should remain open and unprotected, and above all, the Bangladeshis should remain poor, chaotic and disunited.

The plan and pattern of the mutiny and its unprecedented havoc within the shortest period of time, uncovers one truth that the mutiny was preplanned having deep-rooted conspiracy of destroying not only our Army, but also the country. Massacre in BDR Headquarters rocked the foundation of our country and endangered its existence. "Whoever staged this debacle, it is clear that it was masterminded by alien power that designs to weaken the Army and bring the people and the Army face to face ----." (Mokkarom Hosen: Naya Diganta: March 7, 2009). It was not done whimsically. Besides, a section of BDR jawans revolted in 34 BDR units of the country. Such a large operation could not be carried out so efficiently without prior motivation, preparation and financial support. It was designed by the adversaries of Bangladesh so that the nation is divided into two groups --- Army versus BDR, ---- which would lead to a civil war.

So-called Bangladeshi terrorists or militants do not have the ability to ever stage such lengthy havoc at the headquarters of a front-ranking defence agency. No terrorist would ever dare to launch tempest inside the highly sophisticated BDR Headquarters, if they are not highly trained with strong support behind. None of the so-called mutineers were killed or injured or arrested during the massacre. It means, all the killers knew one another and nobody countered or challenged them. Above all, they knew whom they would kill – the Army officers only. Terrorist or militant attacks generally occur on civilian targets, and in rare cases, at best on vehicles of security forces, which are very short-lived. The extent of cruelty, ferocity, intensity, dreadfulness, etc., clearly indicate that it was a longstanding well-devised blueprint orchestrated by neighbouring India, as Bangladesh has no other enemy in the world. Indian intelligence agencies motivated and derailed the BDR jawans using BSF and smugglers who had chances to come in contact with them (BDR) in the border areas. India and its Bangladeshi tentacles, in a bid to conceal India's ugly face put forward

various theories to ascribe the responsibility of Peelkhana massacre on the so-called Islamic terrorist groups, or local political parties and persons. Video footages, pictures and reports flashed in the print media, confessional statements of the arrestees, unequivocally point the arrow of suspicion to India that planned and implemented this debacle to liquidate BDR and Bangladesh Army and turn Bangladesh to India's subservient State. On the other hand, India's voluntary and undesirable proposals to Bangladesh that included providing money for BRD, assistance of any type, even sending so-called peace mission, war preparation, reinforcing air force adjoining Bangladesh border, readiness to reconstruct BDR and above all, to intervene in Bangladesh to rescue Sheikh Hasina government, etc., uncover Indian involvement in the debacle.

To prepare a ground for foreign intervention intrigues are in progress so that Bangladesh is branded as a failed and dysfunctional State. The debacle of February 25-26 (2009) was the continuation of that conspiracy what was directed to ruin the two main defense forces at a time. There is no minimum scope to think that the murdering of so many Army officers at a time miraculously coincided with the so-called rebellion of a portion of BDR jawans.

Only the fools will believe that those who shot and killed the Army officers, buried them in mass graves, threw them in drains and sewerage lines, looted BDR arms and residents of the BDR officers, set fire on their residences and burnt some officers and raped women — did commit all those crimes and fled away safely at their own without enjoying others' help. The killers and criminals surely enjoyed the support of some powers that ensured their personal safety. We silently observed massacres, one after another and consume our pains and agonies. Being perplexed and distressed due to inhuman and cruel death of our sons we don't even dare to name the killers. We don't have the moral courage even to express our agony saying "Alas".



Our adversaries killed two birds at one stone at Peelkhana. They killed our talented Army officials and made BDR almost leaderless that shattered our border security in one hand, and made the entire BDR establishment – our symbol of pride and heroism – controversial and brought it to the dock of the accused on the other. What could be greater loss than it for our defense management? This killing operation reduced our defense strength and ability, inflicted heavy blow our Army, and above all, shattered our defense preparedness. Brig. Gen. Mainul Islam, who was appointed as the new DG of BDR immediately after the massacre accurately opined, this holocaust was launched to make our country defenseless.

It is heart-rending that 57 out of the 133 Army officers, who came to BDR Headquarters on the occasion of its Annual BDR Week, were killed under a well-thought blueprint. They were deputed at Peelkhana, BDR units, battalions and sectors throughout the country. It was neither a mutiny, nor outburst of the deprived and agitated common BDR jawans. Under that situation one or two Army officers who were really responsible for the alleged deprivation, corruption, disparity or torture could be the victims of wrath of the derailed BDR members, but not the 57 officers with whom the BDR jawans worked for a long time could not be killed by them. In that case other BDR jawans would have resisted the attackers from killing their bosses. Since it was an integrated alien conspiracy, only the derailed, motivated and hired BDR jawans and their alien accomplices participated and committed the massacre that pained the entire nation.

One can console oneself if anyone of our soldiers dies fighting his enemies in the battlefield. But one cannot be, but terrified and aggrieved when a soldier is killed by his perverted fellow-subordinates or colleagues or unidentified enemies. Question arises, if the officers of the border guards cannot ensure the security of their lives how the border would remain secured. If the government fails to secure the lives of the Army officers

how it will secure the country from foreign invasion. How the common people will feel secured in their own land?

The incident terrifies the entire nation as it signals many more such debacle ahead. Such huge blood might not have quenched the thirst of the hyenas. They will not remain idle. Our foes will not refrain from causing further debacle. I can't guess for how many decades we will have to weep, for how many times our fathers will have to carry the dead bodies of their sons to the graveyards. I can't predict in what form such debacles will reappear and what loss we shall have to incur further. The most uneasy aspect of the tragedy is that our enemies are not officially identified that extremely fails us to face its conspiracies.

Though it is imperative, yet for unknown reasons, the nation was not duly informed who orchestrated this fateful incident against Bangladesh, created crisis for the people and for the existence of the government and above all, for the sovereignty and independence of the country. The incident at Peelkhana was not mere a mutiny of a number of so-called BDR jawans, rather there were far-reaching and well-thought designs behind it.

Ruling and opposition party leaders, even the Prime Minister herself, were of the same conclusion that there was a deep-rooted conspiracy behind the Peelkhana massacre. But for unknown reason government is not so active to uncover and identify the masterminds of the massacre. Print media and participants in 'talk shows' of electronic media alleged that neither of the three probe committees were allowed to work independently and investigate and identify the hidden power, rather their spheres of investigation were made limited imposing preconditions. Nevertheless any sensible individual can identify this power if he tries to get the answers of some questions: who are the enemies of Bangladesh, who do not believe in the separate existence of Bangladesh, who are the beneficiaries of BDR debacle, who are the people that relentlessly try to turn Bangladesh to a 'dysfunctional' or 'failed

State'. People of all strata of life — right from the Prime Minister to the village 'chokidar' — accurately guessed who masterminded the BDR massacre, but the probe committees were not allowed to unveil their ugly faces. Government made the role of the probe committees controversial, as if, the government was serious to hide and protect the mastermind of the debacle and its real accomplices.

We are to reach to the bottom of this diabolic conspiracy against the country's sovereignty and must come out of the partisan closet in order to uphold the necessity of preserving the nation's sovereignty at any cost. That spirit to get to the truth is needed more now than anytime before. George Orwell once said, "In a time of universal deceit, telling the truth is a revolutionary act." Since the nation passes through many deceitful power plays being orchestrated by forces within and without, telling the truth may be the only recourse to save our sovereignty and independence from many more impending catastrophes like Peelkhana tragedy.

Since neither of the probe committees that completed investigations reports so far, due to preconditions and limitations, could name or identify the mastermind or its local toadies who were involved in the BDR debacle, I strongly believe efforts should be made from intellectual level to uncover its ugly face. This spirit, despite my limitations, urged me to work on the issue of BDR debacle, so that our people could identify their foes. I believe what I have done using my limited knowledge and raw language, is incomplete that should be more informative, comprehensive and documentary. I strongly believe, the issue needs further research and hope other patriotic personalities will come forward to document this tragic part of our history so that our coming generations cannot blame us, but get accurate information about it.

A section of the Bangladeshi intellectuals, bureaucrats, journalists, cultural activists, leaders of different political parties and their student fronts directly and indirectly let the

people know that they have warm relations either with America, European or Middle Eastern countries, China, Russia, or even with India or Pakistan. Dependence on others is suicidal not only for the country, but also for them. They seldom think that these countries maintain warm relations with them only for their respective interest. For this reason, most of the heavyweights in or outside power, are subservient to some foreign powers mainly to assume power or to remain in power. Foreign powers use our policymakers and leaders to meet their own strategy and interest. Sometimes they create problems for our country. The problem multiplies in case of India, as it is a newly emerged expansionist bully in the South Asian region and feels pride in exposing and exhibiting it as so-called superpower that it projects by creating unrest and instability in its neighbouring countries and scaring their people. Pro-foreign politics and India-phobia deter our government from uncovering the mastermind of the BDR massacre.

The whole nation is terribly scared seeing the awful cruelty in the BDR debacle. Even most of the nationalist intellectuals, university teachers, military analysts, journalists, leaders of political parties seriously suffer from insecurity. Some of them even claimed that they are the targets of Indian RAW and may face the fate of Dr. Aftab Ahmed, a patriot and scholar who vehemently opposed India's hegemonic design and murdered at his Dhaka University residence. Many of them, out of fear, expressed their inability in writing a preamble for this tiny book apprehending the unpredictable gruesome consequence. Being my sincere well-wishers they suggested me not to play with fire and refrain from writing on this issue right now. It uncovers one reality that India succeeded in intimidating most of our people. They are psychologically frightened and scared of India.

Nonetheless, I saw a ray of hope at the rear end of the tunnel when I called on DR. Mahbub Ullah, a courageous patriot of our time, who really made me optimistic that India's hegemonic bid will not go unchallenged. He without any hesitation readily

agreed to make his effort to write the preamble, which is fiery, unique and inspiring and according to my assessment is the main attraction of this book. I owe to him for his uncompromising support to this tiny work what is entirely dedicated to the cause of our nation. His daring cooperation is an eye-opener for us all. We have no room to suffer from timidity or cowardice or India-phobia.

I sincerely express my gratitude to A S M Goyas Uddin the proprietor of the London-based publishing house Eastern Publications who contributed in various ways to present this tiny work to the nation. Besides, a good number of journalists, intellectuals, cultural activists, particularly Poet Abdul Hye Sikder, Dr. Sawkat Ali of New York Syed Golam Kibria Dipu, etc., helped me selflessly in Preparing this book.

I should admit that for easy understanding of the common readers some issues were repeatedly mentioned in this work, which may irk irritation. I humbly seek pardon from my valued readers for such unintentional limitation. I humbly admit that due to my heavy schedules and shortage of time, readers will face various types of errors and omissions, information gaps, even ambiguities, which will be removed, if Allah blesses me, in the next edition.

My humble efforts will get its genuine recognition if our policymakers, intellectuals, journalists, business communities and bureaucrats, etc. get minimum message to identify our foes and work courageously to face its design. Let all of us stand for our own country for which our sons repeatedly shed their blood. We must not let their blood go in vain. May Allah bless us all and make us real patriots and crusaders to save our country and secure its independence and sovereignty. Long live Bangladesh.

July 10,2009  
Mirpur, Dhaka,  
Bangladesh.

Mohammad Zainal Abedin

# **1 Indo-Bangladesh Relations**

- ➡ Bitter past**
- ➡ Poisonous help**
- ➡ Anti-Bangladesh activities**
- ➡ Bangladesh phobia**



## **Bitter past**

Historical evidences show that the leading Hindus, particularly after the War of Palasy, undertook the treacherous and treasonable policies of dominating their Muslim counterparts with whom they coexisted for centuries. To reach their goal they instead of resisting the British East India Company cooperated with them to establish and prolong foreign rule in Bengal that gradually paved the way for the British not only to engulf whole subcontinent, but also many other regions and countries around the subcontinent and beyond. Throughout the British period, the Muslims had to face two enemies: the British and the Hindus. The Hindus considered all the anti-British movements and crusades and armed resistances initiated by the Muslims to liberate the subcontinent as contrary to Hindu interest and they moved heaven and earth to protect and prolong British rule and exploitation in the subcontinent. As a result the Muslims had to undergo through severe torture and repression from both sides — the British and their local tentacles Hindus who also enjoyed highest privileges throughout the Muslim rule in India. A sense of anti-Muslim communal feeling also germinated in their psyche that the Muslims are inferior to them and they shouldn't have equal rights and privileges to enjoy. Many of them even absurdly claimed that the Muslims are worse to the 'Shudras' (untouchables), the lowest category of people of the Hindu caste system, and should either be reconverted to Hinduism or leave for Arab from where their religion and ancestors came to India.

Even the so-called intellectuals and liberal Hindus, in collaboration with their British masters deprived and squeezed and tortured the Muslims and deterred also those efforts of the British government that could benefit the Muslim community. Even the Hindu leaders of All India National Congress though



claimed themselves secular and liberal in words, were communal and fanatics in deeds. They, like their predecessors, did not believe that even after the end of the British rule in the subcontinent the Muslims should get equal rights and privileges in any field alongside the Hindus, in undivided independent India. This uncompromising policy of the Hindu leaders and policymakers compelled the Muslims to think for a separate homeland for the Muslims. The Hindus vehemently opposed the idea of partitioning the subcontinent and opted to get 'Akhand Bharat' after the end of the British rule. Many Muslim leaders, particularly Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the forerunner of Hindu-Muslim unity according to the Hindus, tried heart and soul, to keep India united with equal rights and privileges for the Muslims and the Hindus. But all the Hindu leaders, including Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Kripalani, failed to rise above their communal line who opposed Jinnah's idea of equal rights and privileges for the Muslims alongside their Hindu counterparts. Under this situation, the Muslims had no other option but to seek for separate Homelands for the Muslims.

When the creation of a Muslim homelands became inevitable, the then Hindu policymakers, beyond their intention and policy temporarily swallowed the creation of the Muslim Pakistan comprising East Bengal, West Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and Northwest Frontier Province. On the other hand, they not only vehemently opposed the idea and demand of an undivided independent sovereign Bengal out of India and Pakistan, rather made it a mandatory precondition that Bengal and Punjab must be divided if a separate country for the Muslims was sure to emerge. These Hindus stood for the partition of Bengal in 1947, though opposed the partition of Bengal in 1905 and frustrated and undid the creation of a new 'East Bengal & Assam Province' with its capital at Dhaka, as that province would have benefited the Muslims.

The Hindu leaders, particularly Gandhi and Nehru, always

dreamed and stood for unified India. On May 23, 1947 Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter written to Ashrafuddin Chowdhury, the then President of Tripura (present Comilla) District Congress attached a precondition for creating a Muslim homeland in the subcontinent. He wrote: "The Congress has stood for the Union of India and still stands for it. But we have previously stated that we are not going to compel any part against its will. If that unfortunately leads to a division, then we accept it. But inevitably such a division must mean a division also of Bengal and Punjab. That is the only way to have a united India soon after. If we can have a united India straight-way without such division, that will, of course, be very welcome."

Labi Collin and Dominic Lapiar in a book 'Mount Batten and the Partition of India' mentioned that Nehru extended his support to the objection of 'Hindu Mahashava' against Independent Bengal. The two writers in the same book quoted Mount Batten as saying: "Pundit Nehru has stated that he would not agree to Bengal being independent. .... In his opinion, East Bengal was likely to be a great embarrassment to Pakistan. Presumably, Pundit Nehru considered East Bengal bound sooner or later to rejoin India."

The then President of Indian Congress Acharya Kripalini just after the Partition of the Subcontinent in 1947 said, "Neither the Congress nor the nation has given up to its claim of United India." India's first home minister Sardar Bollabhbhai Patel in 1947 repeated the dream saying, "Sooner than later, we shall again be united in common allegiance to our nation."

The above statements and others of such pattern disown the existence of independent and sovereign Bangladesh. There is no existence of separate Bangladesh in the clandestine map of 'Akhand Bharat', or 'Ramraj'. Historically Hindus treat the Muslims, particularly the Bengali speaking Muslims, as their enemy and they never recognized them as 'Bengalee'.

To materialize their cherished dream Indian policymakers

explored so many so-called theories like 'India Doctrine', 'Gujral Doctrine', 'Akhand Bharat Theory', 'Greater India Theory', 'Resurrection of India', etc.

Indian leaders since 1947 passionately work to implement the dream and utopian theory of 'Akhand Bharat' denying the existence of other independent countries of the region that extends from Afghanistan to at least Myanmar. Indian policymakers consider the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971 enjoying Indian cooperation a step forward to the reunification of India. The ongoing crisis in Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh was manipulated in New Delhi to materialize that end.

During the last 38 years, Indians directly or indirectly suggested us to merge to India. In 1994, the 'Anandabazarpatrika' of Kolkata published a long article on the so-called crippled economy and political instability of Bangladesh and shamelessly suggested the Bangladeshis in the following way:

"Realising the cruel truth Bangladeshis should rather raise the demand to merge to India." <sup>1</sup>

Repeating the same suggestion at a seminar on South Asian Regional Cooperation held in Dhaka on February 28, 1992, Mayaram Surjon an Indian National Congress leader and the then editor of the 'Daily Ajkal' Questioned, "If Europe can be untied, why can't we return to pre-partition India of 1947."

Indian leaders believe that South Asia is a strategic unit that will be managed and controlled in accordance with Indian demand and requirement. Indians, basing on illogical reasons, feel that they possess the authority to frame regional principles and policies suiting India's national interest. Some of them even feel, India has the right to invade any country that hampers India's interest. Pranab Mukherjee's open declaration to protect Sheikh Hasina from disturbance manifests India's

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the weekly 'Muslim Jahan' Dhaka January 3, 1995).

determination to implement such doctrine.

The determined policy of Indian leaders is to beset Bangladesh with problems after problems. They never tried to be a friendly neighbour. Instead of playing the role of a gracious neighbour and encourage fair trade and commerce between the two nations they decided to be a constant sore in our butt and pester us in every conceivable way. India repeatedly defied the International laws and built numerous dams in the upstream of some of our most prominent rivers without the slightest regards for the desertification and other deadly consequences on vast areas of its next door neighbour. The Indian government has allowed the constructions of countless "phensidyl" and other addictive drug manufacturing factories throughout our borders knowing fully well the devastating effects of those drugs and their potential to totally destroy the minds of our youth. The BSF (with the help of a few corrupt BDR members on our side) works as the agent for these companies to facilitate the movement and distribution of these drugs throughout our country. <sup>2</sup>

Bangladesh is the victim of India's many-fold aggressive policies. The BDR debacle is the manifestation of that hegemonic design. In a recent novel, named 'Pakistan to Burma: Rebirth of India' an Indian national Arbindah Dawal clearly foresaw how all the countries from Pakistan to Myanmar went under Indian domain, what the author branded as 'reunited India'.

Debacle in BDR Headquarters is not an isolated coincident, rather it is a demonstration how India will implement its cruel design to grab Bangladesh. It manifests how skillfully and destructively Indian hyenas could wipe out their eyesores. \*

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<sup>2</sup> Yasmin Bhiyan, March 02, 2009, [http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/detail\\_news\\_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002](http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/detail_news_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002)



## Poisonous help

It is an irony that the historical foe of our forefathers emerged as our friends in 1971. Pro-India elements in Bangladesh for their petty interest forgetting and bypassing India's anti-Bangladesh vicious policies, designs and activities, ruminate India's assistance to our war of liberation in 1971 and brand India a friendly country. It has already been uncovered that India's main task since 1947 was to weaken Muslim power in the subcontinent. With this end in view, India helped us mainly to gradually swallow the Muslim homelands East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (now Pakistan) its arch-enemy and the main obstacle in realizing its geo-strategic aim of establishing itself as the undisputed leader in South Asia and Indian Ocean regions. And India, indeed, has partially succeeded in fulfilling its strategic objectives. Nobody should ignore the break-up of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh as a contributing factor to India's self-confidence and gradual rise as a significant economic and military power.

To deal with us India in 1972 undertook two-pronged policies. It acted overtly as friend, but covertly as foe, provided us shelter in 1971, but misappropriated the lion's share of the international assistance and donation that came in cash and kind for the Bangladeshi refugees.

Common, even the most educated, Bangladeshis, could not foresee and comprehend the inner designs of India why it extended its cooperation to its Muslim enemies. India took 'u-turn' as soon as we crossed the border and took shelter in Indian soil. We saw a different face of India. It created our enemies amongst us. It let loose one group of us against the other. To squeeze the liberated Bangladesh, India sharply divided the followers of Mujib into two factions: Mukti Bahini and 'Mujib Bahini'. 'Mujib Bahini' comprising mainly with the front-ranking leaders and activists of AL's student front, the

then 'East Pakistan Student League', was purely organized, trained, armed, financed and guided by 'RAW'. This was floated as the second front mainly to put pressure on AL leaders and the exile government based in India.<sup>3</sup>

To manage the exile government to surrender to Indian demands, India verbally threatened to withdraw its support from the exile government and divert the same to the ex-student leaders (like Sirajul Alam Khan, Sheikh Fazlul Haque Moni, Abdur Razzak, Tofail Ahmed etc., the overt commanders of 'Mujib Bahini') who would form the government, if necessary. Student leaders including A S M Abdur Rob, Shahjahan Siraj, Ismat Kadir Gama, Nur-e-Alam Siddiquee, Sharif Nurul Ambiya, Hasanul Haque Innu, AFM Mahbul Haq and many others, delivered fiery speeches before the students (who crossed the border to take part in guerrilla war) mainly highlighting the corruption of the AL leaders, MNAs (Members of National Assembly of Pakistan), MLAs (Member of Legislative Assembly of East Pakistan) and the exile government. Student leaders even threatened that the AL leaders would not be allowed to enter Bangladesh once it would free from Pakistan.

It was too late even for many AL leaders to realize the vicious game that India played in the name of cooperating in our liberation war. AL leaders were in awkward position: they neither could swallow India's uneven preconditions in liberating the country, nor could comeback to the country apprehending fatal consequences. Finding no other way, AL had to give in and swallow Indian 'hemlock' by singing subservient treaties to meet Indian demands in the name of friendship and cooperation.

It is noteworthy, in free Bangladesh, one of the main hidden tasks of India was to annihilate as many freedom fighters as possible and divide them into opposing groups so that they

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<sup>3</sup> For detailed information please see 'RAW and CIA in the Liberation War of Bangladesh' and 'Inside RAW Today: The History of India's Secret Service' authored by Masudul Haque of Bangladesh and Asoka Raina of India respectively).

would kill one another, as India was in apprehension that the freedom fighters would one day emerge as 'headache' for India. In liberated Bangladesh India divided the heavyweights of 'Mujib Bahini' into two. One group remained with Sheikh Mujib government and the other formed a separate political party named Jatiya Samaj Tantrik Dal (JSD). The first group was kept vigil so that the Mujib government could not take any serious step contrary to India's geo-strategic interest. The second group was used to incite the people against government and brand Mujib his party as pro-India, anti-people, corrupt, autocrat and oppressor. JSD later formed its military wing named, 'Gano Bahini' that started secret killings targeting the AL leaders. To suppress 'Gano Bahini' government let loose 'Rakhhi Bahini' that killed, according to JSD estimate, 30 thousand dissidents, mainly freedom fighters, who were honest, talented and promising but stood against price hike, corruption, misuse of power, etc. It is not known how many persons were killed by 'Gano Bahini'. In this way India used us to kill us. It was the implementation of the proverb 'to set a thief to catch a thief'.

Bypassing their far-reaching agenda and anti Bangladesh designs, and the benefits that they grabbed from our war of liberation, Indian rulers and their local allies simply remind us of their help in 1971. We have never denied their help, especially the help provided by the Indian people in sheltering and feeding millions of refugees who were forced to cross over the border due to the atrocities of the Pakistani forces. But Indians never acknowledge what they achieved from our war of liberation. It was not a one-sided game. Bangladeshis were the main factor in disintegrating Pakistan that paved the way for India to emerge as regional power what was the greatest gain for India.

Availing the Bangladesh War of Liberation India reaped multifarious benefits in cash and kind. India was poured with huge medicines, food, baby food, garments, blankets, housing



materials, etc. for the Bangladeshi refugees who took shelter in India. The then Soviet Union and its communist allies sent huge arms and ammunitions, detonators and explosives, and other war materials for the Bangladeshi freedom fighters. India grabbed the major portion of those materials that came for the refugees and the freedom fighters. Besides, India grabbed the entire war equipments of worth billions of dollars of the Pakistan forces what they accumulated in the then East Pakistan. India's unbridled plunder in Bangladesh after 16<sup>th</sup> December was the vital factor for India's rapid prosperity. Machineries and accessories of jute mills, textile mills, sugar mills, steel mills and their raw materials stored in the goodowns, silos, banks, shops and markets, etc., were looted and shipped to India after the surrender of Pakistan Armed Forces. All the furniture including blackboards of educational institutions like schools, colleges, universities and their laboratories; utensils, wash basins, water taps, ceiling fans of the residential houses and offices, even toilet materials of worth Tk. 90,000 crores, were looted. These goods later distributed among the three branches of Indian armed forces. Poor India boomed within years with the money and assets that the Indian army looted after 16th December. India arrested all the 93,000 soldiers of Pakistan to India and used them as tool to release the Indian soldiers arrested in Pakistan in 1971 and compelled Pakistan to sign uneven treaties suiting its own geo-strategic interest.

India's theft in Bangladesh in 1971 and subsequent years unequivocally acknowledged by Indian diplomat-turned writer, J. N. Dixit, who says, "Our political establishment, the media and academics are quite clear that India got involved in the Bangladesh liberation movement not only on the basis of human and political justification of the cause but also for meeting India's own political and strategic interests"<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> J. N. Dixit, *Liberation and Beyond*, The University Press Ltd, Dhaka, 1999, p. 270.

Maulana Bhasani reminded India saying, "It was India who should be grateful to us, not the other way around". India should check its balance sheet what it gained from the war in 1971 and subsequent years till date. The creation of Bangladesh changed the poverty-stricken least developed India to a developing country. Indians should remain grateful to us. India's assistance in the liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971 did not originate from their sense of humanity for the people of Bangladesh, but to disintegrate Pakistan and finally merge both wings to 'greater Bharat, what Nehru termed as 'Aakhand Bharat'. At that time probably Indian leaders thought that disintegration of Pakistan would lead to the accession of Bangladesh to India but their dream remains unfulfilled even after the lapse of 38 years. Yet India keeps her dream alive and is still working for its implementation. India's subsequent behaviour and exploitative policies established this truth that Indian assistance in our war of liberation originated not out of its love for us, but to enslave us and engulf our country as a step forward towards the reunification of 'Akhand Bharat'. India's real hegemonic face was uncovered in and after 1971. Indian rulers through their policies and action proved that they do not want a viable and fully independent and sovereign Bangladesh, but a client State under its hegemony. From the very beginning India made it clear in a less publicized seven-point document which Tajuddin Ahmad, the prime minister of the Bangladesh government-in-exile in India in 1971, was compelled to sign as precondition for India's direct military intervention in Bangladesh War of Liberation, overtly to accelerate the defeat and surrender of the Pakistani occupation forces and to install a puppet government in power, but covertly to station its troops in Bangladesh and keep it under its paw and claim that the independence of Bangladesh was a gift of India. The seven-point document referred to above reads as follows:

- (1) A paramilitary armed force for Bangladesh will be raised

under the supervision of the Indian military experts; this force shall be stronger and more active than the regular armed forces of Bangladesh.

(2) Bangladesh shall procure all military equipment from India and under planned supervision of the Indian military experts.

(3) Bangladesh shall direct her foreign trade under supervision and control of the Indian government.

(4) Yearly and five-yearly development plans for Bangladesh shall conform to Indian development plans.

(5) Foreign policy of Bangladesh must be compatible with and conform to that of India.

(6) Bangladesh shall not unilaterally rescind any of the treaties without prior approval of the Indian government.

(7) In accordance with the treaties signed before December (1971) war of Pakistan and India, Indian force shall enter into Bangladesh at any time and shall crush any resistance that may erupt there.

The above document should act as an eye-opener for all Bangladeshi nationals and international communities since it reveals the true nature of Indian 'friendship and help' towards Bangladesh and her people, right from the beginning of the liberation struggle. And there is no evidence to suggest that the India's mindset has changed even after 38 years to accept and respect Bangladesh's legitimate rights as a fully sovereign independent country. \*

## **Anti-Bangladesh activities**

Indian authorities always were found blaming Bangladesh for harbouring anti-India insurgents groups with ambiguity but they have never paid any heed to Bangladesh's complaints. Our concerned authorities whenever asked for detailed and authentic documents and information from BSF or Indian officials, they could not table any acceptable proof and photograph of any anti-India insurgent group marching from Bangladesh territory towards border, not to speak of any insurgent camp in Bangladesh territory. India, however, all along brings forward fictitious papers showing non-existent camps and training centres.

On the contrary India since the independence of Bangladesh nurses, trains, finances, shelters and arms the secessionist Chakma terrorists to secede one tenth portion of Bangladesh, popularly known as Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) where at least 13 alien tribes live who started to take shelter in that region of Bangladesh from the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Besides, some anti-Bangladesh Indian nationals are seen openly organizing long march, seminars, processions, etc., well within Indian territory which were also covered in the Indian media portraying Bangladesh a country that represses the minority the Hindus. Here we can give some glaring examples of anti-Bangladesh activities carried out from Indian territory.

### **1. Shadhin Bangabhumi Movement**

Objective of Movement: Shadhin Bangabhumi Movement has been going on against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bangladesh since 1977. There are a number of armed outfits carrying out anti-Bangladesh activities under the banner of Shadhin Bangabhumi Movement like:

- a. Banga Sena
- b. Bangladesh Liberation Organization (BLO)

- c. Bangladesh Freedom Organization (BFO)
- d. Liberation Tigers of Bangladesh (LTB) etc.

The movement is running with the target of creating a new state comprising six greater districts of Bangladesh - Khulna, Barisal, Ptuakhali, Faridpur, Jessore and Kustia. This is another step to divide the territory of Bangladesh basing on religion.

### **Training Camps of Liberation Tigers of Bangladesh (LTB):**

According to some reports published in Bangladeshi newspapers and information collected from concerned sources following are the training camps of Liberation Tigers of Bangladesh (LTB) located at Chabbish Pargona district of West Bengal, India which are run under the overall supervision of one Rameshwar Parshwan:

Sl. Name of Camp Name of Trainers

1. Baduria, Nitai Gopal Pal

Uttar Chabbish Pargona Mahadeb Pal

Sukumar Sen

Heralal Saha

2. Uttar Khotriopara, Atul Sarkar

Jashaikati, Rabi Sarkar

Uttar Chabbish Pargona Susen Sarkar

Nitai Goyeen

Tarapod Sarkar

3. Jelepura, Jashaikati, Shaheb Mondal

Uttar Chabbish Pargona Ashok Pramanik

Atul Pramanik

Ranjan Parai

4. Pashchim Khotriopara, Haradhan Mondal

Jashaikati Kamal Bishwas

Uttar Chabbish Pargona

5. Kapali Para, Provat Mondal

Joshaikati, Kahori Bashar

Uttar Chabbish Pargona Shatish Bashar

6. Magurkhali Free Primary Purna Sarkar  
School (Near Joshaikati), Kalikrishna Banerjee  
Uttar Chabbish Pargona Parimol Sarkar  
Narayan Chowdhury
7. Katia, Bashirhut, Promukh Headmaster  
Uttar Chabbish Pargona Ganesh Mondal  
Paritosh Das
8. Bijitpur, Bashirhut, Kartik Chandra  
Uttar Chabbish Pargona Dobi Das
9. Gandhabpur, Pashupati (Teacher)  
Bashirhut, Ajit Baidya  
Uttar Chabbish Pargona Bankim Baidya  
Sadananda Bishwas

**Shadhin Hindu State:** Though the movement has been strengthened in the recent years, the first blue print of Shadhin Hindu State was made in the decade of fifties. In 1952 Kalidas Baidya, Chitta Ranjon Chhutar and Nirod Majumder these three extremist youths went to the then West Bengal and run activities for the freedom of the minority Hindu community. Mr. Baidya has confessed it in his book, 'Bangabhumi O Banga Sena'. Besides, they spoke secretly of having a separate free land for the Hindus. Dr. Kalidas Baidya and Chitta Ranjon Chhutar contributed most to strengthen the recent movement.

**Indian Intelligence Agency's Alleged Connection:** It is reported that Indian intelligence organization finances Banga Sena so that they serve the purpose as desired by some extremist groups. Besides, it is alleged that Indian intelligence operatives provide them with armed training support. The similar dress of different unit members in the procession reveals well-arranged simultaneous activities and mastermind of the vested quarters. In May 1989 weekly Dhaka Courier of Bangladesh published an interview of Dr. Kalidas Baidya. Here Mr. Baidya was asked what might be the alternative of the movement? Mr. Baidhya promptly replied that alternative is only one, Bangladesh has to yield to India silently with being a province

of it. Indian law-enforcing agencies know all these things but they are not taking desired steps against them. Bangladesh is deeply concerned when the Indian TV channels fueled up BANGABHUMI campaign by exaggerated casting of their procession and activities.

### **Other India-Based Groups engaged in anti-Bangladesh Campaign**

**Nikhil Banga Nagorik Sangha:** Address of the Headquarters of Nikhil Banga Nagorik Sangha is 85 APC Road, Rajabazar, Calcutta. They run their movement to make a separate Hindu majority homeland in the territory of Bangladesh for the so-called refugees taken shelter in India from Bangladesh. Mr. Subrato Chatarjee is General Secretary and overall Chief of the Organization. Bangla Liberation Organization is its armed branch. They have been falsely complaining of Hindu oppression in Bangladesh.

**Bangladesh Udbastu Unnayan Sangsad:** Address of the Headquarters of Bangladesh Udbastu Unnayan Sangsad is PL Medical Lane, Thana- Habra, District- North Chabbish Pargona, West Bengal. Sri Bimol Mojumder is General Secretary. They claim of so-called Hindu oppression in Bangladesh.

**Sanjukta Udbastu Sangram Parisad:** Address of the Headquarters of Sanjukta Udbastu Sangram Parisad is Balaka, PO.- Bamongachhi, Uttar Chabbish Pargona, West Bengal. Sushanto Saha is General Secretary of the organization. This organization involved in same activities as that of Bangladesh Udbastu Unnayan Sangsad. Besides, they are involved in spreading propaganda against Bangladesh.

**Provisional Government of Hindu Republic of Bir Bango (Hindu Projatantri Bir Bango Sorker):** This is another organization like Shadhin Banabhumii Movement. This organization two years back supplied a memorandum to

different Embassies in India. The memorandum incorporates different false and baseless information's of Hindu oppression. Such propaganda is nothing but put forward with malicious intention which is harmful for the image and security of Bangladesh <sup>5</sup> \*

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<sup>5</sup> Abu Rushed, Indo-Bangladesh Border, Bangladesh Defence Journal, September issue, 2009





## Bangladesh phobia

Indian leaders, intellectuals, propaganda machineries, etc., repeatedly and publicly alleged that Bangladesh is deadlier than Pakistan for India. Bangladesh geographically is surrounded almost from three sides (except a small portion of land-border with Myanmar), by India. Such a location is outwardly disadvantageous for Bangladesh in one hand, but practically it offers tremendous geo-strategic importance to Bangladesh on the other. To India, Bangladesh virtually deters real integration of its seven northeastern States to India's mainland. India feels that it cannot bring this restive region under its full domination due to the location of Bangladesh in between the mainland of India and its northeastern region. India apprehends if the Siliguri corridor that connects its mainland to the northeast, for any reason is disconnected; the entire northeastern region would get out of India. India is determined to end this headache as early as possible. India feels that a corridor through Bangladesh could solve this problem to some extent. Due its unfriendly and hegemonic policy, despite relentless efforts since 1971, India failed to get corridor or even transshipment facility through Bangladesh. If India ever gets such facility still that will not help India to use it for military purposes, what India badly needs to fight against the secessionist guerrilla outfits in all the seven States. Now India uses its Silighuri chicken-neck corridor to send its commercial and military conveys through mountainous unfriendly terrains risking guerrilla attack, which is time-consuming and expensive. In any probable war with China the Siliguri Chicken-neck corridor will instantly go under Chinese control and the entire northeast will be cut off from rest of India if Bangladesh remains out of Indian domination. India wants to get this facility keeping its anti-Bangladesh unfriendly and aggressive behaviour intact in one hand and

without providing same transit facilities through its territory to Bangladesh to run business with China, Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan or Afghanistan etc. Due to its failure to get such facility through diplomatic channel, India puts pressure through subversive sabotage using its tentacles.

Bangladesh apprehends India will not remain content after getting corridor or transshipment facility through Bangladesh, rather it will use that facility to capture Bangladesh, as Indian policymakers believe that the geographical location of Bangladesh is itself a great threat to India's territorial integrity. Existence of a strong, prosperous and peaceful Bangladesh will automatically inspire the deprived and exploited people of West Bengal, other than seven northeastern States where secessionist war continues for decades. Any strong anti-India group, not to speak of Bangladesh government, can create havoc in its secessionist-stricken seven northeastern States, Sikkim, West Bengal and even beyond. To deter such possibility India spends huge resources to keep Bangladesh economically poor, politically instable and disturbed, socially insecure and chaotic, intellectually bankrupt, industrially backward and militarily weak. India created so many uneasy problems for Bangladesh so that it cannot stand erect. Nevertheless India incessantly propagates and alleges that the freedom fighters of northeastern States maintain 195 camps inside Bangladesh, what India could never prove. No extent of assurance can make India believe that Bangladesh does not harbour or patronize any Indian secessionist group or allow ISI to use its soil to secede Indian territory.

The third factor that really scares India is Bangladesh's over 160 millions, mostly homogeneous people, over 90 per cent of whom religiously are Muslims. If the trend of population growth is stopped now onward, yet 160 million people can disturb India in multi-pronged ways, particularly through massive intrusion. On other hand, it will be difficult to manage these people if India ever succeeds to merge Bangladesh to

India staging peaceful Sikkim-style accession. Under that situation Bangladesh will reemerge in the world map with a greater territory what is now under Indian Union, as India knows it well that the people of this region historically stood against Delhi-based rulers. Above all, the nation that kicked out Muslim Pakistan will never swallow Hindu slavery under any situation. Yet Indian policymakers suffer from this mental agony that separate existence of Bangladesh in whatever form, is contrary to their dream of 'Akhand Bharat' comprising Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma etc. Their immediate target is Bangladesh. They are confident that by creating mercenaries in all sectors, installing an India-tilt government, keeping economically and militarily fragile, staging debacle after debacle India in course of time will be able to capture Bangladesh.

So Bangladesh in future will have to suffer from multifarious India-sponsored debacles one after another. BDR tragedy is one of those criminalities of India. India will continue staging repeated game, even more sanguinary debacle in any other sector till either India divides into pieces or Bangladesh merges to India.\*



## **2 Our border**

 **Tense border**

 **Unhindered crimes**



## Tense border

If anyone looks at the map of Bangladesh, he becomes sure that Bangladesh and India perhaps share the most crooked and zigzag border among all the countries of the world. For this reason it is really a tough job to determine the real length of Indo-Bangladesh border. As a result we get different figures regarding the length of border. The Indo-Bangladesh border is 4,156 km long, covering the Indian States of West Bengal (2,262 km), Assam (264 km), Meghalaya (436 km), Tripura (874 km) and Mizoram (320 km). <sup>6</sup> According to the same magazine, Myanmar shares 320km long border with Bangladesh. On the other hand, according to BDR Bangladesh shares 4,227km long border with India while its length with Myanmar is 271km. <sup>7</sup>

As far as our geographical reality is concerned India is the only neighbour to be cared for. Except in the South to the gateway the Bay of Bengal we are almost encircled by mighty India. Some experts call it geographical tyranny. Even India has maximum boundary with Bangladesh rather than her traditional foe Pakistan or giant neighbour China. With Bangladesh India has 4,227km boundary whereas Pak-India border is 2910 km. We can't deny the fact that to manage this long border is not only very much critical and arduous for us but also for India. For both BDR and BSF, managing border issues many a times becomes nightmare with their present resources and strength. Especially for BDR personnel with bare minimum resources maintaining vigilance all through is nothing short of a Herculean job. <sup>8</sup> Indian BSF neither respects our sovereignty nor abides by international law. It repeatedly violates humanitarian issues, international law and adopts cruel techniques.

Due to India's aggressive policy Bangladesh border with India

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<sup>6</sup> Abu Rushd, Indo-Bangladesh Border, Bangladesh Defence Journal, September, 2008

<sup>7</sup> Col. Jahangir Kabir Talukdar, BDR Director Operation & Training, Amaradesh, Dhaka, June 19, 2009

<sup>8</sup> Indo-Bangladesh Border, Abu Rushd, Bangladesh Defence Journal, September issue, 2008



remains tense round the year. We can't disagree that many countries around the world face problems from their neighbours however friendly they may be. US- Mexico border is well-known for drug and human trafficking, North Korea-South Korea shares one of the most turbulent borders but nowhere in the world somebody would find such a deadliest border like the Indo- Bangladesh border.<sup>9</sup>

Having the responsibility of protecting our border, the main opponent of BDR is Indian BSF (Border Security Force). There passes not even a day when Indian BSF refrains from creating aggressive and tense situation in the bordering areas by intruding into Bangladesh territory, killing innocent Bangladeshis and plundering their valuables, pushing Indian contrabands and Muslim nationals to Bangladesh territory. BDR jawans with their limited resources, but uncommon courage thwarts the BSF bullies. India for a long time designs to change this trend and cripple BDR for its geo-economic interest.

The common people of Bangladesh and the international community are given only a partial picture of the situation. They are never presented with the 'full story'. Although Bangladesh has been a victim of constant hostility and aggression along the border areas (hundreds of Bangladeshi civilians being abducted and killed by BSF every year) since its emergence, its past and present rulers have never refrained from propagating the false idea that India is a 'friendly neighbour'. Our people have been kept in the dark about the true design of BSF consistent with the policies of Indian rulers.

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<sup>9</sup> Border Management — A Case Study of Indo-Bangladesh Border, *Bangladesh Defence Journal*, September issue, 2008

<sup>10</sup> Dr. K. M. A. Malik, Sugar-coated Poison - India's offer to 'help' to restructure BDR, *Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors*, April 6, 2009

## Unhindered crimes

Indo-Bangladesh border experiences Many-fold crimes what are not generally visible in many other international borders. These crimes are occurred deliberately by BSF and Indian nationals. According to 'Bangladesh Defence Journal' (September, 2008), Bangladesh faces the following problems in her border with India:

- a. Smuggling.
- b. Human Trafficking.
- c. Killing.
- d. Unprovoked Firing.
- e. Looting/Damaging civilian properties of the bordering people.
- f. Push in/Push Back.
- g. Obstruction of Development works.
- h. Intrusion/Illegal crossing.
- i. Fencing/Construction of structures within 150 yards of international boundary.
- j. Dispute relating to Revetment and Flood Control Embankment.

**Smuggling:** Valuable materials like gold, basic equipments, electronics, medicines, diesel and petroleum products, edible oil, etc., are smuggled to India; while drug, luxurious items, low quality goods that are injurious to agriculture and industry, and above all, human skeleton are smuggled to Bangladesh from India.

India smuggles such items from Bangladesh, which are imported spending hard earned foreign currency like gold, electronics, computers, basic equipments, medicines, diesel and petroleum products, edible oil, etc. On the other hand smugglers smuggle to Bangladesh liquor, drugs like phensidyl, luxurious items, low quality fertilizers that are injurious to agriculture, small arms, consumer goods, etc.

**Drugs trafficking:** Phensidyl is the most injurious narcotic that India manufactures and smuggles to Bangladesh. phensidyl - made in India and smuggled to Bangladesh is specially blended where percentage of Codine [codeine] Phosphate is more than 20%, whereas the phensidyl marketed within India as cough syrup contains only 5% Codine [codeine] Phosphate well within the limit scientifically prescribed. No doubt our smugglers are creating problem but why there are numbers of phensidyl industries run by the Indians? And why they are mixing more than 20% Codine Phosphate? Bangladesh Defece Journal (September Issu, 2009) Provides the following statistics of smuggled narcotics detained by BDR.

Yearwise seizure statistics of Narcotics From 2003 to 2008					
Year	Phenisdyle (Bottle)	Wine (kg)	Ganja (kg)	Heroin (kg)	Beer
2003	239337	52025369	9674190	12706	
2004	300312	22348298	9723340	20092	3952
2005	258376	27149780	11100249	45811	5102
2006	289674	31957300	6061893	38523	5589
2007	206140	18597895	7719678	22812	2971
2008 (upto 30 June)	196563	11449129	5217270	30261	1058

Itemwise seizure statistics of Narcotics From January 2006 to March 2008				
Sl No	Name of the Narcotics	2006	2007	2008 (upto March)
1.	Phensidyle (Bottle)	2,89,647	2,06,140	91,247
2.	Wine (Litter)	31,957,300	18,597,895	868,234
3.	Ganja (kg)	60,61,893	77,19,678	23,59,520
4.	Heroin (kg)	38,523	33,812	16,640
5.	Beer (Bottle)	5,589	2,971	742
6.	Distillation wine (Litter)	2,886,800	6,297,950	828,500
7.	Jawa wine (Litter)	3,872,200	4,789,160	-
8.	Cocaine (kg)	1,100	1,180	-
9.	Opium/Morphine (kg)	1,020	-	600
10.	opium	-	760	morphine 459

<sup>11</sup> M.A.J. Wadud Didar, Border Smuggling and a piece of our tragedy, Bangladesh Defence Journal, Dhaka, September Issue, 2009

Meanwhile Col. Jahangir Kabir Talukdar of BDR at a press briefing said, BDR jawans seized smuggled goods worth Tk. 60.22 crores between March and May of 2009.<sup>12</sup> The above data is only the microscopic portion of the entire smuggled narcotics and other drugs to Bangladesh. About 10 per cent of the total smuggled goods are generally detained and confiscated by BDR.

Considering various statistics and information mentioned above, it is evident that the products which are smuggled to our country from India are directly hampering our economy and also devastating our young generation. On the other hand, imported and locally subsidized products are smuggled out to India causing huge loss to our economy.

**Killings:** India deliberately keeps its border with Bangladesh volatile and hostile. Indo-Bangladesh border is not better than Israel-Palestine border. BSF has been following the same pattern of the Israeli border guards where they just shoot at an Arab/Palestinian like a bird. BSF perhaps became intoxicated by their new mentor — the Israelis.

There passes not even a day when Indian BSF or hooligans refrain from creating untoward situation in the bordering areas through killing, intrusion, smuggling, kidnapping, looting, raping, etc. The following statistics documented by 'Odhikar' one of the leading human rights bodies of Bangladesh that oversee the happenings in Indo-Bangladesh border, are enough to comprehend the extent of atrocities that Indians commit against the Bangladeshi nationals living in the bordering areas. The following statistics conform the atrocites of BSF in the Indo-Bangladesh Border:

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<sup>12</sup> The Daily Star, Dhaka, June 19, 2009

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1											
2											
3	Border Statistics										
4	BSF Atrocities										
5	1 January 2000- 30 April 2009										
6											
7											
8		Years (s)	Killed	Injured	Arrested	Abducted	Missing	Rape	Snatching/Looting	Push In	Grand Total
9		2009	34	41	0	6	0	0	1	0	82
10		2008	62	47	0	81	0	0	3	20	213
11		2007	120	82	8	98	9	3	5	198	523
12		2006	146	144	21	165	32	2	9	0	519
13		2005	104	66	26	78	14	3	4	0	295
14		2004	76	35	9	73	0	0	5	0	198
15		2003	43	82	21	120	7	2	8	0	283
16		2002	105	54	110	118	30* (incl 8 children)	0	12	0	429
17		2001	94	244	60	45	0	1	10	0	454
18		2000	39	38	11	106	0	2	13	0	209
19		Grand Total	823	833	266	890	62*	13	70	218	3205
20	Note: From 1 January 2000- 30 April 2009 In India-Bangladesh border area										
21	823 Persons were killed and among them										
22	764 were killed by BSF.										

<sup>13</sup> Odhikar, House-35, Road 117, Gulshan-2, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

The following statistics indicate that Indian atrocities in the bordering areas alarmingly increased in the first decade of the 21st century in comparison to the concluding decade (1990-1999) of the 20th century.

Year	Killed	Wounded	Incidents of attack & firing
1990	29	19	Unknown
1991	27	17	Unknown
1992	16	13	Unknown
1993	21	Unknown	Unknown
1994	21	14	170
1995	12	9	75
1996	13	18	130
1997	11	18	39
1998	23	19	56
1999	33	38	43
Total	206	285 (partial)	513 (partial)

\* 14

BSF kills not only the innocent common Bangladeshis, but also the BDR jawans whenever it gets chance. In 2000, BSF killed at least 35 BDR jawans.<sup>15</sup> The atrocities of BSF reached so high that West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharyya in a letter urged the Indian government to deploy the Bengali-speaking BSF jawans in the Indo-Bangladesh border to protect the innocent Indians living adjoining the Bangladesh territory.<sup>16</sup> Col. Jahangir Kabir Talukdar, BDR Director Operation & Training, at a press briefing said, BDR, from January 1 to June 18 (2009), BSF killed 30 Bangladeshis in the border.<sup>17</sup> But human rights group 'Odhikar, informed that BSF killed 44 and kidnapped nine Bangladeshis in between January 1 and May 30. Whereabouts of eight Bangladeshis remained unknown whether they were killed or kidnapped by BSF.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Source: The Daily Sangram, Dhaka, October 21, 2000

<sup>15</sup> The Daily Independent, Dhaka, December 12, 2000

<sup>16</sup> The Daily Banglar Bani, February 6, 2001

<sup>17</sup> The Daily Amardesh, Dhaka, June 19, 2009

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*

**Arms trafficking:** Similarly, small arms are also smuggled from India to Bangladesh by gunrunners. There is a high demand for Indian made pistols, pipe guns, revolvers and rifles and the prices of these items are comparatively cheaper than other foreign made arms.

**Barbed wire fence:** The project of fencing the border includes the construction of 3286.87 km of fences, along with roads, bridges, and flood lights. The project was undertaken in two phases. Phase I began in 1987 and Phase II in 2000. Under Phase I, 854.354 km of fencing covering only the states of West Bengal, Assam and Meghalaya was constructed. Under Phase II, at total of 2429.5 km of fencing covering all the states bordering Bangladesh was sanctioned, of which 1601.45 km has been completed as of December 2006. For the first time, a 9.3 km fence has also been erected between Mantrichar and Kalaibari char. Presently a total of 2455.89 km of fencing, comprising nearly 60 percent of the border has been completed.

It is only in a few places (totaling 297 km, i.e., 7 percent of the border) that the fence falls within 150 yards from the zero line.<sup>50</sup> Differences over how to interpret the guidelines have led to tensions along the border, which further hampers the smooth construction of fences at many places. In addition, India faces stiff resistance from Bangladesh at 265 disputed spots, where the security forces of both countries differ on the location of the actual boundary.

According to the annual Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the government has accepted the recommendation of the GOM and pilot project for floodlighting along a stretch of 277 km in North Bengal has been completed.<sup>52</sup> However, according to a senior BSF official, only 50 km of the fence is actually floodlit. Lack of resources, non-availability of electricity in the border areas, exorbitant running cost of standby generators, the lack of dedicated electricity lines, etc. are cited as reasons for the poor pace of floodlighting, proper

roads are essential for effective patrolling all-along the border. Along with fences, motorized roads, which would provide easy and speedy movement all along the border, are also being constructed. Under Phase-I, 2866.39 km of border roads have been constructed and an additional 797 km has been sanctioned under Phase-II.<sup>53</sup> Patrolling on these roads and along the border has further improved with the recent acquisition by the BSF of Global Positioning System (GPS) gadgets, night vision binoculars and hand-held thermal image intensifiers. Whilst the night vision gadgets help track infiltrators, GPS instruments help BSF personnel to navigate along the winding riverine border.

To guard the riverine stretches of the Indo-Bangladesh border (about 780 km), India raised the Water Wing of the BSF.<sup>41</sup> In recent years, this wing of the BSF has been modernized and its capability has been substantially increased with the introduction of speed boats, mechanized boats, engine-fitted country boats and the concept of floating BOPs.<sup>42</sup> Floating BOPs were introduced to improve surveillance and operational efficiency in riverine areas. There are eight floating BOPs, three of which were meant to be deployed in the Sunderbans and five on the Brahmaputra at Dhubri. The introduction of floating BOPs as well as combat and mechanized boats has greatly augmented the capability of the water wing of the BSF.

**Disputed land:** One of the major irritant problems in Indo-Bangladesh border is such disputed lands that remain non-demarcated between India and Bangladesh for decades. Boundary demarcation remains incomplete in following three sectors:

- (a) Belonia (Muhuri river): Area involved 45 acres of 'Char Kand' where one Hindu cremation land is also located. 2.6 km yet to be demarcated.
- (b) Lathithilla-Dumabari Area: 3 kms remain to be demarcated.
- (c) South Berubari Sector: Daikhata mouza - 1.5 kms remain to



be demarcated. Total = 6.5 km 35.5 km. <sup>19</sup>

It is to be mentioned that about 299 miles (479km) Bangladesh Border Unguarded (all with Border of CHT with India and Myanmar) remains unguarded, due to absence of BDR BOPs.

CHT-India: 161 km or 100 miles

CHT-Myanmar: 148+130+40=318 km or 93+81+25 = 199 miles.

Despite hectic diplomatic efforts and Indian commitments India did not release the following Bangladeshi territories situated in several bordering areas that India keeps under its illegal occupation for a long time.

Region	District	Size of land
Ashalong	Khagrachhari	1,700 acres
Tentulia (Goyalgach)	Panchagar	1,000 acres
Boda, Debigonj and Sadar	Panchagar	1,127 acres
Bordering banks of the Tista river	-----	2,000 acres
Sharsha (Ichamati-Kodla)	Jessore	570 acres
Matiraban-Satshari	Sunamganj	3,295 acres
Protappur (Goyaingath)	Sylhet	230 acres
Nayagram (Goyaingath)	Sylhet	137 acres
Sibganj (Bholarhat)	Chapainababgonj	6,500 acres
Mashaldanga (Bhurungamari)	Kurigram	300 acres
Muhurir Cha'r	Feni	24 acres
South Talphatti	Satkhira	10,000 acres
Other areas of North Bengal	Thakurgoan, Dinajpur, Panchagar, Nilphamari, Lalmanirhat	10,000 acres
<b>Total occupied lands</b>	-----	<b>36,883 acres</b>
Dimla-Satain border	Nilphamary	Unascertained (some thousand acres)

Dimla-Satain border Nilphamary Unascertained (some thousand acres) <sup>20</sup>

To grab the Bangladeshi lands adjoining the common rivers, India adopts the most heinous tactics. Under the cover of river management, India deliberately diverts the river flow towards

<sup>19</sup> Abu Rushd, Indo-Bangladesh Border, Bangladesh Defence Journal, September, 2008

<sup>20</sup> Prof. Dr. Abdur Rob, Indo-Bangladesh Relations: Recent Developments, a paper readout at a roundtable conference held at CIRDAP Auditorium, Dhaka, June 21, 2009

Bangladesh side by constructing spars and goyanees in the Indian side of the river. As a result Bangladesh sides of the common rivers are eroded that create new shoals in India side, what India claims as its own though they were parts of Bangladesh.

To justify the legality in the illegally occupied Bangladeshi lands India forcibly constructs metalled roads, bunkers and other structures in the occupied lands of the bordering areas. <sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The Daily Ajker Kagoj, Dhaka, November 28, 2000



### **3 Our defense system**

- ☞ Our border guard**
- ☞ Unfriendly BSF**
- ☞ Heroic Role**
- ☞ Our Armed Forces : India's eyesore**
- ☞ Hindu extremism in Indian Army**



## Our border guard

BDR (Bangladesh Rifles), the lone paramilitary force of Bangladesh, for its commendable job, is better known as the 'ever-vigilant sentinels of the border'. The glorious history of the organization is replete with rich traditions and successful military expeditions. After the emergence of Bangladesh, this paramilitary force officially started its journey on March 3, 1972 and emerged as the most effective border security force for the country.

The BDR has a rich past, even compared to centuries-old European units. It is held in very high esteem in South Asia as a professional force dating back to 1795 when the British East India Company formed the Ramgarh Local Battalion. BDR underwent many changes to meet the demand of the time. "The force changed its name, its weaponry, its uniform, and its organisational structure a number of times as it was called to perform divergent functions over the years. The force acquitted itself well no matter what role it was assigned to perform." <sup>22</sup> Its brief history is as follows:

### **Ramgarh Local Battalion (1795-1860)**

'The Frontier Protection Force' was formed by the British East India Company. It was re-named as Ramgarh Local Battalion in 1795 and was assigned to suppress the insurgents in Ramgarh area.

### **Frontier Guards (1861-1890)**

The Frontier Guards were re-organized and re-arranged modern weapons, in 1891. It was named 'Bengal Military Police'. Commanded by a Subedar (Senior Warrant Officer); the Battalion had four companies located at Dhaka, Dhumka and Gangtok. In 1799, the force established the first camp in the uniquely lush green abode of Peelkhana named as 'Special Reserve Compaq'

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<sup>22</sup> Brig. Gen. Shamsuddin Ahmed, Forum -- a monthly publication of 'The Daily Star', April, 2009

### **Bengal Military Police-(1891-1919)**

The Frontier Guards were re-organized and re-arranged with modern weapons, in 1891. It was named 'Bengal Military Police'. Commanded by a Subedar (Senior Warrant Office); the Battalion had four companies located at Dhaka, Dhumka and Gangtok.

### **Eastern Frontier Rifles (1920-1946)**

To revitalize this organization and its strength it was re-named as 'Eastern Frontier Rifles' in 1920. Its primary task was to protect the box.

### **East Pakistan Rifles (1947-1971)**

After the partition of Indian sub-continent 'Eastern Frontier Rifles' was re-grouped and re-named as East Pakistan Rifles. A metropolitan armed police of Calcutta and some 1000 ex-soldiers of West Pakistan merged into the force. Officers from the Army were employed and it was assigned border protection and anti-smuggling duties. It had the strength 13,454 soldiers when liberation war of Bangladesh started on the night of March 25, 1971.

### **Bangladesh Rifles (1972)**

East Pakistan Rifles was re-named as Bangladesh Rifles (BDR), after the emergence of Bangladesh. Its current dress was introduced in 2002. (Source: BDR website)

The predecessors of BDR took part in many military operations including the First and Second World Wars. Major Tofael was awarded the highest military operant of erstwhile Pakistan, 'Nishan-e-Haider', for his action in the Laksimpur Operation. During the War of Liberation, soldier of this force took up arms against the Pakistan Army. The organization is proud of its contribution to the attainment of independence and sovereignty of the Bangladeshi nation. Its members got as many as 142 gallantry awards. Of them, Lance Naik Nur Mohammad Sheikh and Lance Naik Munshi Abdur Rouf were the highest gallantry award of Bir Sreshtha, 8 got Bir Uttam, 40 Bir Bikram and 91 Bir Patik.

Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) maintains 11 Sector Headquarters in

the following bordering districts that are controlled by BDR Headquarters at Peellkhana of Dhaka

1) Khulna 2) Kushtia 3) Rajshahi 4) Dinajpur 5) Rangpur 6) Mymensing 7) Sylhet 8) Comilla 9) Khagrachari 10) Rangamati 11) Chittagong. BDR consists of about 45 thousand jawans.\*





## Unfriendly BSF

We can't disagree that every country in the world faces number of problems with her neighbour whatever friendly they may be. US-Mexico border is well known for drug and human trafficking, North Korea- South Korea shares one of the most turbulent borders but no where in the world somebody would find such an unfriendly border like the Indo- Bangladesh border. Being friendly countries India and Bangladesh can share all the problems faced in the bordering areas and amicably solve them without any irritation. But that remains a far cry. Indian border with all the neighbouring countries is guarded by its paramilitary troop BSF.

Headquarters of BSF is located at Delhi. Field formation of BSF in the Indo-Bangladesh border includes 1 Additional Directorate General (East) with headquarters at Kolkata, 5 Frontiers and 17 Sector Headquarters and a Water Wing, 66 battalions of BSF are deployed in the region. Each frontier is headed by an IG and each Sector is headed by a DIG.

Sectors are divided into units. Each sector has three to four battalions. Each battalion has seven companies.

In Bangladesh border India deployed over 66 battalions BSF personnel. 30 battalions in South and North Bengal Sectors, 11 battalions in Assam-Meghalaya Sector, 15 battalions in Tripura Sector and 10 battalions in Cachar-Mizoram Sector. Over 80 thousand BSF members are deployed in Indo-Bangladesh border, though official figure is about 66 thousands.

BSF officials revealed the above figures during a meeting with their BDR counterparts at a meeting held in New Delhi on May 1, 2007. (Bangladesh Defence Journal, September 2007). India strengthened BSF further during the last two years.

**Equipping BSF:** India is arming the BSF units along Bangladesh border with Israeli arms and equipment. Side by side they are imparting specialized training to a group of soldiers of every unit. The Arms brought from Israel are:

a. Sniper Rifle- Galin

b. Assault Rifle- Travor-21

c. M-16 Assault Rifle

d. MPG- 1 sniper rifle

e. MP- 5 Sub Machinegun

They are also bringing Targetory Instrument, Laser Crowdly Night Vision.

**Problem Faced by BDR:** In terms of strength and resources BDR is facing much more problems than BSF to manage our long stretched border with India. On the Indian part of the border there are concrete ring roads all around which is 6-7 feet higher than the ground level. These ring roads help BSF conducting patrolling more easily with jeeps which saves their precious time and enhance capabilities. Sometimes these roads also provide defensive cover to the BSF during a time of skirmishes with BDR. Side by side more than half of the porous land border has been fenced by the Indian authorities while search lights were being routinely used by the BSF. These measures for increased policing of the border certainly give BSF an edge over BDR.<sup>23</sup>

So far there is no ring road on our side and BDR personnel have to go for patrolling on foot. Even if they hear about any border incursion/incident they can't rush to the spot due to this handicap. Their communication equipment has already succumbed to ensure minimum possible service length. Somebody can well imagine how with existing bare minimum resources BDR personnel are guarding the international border? It is merely their bravery, dedication, courage which enables them to take over the arduous job with smiling faces.<sup>24</sup>

BSF frequently gets an upper hand over BDR in propaganda fields. BSF unanimously gets support from Indian press, Bangladeshi media often behaves in total opposite direction.

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<sup>23</sup> Brig. Gen. Shamsuddin Ahmed, Forum — a monthly publication of 'The Daily Star', April, 2009

<sup>24</sup> Abu Rushd, Indo-Bangladesh Border, Bangladesh Defence Journal, September issue, 2008

Number of our newspapers publishes fabricated reports of so called Indian insurgent camps in Bangladesh which in turn helps BSF authorities to justify their allegations. Any sensible person can say that these newspapers acting as 'others mouthpieces' have been covertly highlighting the Indian causes undermining our security concerns. With what intention they do these may be a subject for research but obviously morale of our border guards goes down once they see these filthy reports.<sup>25</sup>

For guarding the borders, the BSF applies what it calls the strategy of area domination. Area domination basically comprises of putting up a barrier against illegal movement of people or goods across the border. The barrier is of two types — artificial and human. The artificial barrier is in the form of a 10-feet high barded wire fence along the border with a road running parallel to it. The fence acts as a physical impediment for the infiltrators while the roads facilitate easy and swift movement of BSF personnel. The human barrier includes the establishment of BOPs (Border Outposts) usually of a platoon strength, checkpoints, observation posts (usually temporary huts) and towers, mobile patrolling on foot, vehicles and speed boats. Observation posts are manned by two persons during the day. For night surveillance, checkpoints have been set up in every 300 yards, which are manned by 3 or 4 BSF personnel. Checkpoints are also established at the rear of the border and ambush patrols are sent out to prevent any infiltration further inside Indian Territory. On receiving specific information about smuggling or infiltration, the BSF also carries out joint operations with the local police. Special surveillance and the creation of an intelligence network enhanced the force's border guarding duties.

Initially, the distance between Border Outposts along the Indo-Bangladesh border was 9 km or more. As a result, BSF personnel were thinly spread out, which made the force extremely ineffective in guarding the borders properly. The

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<sup>25</sup> Abu Rushd, Indo-Bangladesh Border, Bangladesh Defence Journal, September issue, 2008

GOM reports had recommended that inter-BOP distance should be between 2.5 and 3.5 km. Presently, the inter-BOP distance along the Indo-Bangladesh border is at an average distance of 4 to 4.5 km.<sup>38</sup> With additional deployment of troops, it is expected that the inter-BOP distances would fulfill the standard distance recommended by the GOM report in few years. However, it has to be noted that any blanket application of this prescribed norm should be avoided as there are many areas that have either a hostile terrain or are dominated by insurgents, and which consequently require a greater concentration of BSF personnel. It is also suggested that sensitive BOPs should have strength of a company rather than a platoon.

To boost up the position of BSF, India has organized one new intelligence unit named TIA (Trans-Frontier Intelligence Agency). This agency was created to boost up intelligence activities all along the border with Bangladesh, which bolsters BSF morale as well.

Mainly retired Army personnel those who are already trained beforehand are taken in this organization. These retired Army personnel both officers and non commissioned officers are frequently sent to Bangladesh to gather information about armed forces and BDR.\*

## Heroic role

BDR, a paramilitary force, is entrusted with the responsibility of defending the border of the country. The soldiers of BDR are playing a vital role as ever vigilant that defends long border line of 4,456km of Bangladesh. At the same time this force is curbing smuggling in order to make the economy of the country vibrant and self-reliant. Bangladesh Rifles has been discharging its responsibilities adequately and thereby in achieving the people's confidence by way of assisting administration in the maintenance of internal law & order and any kind of natural disaster.

Apart from its primary task of protecting the borders, the members of Bangladesh Rifles have taken numerous military operations displaying their courage, discipline and patriotism. It deters smuggling, illegal trespass, trans-border dacoits/crimes, kidnapping, women and child trafficking, cattle lifting, firing incidents, dislocation/disorientation of border pillars, crimes committed in the enclaves, etc. It also looks after management of the disputed areas and adversely possessed lands, construction and maintenance works within 150 yards of the zero line, changes in the courses of Border Rivers, non-demarcated border issues.

BDR is our first line of defense against the potential enemies. They fight with the BSF almost daily. Those of us that have never really lived closed to the border areas have no idea how unstable and fragile and tenuous life close to the border can be. The BSF outnumbers the BDR by ten to one in most border security posts and they have chosen to engage our border security forces every single day. The BSF routinely provokes the BDR and instigates indiscriminate shooting. This daily harassment is routine for our BDR brothers. A lot of times the BSF kill innocent farmers and livestock. Other times, they kill members of the BDR. Much of this remains unreported most of the time in our daily news. It's just part of the daily reality

for our brothers in BDR. Not a day goes by when at least a few members of BDR doesn't bleed for the country. However, in spite of being outnumbered and outgunned by the BSF and in spite of suffering occasional casualties every now and then our brothers in BDR can keep the BSF in check and in line most of the time. As Maj. Gen. Fazlur Rahman stated, the embarrassing defeats of the BSF in the hands of the BDR in Raumari and Padua are reasons enough for them to want to plot against the BDR and deliver a deadly blow as revenge for their shameful defeats. The members of BDR are fierce in battle and they watch over our borders with utmost dedication and they lay down their lives in the line of duty every single day. The massive public sentiment against the BDR that's being brewed right now is not a good sign for our Para-military forces. ---- It doesn't require too much brain to connect the dots and figure out who gains the upper hand with a crippled and de-moralized BDR. The Indian government has always hated the BDR and treated them with utter contempt. A weakened and much-maligned BDR (or even ABOLISHED BDR...YES, you heard me right...the BDR can become abolished altogether) only helps the Indian government and the leadership of our current government. If India didn't have to worry about Pakistan and Pakistan's potential interference in case of India's territorial ambitions in its eastern border, India would have annexed Bangladesh years ago and we would have ceased to exist as a free sovereign nation from the face of the world map. <sup>26</sup>

It is BDR that plays a vital role to deter India's aggressive dream. A hegemonic country like India naturally can't tolerate BDR. Besides, deterring smuggling, push in and intrusion from India and other border crimes, etc. BDR throws India's so-called super power image to dust, whenever Indian BSF tries to occupy any portion of Bangladesh territory. BSF's utter defeat at Padua and Roumari borders in 2001 pains the Indians

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<sup>26</sup> Yasmin Bhiyan, March 02, 2009, [http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/detail\\_news\\_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002](http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/detail_news_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002)

so much that they can't accept it (defeat) till date.

Referring to these incidents, Naunidhi Kaur, an Indian columnist wrote from New Delhi, "The latest trouble on the eastern border began on the night of April 15-16, when the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) captured the Indian-held Pyrdwah (Padua) village. The Border Security Force (BSF) was caught unaware. Intelligence failure on the Indian side was obvious. Worse, after the Pyrdwah offensive, the Union Home Ministry felt that something drastic had to be done. It gave orders to overrun a post at the Bangladeshi village of Boraibari and destroy house as an act of retaliation against the BDR's occupation of border of Pyrdwah." <sup>27</sup>

A Bangladeshi journalist who works for FRONTLINE from Dhaka made a detailed heart-rending report how Padua incident occurred: "Padua or Pyrdwah in Sylhet Tamabil area adjoining Meghalaya has been a Bangladeshi enclave that has been controlled as land of "adverse possession" by India since Bangladesh War of Liberation in 1971. During this war Bengali (Bengalee) freedom fighters set up a camp in this strategic border village. As India gave all out assistance to the freedom struggle, the BSF also used the camp. The BSF did not withdraw from the camp after the war was over. Padua, however, did not become an issue, because the two neighbours had bigger bilateral problems to resolve. The construction of a pucca road by the BSF connecting Padua with the mainland (India) reported raised the hackles of the BDR. Alleging that the construction of the road was illegal, "violating international laws and India-Bangladesh border agreement," the BDR asked for a flag meeting. As its request went unheeded, the BHDR launched action on the night of April 15 and "recaptured" Padua "without any bloodshed." <sup>28</sup>

Haroon Habib wrote how India bid to revenge its defeat at Padua: "Even before the shock of Padua subsided came the

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<sup>27</sup> NAUNIDHI KAUR, The dividing line, FRONTLINE, Chennai, India, May 25, 2001

<sup>28</sup> HAROON HABIB, FRONTLINE, Chennai, India, May 25, 2001



attack on Baroibari, 80km from Padua, in the Roumari-Mankerchar area adjoining Assam. In a pre-dawn action on April 18, 2001 as the accounts in major Bangladesh dailies put it, nearly 300 heavily-armed BSF jawans entered Roumari to attack the Baroibari post, reportedly to avenge the “defeat” at Padua. Baroibari is also a land of “adverse possession” under Bangladesh’s control. The BSF suffered heavy losses in the April 18-19 clashes. As the story goes, when the BSF opened fire on a BDR camp the BDR personnel did not retaliate immediately, giving the impression that there was nobody inside the camp. But they struck when the BSF moved closer to the camp. With the help of quick reinforcements from the nearby border posts and the support of the people of the village, the BDR launched a full-scale counterattack. Heavy exchange of fire continued for more than two days, forcing nearly 10,000 people to flee their homes. The bodies of BSF men were lying in the paddyfield for more than two days as the fight continued. The people recovered several bodies from the field and handed them over to BDR later. Two injured BSF men were flown to Dhaka by helicopter for treatment.”<sup>29</sup>

It is to be mentioned that India unilaterally and abruptly, above all secretly, marched its BSF hawks inside Bangladesh territory through Baroibari in Roumari border. Being intimidated by the Bangladeshi villagers BDR personnel applying their wit and courage beat the BSF intruders causing heavy losses on them. BSF soldiers to conceal their shame retreated carrying uncountable dead bodies of their colleagues to Indian territory. Still 16 dead BSF soldiers were left in the paddy fields in Bangladesh territory. The then DG of BDR Maj. Gen. Fazlur Rahman claimed that over three hundred BSF soldiers intruded into Bangladesh and at least 137 of them were killed, but only three BDR jawans were martyred during that operation. It was a humiliating defeat on the part of India. Demand was raised in Indian parliament to demolish BDR Headquarters with

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid

dynamites. To take the revenge of Padua and Burimari, BSF launched attack on BDR at Akhaura area in the following year. BDR at Akhaura beat back the BSF there where BSF lost its company commander.

Reacting on the issue, the then Indian foreign minister declared, India under no circumstances would tolerate defamation of its uniform. Indian State Minister for Internal Affairs C. I. D. Swyami demanded, Bangladesh would gain Indian trust only when it would punish the killers of 16 BSF soldiers. Accordingly Indian intelligence agencies framed a list accusing the then Army Chief of Staff Gen. Ahsan Nazmul Alim Chowdhury, Divisional Commander of Mymensingh Maj. Gen. Wahab, Divisional Commander of Rangpur Maj. Gen. Abdul Matin, Divisional Commander of Chittagong Maj. Gen. Kabir, and the DG of BDR Maj. Gen. Fazlur Rahman. The Indian minister threatened saying, India would not remain unprepared for the second time.<sup>30</sup> \*

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<sup>30</sup> The Hindu, April, Chennai, India, 26, 2001



## **Our Armed Forces : India's eyesore**

India, before the surrendering of the Pakistan Armed Forces on December 16, 1971 completed its total homework to keep Bangladesh under its domination. With this end in view, Indians made the ground ready to kill the fetus of Bangladesh Armed Forces what Indian policymakers foresaw as deterrent to India's hegemonic dream. To deter the formation of professional Armed Forces, India in November 1971 compelled the then India-based exile government to sign a suicidal treaty, two of whose clauses say: (1) A paramilitary armed force for Bangladesh will be raised under the supervision of the Indian military experts; this force shall be stronger and more active than the regular armed forces of Bangladesh. (2) Bangladesh shall procure all military equipment from India and under planned supervision of the Indian military experts.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder of Bangladesh, in 1972, defying the treaty and Indian pressure floated professional and regular Armed Forces with limited manpower and resources comprising the Bengali speaking personnel of Pakistan Army, Navy and Air Force, who actively participated in the Bangladesh War of Liberation. Since India's allied forces looted all the arms, ammunition and war equipments that Pakistan accumulated in warring East Pakistan, Bangladesh Armed Forces started its journey with an empty hand.

Still the effort formation of the Armed Forces was seriously opposed by India and its local stooges. It was argued, being surrounded from three sides — West, North and East by a friendly mighty country India with its strong naval presence in the South, Bangladesh need not nurse Armed Forces. Defying such argument our then strategists, despite their warm hobnob with India, prudently continued to develop a small-sized Army, Navy and Air Force that would work in course of foreign invasion alongside BDR, police, Ansar, VDP (Village Defence Party) and above all, common people. Such a joint resistance

would enable Bangladesh to frustrate any aggressive bid of any mighty power to keep Bangladesh under its occupation. India sensing the far-reaching strategy of Bangladesh manipulated overt and covert designs to frustrate the newly floated Armed Forces.

To dismantle and ruin Bangladesh Armed forces forever, India undertook a drastic and adventurous programme in mid August of 1975. Bangladesh was fortunate enough as the plot was nipped in the bud. On 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 1975 a helicopter of Indian Airforce was crashed at Torabganj region under Ramgati Police Station of Noakhali. Two Indian senior military officials who were on board in the helicopter died. Their dead bodies were sent to Kolkata on the following day. Though a number of Indian newspapers including 'Anandabazarpatrika', and 'Ajkal', Kolkata and New Delhi-based weekly, 'Radiance', repeatedly questioned why the helicopter carrying two top military officials entered Bangladesh airspace and crashed in the remote region of Bangladesh, Indian government since then remained mum on the incident. Bangladesh government also followed the same policy. Nevertheless, outdoing various restrictive regulations and deterrents, official and diplomatic bar, the clandestine report was leaked out in the Airforce Headquarters and Dhaka cantonment. It said, with a view to placing Bangladesh Army Command under the Agartala-based Indian Army command by dismantling it (Bangladesh Army) two Indian senior military officials carrying a sensitive draft deed of agreement came to Dhaka boarding on that helicopter. The then Army Chief among others signed on that agreement. The helicopter then flew to Agartala. After communicating the matter to concerned officials, the helicopter was returning to Kolkata from Agartala. As the issue was known in Airforce Headquarters and Dhaka Cantonment, the patriotic Bangladesh Army in order to safeguard the Armed Forces and the country shot down the helicopter that foiled the entire conspiracy.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Md. Nurul Amin, Post-editorial, 'The Daily Sangram', March 24, 2009).

Neither Indian High Commission in Dhaka nor Bangladesh government rejected or condemned this sensitive information published in the 'Daily Sangram' that confirms the authenticity of the report.

Failure of this fatal game could not deter India from undertaking multi-pronged designs against Bangladesh Army. To crush it once for all, India used its agents to float so-called 'Biplobi Sainik Sangstha' inside the Army. Besides, India fueled coups and countercoups that led to the death of innumerable Armed Forces personnel. To kill late President Ziaur Rahman India fueled 19 coups that seriously caused heavy blows on the Army and the Airforce. Still the Bangladesh Armed Forces survive and gradually strengthen enjoying people's support and international acclamation.

But Indians worked out non-stop anti-Army design. To undo Armed Forces India engaged its payrolls to launch propaganda highlighting the uselessness of Armed Forces. A section of politicians, teachers, intellectuals, student bodies, journalists, etc. of Bangladesh publicly argued against the viability and necessity of strong Armed Forces in Bangladesh. Exploring many arguments, they even demand deduction of defense budget and reduction of their size. They demanded that the money that is spent for the Armed Forces should be diverted to education, health and other sectors. Mr. Matiur Raham, an editor of a Bengali daily, in an article in 1999 wrote, in this universe there is no enemy, against Bangladesh and hence Bangladesh doesn't need any defence arrangement. Even the sitting finance minister of Sheikh Hasina's government Abul Mal Abdul Muhith at a seminar organized by BISS (Bangladesh Institute of Strategic Studies) on the occasion of silver jubilee of the independence of Bangladesh indirectly advocated to liquidate Army. Some other ministers of the incumbent government and pro-government elements deliberately used the BDR massacre to create anti-Army sentiment and public opinion in the national and international arena. Lt. Col. (Retd.) Faruque Khan, the commerce minister,

publicly claimed that the militancy intruded among the ranks and files of Army. Sajib Wazed Joy, son of Sheikh Hasina claimed that of the total recruitments in the Army during the BNP-led government (2001-05), 35 percent were madrasha students. Waliur Rahman, a former pro-AL diplomat, perhaps to get the blessing of Sheikh Hasina strongly supported this highly controversial assertion of Joy. Indian print and electronic media also launch slanderous propaganda against our Armed Forces accusing them for their alleged violation of human rights in Chittagong Hill Tracts, an integral part of Bangladesh where India-sponsored secessionists wage jungle warfare. The fourth annual conference of a group named 'Kolkata Conference 2009' an auxiliary wing of the Bangladesh Hindu-Buddhist-Christian Unity Council, a RAW-sponsored mouthpiece of India, was held on February 1, 2009 at Subash Institute of Kolkata. The main attraction of the conference was a documentary under the caption 'Human being or Malayun' (a censurable term that refers to the Hindus) produced by journalist Shahariar Kabir of Bangladesh who is infamous for his pro-India bias. The documentary claims that "barbaric State religion Islam, Army and its intelligence agency are responsible for all the oppression and repression that are occurred in Bangladesh. This crisis will not resolve unless Islam and Army are not wiped out." <sup>32</sup> To wipe out Army and Islam cooperation of all the international powers, including India was sought at the conference.

India became more ferocious when Bangladesh Armed Forces personnel in large numbers were deployed in UN Peacekeeping Mission who earned huge acclamation and reputation as well as foreign exchanges for Bangladesh. This opportunity enables the Bangladesh Army to be acquainted with the most sophisticated arms and other war equipments and acquire experience of war or combat operation in the most unfriendly situation. Besides, participating in such mission Bangladesh and its Armed Forces come in close contact with

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<sup>32</sup> Mokkarram Hosen: Naya Diganta: March 7, 2009

the powerful nations of the world that indirectly strengthens and solidifies the foundation of our independence and sovereignty. India-sponsored propagandas are directed to undermine the sky-high image of our glorious armed forces in home and abroad and deter their inclusion in UN Peacekeeping Mission. Just before the horrific tragedy at Peelkhana some MPs belonging to AL and its allied parties while addressing the National Assembly were highly critical of the Army and intelligence agencies that seriously undermined their (Army and intelligence agencies) popularity and acceptability.

During the tragic incident, a section of electronic media was engaged to defame Army officers working in BDR. Several channels, as if, were in competition to undermine the Army officers deputed in BDR branding them as the most corrupt, despotic and ruthless. In the name of ventilating the grievances of some BDR 'jawans' these channels telecast their own explanation without scanning whether the information that they wanted to convey to the nation quoting the BDR jawans were true, accurate, genuine and trustworthy. Concerned journalists and their authorities were not judicious and responsible enough to judge what negative impression such comments and information would create among the viewers. They did not even think whether such slanderous allegation was a part of a hair-raising conspiracy against BDR, Army officers and Army, and above all, against the country. The BDR 'jawans' if even ventilated hundred per cent true stories, yet the concerned journalists and their authorities, should have scanned them thoroughly, as their allegations though outwardly was against an individual or individuals, but it went against the entire defense system of Bangladesh and its sovereignty and existence. Many allegations, including aerial bombing from helicopter, firing on the BDR jawans inside 'Darbar Hall' by BDR Chief, etc., that were telecast live, later proved totally false and baseless. It is alleged this section of media, perhaps, was engaged by the same clique to create anti-Army hatred and public opinion so that the people would side



with the foreign mercenaries infiltrated and created in BDR, if a civil war would have broken out later.

The concerned imprudent reporters neither enquired of the fate and whereabouts of the Army officials nor tried to scrutinize the authenticity of the allegations lodged by the BDR 'jawans'. These journalists had little wit and wisdom to guess the psyche of the BDR jawans who were allowed to make baseless and irresponsible allegations. Even the so-called defense analysts and intellectuals who participated in 'talk shows' in TV channels were seen equally irresponsible and impudence in making their comments on the issue. Their explanations and arguments were also provocative and one-sided in nature that went in favour of the murderers. Some of participants are infamous for their pro-India tilt, whose major task is to serve and protect India's geo-strategic interest in Bangladesh.

The way the electronic media covered and presented the fateful holocaust of BDR Headquarters, unveiled one true that it (electronic media) also knowingly or unknowingly served the interest of the anti-Bangladesh adversaries.

Investigative reports say, as part of a long-term plan such people were inducted in BDR who were attached to those parties leaning to India. A good number of them were also purchased. Using them anti-Army sentiment was injected among a section of BDR personnel. Many petty issues like low salary, less ration, excessive work, disciplinary action of the Army officers on BDR 'jawans', etc., were exaggerated to create anti-Army sentiment and hatred. It was induced in their mind, if BSF could have officers of their own, why not BDR? Why Army officers should be deputed to command them?

India for a long time launches media and diplomatic propaganda against Bangladesh Armed Forces in a bid to persuade the western powers so that the members of Bangladesh Armed Forces and Police who work as peacekeepers under UN are withdrawn. After the BDR massacre at Peellkhana, Indians and their local allies belonging to different levels, reinvigorated anti-Army campaign saying

that Islamic militants penetrated in Bangladesh security agencies. So it is not safe to include the members of Bangladeshi defense forces in UN Peacekeeping Mission. An Indian national, Susan Ramgopal, on March 15 (2009) in a letter addressing the UN Secretary General Ban ki-Moon wrote to withdraw all the Bangladeshi peacekeepers from UN Peacekeeping Mission. He, quoting one of the sitting ministers, Lt. Col. (Retd.) Faruque Khan alleged that pro-Islamic elements penetrated in Bangladesh Army. The strangest thing is that the letter of an ordinary unknown Indian got huge coverage in media, which proves that the letter was deliberately written to isolate Bangladesh internationally and damage its interest. The far-reaching adverse impact of withdrawing Bangladesh Army and Police from UN Peacekeeping Mission or put an embargo on their inclusion further is easily comprehensible and calculable.

Though the Indians launch baseless media propaganda regarding the so-called intrusion of the Islamic militants in the security agencies of Bangladesh, they are indifferent about the strong presence of the Hindu communal extremism in Indian Army. They try their best to conceal their weakness how the Hindu fundamentalist terrorist and extremist parties and groups, penetrated in Indian Army and how India's working Army officers planned and launched sabotages and subversive operations in several sites in India, including Shamjota Express that runs between Pakistan and India and implicated the entire blame on the Indian Muslims and so-called Bangladeshi and Pakistani terrorists. Though India is the creator of all types of terrorist activities in South Asian region none ever wrote any letter to UN or any other international forum.\*



## **Hindu extremism in Indian Army**

Indian government, policymakers, intellectuals and their Bangladeshi surrogates deliberately allege that Islamic militancy is very active in Bangladesh. They brand some political parties and groups having links to militancy. They even quoting their Bangladeshi allies baselessly propagate penetration of huge number of (35 per cent) madrasa-oriented students, who were branded as militants, in Bangladesh defense agencies. On the other hand, they remain mum despite huge penetration and presence of Hindutva militant groups in Indian Army. There is little coverage and propaganda in print and electronic media that all the Indian political parties and groups – right from Congress to Communist Parties that are outwardly so-called secular or communists, or even atheists, but in reality extreme communalists and extremists, maintain strong groups in Indian Army. Indian RAW deliberately creates and penetrates its agents almost in all the political parties and groups and even in Armed Forces who are spreading religious extremism and terrorism to keep India united. Indian policymakers came to this conclusion that nursing and spreading serious communal spirit among the Hindus irrespective of their professions and political affiliations is the last remedial therapy to keep India United. In order to keep this therapy alive and divert the attention of the Indian Hindus from the real problems, Indian policymakers to captivate the communal Indians drangle the carrot of reunited greater India before them and with this end in view they launch overt and covert conspiracies to implement their dream of 'Akhand Bharat'.

To spread extreme Hindu nationalism the Hindu communalists and extremists penetrated into Indian Army and other branches of the security agencies. Even the most conservative reports of Indian print media and several foreign newspapers and defense journals, expose massive penetration of the extremist Hindu communalists in Indian defense forces. These reports

confirmed that several Hindu communalist and extremist clandestine groups floated in Indian Army are active for more than a decade. A good number of working and retired Army officers lead these groups inside the Army. They propagate extreme Hinduism among the ranks and files of the Army. A number of Hindu extremist groups and parties like BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal, Durga Vahini, Avinav Bharat, Sanatan Sanstha, Hindu Janjagruti Samiti, RSS (Rashtiya Shevak Sanga) VSP (Visha Hindu Parishad), etc. are among the extremist and communalist forces, which are worse than Talibans and al Queda. They leave no stone unturned to penetrate their followers in Indian Armed Forces and other security agencies. Hundreds of thousands of followers and activists of BJP, RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal, etc. made their way to enter military and all other paramilitary forces. It is observed that most of the officers of Indian Army join BJP after retirement.

To enable and prepare the young followers and supporters to enter Indian military and paramilitary forces as officers, 50 years ago RSS established a huge military academy, named 'Bhonsla Military School & College' at Nashik in Maharashtra. It has its branches in some other provinces of India. The retired Hindutva Army officers work as teachers and instructors in these institutions. Hundreds of thousands of Hindu youths are religiously and psychologically motivated and indoctrinated in these RSS-BJP managed institutions. Later these trained and motivated extremist Hindu youths appearing at recruitment tests enter directly as officers in Indian military and paramilitary forces.<sup>33</sup> None raises question about their educational background or political identity or no so-called survey is made to determine the percentage of the religiously, ideologically or politically motivated and biased officers in Indian military and paramilitary forces.

Besides, BJP and RSS-led 'Bhonsla Military School & College', print media particularly mentioned the name of

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<sup>33</sup> The Daily Naya Diganta, Dhaka, May 14, 2009

‘Maharashtra Military Foundation’ and ‘Attaghatak Phatak’ (AGP) whose involvement were confirmed in the terrorist attacks on two hotels of Mumbai in November 2008. Retired Army General Premnath Hun, a follower of Shiv Sena Chief Bal Thackeray, was the founder of the ‘Maharashtra Military Foundation’. It is the military wing of Shiv Sena. General Premnath came in contact with Shiv Sena while he was in service in Army. On the other hand, Col. Joyanta Rao Chaitel, the trusted disciple of Gen. Premnath, founded AGP. Gen. Premnath and Col. Chaitel for many years were in several positions of military selection centre and ‘RAW’. They drew many other Army personnel to terrorist organizations.

Gen. Premnath Hun and Col. Chaitel jointly formed a Hindu suicide squad. The recruits were trained at Ambarnath industrial city, some 50km off Mumbai. Each batch having 30 terrorists were trained for 15 days. Gen. Premnath and Col. Chaitel said that the member of the suicide squad will launch subversive activities intruding into Pakistan. The awesome report is that police repeatedly got evidences regarding the involvement in several crimes inside India committed by the organisation of Hun and Chaitel. But every time police had to stop in the middle of the investigation due to the intervention of invisible power. An investigation of 2002 proved Chaitel’s close connection with Indian Army and Hindu terrorists. But just on the eve of arresting Chaitel ATS (Anti-terrorist Squad) had to stop in the middle, because the instruction came from ‘RAW’. Another report leaked out in this regard that ‘RAW’ used the trained terrorists of the Hindutva groups during all the prime ministers of India. For this reason ‘RAW’ always showed cold shoulder to all the crimes committed against the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs and the Dalits.

Evidences and proofs regarding the involvement of the Hindutva terrorists were uncovered in destructing the Babri Mosque, setting fire on train at Godhra station, killing the Christians, bombing in Malegaon, Muslim massacre in Gujarat, setting fire on and killing passengers inside the trains, and all

other hair-raising murders against the religious minorities. Col. Shirikant Prasad Purohit after his arrest confessed his involvement in bombing in Malegaon and setting fire on 'Samjhauta (friendship) Express' by RDX. When these reports were pouring in Indian print media, the drama of Mumbai attack abruptly occurred on November 26, 2008. The most amazing and exciting report is that within 15 minutes of that occurrence, Hemant Karkare, the Chief of ATS was killed. Terming his murder as unnatural and very significant event, Indian news media informed that the Hindutva terrorists killed Hemant, as he was in charge of conducting the Malegaon bomb blast and arson on 'Samjhauta Express' in 2007. During the investigation, among others, evidences and documents regarding the involvement of Shirikant Prasad Purohit were revealed. This Colonel was again a member of the suicide squad of Gen. Premnath Hun. A Major named Ramesh Uppadhyay was also accused with Lt. Col. Purohit. ATS informed that two more Colonels were found involved in the terrorist attacks on 'Samjhauta Express' and Malegaon bomb blast. ATS also announced that information regarding the network of the Hindu terrorists would be released soon. Mumbai bomb blast occurred just at that time. On the eve of this incident government assistance and cooperation to ATS were suddenly suspended. Death threat was conveyed to Karkare almost daily. Plan of murdering him was framed in such a way so that entire responsibility could be implicated on Pakistan. However, the responsibility of killing Karkare was ascribed on 'Attaghati Photok' (AGP). The name of Col. Bhagadirta Dhar of Parachute Regiment deployed at Panchmari was revealed alongside Lt. Col. Purohit.

Indian media came to learn, the then Indian Army Chief Gen. Kapur could not deny the involvement of Army officers in terrorist activities. Involvement of the Army officers in terrorist activities is nothing new in India.<sup>34</sup>

Bomb attack at Malegaon killed six Muslims. ATS of

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<sup>34</sup> Daily Sangram, Dhaka, April 18, 2009

Maharashtra launching thorough investigation in Malegaon bomb blast case for three and half a months submitted a 4000-page charge-sheet before the Court citing the evidences and involvement of the Hindutva organizations. 10 males and one female were made accused in this case that included among others a serving Lieutenant Colonel Srikant Prashad Purohitt, a Hindu monk Mahant Amritanand Dev alias Dayanand Pandey, a nun Sadhvi Pragya Singh Thakur, Shivrarnayan Singh Kalsangram, Shyam Bhawarlal Sahu, Major Ramesh Shivji Upadhyay (retd), Sameer Kulkarni, Rakesh Dattaram Dhavde and Ajay Rahirkar. Maj. Ramesh Upadhyay represents the terrorist organization, Abhinav Bharat, another military wing of India's Sangh Parivar.

The main task of Purohit gang was to launch bomb attacks on the Muslim establishments and implicate the responsibility on the Muslims. After every attack on such establishments, it was claimed the bombs were exploded when the Muslims were making them or carrying them to the sites of attack to cause Indian interest. After the attack sometimes certain anonymous callers on behalf of any Muslim group claimed the responsibility of bomb blasts. In fact, the callers were Hindus and used Muslim names and groups to implicate the responsibility on the Muslims. Police instantly nabbed several innocent Muslim activists from several parts of India who were subjected to inhuman torture for confessional statements. Indian news magazine, 'Frontline' cited that Hindu extremists and terrorists made a number of bomb attacks on Muslim mosques for which Muslims were blamed.

November, 2003: Bombs were exploded inside the Mohammadiya Mosque at Parbahani of Maharashtra.

August, 2004: A good number of devotees were wounded when bombs were exploded inside the Kaderiya Mosque at Jalna of Maharashtra. In the same year bombs were blasted again inside the Mirajul-ulum Madrash of Maharashtra. Many students were injured due to the bombing.

September 29, 2008: Five persons were killed and 89 injured



when bombs were exploded in Muslim-inhabited Bhikhuk area of Malegaon under Maharashtra. [ANUPAMA KATAKAM, Frontline, Chennai, India, November 22 to December 05, 2008].

During interrogation Lt. Col. Purohit confessed he provided all types of logistic supports to the Hindu terrorists to plant bomb adjoining the SIMI office on September 29, 2008. Many SIMI activists were arrested after the blast.

During his 2<sup>nd</sup> narco-test Purohit confessed being instructed by the spiritual leader of the Faridabad-based terrorist group 'Avinab Bharrat' he personally monitored Malegaon attack.

Credit of Purohit and 'Avinab Bharrat' is that they succeeded in using the Muslims in launching anti-Muslim attacks. Purohit spent only Rs. 25 thousands in Malegaon attack.<sup>35</sup> He acknowledged that he collected the RDX explosives from a colony of Puna dominated mainly by the Kashmiri Muslims. (ibid).

The Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) claimed that Purohit supplied RDX to one 'Bhagwan' for 'Samjhauta Express' blast on February 17, 2007 that killed 68 persons, mostly Pakistani nationals. Public prosecutor Ajay Misra said Abhinav Bharat's treasurer Ajay Rahirkar had handed over Rs 2.5 lakh to Lt Col. S P Purohit. Mahant Amritanand Dev alias Dayanand Pandey, the self-styled pontiff who was arrested from Kanpur has revealed that it was under his instructions that Lt. Colonel Shrikant Purohit procured RDX from an Army depot that was used in the Malegaon blast. According to reports Pandey was present in all the pre-blast meetings in Bhopal, Jabalpur and Faridabad, monitored operations meticulously and was also responsible for arranging the finances that came in through illegal channels. It is believed that Pandey, a dropout from the National Defence Academy, collaborated with two other accused who went underground. One of them was Ramji Kalsangara, who allegedly planted the motorcycle owned by the Hindu ascetic Pragya Singh Thakur in Malegaon, and

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<sup>35</sup> Times of India, November 13, 2008

Sameer Dange. The charge-sheet cited the most amazing and awesome report that in order to turn India to purely an armed Hindu land Purohit was engaged in an intrigue to form an exile Indian government in Israel.<sup>36</sup>

Purohit suggested that the strength of the Army be increased from 14 lakh to 1 crore men. The defence minister should be called as 'war minister'. Pandey suggested that Pakistan should not be mentioned in their plan since they consider it a part of Akhand Bharat.

On foreign policy, Purohit suggested declaring the country at war till its lost territory was regained or the Line of Control was accepted as international border. It also talks of forming Buddhist and Hindu nations' union to fight Islamic and Christian invasions.

On the other hand, Purohit collected a good number of Bangladeshi Hindus to form a terrorist organization. Purohit invited them to Kolkata where he held secret meetings with them to convey them the required suggestions. It indicates that Purohit enjoyed huge support and strength from his clandestine mentors in India and beyond, perhaps Israel.

Investigations of the Malegaon September 29, (2008) bomb blast have revealed that the arrested accused wanted to send sleeper cells to Bangladesh to avenge the "atrocities" on Hindus. The police have, so far, identified more than a dozen youths from a batch of 54 operatives who were trained in terrorist activities five years ago. The trainees at the camp were reportedly told that Hindus were not being given their rights in Bangladesh.<sup>37</sup>

This revelation came during the interrogation of Sameer Kulkarni, a co-founder of Abhinav Bharat and one of the accused in the explosion that killed six persons. Kulkarni told the police that the organisation spread rapidly and had around 5,000 members across the country. Moreover, it has a few dozen members in Bangladesh.

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<sup>36</sup> The Daily Naya Diganta, Dhaka, January 22, 2009

<sup>37</sup> Times of India, Malegaon accused wanted cells in Bangladesh, December 29, 2008

"The Abhinav Bharat's operatives were trained to avenge the attacks on Hindus and were lying low. They were asked to act when ordered. They were brainwashed about the alleged atrocities on Hindus in Bangladesh and the operatives were also trying to set up a branch over there," said a source. Some of the Bangladeshi members of Abhinav Bharat fled from India soon after learning about Kulkarni's arrest. They would enter India from Kolkata, said a source. <sup>38</sup>

The police have found that some people from Bangladesh — Hindus are a minority there — had also come to India to attend the secret meetings of Abhinav Bharat. An ATS team probing financial angle found there were money transaction from outside country as well. <sup>39</sup>

Sulekha.com (October 25, 2008) informed, the Anti-Terrorist Squard detained two former Army army officers, including Major (Retd.) Major Prabhakar Kulkarni in connection with Malegaon bomb blast that killed six persons. Kulkarni served in the Territorial Army for 12 years before heading the Bhonsala Military School and College, Nashik, run by the Central Hindu Military Education Society. The other officer was 'Upadhye' working with the military intelligence. The officers names were revealed during the questioning of arrested Hindu activists Sadhvi Pradnyasingh Thakur, Shivnarayansing Kalsangram and Shyam. Kulkarni and Upadhye were suspected to be running a private military School. <sup>40</sup>

Link to and involvement of the serving and the former Army officers in the terror activities points towards a worrisome notion; of the deep infiltration of communalist and extremist ideas into Indian Army. Critics believe that the constant indoctrination of Hindutav ideology over decades by the VHP, the RSS, the Bajrang Dal and the BJP has resulted in this kind of violence, which has found its way into crucial State institutions like police force, Army and the education departments.\*

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<sup>38</sup> ibid.

<sup>39</sup> ibid

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/StoryPage.aspx?sectionName=HomePage=4ccc194-a9f7-baa3-fb8091fa9a34&&Headline=Malegaon+blast%3a+2+cx-Army+men+held+>

## **4**

# **The carnage**

-  **The mastermind**
-  **Causes**
-  **Unknown killers**
-  **How implemented**
-  **Government role**
-  **Far-reaching damages**
-  **Opinions**
-  **BDR reconstruction**
-  **Investigation**
-  **Suggestions**
-  **Conclusion**



## The mastermind

Involvement of the hegemonic bullies in any gruesome incident, in most cases, remains unknown. It remains hidden not only for decades, but also for centuries. Identities of the sponsors of secret killings, coups, unnatural deaths, etc., generally remain unknown and undetected, because in most cases they implement these incidents in such skillful way that the sponsors leave little evidence behind justifying their involvement. Same thing happened with the BDR carnage. The mastermind of the carnage remains unknown, though no sincere efforts were made to detect it. '

Nevertheless depending on inference, explaining the situation, uncovering the probable beneficiaries, studying the socio-historical background (of any incident), etc., analysts and observers, above all, investigative journalists succeeded in detecting the hidden engineers of many fateful events that occurred around the world. In most cases, however, a government of a poor country does not dare to name it officially though even the most common people accurately know it. This is the case with Bangladesh. In identifying the hidden stager of the BDR debacle, our political parties, are sharply divided in to two groups. Government blames that the opposition parties staged the carnage to topple the government while the opposition circles allege that our neighbouring country using its allies within the government staged it to crush the defense agencies of the country. On the other hand, India merely to show its headmanship, just after the debacle publicly blamed ISI for staging it. Some ministers of Bangladesh government and the India-tilt print media instantly started to beat the same drum.

“Although the government of Bangladesh is investigating the whole episode yet there is a need for the government of Bangladesh to see through the designs of their real enemy

India who wants the newly elected AL government to accept their demands including transit route facilities and joint task force etc. The fact of the matter is that India wants to plunder Bangladesh's wealth at any cost. While AL of Sheikh Hasina Wajid is pro-Indian political party of Bangladesh, Indian spy masters want to inflict maximum damage on the Armed Forces of Bangladesh creating fear in the minds of officers to understand Indian messages while guarding their national interests. It appears to be a deliberate Indian scheme to sponsor the mutiny and killing of BDR officers while cleverly insinuating against ISI of Pakistan as a cover story.”<sup>41</sup>

For so many technical reasons, perhaps, the Sheikh Hasina government refrains from investigating the involvement of the hidden power that manipulated the BDR carnage. But I strongly believe, the government for national interest and at least, for official record should launch an in-depth investigation to identify who are our foes that staged this carnage, so that the incumbent government and its predecessors, in particular and the whole nation in general, could remain vigil to avert such unfortunate incident. The debacle in BDR Headquarters was so open, that if you ask the name of its instigator, even to a passerby in the street of Dhaka and elsewhere in Bangladesh, he will simply say, “It was India”. India devised this tragic game to weaken and crack the defense line of Bangladesh, to start a civil war and invade it availing the invitation of any of the warring groups.

It is very natural to believe that the country that neither believes in our existence, nor desires our stability and prosperity and repeatedly endeavours to make us crippled and paralysed staged the BDR debacle.

Uncovering the mastermind of the BDR massacre, former Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia while addressing the

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<sup>41</sup> Sultan M Hali, BDR Mutiny, an Indian Conspiracy; Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors: March 27, 2009

National Parliament said, they staged the occurrence in BDR Headquarters who design to turn Bangladesh to a subservient country, degrade the Prime Minister to a Chief Minister. They design to crush our patriotic Armed Forces, she asserted.

### **India's involvement:**

Political and military analysts and observers alleged, it was a well-designed conspiracy against Bangladesh having various targets. The extent of mutiny uncovers the fact they it did not occur due to resentment or deprivation or anti-Army sentiment of the BDR jawans, rather those excuses were used to kill the Army officers under the cover of mutiny. What happened in BDR Headquarters was not a spontaneous rebellion. It was a preplanned conspiracy of our foes to crush the Army and the BDR and the country as well. Who are those foes?

Observers, even intelligence agencies are of the opinion that India was the mastermind of the BDR massacre at Peelkhana. The comments and warlike preparation of the Indian policymakers, particularly voluntary proposals of Indian foreign minister Pranab Mukherjee to send so-called Indian peace-mission to Bangladesh and deliberate propaganda of Indian media involving the Islamic militants prove India's involvement in the BDR massacre.

A proverb is widely in vogue in criminology what says that the criminals, in most cases, leave behind some evidence of their involvement in the crime they commit. The masterminds of the debacle of BDR mutiny could not conceal their involvement in it. The volunteer proposals of the Indians indicate their involvement in the BDR carnage. These proposals, if are accepted or implemented, would cement India's hegemonic grip on Bangladesh. These proposals were: to (a) provide money for BDR, (b) any type of help to Bangladesh, (c) send Indian army to bring the situation under control, (b) extend cooperation to reorganize BDR.

Indicating to India's involvement in the BDR carnage an Army



officer who was rescued while talking to a private TV channel alleged later that foreign hand was involved in this massacre. Because it was a well-knit plan, it was not an immediate reaction to deprivation or resentment of the BDR personnel. The extent of barbaric cruelty and disrespect shown to the deceased BDR officials indicated that no BDR jawans could behave in such an ugly way with their superiors.<sup>42</sup> Such mischievous cruelty could be committed deliberately only by the alien killers. Indian involvement becomes clear if one looks into the following issues:

**To deploy troops:** A report of 'The Anandabazar Patrika' (February 26, 2009), a leading Bengali daily of Kolkata said, Indian foreign minister Pranab Mukherjee talking to Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina over telephone voluntarily and astonishingly put forward a proposal that India was ready to provide the required money to Bangladesh for BDR. The same daily reported on the same day saying, while talking to the officials of Indian foreign ministry Pranab Mukherjee expressed India's readiness to provide whatever assistance Bangladesh requires to normalize the situation. Here, 'whatever assistance' refers also to sending Indian troops to Bangladesh.

These two voluntary proposals are self-explanatory to establish this truth that India designed to reap benefits out of the debacle as it was the mastermind of it that rocked Bangladesh like Tsunami. Bangladesh never asked for money from any country for BDR. Why Pranab Mukherjee abruptly and unilaterally proposed to provide money for BDR? There are many rich countries in the world that can purchase India hundred times. They did not offer such proposal though we have deeper and more sincere friendly relation with them. India is as poor as Bangladesh. Over 33 per cent of the Indians are poorer than

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<sup>42</sup> Makkaram Hossen: The Naya Diganta, Dhaka, March 7, 2009

many Bangladeshis. Why does such a poor country offer its readiness to provide money for BDR? Is it free of cost? Doesn't India have any hidden motive behind such offer?

What did Pranab Mukherjee indicate saying that his country was ready to "provide whatever assistance" Bangladesh required for normalizing the situation? Didn't such readiness indicate sending Indian Army to Bangladesh? What else is required to subdue an armed rebellion other than sending troops? Using the BDR debacle as an opportunity Pranab Mukherjee clearly uncovered the inner motive of implementing Indian design of deploying Indian soldiers in Bangladesh. Pranab Mukherjee did not hesitate to publicly express India's intention saying India will not sit idle to protect the sitting Sheikh Hasina government from any disturbance. The fact is that India's withdrawal of its troops from Bangladesh in 1972 was unintentional. Pointing to the forced withdrawal of the Indian troops India's former President Jai Singh in an interview with a Kolkata-based weekly magazine 'SUNDAY' (July 25, 1987) said, the decision of quick withdrawal of Indian soldiers from Bangladesh in 1972 was not judicious one. It hampered the interest of India. "We could not protect the interest of the country withdrawing our troops hurriedly," he categorically said.

So India remains busy in devising tricks and plans to send its troops to Bangladesh. Under the cover of 'South Asian Joint Task Force', 'joint border patrolling' and deterring trans-border crime and insurgency, India tries to station its troops in Bangladesh territory. 'The Telegraph' of Kolkata on February 26 (2009) published a report that unfolded the real motive of India more clearly. Quoting a highly placed New Delhi-based official, 'The Telegraph' reported, India plans to send the so-called 'peace mission' to Bangladesh. If Bangladesh agrees India will consider sending Central Reserve Police (CRP), Railway Protection Forces or BSF (Border Security Force) to oversee the security of Bangladesh-India Moitree train that

runs between Dhaka and Kolkata. To justify the reason of sending India's so-called peace mission to Bangladesh the daily said, earlier BDR were in charge of ensuring the security of the Moitree train. Now the Army does not have trust on the BDR personnel. On the other hand, BDR have no faith in the Army. India, for this reason, wanted to send its forces at least to guard the 'Moitree Train' in order to ensure security of the passengers and protect engine and materials and luggage, the daily informed.

**First telecast:** Superceding the most efficient news agencies like Reuters, AP, AFP, BBC, CNN, Al-Zazeera etc., it was the Indian private TV channel CNN-IBN that first (at 12.13PM, on May 25) telecast the news regarding the murder of the BDR Chief Maj. Gen. Shakil Ahmed. Even none of the Bangladeshi private or public TV channels or radio stations could cover the murder of Gen. Shakil. No Bangladeshi newspaper published this report even on the following day, February 26. It is a critical question through whom Indian TV collected such authentic and sensitive news so instantly even before the Bangladeshi news media. It means, Indian killers or secret service agents were present in the BDR Headquarters at the time of killing BDR Chief and his colleagues and they immediately intimated and confirmed the death of BDR Chief. To conceal India's involvement, Indian TV channels like CNN-IBN, NDTV, etc. and newspapers including Telegraph, Hindustan Times, Anandabazarpatrika, etc., held the two leading opposition parties of Bangladesh – BNP and Jamaat-e-Islami responsible for the BDR debacle. How the newsmen of these dailies sitting in India instantly knew the involvement of BNP and Jamaat in BDR debacle?

**Lone beneficiary:** The country, which is the beneficiary of any incident, is the architect of that incident. India is the immediate and the only beneficiary of all the debacles,

including BDR carnage that occurred in Bangladesh. Knowledgeable sources, analyzing the ground realities and other documents claim that the BDR debacle was orchestrated by India. They opined, immediate reaction of the Indian policymakers and media people, their ugly and undesirable proposals, and above, all India's war preparation after BDR debacle unveil and indicate their involvement in the holocaust. The leading English daily of Dhaka, 'The Bangladesh Observer' editorially said, "Now here is a conspiracy, if ever there was one, the mutiny was staged by the Indian intelligence agencies in order to create an abnormal situation for sending Indian troops. But this theory is based on facts that in November 1971 the Bangladesh government in exile had to sign a precondition that said Bangladesh would not raise any regular professional Armed forces. On his return, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman defied the precondition and went ahead and raised the Armed forces. So was the BDR mutiny a part of this longstanding Scheme."

'The Observer', echoed the sentiment of the Bangladeshi people belonging to all strata of life. If you ask who caused this blow on Bangladesh even common Bangladeshis hailing from Teknaf to Tatuliya and Sundarbans to Sylhet, will answer in one voice – India and its intelligence agencies and their local mercenaries were involved behind this tragedy.

'The Observer' whose editor, Mr. Iqbal Sobhan Chowdhury, is a trusted ally of AL, questioned whether the BDR mutiny is a part of making BDR and Bangladesh Army devoid of leadership, what India considers as headache to and danger for India. India has enough reasons to consider Bangladesh Armed forces as 'dangerous', because during Pakistan period India had to spend Rs. 35 thousand crores annually to guard its border with East Pakistan, the daily informed. It was highly desired and expected that this huge amount of money would be saved if East Pakistan would secede from Pakistan. With this end in view, India compelled the exile government to sign the

treaty assuring not to raise Armed forces in liberated Bangladesh. This effort had two visions: to end military threat to its Eastern border and keep Bangladesh under its paw in order to invade and capture it easily whenever India wishes so. Pointing to the overtly clandestine masterminds weekly 'SHAPTAHIK,' (Dhaka, March 5, 2005), further questioned, "Who will be benefited if the institutional weakness of Bangladesh Army can be expanded further? Who want to reap benefits pushing the Army to the non-professional dangerous tasks? Who are the beneficiaries if class rivalry irks between the officer and the BDR jawans? Who will be benefited in the international arena by damaging the image of the Bangladesh Armed Forces due to gruesome murder originated out of the preplanned conspiracy? Whose interest is served creating distance among the people, politicians and the Armed Forces and keeping the country unprotected and unguarded?" Our Army earned huge acclamation in UN Peacekeeping Mission. Whose interest has been served branding that force as 'corrupt'?

India is the real beneficiary of the BDR massacre. Let us see in what way India is benefited out of this debacle. Through the BDR massacre, two parallel objectives have been implemented: creation of an environment of despising and undervaluing Army officers and put mental and psychological pressure on them. Besides, it will affect our entire security arrangement, particularly guarding our long border with India. Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Anwar Hossain, Former DBR Chief, in an interview with 'The Ittefaq' said, the major portion of the international border of Bangladesh is with India. Who will be more benefited if this border remains unprotected and unguarded? (The Daily Ittefaq, Dhaka, March 3, 2009).

Incidents of looting cow, goat, buffalo, corns, etc., by the Indian nationals enjoying BSF security cover have alarmingly increased after the BDR debacle. The innocent Bangladeshis living in the bordering areas were simply killed who once

opposed such atrocities. Being scared, Bangladeshis who once faced the BSF alongside the BDR personnel, now remain quiet. To avoid torture and harassment, they even do not dare to claim the dead bodies of their dear ones who are killed by Indian nationals or BSF.

Now India feels free and relief, as there is no resistance from Bangladesh side of the border. The lion-like status of BDR has been lowered down to the position of a sheep. India is the lone beneficiary of the BDR debacle. None knows when BDR will regain its position and mental strength to secure our interest. Some analysts believe revenge for Padua and Boraibari was one of the principal reasons for the planning and execution of the BDR mutiny but another important objective was to persuade Bangladesh to accept a Peace Mission from India to protect the Kolkata-Dhaka Friendship train service. The real purpose for this Peace Mission would be to act as an occupying force and spark further trouble and enmity between the army and the BDR that was likely to ensue after the savage murders at Peelkhana. This would have held out the double benefit and advantage to India of furthering their agenda for securing a transit facility across the country and at the same time cripple the defence and security services of Bangladesh. This would merely be the fulfillment of what had been planned after the 1971 war with Bangladesh having no standing army and the defence needs of the country being organized under Indian army tutelage and control as spelled out in the 7 point agreement signed by the Mujib Nagar government which had only been partly implemented after liberation.<sup>43</sup>

**War preparation:** On the other hand, 'The Telegraph' and 'The Hindustan Times' narrated the war preparation of India centring the BDR mutiny in Bangladesh. 'The Hindustan Times' in a report on March 2 (2009) said, Indian Army was

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<sup>43</sup> MBI Munshi, The BDR Mutiny - revenge for Padua and Boraibari incident, March 02 2009  
<http://www.newsfrombangladesh.net/view.php?hidRecord=249915>

kept standby for humanitarian intervention in Bangladesh and two airplanes were kept ready at Jorhat Airbase of Assam adjoining Bangladesh border. Indian dailies informed that Indian Air Force in Assam was kept under 'red alert'; a specialized brigade from Agra and parachutists were brought to Kolkata. Why India took such war preparation during an internal turmoil in Bangladesh whether to rescue the killers, particularly the face-bound ones, who mysteriously entered BDR Headquarters and participated in the holocaust. Such war preparation uncovers the truth that India was ready to send its troops to Bangladesh using the excuse of BDR mutiny. India was sure that a call would come anytime from Bangladesh to send Indian troops. For this reason it kept its troops standby.

India has airlifted "elements" of its para-brigade based in Agra to Kalaikunda in West Bengal to deal with any contingency which arose due to the internal turmoil in Bangladesh.

Sources said, over a battalion strength (over 1,000 soldiers) of the 50th Independent Parachute Brigade was moved on Sunday from Agra to Kalaikunda, which has a large IAF base.

"Depending on the situation, more could follow. With Bangladesh army progressively taking over from the paramilitary BDR in posts along the Indo-Bangladesh border, it's a precautionary move," said a source. <sup>44</sup> India was 'ready' to come to the 'rescue' of Sheikh Hasina! India acted also very rapidly — the 'Parachute Regiment' of the Indian Army was brought overnight to West Bengal from Agra and the Air Force was kept on 'high alert' in Kolkata and Guahati of Assam (The Telegraph, Kolkata, February 28, 2009).

**Mutineer's communication:** Reports that have surfaced about mutineer's communications with their allies across the border that further cemented the speculations that it was a well planned operation handled by junior officers alone.

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<sup>44</sup> Bangladesh mutiny: India moves more troops to WB, March 4, 2009, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India/Bangladesh-mutiny-India-moves-more-troops-to-WB/articleshow/4220361.cms>

Bangladesh has paid a heavy price to resist the Indian hegemonic designs in the region. The secrets about the recent conspiratorial mutiny are gradually being unfolded. Many links have already been unearthed and after joining them together the conspiracy theory is now being believed by almost everyone as a reality.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, a report was published in a section of the Bangladeshi newspapers saying that Indian BSF personnel sent SMS messages to BDR jawans suggesting them to seek their (BSF) assistance. Instigating the BDR jawans during the massacre, the BSF SMS says, “Army will take over your BOP. Please call us to help you.” It was learnt from Touhid’s cell phone that he had regular and close contacts with a number of high-level Indian officials. Reliable sources said, on that eventful day Touhid made over 300 calls through his cell phone to contact his mentors and accomplices. What more evidence should be cited to justify that India planted this conspiracy and threw Bangladesh to an awkward situation.

**Unwillingness in nabbing BDR rebels:** On February 28 (2009), an Indian daily ‘The Telegraph’ reported Dhaka asked New Delhi to disarm the BDR rebels and send them to Bangladesh. Many rebel BDR jawans entered India through several border routes. With this end in view, they have contacted their BSF counterparts deployed in different borders. Bangladesh also informed India that its Army chased the rebels up to border who sneaked to Indian territory.

The daily informed, about seven hundred BDR rebels are still absconding. But India is not ready to nab the fleeing BDR rebels, though USA also desires India should play the role to stabilize the region. Quoting an Indian expert on Bangladesh affairs the daily said, though India is sympathetic to the situation caused by revolt, India will do whatever it

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<sup>45</sup> Sultan M Hali, BDR Mutiny: An Indian Conspiracy, Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors, March 27, 2009



desires to do, not on the basis what others say.<sup>46</sup>

‘The Telegraph’ added, contacting BSF in 30 points of border, BDR rebels sought for shelter. These points are located in West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura borders. In some points BDR rebels wrote letters to BSF seeking shelter in India.

In its concluding comment the daily said, India will not do anything under international pressure. India whatever will do, will do that considering its interest.

The above report made it clear that many killers have already taken shelter in India and India is not ready to hand over them to Bangladesh. This stance of India indicates that India solely orchestrated this massacre.

Bangladesh has also common border (land 208km and water 63km) with Myanmar. There are at least 35 outposts along the Myanmar border. None of the BDR personnel contacted Myanmar border security force — NASAKA, or sneaked to Myanmar or sought shelter in Myanmar. Besides, Myanmar neither kept its troops alert, nor proposed to send its troops to Bangladesh nor expressed its readiness to reorganize BDR, what India did. Myanmar media did not make any ugly or undesirable comment about the BDR debacle. Question also surfaced why BDR rebels entered India and got safe shelter there. BDR jawans sought shelter in India, as they were sure that their security would not be endangered in India, but it might be dangerous if they would flee to Myanmar. India’s over-enthusiastic voluntary proposals, flight of the BDR jawans to India and India’s disinterest in nabbing them categorically uncovered India’s involvement in BDR debacle.

Analysts and observers opined, if the entrance of the BDR jawans to India was not preplanned, but whimsical they would have entered Myanmar as well. But they refrained from entering Myanmar. So their entrance to India and India’s readiness to welcome them proved that everything was

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<sup>46</sup> Dr. Rezwana Siddique, Post-editorial, Daily Sangram, March 4, 2009

prearranged. India through BDR catastrophe put pressure on the Bangladesh government to meet its longstanding demands. “----- government of Bangladesh is to see through the designs of their real enemy India who want the newly elected AL government to accept their demands including transit route facilities and joint task force etc. The fact of the matter is that India wants to plunder Bangladesh's wealth at any cost. While AL of Sheikh Hasina Wazed is a pro-Indian political party of Bangladesh, Indian spy masters want to inflict maximum damage on the Armed Forces of Bangladesh creating fear in the minds of officers to understand Indian messages while guarding their national interests. It appears to be a deliberate Indian scheme to sponsor the mutiny and killing of BDR officers while cleverly insinuating against ISI of Pakistan as a cover story.”<sup>47</sup>

The BDR attack was perpetrated by India, using, of course, many genuine grievances of the BDR jawans. Khaleda was right when she implied that Hasina allowed more than enough time for the perpetrators to do the damage and then flee. The attack was aimed at destroying the defence capabilities of Bangladesh and bringing Bangladesh under Indian military control. India wants to station Indian army in Bangladesh, as they tried unsuccessfully in Sri Lanka and successfully in Bhutan. They have already proposed to send a military peace mission to Bangladesh.<sup>48</sup>

Some of the Indian policymakers, print and electronic media and their Bangladeshi allies have tried to link the JMB-type 'Islamic' terrorist groups to the massacre, but investigations carried so far have proved such propaganda false. On the contrary, some of those were arrested or suspected to be involved in the conspiracy belong to the Awami League and their allied groups. Many of these elements, previously

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<sup>47</sup> Sultan M Hali, BDR Mutiny, an Indian Conspiracy; Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence and Monitors: March 27, 2009).

<sup>48</sup> Dr. K. M. A. Malik, The Sugar-coated Poison: India's offer of 'help' to restructure BDR, Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors, April 6, 2009)

accused of toll-collection, smuggling, terrorism, murder, arson and other serious crimes, fled the country after 2001 when the BNP-led government came to power and were sheltered by India. Kolkata and some districts in West Bengal became a haven for these criminals. Many Awami League leaders including Nanak and Mirza Azam also fled the country and lived in India during the military-backed Fakhruddin government. It is highly probable that some of these elements were groomed by R&AW to act as their operatives in Bangladesh. It is very hard to prove these accusations with documentary evidence, but it is widely believed that the R&AW network in Bangladesh (and other neighbouring countries) is widespread incorporating elements within political, academic, legal, media, cultural, NGO, business and religious (including JMB) organizations. It is also highly probable that the civil administration, military and BDR forces and intelligence agencies have long been infiltrated by R&AW agents. <sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Dr. K. M. A. Malik, Sugar-coated Poison- India's offer of 'help' to restructure BDR, Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors, April 6, 2009).\*

## Causes

There is a well-known statement in 'Logic' that says, out of nothing, nothing comes — everything must have sufficient causes behind it. It is applicable to the BDR carnage. Many reasons have been put forwarded by different quarters. Out of the three probe committees formed after the debacle, two submitted their reports to their concerned authorities. When this book was finalized on July 18, (2009), findings of the Army probe committee report were not made public. On the other hand, report of the home ministry probe committee was partially (only seven pages out of 309) disclosed. But both of those probe reports, perhaps, for sufficient reasons, suggested for further investigation to find out the inner reasons of the debacle. The nominal reasons that probe committees and media mentioned were not perhaps sufficient enough for staging such a bloody mutiny. The committee, formed by home ministry, admits that it failed to determine the "genuine" reasons and motives behind the heinous act of the members of the paramilitary force. So the probe committee suggested that further investigation is needed to determine the genuine causes.

The home ministry probe committee has, however, revealed that the existing "negative sentiments" among BDR soldiers about Army officers and their dissatisfaction and resentment at the unfulfilled demands could be the primary reasons.

"Analysing their demands, it will be evident that a few insignificant demands cannot be the main reason for carrying out such a large-scale brutal incident," the summary of the probe report says, adding that these demands were used to spread malicious influence among BDR soldiers

"Using these demands, the main architects of the carnage might have pulled the strings from behind to endanger the stability of the state," the probe report claimed. Let us, in brief, look at their demands:

**Poor privileges:** Uncovering the reasons of BDR debacle a Bengali daily informed, absence of ration for all, non-payment of allowances of various programmes, non-enhancement of border allowance and the recent suggestion of the finance minister to introduce separate pay scale only for the police department, etc. irked grief and resentment among the BDR jawans.<sup>50</sup>

Quoting sources of the ministry of home affairs the daily said, all the members of BDR get ration facilities do not regularly get ration facility. If 60 percent BDR members get ration facility this year, the remaining 40 per cent will get ration in the succeeding year. A three-member family monthly gets six kgs flour, 36 kgs rice, 3 litres edible oil and 3 kgs sugar.

During the four-party alliance rule, demands were placed to provide hundred per cent ration to all BDR jawans throughout the year and include pulse in ration list. But no step was taken accordingly. The Sheikh Hasina government after the BDR debacle increased the quantity of ration and started to provide ration to all BDR jawans round the year.

‘The Shamokal’ informed, the daily allowance for participating in the ‘Daal-Bhat’ operation was not disbursed among the BDR jawans. Only one-third of the allowance for participating in parliamentary election (2008) was disbursed till the debacle. Each BDR jawan deployed in the border areas gets Tk. 200 per month as border allowance. It was a longstanding demand to increase the border allowance.

BDR jawans feel that the officers who come from Army on deputation are not sincere enough to their grievances. Out of over three hundred officers, over 250 have been deputed from Army, ‘The Samokal’ informed. According to the daily, to get rid of such discriminatory treatment, the BDR jawans adopted aggressive as a means to protest.

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<sup>50</sup> Daily Shamokal, Dhaka, February 26, 2009

The BDR jawans have been pressing their demands for appointing of officers from their own organization, providing 100 percent ration, reorganizing their pay scales on the line of pay structures of the Army and sending them abroad on the UN peacekeeping mission. Besides, discontentment was looming among the BDR members on the conduct of 'Daal Bhat programme,' non-transparency in running the BDR shops and luxurious style of living of the officers, the home ministry probe committee report mentioned.

At the outset it was told that deprivation, disparity, exploitation and Army repression and supremacy provoked the BDR jawans to stage mutiny. But the cruelty, barbarity and extent and gravity of massacre and disrespect committed on the dead bodies uncover one truth that it was not a mutiny, rather the entire episode was designed and staged very carefully in accordance with a blueprint.

**Army deputation:** Another major demand of the BDR jawans was to withdraw the Army officers from BDR and replace them by BCS cadres as like as Police department. Critics say, such demand was raised to ease malpractice that the BDR jawans commit in the border areas, what is somewhat difficult for them in presence of the Army officers.

Before 2002, only very average Army officers were posted to BDR. Those Army officers used to pass time and wait for retirement. The scenario was changed in late 2002, when the serving Army officers were started to depute outstanding officers to BDR to properly guard the national border and curb cross-border crime and smuggling. If you please recall, phensidyl was introduced by India in Bangladesh across Benapole in the mid 1980s at the cost of Tk 2 per bottle. Once they captured our youths, they raised the price gradually and now they have phensidyl factories all along Bangladesh border only to supply this narcotic to Bangladesh. This is just an example of cross-border crime.

So, to guard our beloved land, Army started deputing very good officers into BDR. It is alleged, before 2002, the BDR jawans were very rich through the earning of smuggling. Their sepoys and naiks and havildars had such buildings and houses that even officers could only dream. After 2002, smuggling and its sharing by BDR jawans started coming down. Capture of smuggling figures, if you can manage, will rightly prove that. Therefore, the young BDR jawans that were pictured from Peellkhana were the young jawans with 5-10 years of service who could not earn from smuggling. Their seniors told them, "You see, we have made house when we were sepoy, but you can't have now because Army officers are making money and not sharing with you." this is theme they used to motivate the young jawans. Whenever there is an encounter with BSF, always we are the winner. Please remember the incidents of Roumari, Padua etc. But all that appear in media is about our casualty only, rightly for the purpose of diplomacy principle. As long as Army officers lead BDR, BSF will never win any single battle, they will always be in the loser's end and India will not be able to smuggle drugs, fake currency and other harmful things into Bangladesh. The DADs of BDR are the worst losers. They are educated officers but cannot do anything because of Army officers. <sup>51</sup>

The targeted Army officers occupy senior positions in the command and control of the BDR and their pay and allowances and other perks are governed by those applicable to the Army officers and not by those applicable to the directly-recruited officers of the BDR. Resentment over what is perceived by the direct recruits as the step-motherly treatment meted out to them by the deputationists and re-employed officers of the Army seem to have acted as the trigger for the mutiny. <sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Here is the true story of BDR: [amardeshbd.com/Alochona](http://amardeshbd.com/Alochona), Monday March 02, 2009, <http://www.newsfrombangladesh.net/view.php?hidRecord=249899>

<sup>52</sup> B. Raman, *Bad Omens From Bangladesh*, February 27, 2009.

<http://www.southasiananalysis.org/papers31/paper3072.html>) The writer is Additional Secretary (Retd.), Cabinet Secretariat, Govt. of India, New Delhi, and, presently, Director, Institute For Tropical Studies, Chennai. E-mail: [seventyone2@gmail.com](mailto:seventyone2@gmail.com)

**Corruption:** The Jawans of BDR also complained about corruption of Army Officers who come to BDR for a short tenure and indulge in corrupt practices. The question is that causes as reported through media are not commensurate with the magnitude of the criminal activity that took place in the BDR. The saner elements of the society are skeptical about the real causes leading to mass scale mutiny in a disciplined force of BDR. Across the board investigation to unearth the facts is imperative to punish those responsible for such a gory drama and to avert such future happening in the BD Armed Forces.<sup>53</sup> The grudge of a section of BDR jawans, particularly non-officers like DAD Touhid, originated from the fact that in presence of the Army officers the BDR jawans and their non-Army officers could not earn huge amount of illegal money from smuggling and other crimes that are committed in the border. So the anti-Army sentiment got momentum among some corrupt BDR jawans and their non-Army officers.

**Foreign conspiracy:** It is quite clear by now that the massacre is not the instantaneous action of few individuals bent on taking revenge on their alleged 'corrupt' and 'oppressive' commanders but the result of a sophisticated 'commando operation' executed by the agents of powerful conspirators to destabilise Bangladesh as a State and demobilise its defence and security branches. Sowing seeds of confusion, mistrust, panic and hatred among different branches of state organs especially the armed forces and the border security forces as well as among the general public appear to be the immediate aim of this anti-Bangladesh operation. The long-term objectives were and still remain to push the country towards a civil war situation, to cripple its own defence capabilities and create another 'Somalia' or 'D R Congo', to make it ungovernable without physical and financial support of the

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<sup>53</sup> Sultan M. Hali, BDR Mutiny: An Indian Conspiracy, March 27, 2009.



self-proclaimed 'international' or 'regional' imperialists and hegemonists.<sup>54</sup>

The oldest English daily of Dhaka, 'The Bangladesh Observer' in an editorial on March 20 (2009) said, "To most people, however, it seems unequivocally clear that this was a well designed conspiracy, but whether against the government or the Army is hard to fathom. But the extent of the mutiny indicates it was not due to resentment or deprivation of or even anti-Army feeling of the BDR personnel running high."

Prime Minister emphatically claimed, the BDR rebellion was planted to upset her government and deter the process of democracy though no symptom was in sight to topple the Sheikh Hasina government. The Army Chief spent hours with the Prime Minister and maintained constant contact with her. So comment of toppling her government was based on mere assumption or suspicion.

Haidar Akban Khan Rano, a left-leaning politician-cum-columnist' wrote, the killing of the Army officials hunting up and down (thorough search), looting and setting example of brutal barbarism under no circumstance were the features of any coup or uprising. .... Bringing the petty grievances to the forefront a small group completed the mission and undoubtedly it was a part of a gruesome conspiracy. ...however, was definitely against the sovereignty and democracy of Bangladesh.<sup>55</sup>

Rejecting the lame excuses responsible for the Peelkhana massacre that media brought to the forefront, one of the aged journalists and veterans of the language movement Prof. Abdul Ghafur wrote, "This tragedy was not the expression of allegation-oriented resentment or grief. It was not even the mutiny of the BDR jawans. In fact, it was rather a well-planned conspiracy to destroy the defense establishments of Bangladesh. If there was any allegation out of deprivation,

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<sup>54</sup> Dr. K. M. A. Malik, *Bangla Mirror*, March 6, 2009

<sup>55</sup> Haidar Akbar Khan Rano, Post Editorial, *Amardesh*: Dhaka, March 10, 2009

efforts should have been directed to remove and remedy those. Why they instead of those efforts killed so many talented officers of our defense forces? The target of the massacre was to ruin the defense strength of an independent sovereign country. No person having sound brain who prefers the welfare of Bangladesh could engage in such destructive misdeed.<sup>56</sup>

Prof. Ghafur alleged, "This mutiny did not arise out of the claims and demands, external power was active behind this occurrence." Former President Hussain Muhammad Ershad said, there was international intrigue behind the Peelkhana murders. Opposition leader in the Parliament Begum Khaleda Zia suggested to investigate whether instigations of anti-Bangladesh cliques were active behind the massacre. The spokesman of AL and LGRD minister Sayed Ashrafur Islam informed, from the initial evidences that were gathered show that external power was active behind it," Prof. Ghafur quoted.

**Extent of revolt:** The BDR revolt was not limited to Peelkhana BDR Headquarters in Dhaka, rather it was spread at least in 32 other BDR units, sectors and battalion headquarters also. BDR jawans of Khulna Sector besieged the Khulna-Jessore Highway and set fire on vehicles. Blank firing continued throughout the day at the Rajshahi BDR Sector Headquarter. Firings were opened at Khagrachari Sector Headquarter. Firings were opened from Feni BDR Battalion Headquarter, shootings were exchanged at Jailashkar and barricade was set up on Feni-Maijdee (Noakhali) road. Firings were opened at Kabibari (Dinajpur), Srimongal (Sylhet), Satkhania (Chittagong), Ambari of Parbortipur (Dinajpur), Jaipurhat, Phulbari (Dinajpur), Shamsernagar, Lalmonirhat, Naogoan, Mirpur of Bheramara (Kushtia), Netrokona, Thakurgoan, Sylhet town, Kaligonj of Sarail (Brahmanbaria), Ramu (Chittagong), Cox's Bazar, Teknaf, Bandarban, Jessore and Naikongchhari (Bandarban), etc. Roads were besieged

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<sup>56</sup> The Daily Inqilab, Dhaka, March 19, 2009

and blocked at Thakurgoan, Kaligonj of Sarail, Hili and Fatikchhari (Chittagong). Train communications were disrupted at Mirpur of Bheramara and Kushtia.\*

## Unknown killers

Though out of three probe committees two have already submitted their reports to the concerned authorities, Bangladeshis as well as international communities could not know the real identity or nationality of the killers and their sponsors. The ruthless pattern of killing by face-covered killers and their safe flight from BDR Headquarters to unknown destination indicate that they were highly trained, desperate and motivated foreign nationals who were sent to kill the Army officers. Defense analysts strongly believe that the BDR jawans, despite their resentment and allegation against the Army officers could never be so ruthless and crazy in killing their bosses with whom they worked for a long time. They out of anger could kill, at best, one or two, but not 57 officers, most of whom were totally innocent and were not the authority to fulfill their demands. So they had no reasonable ground or grudge to kill them. Analysts were sure that it was not such a coup that if they could kill Army officers they would form the next government. They had to calculate what returns they would get by killing the officers. Above all, they had to be scared of the grievous consequences for their unpardonable misdeeds, even if they could kill all the 133 officers, who were present at Peelknana. All these realities suggest one truth that such massive gruesome murder couldn't be committed by the Bangladeshi nationals risking their own lives and throwing their family members to uncertain future. In-depth analysis of the realities and human psyche tell us that such unimaginable murder could be committed only by those who were not only aliens, but also were sure that nothing would happen to them, rather they would surely be protected and their flight after the operation was hundred per cent guaranteed.

Besides, almost all the accused during their interrogations confessed that they had no plan to kill their bosses, rather to

make them captives to realize their demands. It proves that the main engineers of the massacre used the resentment and demands of the common BDR jawans as cover to implement their design. Officially undeclared masterminds infiltrated their agents in BDR and arranged the situation for free entrance of the killers to BDR Headquarters and their safe flight from it. They created and controlled the entire situation to implement their blueprint of killing the Army officers instead of making the DG and his subordinate officers captives.

Eye-witness account of a surviving Army officer says that the murder campaign was initiated by a group of about 12-14 young people who arrived at the Peelkhana Durbar Hall in an arms-loaded pick-up not belonging to the BDR.<sup>57</sup>

Quoting the eyewitness print media informed, an unknown ash-coloured van entered the BDR Headquarters carrying some arms, when Maj. Gen. Shakil Ahmed was preparing to address the 'Darbar'. At one stage the van took position within 10 yards off the 'Darbar Hall'. One source informed, there were 15 to 20 sealed boxes in that van. The youths supplied bullets from that van. An Army officer who survived hiding in Al Beruni Building said, BDR does not have such type of vehicle.<sup>58</sup> The same weekly said, on the night of February 25 a white-coloured ambulance repeatedly entered and left BDR Headquarters. It is believed that the car might have carried the outsiders to and from BDR Headquarters to conduct their mischievous mission.

According to the surviving witnesses, the initial volley of shooting that killed most officers inside the Darbar Hall came from so called "soldiers" who were already in civilian clothes.

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<sup>57</sup> Dr. K. M. A. Malik, *Bangla Mirror*, March 6, 2009.

<sup>58</sup> SHAPTAHIK, Dhaka, March 5, 2005. (The Army-led investigation report mentioned that the said van belonged to a project of BDR. But analysts opined since the Army team was not independent, due to government pressure and prescription, in conducting the investigation and preparing the report, the report perhaps could not deny the presence of ash-coloured car, but for technical reason mentioned that it belonged to a BDR project. But the report did not comment on the sealed boxes what the van carried.)

The survivors also stated that large number of the killing force outside Darbar Hall that hunted down the officers and killed them was also in civilian clothes. Some of the faces of the jawans we saw on TV during the massacre who were speaking with the reporters were probably foot soldiers that had absolutely no clue about what was really going on. Ordinary foot soldiers didn't demand to meet with the Prime Minister and talk about surrender. They were told to repeat those lines to the reporters by the senior leaders of the shadow forces that were part of the killing machine and which we haven't identified yet. The estimated BDR presence before the killing had begun was close to FIFTEEN thousand. After the jawans surrendered and returned to the barracks their number dwindled to merely three hundred!!! More than 98 percent of the BDR jawans escaped. Can you even begin to comprehend this fact!!! It doesn't require the brains of a rocket scientist to realize that by the time the remaining clueless foot soldiers put down their weapons, the real perpetrators had enough time to actually leave the country. As a matter of fact if we can manage to successfully lift the veils of this conspiracy someday, there's a very good chance that we might find the real perpetrators were not members of the BDR at all. They might very well turn out to be members of the military or even members of Special Forces of foreign origin.<sup>59</sup>

It is questioned, why the identity, names and ranks etc., of those BDR "men" were not recorded who went to the Prime Minister's residence? Were all those actually BDR personnel or outsiders in disguise of uniforms sent for carrying out the killing operation? Why those BDR "delegates" were not properly searched or their identities recorded prior to their meeting with the Prime Minister to ensure her safety? Why they were so trustworthy?

The involvement of the alien killers becomes clear if one

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<sup>59</sup> Yasmin Bhayan March 02, 2009, [http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/detail\\_news\\_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002](http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/detail_news_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002))

thinks over the presence of two foreign nationals (male and female) in the BDR Headquarters who came out of the BDR Headquarters along with those family members who were the captives inside it. Both of them were young in age. The male foreigner could speak fluent Bengali. No sooner had a newsman enquired of his identity seeing the tag attached to his luggage, than he instantly tore the tag, perhaps to keep his national identity secret. Personnel of secret services were also present during this incident. <sup>60</sup> Doesn't this behaviour of the unknown foreigner indicate something suspicious? Where are those two foreign nationals now? With whom they were inside the BDR Headquarters, questioned the weekly. Government should have found them out.

Question surfaced whether those who were inside the Peelkhana, were actually BDR jawans or trained outsiders sent by the interested quarters in disguise of uniforms for carrying out the killings. The brutal nature of killings of the officers, women & children, mutilating, dumping and burning of bodies and looting of valuables from the residential quarters can well justify involvement of the outlawed groups and definitely not from a disciplined force, a dissident group of which might have been used for the purpose. <sup>61</sup> Photographs of some unknown and unidentified face-covered outsiders clothed with BDR dress, were flashed in various newspapers. It is alleged that these outsiders played the vital in the killing mission. Some sources even claimed that the outsiders led the mutiny and the killing operation. According to military intelligence, the number of the outsiders superceded BDR mutineers. They killed the unarmed Army officers and threw the dead bodies along with uniform into filthy drains and sewerages. Many of them were buried in mass graves, whose bodies were later recovered. Rollers were rolled over the dead bodies of the officers. Some of them were even brunt to ashes. Their dead

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<sup>60</sup> SHAPTAHIK, Dhaka, March 5, 2005

<sup>61</sup> Mohammad Ataul Hoque, BDR carnage, <http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/2009/03/04/60318.html>

bodies were deformed with bullets and bayonets. Eyes of some officers were even uprooted. The miscreants who were virtually beasts in human shape danced on the dead bodies exultingly out of fun and merriment. It is questioned whether these killers were Bangladeshis or aliens who came to Bangladesh with the agenda of killing the Army officers under the cover of BDR mutiny. Fortunately 76 Army officers could escape death, because the killers could not identify many of them, as they put off their official dress. Some of them hid in toilets or under the bedsteads, and others got the hearty cooperation of the genuine BDR jawans, who did not disclose the identity of their bosses to the killers. Most of the surviving Army officers later informed that there were many good and hesitant soldiers among the group who saved their lives and protected their family members.<sup>62</sup>

It is alleged that a good number (many sources claimed 12) of Indian secret service agents camouflaging them as BDR personnel carried out the brutal massacre and freely left the scene through the gate No. 5 of BDR Headquarters. Knowledgeable sources said, BDR personnel could never be so ruthless and cruel to their bosses. They could not kill so many innocent officers out of instant anger. Their psyche could have never allowed them to commit such a heinous crime. Only the alien butchers could be merciless and heartless who, as if, took their revenge on Bangladesh Army.

A senior Army official has alleged, video footage of the mutiny by the country's border guards shows "outsiders wearing BDR (Bangladesh Rifles) uniform",.

The new BDR Chief Brigadier General Mohammed Mainul Islam, while talking to the Daily Star newspaper on Tuesday, referred to "unknown people" who did not belong to the force, reinforcing the government charge of "a conspiracy by outside forces".<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Forum, a monthly publication of 'The Daily Star', Dhaka, April issue, 2009

<sup>63</sup> 'Outsiders in uniform behind BDR mutiny' 5 March 2009,

[http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India/Outsiders\\_in\\_uniform\\_behind\\_BDR\\_mutiny/articleshow/4225675.cms](http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India/Outsiders_in_uniform_behind_BDR_mutiny/articleshow/4225675.cms)



Pointing to some of the killers, Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Anwar Hosen, Former DBR Chief in an interview with 'The Ittefaq' said, they could never be the jawans of BDR whose face was covered with red cloths. They came from abroad. They were the main killers. (The Daily Ittefaq, Dhaka, March 3, 2009).

It is a great question mark, why all the 14 persons who went to 'Jamuna' the official residence of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, were not enlisted as accused in the case filed with Lalbag Police Station on February 28. OC (Officer in-charge) of Lalbag Police Station Navojoti Khisa filed the case naming only five out of those 14 persons. It is questioned whether the nine other persons were Indian or local operators who were not enlisted as accused. It is alleged that government deliberately kept them unknown. It was displayed the print media that 12 'Black Cat commandos' came from India to participate in the killing mission. These commandos directly went to the runway of Zia International Airport without immigration clearance. (Daily Sangram: Dhaka, March 16, 2009). To pave the way for the departure of the Indian commandos, a flight of an Airlines, had to delay for four hours. However, one most reliable source confirmed that 12 Indians sneaked to Indian territory through Comilla border. \*

## How implemented

Observers and analysts believe being failed to cope with the BDR jawans in face to face clash, Indian policymakers undertook nasty policy of liquidating BDR and Army as well. The debacle of February 25 and 26 was a part of that policy. With that end in view, 'RAW' devised a long-term blueprint. 'RAW' purchased most of the field workers of BDR intelligence agency 'RSU' (Rifles Security Unit). Indian killing group penetrated in BDR cautiously and carefully in BDR. According to 'RAW' plan 'Black Cat' commandos were brought from India who merging with the misguided BDR jawans killed the Army officers.

An in-depth analysis shows that our enemies breaking our battle line penetrated among the BDR jawans. BDR debacle was staged abruptly and skillfully. The pattern of concealing the dead bodies and the safe flight of the killers reveal that it was a well-planned conspiracy. The entire operation was completed so dexterously and skillfully that it is not logical to term it as mere a 'mutiny'. It was a longstanding design to spread and inject hatred and malice among the jawans against their officers deputed from Army. Our enemies instigated the BDR jawans to take arms against their commanding officers who were deputed from Army, so that the people of Bangladesh and its various organizations are also divided into two groups and one group kills other.

During TFI (Taskforce Interrogation) the arrestees, particularly DAD Touhid and Rahim, in their confessional statements mentioned that members of the influential circle (influential circle is referred to India) started to enter BDR Headquarters from February 22 and within 3 to 4 days sizeable number of them took their position inside BDR Headquarters. They stayed there till the end of the massacre. This report was published in almost all the major dailies of Dhaka on March 9.

Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Harun-ar Rashid former Chief of Army Staff talking to a daily informed that on February 25, BDR jawans carried more arms and ammunitions with them than they customarily keep with them during their duty. This indicates that it was a preplanned incident.<sup>64</sup>

The report submitted by the Army investigation team confirmed disruption of electricity in the BDR Headquarters and removal of law enforcing agencies from around the headquarters paved the way for the killers and mutineers to easily flee away even carrying light weapons, money, ornaments and other valuable materials that they looted from the BDR Headquarters.

On the second day of the tempest in BDR Headquarters, some SMS messages were sent from outside to DAD Tawohid using 'banglalik' cell No. 01913-132904 asking him to provide cooperation and inspiration to the BDR jawans. On February 26, at 12.18 the following message was sent to him from the above cell phone. It says: Support BDR Nawjoans. They save our border by blood. Army can only take government power. BDR contributes much than Army hyena. Forward this SMS to other.<sup>65</sup> The language of this SMS proves that it was not sent by any ordinary BDR personnel or common people, rather by someone who was expert in English.

Asif Arsalan, a leading journalist and analyst of Dhaka, quoting reports published in various dailies cited 11 incidents concerning planning, preparation and implementation of the BDR massacre.

1. By January 11 (2009), 25 foreign commodes entered Bangladesh from India through different border routes. Some foreigners those who worked in Dhaka under the cover of diplomats received and sheltered them.
2. Simultaneously a small band of 10 to 12 BDR personnel were recruited. Of them two were Deputy Additional

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<sup>64</sup> The Daily Ittefaq, Dhaka, March 1, 2009

<sup>65</sup> The Daily Sangram, Dhaka, March 4, 2009

Directors. The responsibility of this group was to act as the coordinators of the emissaries of the foreign commandos. This small team acted through three political leaders and communicated all information till the massacre in BDR Headquarters was implemented.

3. Timings of launching the operation were also fixed very carefully. Their target was to get almost all the senior officials of BDR in the same place. All these officers assembled in Dhaka on occasion of the Annual BDR Week' 2009. Three thousand extra personnel also came to Dhaka from different districts to comply with various responsibilities of such a grand event. The main attractive event of the BDR Week is 'Tattoo Show'. 'Tattoo Show' was scheduled to be held on February 26, (2009) and Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was scheduled to attend it.

4. The intriguers initially fixed February 24 to launch their operation. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was scheduled to take the 'salute' of BDR Day parade. But operation on that day would have caused collateral damage, i.e., civilian VIPs would also be killed alongside the Army officials, the repercussions of which would be beyond the control of the killers. Among others, VIPs like Prime Minister, members of the cabinet, Parliament Members, members of the diplomatic cores, and other high officials of the Armed Forces, would remain present. Considering all these the date of operation was delayed for a day. However, at least three invited VIPs were present during the parade of that day, who were involved with the plan of the killers. They checked the operation areas scheduled for the next day (February 25).

5. A meeting was held at a house situated on the suburb of Dhaka at about 10.30pm on the night of February 24. Members of the killing group (commando unit) who came from abroad, 10 to 12 BDR personnel and three young politicians participated in that meeting. The timing of operation of the following day was ascertained in that meeting. They were

divided into smaller factions and it was also determined when, where and how each faction would launch operation.

6. According to that decision, one of the DADs (Deputy Additional Director) chosen the sentries who would remain on duty at gate No. 4 from dawn. It goes without saying those sentries were deputed at the gates who were their trusted accomplices.

7. On the basis of the plan, worked out earlier, a Bedford truck carrying the foreign commandos entered the BDR Headquarters compound through gate No. 4 at 8.10am. Bedford truck was sent about an hour earlier to carry them to BDR Headquarters. DADs arranged that truck. The commandos were dressed with sports gears (long trousers). The reason of wearing sports gears that they could easily change their dress within moments at the time of fleeing.

8. There was an ash-colored pickup van behind the Bedford truck. In the van there were weapons and explosives brought from outside Bangladesh. To the operation a Bengali speaking commando was instructed to enter the 'Darbar Hall'. His duty was to unnecessarily engage in an irrelevant debate with Maj. Gen. Shakil, the President of the 'Darbar' and DG of BDR. The objective of such misconduct was to incite the DG.

9. When the DG was shot at on the basis of the plan, other BDR officials caught hold of the lone killer. In no time the 'killing action group' entered the 'Darbar Hall' and indiscriminately started shooting. The group that was providing cover to the killers immediately surrounded the 'Darbar Hall'.

10. The 2nd phase of killing was then started. Other troops were forced to join the killers due to armed threat of the killers. Being armed a group looted the 'malkhana'. Then they enquired of the residence of the officials, location of their family members and classified documents relating to national security that included secret papers on border security and maps of deploying the BDR personnel in the border areas.

11. After completing the 1st phase of murdering the BDR officers, the killers took control over the RSU (Rifle Security Unit), the intelligence branch of BDR. They captured the communication equipments of RSU and established communication among themselves. [Asif Arsalan (his penname): The Daily Sangram, Dhaka, March 8, 2009].

The above report unequivocally uncovers one truth that India was behind the design of the BDR massacre, as (1) the members of the killing squad came from India; (2) they started the killing operation; (3) one of them could speak Bengali; (4) they procured the classified documents that included the maps relating to the deployment of BDR personnel in the bordering areas, etc.

It is to be mentioned, there was no restriction of movement or curfew when such a massacre occurred at the heart of the capital. Gate No. 5 of the BDR Headquarters was kept opened. Army officers were not deployed to deter the flight of the criminals. Processions were repeatedly allowed to enter into the BDR Headquarters that helped the killers to merge to processions to flee away. Residents of 3km radius area around the BDR Headquarters were asked to leave their houses. Derailed BDR jawans merged with these people and fled away to their safe places. Power failure inside the BDR Headquarters and its adjoining areas eased the flight of the BDR and the killers of home and abroad.\*



## **Government role**

The irony of Sheikh Mujib, the founder of Bangladesh, was that he did not get minimum sincere and honest cooperation from his close associates, even ministers, in running his government. Almost all his followers from grassroots level to central committee of AL used their positions to make their own luck, grabbed public property and misused their powers for their own sake that irritated the people so much that in course of time his sky-high popularity and acceptability withered away. Mujib was not kept duly informed or well aware of the ground realities. Due to their unbridled corruption, non-transparency and self-seeking mentality they played the role of mere flatterers and had no face or moral courage even to suggest, not to speak of deterring him from taking those controversial and complicated steps that isolated him from common people — the core of his power. None of the associates of Sheikh Mujib who used him to make their luck were available to mourn his assassination; rather they were busy in negotiating with Khondokar Moustaque Ahmad and the then Army officers to keep their portfolios intact. None of the ministers of Sheikh Mujib resigned from their posts. Only four of them were arrested due to their personality clash with Moustaque.

Ground realities indicate that Sheikh Hasina now passes through almost same problem. The mode, attitude and reckless and irresponsible comments of her ministers and close colleagues uncover one reality: either she does not really control them or she has no power or control on them. The way her government dealt with the BDR carnage proves, she was neither kept duly informed of the happenings inside BDR Headquarters nor sincerely counseled that led to the tragic murder of 57 Army officers and safe flight of the murderers. Whatever explanations her colleagues or she put forward are not enough to set aside the blame of failure in protecting the Army officers and nabbing the killers. It remains hidden what



logic prompted her to select the most controversial and biased Jahangir Kabir Nanok and Mirza Azam as mediators to deal with the rebel cliques. These two are the most junior in respect of age, experience and status in comparison to other AL leaders. Besides, questions among the general mass floated, why they were chosen as mediators and why the rebels had trust on them. It was disclosed in the print media known to all that Nanak was the classmate of Accused Touhid. On the other hand, Mirza Azam's sister is the widow of India-sponsored JMB Chief hanged Shaikh Abdur Rahman. Nanak and Mirza are infamous for their pro-India tilt. Both of them fled to India and got safe shelter as the official guest of India during the rule of caretaker government of Fakharuddin Ahmed. Critics claim that they were chosen as mediators to protect the Indian secret killers.

However, ruling AL as well as its supremo Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina finds opposition hands in the BDR carnage to topple her government. On the other hand, opposition circle blames that some elements belonging to the ruling hierarchy had their hands behind the massacre. They refer to government's dillydally policy and disinterest in saving the Army officers from the killers that also helped the killers to flee away. It indicates that some elements within the government and ruling party manipulated the carnage. The Home Ministry sponsored probe committee report, which was partially made public, mentioned the names of some BNP leaders and activists. Opposition parties demand that the entire report must be made public and allege that it was partially published, so that the involvement of the government and ruling party remain unknown to the people of home and abroad. Meanwhile, an Indian columnist and analysts pointing to the involvement of the ruling party in the BDR massacre says:

“----- many of the front-ranking Awami League leaders were directly or indirectly involved behind the BDR Mutiny. Meanwhile, two of the most controversial figures, whose

names came at the front right after the mutiny, Jahangir Kabir Nanak (presently a state minister for local government ministry) and Mirza Azam (ruling party's whip in the parliament), have suddenly disappeared from the media. It is even reported that, both were ready to flee the country, once the investigation reports were already done. Investigators so far have identified more than 15 Awami League and 8 BNP men held responsible for patronizing or instigating or funding the mutiny. Another city leader of the ruling party named Torab Ali Akhand (who earlier served in BDR) is already being grilled by investigation agencies after arrest. Akhand already mentioned names of a few influential Awami League leaders, including a close relative of the Prime Minister as his patron in the bloody mutiny. He also told interrogators that a few dozens of arms and thousands of round of ammunitions as well as 'some' Arges grenades were taken from him by some leaders of Bangladesh Chatra League (Student's front of the ruling party) and Jubo League (youth front of the ruling party). Torab was the custodian of looted arms, ammunitions and explosives from BDR headquarters after the mutiny. He also, at the instruction of an influential Awami League leader brought out procession in favor of the mutiny to give encouragement to the mutineers." <sup>66</sup> Sunita Paul alleged: "An elected government in Dhaka is rather active in salvaging the killers and their patrons instead of ensuring proper investigation and trial. On the other hand, it is also learnt that, investigations are unnecessarily delayed and interfered by the influential members of the government."

Sunita Paul added "Bangladesh Awami League's leader Torab Ali Akhand and his son Leather Liton (a notorious terrorist), BDR deputy assistant director (DAD) Towhid confessed to the interrogators giving details of the conspiracy. According to facts disclosed by them the matter of 'blueprint' to stage the massacre and kill Army officers were already within the knowledge of a number of influential members of the government. They are Sheikh Hasina Wajed's cousin and

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<sup>66</sup> Sunita Paul: American Chronicle March 19, 2009

influential leader of Bangladesh Awami League Sheikh Fazlul Karim Selim; Sheikh Hasina Wajed's nephew and Member of Parliament Sheikh Fazley Noor Taposh and Home Minister Advocate Sahara Khatun.

“Criminal Investigation Department (CID) sources came to know that members of ‘angry’ BDR men sat in a number of secret meetings at the residence of Sheikh Fazlul Karim Selim and Barrister Fazley Noor Taposh. Holding of such meetings began from October last year. Barrister Taposh assured the BDR men that once his party comes in power, the issue of several demands by the members of Bangladesh's border security forces shall be duly considered. He (Taposh) arranged meetings between the kingpins of BDR massacre with Awami League leader Torab Ali Akhand.

“There are allegations of involvement of Bangladesh Awami League's student wing leader Harunur Rashid Aka, Leather Liton and his brother-in-law Rezaul Karim Razu with the brutal massacre conspiracy as well as of helping the fleeing mutineers.

“¾ (3-4) days after the election and declaration of landslide victory of Bangladesh Awami League, some leaders of BDR met Taposh at his electoral office at Sky Center at Dhaka's Dhanmondi area. Subsequently, the kingpins of BDR massacre met Barrister Taposh's uncle and influential leader of the ruling party, Sheikh Fazlul Karim Selim on February 13, 2009 at 9:00 pm at his residence at Banani residential area in Dhaka, with their demands. He (Sheikh Selim) told them that, the matter was not within his purview and suggested them to contact the Home Minister.

“Later, the BDR men met Home Minister Advocate Sahara Khatun and pressed forward their demands. They went to ‘Imperial Rest House’ and the residence of the Home Minister at least thrice to meet her. As they could not meet the Home Minister, a written copy of their demands were handed over to the personal secretary to the minister and subsequently, the

kingpins were able to communicate with Advocate Sahara Khatun over cell phone on a number of times.

“Later, the kingpins of the massacre prepared a leaflet (which was later distributed inside the BDR headquarters on February 24) and sent copies of it to Barrister Fazley Noor Taposh, Sheikh Fazlul Karim Selim, Home Minister Advocate Sahara Khatun and Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed.

“Huge volume of counterfeit currency was recovered from a residential hotel named Imperial Guest House in Dhaka, which is owned by the brother of Home Minister Advocate Sahara Khatun. Members of Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) raided the hotel at around 5 pm (Bangladesh Time) on April 10, 2009. Sensing RAB’s presence, nephew of the Home Minister, Polash entered into verbal altercations as well physical assault with the members of the elite force. This raid was conducted following statement from some counterfeit money dealers arrested earlier. Huge volume of counterfeit money as well as equipment of making such currency was seized from the hotel. Forgers were arrested along with the nephew of the Home Minister. But, later, due to ‘influence’ from the high-ups, Polash was released.”<sup>67</sup>

It was alleged that government policy and efforts in dealing with the situation entirely went in favour of the killers that led to the murder of the Army officers. Government did not take even minimum preventive measure that could intimidate the killers, rather they got freehand to commit their awesome and horrendous and horrific misdeeds. An astonishing theory of minimizing and controlling an armed rebellion through political means was put forward and applied that gave the killers enough time to kill the Army officials and flee away from the Peelkhana BDR Headquarters that tuned into a slaughter-house.

Mysteriously no effort was made to protect the lives of the

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<sup>67</sup> Sunita Paul, Is there any government in Bangladesh? April 11, 2009, <http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/view/98062>

Army officers and the chastity of the wives and daughters of some deceased officials. Government, secretariat, parliament, administration, armed forces, police, RAB due to want of proper guidance and instruction could do nothing to avert killing, rape or looting that continued for about two days at the heart of the capital city.

The mediators perhaps did not duly inform the Prime Minister what really happened inside Peelkhana. Why Prime Minister, without the DG of BDR, agreed and allowed the rebels to hold talks with her? Those who called on the Prime Minister were escorted to her residence like VVIPs. Checking the visitors is a mandatory system of the Prime Minister's office. This system was not mysteriously applied in case of the so-called 14 delegates. Their names, addresses, designations, etc. were not even recorded at the entrance of the Prime Minister's residence. Most of them were not even photographed with the Prime Minister. It means, Prime Minister's office, have little record or information about those who held talks with the Prime Minister. After conversation Prime Minister declared DAD Touhid the head of BDR. General amnesty was declared for all. The delegates returned to BDR Headquarters enjoying VVIP treatment.

Question also arose why the BDR Headquarters was kept under the darkness for the whole night. Who really ordered to turn off electricity for the entire Peelkhana and surrounding areas at night? If power failure was a mechanical, or sabotage, or manmade, government naturally was supposed to restore it without minimum delay, even by diverting it from other lines of national grids. What logic prompted the government to keep the entire area under dark for whole night, where thousands of BDR jawans revolted against their superiors? Non-restoration of power in BDR Headquarters and its surrounding areas indicates that some elements within the government hierarchy were directly involved in the carnage and they kept the area dark to ease the flight of the killers. Nobody can also figure out

why the Army was told to retreat their barricade up to five kilometers from their original position! Even the common people saw more than 20 ambulances going in and out of the Peellkhana compound while the official casualty count remained at 7! What were those vehicles doing and what were they carrying out? It appears that the BDR jawans were not only given the perfect backdrop to escape throughout the night, some of them were also given official armed escort services for safe passage out. ----- All those thousands of people managed to escape because it was all part of the script or pre-planned strategy, the very same script that the killers methodically executed to commit the most barbaric slaughter in the heart of our capital. At this point, it wouldn't sound too much of a farce to state that the retreating jawans were actually ALLOWED to escape. Maybe, that was also part of the script. <sup>68</sup>

Government's dillydally and inactive action against the rebels, failure to protect the Army officers, and above all, disinterest in nabbing the killers justify the above mentioned comments of Yasmin Bhiyan.

Though there was no possibility of Army operation in BDR Headquarters, the local MP Barrister Fazlee Nur Taposh, overtly saving their lives and properties instructed the local residents through loudspeakers to vacate their homes situated within 3-km radius of the BDR Headquarters. Question surfaced, does an MP, elected from of a constituency of the capital, without getting official instruction possess the right to ask people to vacate their residences. A Bengali daily of Dhaka says, the MP Taposh of Hazaribag-Dhanmadi constituency asked the local people in 3-km radius of BDR Headquarters to move to safe distance. As a result huge area (around the BDR Headquarters) was deserted before the nightfall. It is alleged availing of this opportunity thousands of BDR jawans fled away from BDR Headquarter. During an on-spot visit, huge

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<sup>68</sup> Yasmin Bhiyan March 02, 2009

[http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/dctail\\_news\\_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002](http://www.amardeshbd.com/dailynews/dctail_news_index.php?NewsType=bistarito&SectionID=home&NewsID=214002).)

numbers of dresses of the BDR jawans were found scattered inside bathroom and around it (bathroom) inside the wall of the BDR Headquarters adjoining the Ganoktuli School. It is assumed the BDR jawans before fleeing away put off their official dress and put on civil dress (to conceal their identity). Over two hundred fleeing BDR members were nabbed by RAB and police in Kamrangirchar, Hazaribag, Mohammadpur and Savar and only 426 jawans were found at BDR Headquarters.<sup>69</sup>

Processions in and outside the BDR Headquarters also went in favour of the killers. Local leaders and activists of the ruling party brought a procession chanting party slogans that even repeatedly entered the BDR Headquarters. Lt. Col. Sams, who escaped death at BDR Headquarters, informed that on February 26 at noon a procession entered BDR Headquarters through gate No. 5. BDR members merged in this procession. Participating in the procession they went out of the BDR Headquarters.

It is alleged, instead of imposing curfew the residents living around the BDR Headquarters were asked to vacate the area to ease the flight of the BDR rebels. Why police, RAB or Army were not deployed around the BDR complex, so that none could escape or flee away. The government virtually took mysterious and contrary step that uncovered its total disinterest and insincerity in apprehending the killers and criminals.

For their mishandling the BDR situation, above all, inability of rescuing the ill-fated Army officer, the ruling AL, particularly some of its leaders will remain accountable to the nation for decades to come.\*

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<sup>69</sup> The Daily Sangram, March 3, 2009

## **Far-reaching damages**

It is universally true that every action has certain instant and far-reaching impact. No sabotage or subversive activity, particularly an incident like BDR massacre that was caused to happen against Bangladesh were not manipulated whimsically or aimlessly. The engineers of BDR carnage engaged huge resources and time to stage it to cause long-term adverse impacts on Bangladesh: its security and defense managements, economy, even on social life and national unity

Surprising, but calculative attack on BDR Headquarters under the cover of mutiny originated targeting far-reaching multifarious adverse impacts. Some of these are as follows:

1. To endanger the defense structure of Bangladesh;
2. To make the border unprotected;
3. To ruin and make BDR unfit and unworkable and inactive;
4. To bring the two main defense wings – Army and BDR – face to face;
5. To strengthen and diversify smuggling,;
6. To discourage the talented Bangladeshi youth to join Armed Forces;
7. To make the Army leaderless and devoid of commanders;
8. To create misunderstanding, suspicion, hatred and rivalry among different branches of the security agencies;
9. To pave the way for alien military intervention;
10. To infiltrate foreign stooges in BDR in the name of restructuring BDR;
11. To weaken the morality, patriotism, sense of responsibility and duty of the members of all the wings of our defense management;
12. To brand Bangladeshis as arrogant, indiscipline and chaotic nation who are unfit to rule themselves;
13. To justify that the Bangladeshi security wings are beset



with terrorists so that the members of Bangladesh Armed Forces and Police should be denied to work under UN Peacekeeping Mission; and above all,

14. To throw Bangladesh to the brink of a civil war.

**Loss of life:** BDR carnage is, as it were, a bolt from blue that irreparably caused damage to Bangladesh in multifaceted ways. The masterminds of this debacle calculatedly manipulated it to inflict heavy blow on Bangladesh and its people.

The tragic aspect of BDR carnage is the gruesome murder of our 57 talented, dedicated, highly trained and efficient serving Army officers. Besides, wives of two Army officers were also killed. Total casualties were 74 in Pheelknana massacre. 133 Army officers were present in BDR Headquarters during the fateful day of February 25. Of them 86 were deployed in the BDR Headquarters and 47 others came from different sectors, battalions and units on the occasion of the BDR Week.

### **Martyred Army officers:**

Maj. Gen. Shakil Ahmed, ndc, psc

Brig. Gen. Abdul Bari, ndc, psc

Brig. Gen. Zakir Hossain,

Col. Mojibul Huque,

Col. Anisuzzaman, ndc

Col. Mohammad Moshir Rahman,

Col. Quadrat Elahi Rahman Shafique, ndc, psc

Col. Akhter Hossain, psc, G+

Col. MD. Rezaul Kabir, afwc, psc

Col. Nafizuddin Ahmed, psc

Col. Quazi Emdadul Haque, psc (Commando)

Col. B M Zahid Hossain, psc

Col. Shamsul Areyfin Ahmed, psc

Col. Md. Naqibur Rahman, psc

Col. Kazi Moazzem Hussain,

Col. Gulzar Uddin Ahmed, psc  
Col. Md. Shawkat Imam, psc, G+  
Col. Md. Emdadul Islam, psc  
Col. Aftabul Islam, psc  
Lt. Col. Enshad Ibn Amin, G+  
Lt. Col. Shamsul Azam, psc  
Lt. Col. Golam Kibria Md. Niamotullah, psc  
Lt Col. Md. Badrul Huda,  
Lt. Col. Elahi Manzoor Chowdhury,  
Lt. Col. Enayetul Haque, psc  
Lt. Col. Abu Musa Md. Ayub Kaiser, psc  
Lt. Col. Md. Shaiful Islam,  
Lt. Col. Md. Lutfar Rahman psc,  
Lt. Col. Mohammad Sazzadur Rahman,  
Lt. Col. Quazi Robee Rahman,  
Lt. Col. Lutfar Rahman Khan, MPHIL,  
Maj. Mohammad Mokbul Hossain,  
Maj. Md. Abdus Salam Khan,  
Maj. Hossain Sohel Shahnewaz,  
Maj. Quazi Mosaddek Hossain,  
Maj. Ahmed Azizul Hakim,  
Maj. Mohammed Saleh,  
Maj. Kazi Ashraf Hossain,  
Maj. Mahmood Hassan,  
Maj. Mushtque Mahmud, psc,  
Maj. Mahmudul Hasan,  
Maj. Humayun Haider, psc  
Maj. Md. Azharul Islam, psc,  
Maj. Md. Humayun Kabir Sarkar,  
Maj. Md. Khalid Hossain,  
Maj. Mahbubur Rahman,  
Maj. Md. Mizanur Rahman,  
Maj. Mohammad Maksum-ul-Hakim,  
Maj. Syed Idris Iqbal,  
Maj. Md. Rafiqul Islam, Ex-AEC, (JAG),

Maj. Abu Syed Ghazali Dastgir,  
Maj. Mohammad Mosharof Hossain,  
Maj. Mominul Islam Sarkar,  
Maj. Mostafa Asaduzzaman,  
Maj. S. M. Mamunur Rahman,  
Maj. S. A. M. Mamunur Rahman,  
Cap. Mohamad Tanvir Haider Noor, Ex-Arty,  
Cap. Md. Mazharul Haider.<sup>70</sup>

Those who survived the killing include 3 lieutenant colonels, 14 majors, 15 officers of the army medical corps, 5 majors of the Operation Dal Bhat, a major who came for the annual parade, 5 majors who came to distribute invitation cards, 7 majors who came to receive awards, 8 regional officers and 14 civilian officers.

A serious vacuum of leadership has been created in Army as well as in BDR. It will take many years and huge amount of money to refill the vacuum. Through the murder of the Army officers in BDR, the most disciplined and efficient border guards were made morally bankrupted, their morale was totally crushed. The BDR would suffer from leadership crisis for years to come. The security management and vigilance in the border areas became ineffective. This would pave the way for India to establish its supremacy in border area that India designed and longed for a long time.

On the other hand, Bangladesh Army, the symbol of our independence and sovereignty lost about one third of its most efficient and talented officers. The Army naturally would become weak and ineffective. Though Armed forces is the prime wing of our national security, as their associate forces BDR, Police, RAB, Ansar, Village Defence Force etc., play significant role in defending the country. By crushing our BDR and weakening our Army, the intriguers virtually weakened our defense lines.

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<sup>70</sup> Bangladesh Defense Journal, Dhaka, June, 2009

**Adverse impacts:** The most instant adverse impact of BDR massacre was the government decision of canceling the Independence Day parade on March 26, 2009. The cabinet in a meeting took this decision. Government perhaps did not feel secured in organizing such an event managed and staged by Armed Forces. Parade was the major part of Independence Day programmes since 1972. Cancellation of parade uncovers how seriously our security arrangement has been thrown to suspicion. It indirectly uncovers government mistrust on the Armed Forces.

Referring to the far-reaching impact of the Peelkhana massacre, in an interview with a leading Bengali daily of Dhaka, the former DG of BDR Maj. Gen. A. L. M. Fazlur Rahman opined, “After BDR debacle our border is almost unprotected. A sense of distrust germinated among the BDR personnel. Their morale has been shattered. They themselves suffer from insecurity.”<sup>71</sup>

The masterminds of the BDR carnage did not manipulate it aimlessly. They had some pre-determined geo-politico-economic strategic objectives in staging it. As BDR is the front ranking force of Bangladesh defense management, naturally the main target of the sponsors was to weaken and destroy it. Obviously they had some other related additional objectives out of this massacre.

The most influential Bengali daily of Dhaka, ‘The Ittefaq’ cited a number of objectives that prompted the concealed mastermind to stage it to create a situation to infiltrate the external intelligence teams in military and paramilitary forces; to brand the military and paramilitary forces internationally as undisciplined; establish total control and influence of those who will finance and train the reconstituted BDR.; deter the inclusion of Bangladesh Army and other forces in UN Peacekeeping Mission; discourage the talented youths not to

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<sup>71</sup> A. L. M. Fazlur Rahman, The Daily Naya Diganta, Dhaka, May 22, 2009

join in Armed Forces; cause the members of the law enforcers mentally and psychologically. <sup>72</sup>

This revengeful attempt and irrelevant killings were imposed on the Army officers to despise them and reduce their status to dust. Everyone now knows that the adversaries of Bangladesh sent this awesome message to us that they can kill our Army personnel humiliatingly and abhorrently, their bodies can be bruised with bayonets, they can be buried in mass-grave, they can be burnt to ashes, their residences can be looted or set on fire, their wives or daughters can be molested and raped.

**Tarnishing image:** BDR carnage was designed, not only to weaken the defense management of Bangladesh, but also tarnish its image abroad that would ultimately deter foreign investment. India leaves no stone unturned to keep away the foreign investors from Bangladesh. It uses its paid and trained agents to commit subversive activities targeting our mills and factories and communication networks. Integrated anti-Bangladesh propaganda, arson and frequent attack on garment factories, goodowns, strike, blockade of roads and highways, labour unrest, etc. are directed not only to keep away the foreign buyers from Bangladesh, but also to discourage them from investing here. Despite having lucrative investment atmosphere and cheapest labour in Bangladesh, foreign investment in Bangladesh is very negligible due to India-sponsored conspiracies. India wants all the investors should invest in India and India should capture the international markets of Bangladeshi garment products.

With this end in view India always designs to isolate Bangladesh from international community. It wants to lower down our position to the status of Bhutan whose foreign relations are controlled and performed by India. India wants Bangladesh should not have separate friendship and diplomatic relation with other countries, rather Bangladesh should only

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<sup>72</sup> The Daily Ittefaq, Dhaka, March 2, 2009

follow India in all respects, what Bhutan does. The BDR carnage went a long way to serve India's design. It dismayed the international community. "Japan, the number one country for Bangladesh, appeared worried and hopelessly disappointed over the recent events at Pilkhana. And the Japanese people are giving up plans to visit Bangladesh." <sup>73</sup> Not only Japan, but also all other friendly countries around the world, particularly USA, EU, China, Middle Eastern countries, ASEAN nations, etc., were dismayed at the extent of undesirable cruelty and havoc at BDR Headquarters. Through this carnage Bangladesh once again branded as the chaotic nation who can create such "inhuman stories unworthy of civilized men. Cruelties were perpetrated by Pakistani Army during 1971 Bangladesh War of Liberation. But these cruelties were carried out by Bangladeshis themselves." (ibid).

**Squeezing opponents:** The mainstream political parties — ruling and opposition held contradictory views on BDR carnage. They held responsible each other for the debacle. Opposition parties allege government bids to use the BDR incident to squeeze and crush its political opponents. The government bids to use the BDR carnage as tool to take a hand against its political adversaries. Opposition political circles allege that the ruling party AL designs to wipe out them. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina herself alleged that BDR massacre was orchestrated by those who design to topple government. Her ministers also directly or indirectly point their fingers to the nationalist forces. Besides, India-financed electronic and print media, above all, India's propaganda machinery leave no stone unturned to ascribe the responsibility of the carnage on opposition party leaders of Jamaat-e-Islami and BNP. This was clearly manifested when Barrister Abdur Razzak, a leader of Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami received a written notice from

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<sup>73</sup> Abdur Rahman, Our Reputation at Risk, The Bangladesh Observer, Dhaka, March 20, 2009

Investigation Officer with Criminal Investigation Department (CID) that asked Razzak to appear before the investigation officer for interrogation in connection with Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) massacre.

On the other hand, a former BNP lawmaker, Nasiruddin Pintu, was arrested on the basis of the probe committee report formed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is to be mentioned only seven pages of the 309-page report was made public that mentioned the name of Nasiruddin Pintu. Opposition parties alleged that the government deliberately disclosed some selected portion of the report to nab its adversaries, and save the ruling party lawmakers and activists, who were also involved in the massacre. Opposition circles apprehend the government may manipulate to involve more leaders and activists in the incoming CID probe committee report scheduled to be made public in July (2009).

**Civil war:** Indian government's activities, proposals, particularly volunteered determination to come to 'rescue' Sheikh Hasina, and above all, its war preparations, etc., centering the BDR debacle are very significant and crucial. Analysis of these issues, ground realities, circumstantial evidences and power projections uncover one truth that India was the architect of the BDR debacle. The sole purpose of the tempest creators, seemingly, was to start a civil war by bringing the people face to face with the armed forces. Indian columnist, who is infamous for his anti-Bangladesh bias wrote, "The fact that the mutineers killed so many officers so brutally, suggests that the aim was to provoke the Army to retaliate in kind, potentially leading to countrywide clashes with the BDR." <sup>74</sup>

By initiating a civil war in the country many subversive plans could have been implemented like crippling the economy of

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<sup>74</sup> Bangladesh After the Revolt, Hiranmay Karlekar, Consultant Editor, The Pioneer, SAIR, Volume 7, No. 37, March 23, 2009

Bangladesh, disrupting and destroying the road communications and infrastructures, which will ultimately brand Bangladesh a dysfunctional and failed State and finally paving the way for Indian military invasion.

It is alleged that some Indians wanted to destroy the BDR first to make the border a free zone, so that Indian killers could freely enter Bangladesh. In the second phase they wanted to bring the Bangladesh Army in the streets. They thought that after seeing their officers killed, the Army would surely react and try to topple the government. Had the Army really overthrown the AL government Indian Army would have come to 'rescue' Sheikh Hasina and a war would have been inevitable. And the 'superior' power India would have won that war. <sup>75</sup>

The intriguers had the belief that the Army breaking its command would swoop on the BDR jawans at Peelkhana to retaliate the murder of the Army officers, which would spread in all the BDR units, battalions, sectors, etc., scattered throughout the country. In this way the Army would divide into two groups: one would follow Army discipline, while the other would defy it. Both would engage in bloody clash with each other. The whole country would turn to a chaotic and anarchic condition. India would surely fuel both the groups to deteriorate the situation further, so that in the name of restoring peace Indian soldiers could get logic to march in Bangladesh. <sup>76</sup>

**Open border:** Since the dawn of liberated Bangladesh, India desires to see Bangladesh in name only having separate map and flag having no vital force to guard and protect it. It means India wanted to have an open border where Indian nationals, law enforces, inferior goods, counterfeits currencies, etc., will enter without any hindrance. On the other hand such border facilitates to smuggle those goods to India that Bangladesh

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<sup>75</sup> Shah Ahmad Reza, Weekly Rising Sun, Dhaka, March 30, 2009

<sup>76</sup> Dr. Rezwan Siddique, Post-editorial, The Sangram, Dhaka, March 18, 2009



imports from abroad spending its scant foreign exchange. India could not reach those goals despite incessant efforts during the last 38 years. The debacle in BDR Headquarters was directed to that end. After that fateful incident, Bangladesh border became totally open. Fortunately our Armed Forces risking their lives faced the situation and strengthened the border surveillances that deterred smuggling. Many of the Indian nationals, living adjoining Bangladesh, are miscreants and criminals, above all, smugglers, freely entered Bangladesh. According to reports of the print media, local people and eyewitnesses the entire Indo-Bangladesh border became a free zone for the smugglers. The situation reached such an extent that a section of police in collaboration with the local political heavyweights and touts freely dump Indian contrabands to Bangladesh. A Bengali daily 'The Janata' on March 3, (2009) reported, influential circle of the administration, known as linemen,' realizes lakhs of taka from the smugglers by leasing the border-routes in Pachbibí area of Jaipurhat district and stocks Indian smuggled goods. It is learnt that a section of corrupt BDR personnel directly and indirectly cooperated with the smugglers. Border became nearly unprotected after the BDR incident in Dhaka. The syndicates sitting at Hili Station used to give orders through cell phones to the Indian traders for smuggled goods. These goods reached to the respective demanders according to their demands within an hour. Due to cheaper rates huge mobile sets without hindrance were smuggled to Bangladesh. Superceding all the previous records recently huge quantities of Indian phynsidel, salt, potash fertilizers and cumin-seeds mixed with brick powder and stones were enormously smuggled to Bangladesh.

It is to be mentioned that the dishonest BDR personnel generally could not collaborate with smugglers due to the Army-led command structure of BDR. It is questioned whether Indian Marwaris, smugglers' syndicates and derailed BDR jawans were included among the masterminds of the BDR

massacre.

After the BDR massacre, the border virtually became open. The strictness and vigilance by the BDR jawans no longer prevails in the border. Common BDR personnel lost their interest. Many of them suffer from mental tension and scariness, as they remained scared apprehending arrest for interrogation and trial for the alleged involvement in the Peelkhana. Reports unveiled in 'The New Age', say, smugglers and their accomplices openly carry contrabands to and from India. The Intercity trains that ply in the bordering areas became the prime carriers of the smuggled goods. Before the BDR massacre at Peelkhana Army-led BDR used to detain smuggled goods worth crores of taka daily. When BDR was made inactive even no minor contingents of smuggled goods was detained in the border in between February 26 to April 26. Unveiling the sheer disappointment of the BDR jawans the daily 'New Age' made a report that uncovers the true picture of the BDR jawans deployed in the border. It says, "Local residents of frontier upazilas such as Companiganj, Jaintapur, Goainghat, Kanaighat and Jakiganj, however, said the guards could not discharge their responsibilities properly as they were anxious about their future.

A local trader of Shantinagar near the Sangrampunji BDR camp at Tambil, said the guards could not work properly for which smuggling of different goods alarmingly increased. According to sources in the Bangladesh Rifles, officials of the Sylhet sector headquarters are not so active in overseeing the activities of border guards in frontiers.

Operation officer of the 21 Rifles Battalion under the Sylhet sector headquarters, Major Benjir, however, claimed their supervision of the border situation and efforts to curb smuggling remained normal.

The correspondent in Jessore said the solders at the Benapole check post were performing their duties anxiously being panicked about their future.

A number of Benapole port policemen said the border guards were panicked about being arrested, although the guards doing their duties in the frontiers were not involved in the rebellion.

The BDR soldiers said they were worried about their job as the government initiated a move to restructure the Bangladesh Rifles.

A soldier on guard near the border said, 'We have nothing to do, but to hope that what the government does may be good for us.'

Another soldier said, 'What can we expect but that the government should not do anything to the soldiers who were not involved in the rebellion?'

There are 13 BDR outposts along the Benapole border where about 80 soldiers perform their duties.

A labour leader of the area told *New Age* all the BDR soldiers along the border were panicked about their future.

'The *New Age*' correspondent in Lalmonirhat said almost all of the soldiers on guard along the border of the district had expressed their dissatisfaction at BDR reorganisation.

Some soldiers of the Moghalhat outpost camp in Lalmonirhat seemed worried. A soldier said they were not satisfied at the reorganisation of the Bangladesh Rifles.

Some soldiers at the Durgapur outpost camp at Aditmari and Baniyadari said they were facing problems in border villages after the rebellion as the local residents insulted them.<sup>77</sup>

Meanwhile a Bengali daily of Dhaka informed that Indian contrabands enter Bangladesh like floodwater through several border routes, particularly Birampur, Ghoraghat, etc., of Dinajpur. The daily said, BDR and police cannot detain even 25 per cent of the Indian smuggled goods. The daily alleged, availing the situation that was created after the BDR debacle of February 25 and 26 the smugglers uninterruptedly smuggle Indian contrabands to Bangladesh. During the first half of June (1 to 15) 2009, BDR and police detained Indian huge

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<sup>77</sup> The *New Age*, Dhaka, May 24, 2009

contrabands including phensidyl, cosmetics, accessories, saris, steel and low medicines and fertilizers, etc. of worth Tk. 3 crores. BDR and police arrested over half a dozen smugglers during the same period, but the godfathers of the smugglers remained out of the reach of the law enforcers.<sup>78</sup>

Fortunately timely action taken by our Army changed the situation overnight. Army rapidly rushed to the border and risking their lives filled up the vacuum created after the BDR debacle. As a result, smuggling in the border diminished significantly. More smuggled goods were recovered in April than to the same month of the corresponding year.

Distrust on BDR jawans and sense of insecurity persist till date that chase the Army officers who were deputed in several sector and battalion headquarters. Col Jahangir Kabir Talukder, Director (Operation & Training) while briefing the newsmen at BDR Headquarters on June 19, 2009 said, BDR officials still now do not think safe to spend the night at 14 out of 54 installations outside the capital as they lack confidence in jawans deployed there.<sup>79</sup>

Some of these battalions and sector headquarters are Jessore, Khulna, Satkhira, Teknaf, Rifle Training Centre Institute Baitul Anam, and Bolipara and Naikongchari of Bandarban, etc.<sup>80</sup> He said, the BDR officials deputed from Army work at those installations during the day and leave every evening to spend the night elsewhere, outside their designated official residences.

Though Bangladesh's open border with India fetches temporary benefits for India, but its ultimate and long-term consequences will be heavily bitter. India should comprehend

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<sup>78</sup> The Daily Sangram, Dhaka, June 16, 2009

<sup>79</sup> The Daily Star, Dhaka, June 19, 2009

<sup>80</sup> Amaradesh, Dhaka, June 19, 2009

“An unsecured border will be used by smugglers of drugs, arms and people. It will be used by violent jihadis, Naxalites, or separatists in the Indian north-east. ----They can now move to and from the Indian north-east or from Nepal to Burma, with impunity. ” <sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Jyoti Rahman, Forum — a monthly publication of 'The Daily Star', Dhaka, April, 2009

## Opinions

Massacre in BDR Headquarters was a part of serious conspiracies to endanger the existence of Bangladesh by weakening our Armed Forces, independence and sovereignty. Bangladeshis in general, military experts and analysts in particular, strongly believe that an alien power was the unseen mastermind of this debacle.

Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Rezzakul Haidar, the former DG of BDR, in an interview with a leading Bengali weekly said, “I can believe it under no circumstances, that the jawans would mercilessly kill their officers who led and commanded them. The demands that the jawans raised were not such that they would take law in their own hands to kill their officers. Some others (masterminds) were surely involved in it.”<sup>82</sup>

Pointing to the contribution of the Army officers in building BDR, the former DG said, the glory that BDR earned over the years was possible due to the able-leadership of the Army. BDR is now a well organized body, which is more or less as good as Army. --- Their training proves it. If they are dressed in Army uniform, none will be able to say that they are BDR jawans. They are BDR only in dress. In fact, the standard of both the agencies is almost equal. The responsibility of BDR jawans is to guard the border, while they are to work under Army as part of Army if war breaks out with any country, he opined. He regretted saying, the confidence and trust that the jawans had with their officers have been seriously affected.

Bangladesh Army protects the sovereignty and independence of the country. They repeatedly saved the country from disasters and natural calamities. Who will be benefited if Bangladesh Army is destroyed? Who will be loser and who will be gainer of such tragedy?

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<sup>82</sup> SHAPTAHIK, Dhaka, March 5, 2009

Clarifying the limitation of the power of DG of BDR, Maj. Gen. (Retd.), Rezzakul Haidar said, BDR Chief is not the authority to meet the demands of the BDR jawans. It is the duty of the government to fulfill their demands. The duty of the DG is to communicate demands, if any, to the government. Each government meets demands after demands and the facilities for the jawans are being gradually expanded. The DARBAR is held once in a month. Any jawan can raise his grievances and talk with the DG freely. So there was no scope or need to take arms in hands under the excuse of demand or grievance. There was some other hidden reason and power behind the debacle.

Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Anwar Hossen, Former DBR Chief, in an interview with 'The Ittefaq' the oldest and most influential Bengali daily of Dhaka, termed the murder as 'the most gruesome' in the world. He said, the main goal of the carnage was to bring the Army and BDR face to face in a hostile position, deter the progress of Bangladesh and create anarchic situation inside the country. (The Daily Ittefaq, Dhaka, March 3, 2009).

He opined, such brutal murder under no circumstance was the brainchild of the BDR jawans, external killing group and vested-interest were involved in this incident. ---With a view to meeting their interest and pushing the country to grave crisis, the self-seeking clique masterminded this conspiracy.

Highly placed former military officials and defense analysts termed this incident as an outcome of long-term secret planning. According to them it was not possible on the part of the common BDR jawans to draw a blueprint of such havoc. One of the front-ranking Bengali weekly of Dhaka, 'Shaptahik 2000' highlighted the opinions of a number of leading Bangladeshis belonging to different strata of society.

Former Army Chief Lt. Gen. Mahbubur Rahman was particular in saying outsiders took part in this operation under the guise of the BDR jawans. Retd. Major Akhtar Ahmed said,

common BDR members could not commit such daring havoc without the patronization of the outside power. Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Sayeed Mohammad Ibrahim said, the blueprint of making the BDR sectors devoid of leadership could not be framed by the common BDR jawans. Creating Bangladesh militarily undisciplined was a part of this blueprint. Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Amin Ahmed opined, certain quarter designed to kill two birds at one stone. They designed to stigmatize and defame and weaken a disciplined border protection force in one hand and create an abnormal law and order situation in the country bringing the BDR and the Army face to face on the other.

Sultana Kamal, the former advisor of caretaker government led by Fakharuddin Ahmed said, it was a serious blow on the whole country and democracy. The objective of this holocaust was not merely to realize demands, it was rather originated from propound and compact evil design. Are the patterns of murder, hiding the dead bodies, setting fire on record room, torturing the family members and looting their belongings could be termed as means of realizing their demands.

Renowned economist Prof. Anu Muhammad said, this heart-rending incident is very risky not only for the present, but also for the future of the country. This occurrence caused this organization (BDR). It caused us internally. We will have to pay heavily for this holocaust. Through such incident the self-confidence of people withers away, Prof. Anu opined.

He said, the statements of the jawans uncovered that they had problems, they had mental grief. That could be one of the reasons of their reaction. But do they have any legal ground or argument of causing such horrible incident, he questioned. There was an instigating group behind it that wants, let unstable situation be created in Bangladesh.

Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Syed Muhammad Ibrahim acclaiming the service of the BDR said, BDR jawans even under adverse situation succeeded in exercising their physical and moral



supremacy over their counterpart – BSF, due to the strength of the command channel. So if the command channel of BDR becomes weak, certain circle will surely be benefited. It is very imperative to identify who was the mastermind behind this massacre.

Military expert Brig. Gen. (Retd) Shahidul Alam Khan believes, grave designs and fatal intrigues were active behind this massacre. It is inferable that the massacre was not an outburst and manifestation of grief and such inference is not acceptable. Such massacre never occurred in our history. Such huge numbers of Army officers were not martyred even during our war of liberation in 1971.

He said, “I do not believe that BDR jawans will shoot at my chest with whom I worked for a long time. There was surely instigation and patronization behind it.” (For details please see, Shaptahik 2000, Dhaka, March 6, 2009).

The BDR incident gruesomely affected the image of Bangladesh. This incident will strengthen the position of those further who endeavoured so long to portrait and brand Bangladesh as failed State.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Hairdar Akbar Khan Rano, Post Editorial, Amardesh: Dhaka, March 10, 2009

## BDR reconstruction

It is amazing and irony of fate that India proposed to reconstruct BDR and the Bangladesh government readily accepted the offer. Government, however, to save its face of pro-India tilt, government included the name of Myanmar with which Bangladesh shares over 271km border in the Southeast of Bangladesh. Though Myanmar did not extend such proposal, yet Bangladesh government unilaterally said that it would also seek Myanmar help in reconstructing BDR. (It should be recalled that BDR jawans defeated Nasaka force of Myanmar in Naf battle on June 8, 2003. <sup>84</sup> Indian government, perhaps, was sure that its proposal would be welcome in Dhaka however suicidal it is for Bangladesh. Tanjim Ahmed Shohel Taj, the State Minister for Home Affairs and some other ministers declared that the BDR would be reorganized availing Indian help. It is astonishing how India could propose and AL government welcome the proposal of reconstructing BDR availing the training and cooperation of BSF with which it (BDR) would fight in the border. How an enemy force could train and reconstruct its counterpart? If India maintained good neighbourly relations with Bangladesh even in one sector, there might have some arguments of accepting Indian proposal. But since 1971 India's attitude, overt and covert policies and activities are so crystal clear that there is no scope to affirmatively respond to such a proposal, not to speak of accepting it. Any individual having minimum sense comprehends that such a proposal of an enemy country will never serve our national interest; rather an-India trained force will practically become a shadow force of India. We will pay for this force but the force will work for India. If India is so kind to Bangladesh, why it severely disturbs us in all fronts since 1971 and keeps Bangladesh poor, chaotic and instable. Let India stop water-blockading, smuggling, border

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<sup>84</sup> A. L. M. Fazlur Rahman, The Daily Naya Diganta, Dhaka, May 22, 2009.]

skirmishes, and fueling subversive activities, campus violence, political unrest, above all, shun its anti-Bangladesh hegemonic policies. What is its intention and interest in training and reconstructing BDR, which is its eyesore till date? This is not an innocent proposal. Through this proposal India, however, indirectly exposes one reality that it was waiting for a long time for such an opportunity to train, guide and control BDR. With that end in view India staged BDR debacle.

India is widely suspected as the planner and instigator of the Peelkhana Massacre. Considering the long-standing record of anti-Bangladesh covert and overt actions by India on different fronts, it would be foolish to accept India's offer of help to reorganize and restructure BDR. India has never wanted a sovereign Bangladesh with relatively strong and credible border and defence forces that, at least, can thwart India's aggressive designs. It wants a subservient neighbour with only a nominal defence capability, which can be blackmailed and kept under Delhi's hegemony.<sup>85</sup>

Having the responsibility of protecting our border, the main opponent of BDR is Indian BSF. There passes not even a day when BSF refrains from creating aggressive and tense situation in the bordering areas, by intruding into Bangladesh territory, killing innocent Bangladeshis and plundering their valuables, pushing Indian Muslim nationals and contrabands to Bangladesh, etc. BDR jawans with their limited resources, but uncommon courage and patriotism daily face their BSF counterparts. BSF could never cope with BDR and establish their supremacy in the international border to implement India's eco-strategic designs.

In order to weaken and control BDR and infiltrate Indian agents and even its nationals in it India proposed to reorganize this agency with the help of BSF. BSF of an enemy country can never be the guide and friend of BDR. If BSF becomes the

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<sup>85</sup> Dr. K. M. A. Malik, Sugar-coated Poison- India's offer of 'help' to restructure BDR, Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors, April 6, 2009).

friend of Bangladesh, the necessity of keeping and maintaining BDR withers away. India proceeds with its agenda of ruining BDR from inside.

Indian proposal to reconstruct BDR is equivalent to slap with shoes on our face. The degraded position where we put our country paved the way for anyone to slap or kick us, as we led it to a deplorable condition.

Indian proposal to reconstruct BDR will not be free of cost. It must derive such benefits from Bangladesh what will be suicidal and irreparable. It is directed to infiltrate pro-India elements, Indian agents, even Indian nationals in BDR. India did the same thing in 1972 when Rakkhi Bahini was raised availing Indian prescription and assistance. The border security force that India will restructure for Bangladesh will be a carbon copy of Indian BSF which will remain loyal to India and work for India at the cost of Bangladesh. In that case, how the BDR jawans will face their BSF adversaries. Out of gratitude, BDR will always remain submissive to India and hence will not be morally and psychologically strong enough to protect the interest of the country. BDR will virtually become an Indian force and serve for Indian interest. Under such situation our border will be controlled by India and India will virtually get an open border with us, which will undermine our separate existence. We have no room to believe India that it (India) will not use this opportunity to infiltrate its agents in BDR. The proposal undoubtedly is dangerous for Bangladesh. If India is allowed to reorganize BDR, Indian trainers and instructors will be the preceptors of BDR jawans. Under that situation BDR jawans will not honour and comply with the instruction of their commanders who are Army officers. Above all, Indian intelligence agencies will infiltrate and create agents in the proposed border guards. During the war of liberation India created huge number of agents in all segments of our national life. These agents now directly and indirectly serve Indian interest at the cost of ours. They are more loyal to India

than to our country. So it will be suicidal for Bangladesh to reorganize border guards enjoying Indian help.

BDR is an exceptional highly trained and disciplined agency in the region. BSF lags behind in matching with the quality and courage of BDR. In respect of quality BSF and Bangladesh Police rank to one category and same row. For this reason BSF despite having huge facilities could never overpower BDR. On the other hand, BDR personnel with their limited resources successfully thwart BSF and repeatedly taught exemplary lessons that prompted India to weaken and win over BDR. The shameful experiences that BSF got in Padua and Burimari frontiers alarmed India that provoked India to chalk out blueprint to destroy BDR and imposed the hellish tempest on BDR in its headquarters was directed to that end.

Meanwhile, an English daily of Dhaka 'The New Age' made a report under the caption, 'Border guards anxious about job, future: Opposed to change its name, uniform, logo and motto' that ventilated the opinions of several BDR jawans, deployed in border areas.

Its correspondents interviewed a number of BDR jawans who vehemently opposed the idea of taking Indian help in reconstructing BDR. The daily reported,

"Borders guards are working in the frontiers with anxiety and disappointment over the government's move to restructure the Bangladesh Rifles after the February 25–26 rebellion in its headquarters in Dhaka.

Spot visits to frontiers such as Boikari and Bhomra in Satkhira, Benapole in Jessore, Moghalhat, Durgapur and Baniyatari in Lalmonirhat and Tamabil, Shreepur and Jaintapur in Sylhet on Thursday showed that border guards in the areas were anxious and bereft of hope.

Although the guards claimed borders were secure, local residents alleged that cross-border smuggling had increased in recent days as the BDR soldiers were guarding the borders amid anxiety.

Expressing disappointment at the government move for the BDR reorganisation, the border guards said they were anxious about their jobs and future after they came to know of the move from media reports and their fellows.

The Bangladesh Rifles has become an icon of national security for the performance of the soldiers since Bangladesh's war of independence in 1971, they said, adding the paramilitary force should not be destroyed in the name of reorganisation .

They also differed with the views expressed by some ministers about taking help from neighbouring countries for the reorganisation of the Bangladesh Rifles. Such a move will be disastrous for the national security, they said.

Help from neighbouring countries for BDR reorganisation will not be wise 'as they are our counterparts,' he said. The Bangladesh Rifles has become an icon of national security for the performance of the soldiers since Bangladesh's war of independence in 1971, they said, adding the paramilitary force should not be destroyed in the name of reconstruction.

The correspondent in Lalmonirhat said almost all of the soldiers on guard along the border of the district had expressed their dissatisfaction at BDR reconstruction.

Some soldiers of the Moghalhat outpost camp in Lalmonirhat seemed worried. A soldier said they were not satisfied at the reconstruction of the Bangladesh Rifles.

New Age correspondent in Jessore said the soldiers at the Benapole check post were performing their duties anxiously being panicked about their future.

A number of Benapole port policemen said the border guards were panicked about being arrested, although the guards doing their duties in the frontiers were not involved in the rebellion.

The BDR soldiers said they were worried about their job as the government initiated a move to restructure the Bangladesh Rifles.” <sup>86</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> New Age, Dhaka, May 24, 2009

Rejecting the idea of availing foreign help in reorganizing BDR, Maj. Gen. Fazlur Rahman, the former DG of BSF said, India and Myanmar are our neighbouring countries. And we will face them in our border with the help of BDR. This force has its own plan. This plan is absolutely our own classified and secret affair. Interference of none is desirable in reorganizing this force. We cannot take any external assistance in this regard. We did not seek anybody's help in organizing the present BDR. Availing Indian help in reorganizing BDR is synonymous to set out to fight the Indian Army boarding on India TATA vehicles.<sup>87</sup> What could be the intention of reorganizing BDR availing their cooperation, he questioned.

Considering the longstanding record of anti-Bangladesh covert and overt actions by India on different fronts, it would be foolish to accept India's offer of help to reorganize and restructure BDR. Comprehending the far-reaching design of India, Bangladesh authorities should reject the so-called offer of reorganizing BDR, since RAW or secret arms of Indian defence forces are widely suspected as the planners and instigators of the Peelkhana Massacre. \*

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<sup>87</sup> A. L. M. Fazlur Rahman, *The Daily Naya Diganta*, Dhaka, May 22, 2009.

## Investigation

Three probe committees – one by the Army, another by the home ministry, and the third by the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of police — were formed to investigate the BDR rebellion.

The 12-member committee formed by the Ministry of Home headed by retired Additional Secretary Anisuzzaman was consisted of the law secretary, BDR director general, representatives of the Prime Minister's Office, cabinet division, army, navy and air force, police, home ministry and the judge advocate general.

The Government committee probing the February 25-26 carnage at Bangladesh Rifles Headquarters in Peelkhana submitted a 309-page voluminous report to the Home Ministry at her Secretariat office in Dhaka on May 21, 2009. 20-member Army probe committee submitted its report the former Army Chief Moin U Ahmed on May 10.

The probe committee formed by the CID, being assisted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Scotland Yard, continues its investigation till finalizing the draft of this book on July 10, 2009.

The two reports submitted so far failed to find out the motive and the mastermind of the rebellion. “The home ministry’s enquiry report admittedly could not ascertain the real cause and motive for the carnage and suggested further investigation for further investigation to identify the plotters. The military probe committee reportedly recommended that a high-powered investigation is necessary to identify the masterminds and their foreign connections behind the plot.”<sup>88</sup>

The committee found that the rebels had killed the 57 officers, including the Director General and the Deputy Director

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<sup>88</sup> Holiday, Dhaka, May 29, 2009



General, looted the armoury, burnt 16 vehicles belonging to the officers, vandalised 18 others, looted the house of the officers and carried out physical assault on the officers' families during the rebellion.

One hundred and thirty-three Army officers, including 86 of the BDR headquarters and 47 others who came from different districts on the occasion of the BDR Week, were present when the soldiers took up arms against their offices on February 25.

The officers who survived the killing include 3 lieutenant colonels, 14 majors, 15 officers of the army medical corps, 5 majors of the Operation Dal Bhat, a major who came for the annual parade, 5 majors who came to distribute invitation cards, 7 majors who came to receive awards, 8 regional officers and 14 civilian officers.<sup>89</sup> Annisuzzaman claimed "We've based the report on truth and reality. There is nothing based on speculation."<sup>90</sup>

The contents of the report prepared after two and a half months of extensive inquiry were not instantly disclosed. A separate army probe committee report into the mutiny has been submitted to the Army Chief but its contents have not been disclosed.

The committee opined, finding out the reasons and motive of the rebellion and identification of the people behind the incident was difficult and time-consuming.

The investigation committee with the help of an assisting organisation found that many BDR soldiers and other civilians were involved in planning the February 25-26 killing, looting and other crimes in the BDR Headquarters.<sup>91</sup>

The Government formed the inquiry committee on February 26 headed by the Home Minister, but later reformed the

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<sup>89</sup> Shahiduzzaman, BDR Massacre: Summary of the Government Investigation Report, Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors, May 24, 009).

<sup>90</sup> The New Nation, Dhaka, May 22, 2009).

<sup>91</sup> Shahiduzzaman, BDR Massacre: Summary of the Government Investigation Report, Bangladesh Open Source Intelligence Monitors, May 24, 009).

committee with the retired civil servant amid protests from many quarters. The Committee comprised 11 former and serving bureaucrats and high-ranking officers from the army, navy and air force. The Committee, reconstituted on March 2, began its work the following day. Its last deadline for submission of the report expired on May 11. The time for submitting report was extended for four times for 7 days, 7 days, 4 days and 1 month.<sup>92</sup>

The first deadline for its report, March 9, was extended by seven working days. On March 23, the committee got another four days. Finally on March 30, the Committee was given 30 more workdays to submit the report for a proper investigation into the bloodbath at the border guards' headquarters at Peelkhana in Dhaka that left at least 57 army officers killed.<sup>93</sup>

'We prepared the report on the basis of statements we heard, whatever we have seen and whatever we have perceived; it is not based on hypothesis and hearsay,' said the Chairman of the probe committee Mr. Anissuzzaman, a former bureaucrat.

Though the report contained 309 pages, government on May 27, 2009 made available only seven pages to the newsmen, what proved that the government desires to hide many findings of the investigation. It undermined the transparency and sincerity of the government.

The inquiry report observed that keeping these trivial demands in their mind main strategists from behind the scene might have pulled the strings to "destabilize the country".

Its contents remain confidential, but from leaks obtained and published by investigative journalists, the military enquiry said

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<sup>92</sup> The Bangladesh Today, Dhaka, May 22, 2009).

<sup>93</sup> The New Nation, Dhaka, May 22, 2009).

to have pointed its finger at outside plotters behind the mutiny, who could not be probed by the military for limits set by the enquiry's terms of reference.<sup>94</sup>

Some opposition leaders found the Anisuzzaman Committee report one-sided, as it failed to mention Awami League leaders with evident complicity in the mutiny. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party chairperson and Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Begum Khaleda Zia, dismissed the Home ministry Probe committee report saying, they (government) have published only a portion of the report of their choice. It is unacceptable. The government has put a lid on the report prepared by the army. She demanded that the report prepared by the army must be published.

A moot question is: Will the published parts of the home ministry's probe report be able to satisfy the aggrieved army officers who gave vent to their deep resentment over the mishandling of the mutiny and resulting death of their fellow-officers in presence of the Prime Minister early March? In the interest of smooth civil-military relations and for unquestioned loyalty to political leadership, it is important that this matter is attended to with sagacity and sensitivity without leaving any doubts about any possible cover-up.<sup>95</sup>

An English Daily of Dhaka, 'The New Age' editorially opined, "---- people's expectations have built up about the investigation committee finding out the real engineers of the incident instead of only knowing about the identities of those who engaged in the gruesome acts.

But it is imperative to find out the identities of the real sponsors of the killings at BDR headquarters so that the nation

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<sup>94</sup> Holiday, Dhaka, May 29, 2009

<sup>95</sup> 'The Holiday, Dhaka May 29, 2009

can remain on guard against them for all times. To that end government will have to ensure that the investigations are truly effective. Particularly the same must not be allowed to be compromised from the unseen pressure of any quarter, however influential or powerful it may be.

The leading English daily of Dhaka, 'The Daily Star' in its editorial comments on May 29, (2009) said, "The seven-page summary of the report handed out to journalists unfortunately does not present a clear picture of the entire nature of the carnage perpetrated on February 25 and 26. What is surprising is that the committee itself acknowledges its inability to identify the powerful forces behind the elements who perpetrated the tragedy at Pilkhana. Although there is some fingerprinting in the report, the overall position is that the report is rather inconclusive."

Partial publication of this report was politically motivated to make a point that the government is transparent in discharging its responsibilities. The report failed to serve people's interest. Preconditions made these probe committees virtually incapable of unearthing the engineers of the debacle. The efforts turned to mere face and eyewash that virtually bluffed the people. It was just wastage of energy, time and money.

**Army Probe report:** After the mutiny Bangladesh Army formed a 20-member inquiry committee headed by Lt. Gen. Jahangir Alam Chowdhury. Cross sections of people were sure that the Army probe committee would uncover the truth: who were the masterminds behind the massacre, who were involved in it, what their real motives were, and who the beneficiaries were. People became more curious and waiting for Army probe committee report when several ministers were engaged in making their own versions of confusing statements on the BDR debacle and hoped that at least the Army investigation team through thorough and accurate investigation would reveal the real picture of the BDR tragedy and remove all types of

confusions, allegations and counter allegations of the ruling and the opposition parties.

On May 10 (2009), Army probe committee report comprising 20 Army officers, was submitted to the then Army Chief Moin U Ahmed. But the contents of the report were not made public. As a result a section of dailies of Dhaka, quoting their sources made some reports which claimed that Army probe committee was not independent enough to investigate many aspects of the incident. Seeing such reports people were seriously disheartened and disappointed, due to the government prescribed jurisdictions and limitations that made the team entirely powerless and compelled not to conduct investigation on many sensitive issues that could identify the foreign and local masterminds of the BDR tragedy.

A leading Bengali daily of Dhaka 'Manabzamin' (May 13, 2009) alleged, Army investigation team in its report could not accommodate many sensitive and important information gathered by it due to government bindings, as the team had to abide by some guidelines. "They could not mention certain issues, as those issues were beyond their jurisdiction. --- The names of those important figures who were involved in this incident were not mentioned. The committee hadn't the authority to investigate to that extent. --- Though the names of several important figures came in different ways, the investigation report was not prepared in that way, as the committee hadn't the authority to investigate about the instigators and patrons of the incident. The investigation team gathered huge information about them." Another Bengali daily categorically said, the report was prepared according to the demand of the government. Many findings did not get space in the report, as they were beyond the jurisdiction of the Army Investigation Team.<sup>96</sup>

Former BDR DG Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Fazlur Rahman opined, "In case of Army report government provided certain

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<sup>96</sup> The Daily Amardesh, Dhaka, May 14, 2009

guidelines. The Army inquiry cannot go beyond this barrier.”<sup>97</sup> The committee got evidences and documents regarding the meetings of the ruling party leaders with the BDR members about their demands. The information was also procured where, when and whom they (unofficial representatives of BDR jawans) visited. A little information was mentioned in the report. The team had no authority to conduct investigation regarding the supply of money from outside.<sup>98</sup>

Regarding the displeasure and grievance of the BDR jawans, the report says, the intriguers skillfully traded the displeasure and grievance of the BDR jawans to create Anti-army sentiment.

The 20-member Army investigation team was promise-bound that they would not disclose the investigation report neither to media nor anyone outside the Army. They had to sign on an ‘undertaking’ on May 10 in this regard.<sup>99</sup>

Under such situation Army investigation team was bound by preconditions that failed it to investigate and identify the external power that manipulated this tragedy.

Comments and speculations of certain dailies centring the Army probe report undermined the image of the government. There were no immediate rejoinders from the Army whether these reports were fabricated or untrue. Under this situation some ministers claimed that those comments quoting Army probe committee report were imaginary tales. Commerce Minister Lt. Col. (Retd.) Faruq Khan remained mum when the journalists asked if those comments were baseless why there was no rejoinder on behalf of the Army probe committee denying the reports, better to say allegations, published in some dailies. Under this situation ISPR in a press note claimed that the reports published in some dailies were speculative and baseless. But it could not quench people’s curiosity.

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<sup>97</sup> Weekly Probc, May 29, 2009, Dhaka, Bangladesh).

<sup>98</sup> The Daily Manabzamin, Dhaka, May 13, 2009).

<sup>99</sup> The Daily Manabzamin, Dhaka, May 13, 2009).

People had logic to believe the government was sure that any independent and proper investigation would identify the financier and instigator of the BDR massacre. Perhaps government did not want that the sponsor of the debacle should be identified before the international community that prompted it to impose preconditions on the independent investigation of the team.

The report is entirely partial and incomplete. The aggrieved people of Bangladesh could not know who killed their sons and why. International community could not know the enemy that imposes calamity after calamity on Bangladesh. A golden chance of identifying and exposing the real enemy of Bangladesh was thus lost, as the Army investigation team could not work independently. To meet the demand of the government the findings that the team gathered exercising its limited power and jurisdiction could not be mentioned in the report. It is alleged, government was vigil to ensure that the investigation should not be allowed to identify the external power and its local mercenaries. Haider Akbar Khan Rono, leader of 'Workers' Party (Restructured)' bluntly accusing the government said, the way the government is dealing with the report seems, as if, they are trying to hide something. At least that is how the people are feeling now."<sup>100</sup>

Political Scientist Professor Dilara Chowdhury highlighting the essence of disclosing the probe committee reports said, "This (BDR tragedy) is not a commonplace incident and so all three reports — the Army report, the CID report and the Home Ministry report should be made public. This would clear all confusion."<sup>100</sup>

A leading journalist and poet Abdul Hye Shikder of Dhaka in an interview with the writer apprehended whether the three probe committees would make identical reports. He asked why a controversial person like Kahar Akhand was engaged in

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<sup>100</sup> Probc, May 29, Dhaka, Bangladesh, 2009

<sup>101</sup> *ibid*

investigating such a horrendous incident. He questioned what the government would do if the three probe committee provide three types of reports. \*





## Suggestions

None of its surrounding countries considers India as its safe neighbour due to India's erroneous and aggressive policy. Despite India's cooperation and contribution to the liberation war of Bangladesh, India in general, is known as an anti-Bangladesh neighbour. India is genuinely blamed for almost all the manmade debacles, not to speak of BDR massacre, even political unrest and instability that frequently rock Bangladesh. Through such misdeeds right from plundering Bangladesh to water blockade, indiscriminate killings in the border to campus and street violence, labour unrest to subversive activities, India though was able to keep Bangladesh poor, instable and chaotic, but made maximum Bangladeshis as its opponents. This sentiment was not deliberately, but genuinely created as a reaction to India's misdeeds. Indian policymakers did not set even an example, after 1971 that it is a trustworthy and friendly country of Bangladesh. Indian policymakers through their words and deeds proved that we are their eyesores. They should not think that they will be able to totally control, cripple and crush Bangladesh adopting expansionist and nefarious tactics. A day will come when common people of Bangladesh in response to India's expansionist policy and inimical attitude will build up resistance against India, which will be suicidal for all the people of the region, particularly for India.

Indian policymakers, therefore, should be judicious and prudent enough in dealing with Bangladesh. They for their own sake should revise their entire policy relating to their neighbouring countries, particularly Bangladesh. Indians should restudy the history and psyche of the Bangladeshi people. No other people in this region were separated from their own country through bloody armed struggle to form another independent and sovereign homeland exclusively for themselves. Indian policymakers also look back to the

historical obligations under which situation the then Bengalee Muslims of Bengal opted to be a part of the alien Muslims of the western part of the subcontinent. It was not the religious bondage alone but the mistreatment and masterful exploitative attitude of the Hindus that compelled them to join hands with the unknown Muslims of Western part of the subcontinent, whom they again left within 23 years to end their exploitation and authoritative colonial behaviour. It is a very easy task to comprehend the reality that the people who to get rid of Hindu domination made Pakistan and again fought to come out of Pakistan and formed an independent country will never surrender to India to become a part of India accepting Hindu domination. Besides, they (Bangladeshis) very closely monitor the position of the Indian Muslims and other minority communities how subservient and subhuman insecure life they are to lead in Hindu-dominated India. Indian dream to conquer Bangladesh will remain a dream. Subversion or aggression against Bangladesh will not serve Indian interest better. The more India adopts anti-Bangladesh policy the more its people become adamant against India.

So India should shun its aggressive anti-Bangladesh policy and explore new path of real friendship and cooperation. The path of overt and covert conspiracy or confrontation or hegemonic aggression against Bangladesh will be counterproductive and that will be a boomerang for India. India should bring about a radical change in its policy shunning its so-called 'Akhand Bharat' and promoting the policy of 'let and let live' popularly known as 'co-existence'.

Bangladeshi policymakers should also revise their entire policy in dealing with India. They should explore a policy neither to confront with nor surrender to India. They should be pro-country and pro-people, not in words but in deeds. They should shun those policies and activities that brand them either as Indian or Pakistan, or American agents. Such allegation is not only defamatory and disgraceful to them, but also suicidal for

the nation. Such relation compels our policymakers to please certain power compromising our strategic and long-term national interest. Probe committee reports indirectly indicated that the government seems to hide something that compelled those committees to suggest the government for further investigation. Government should comprehend the message what at least two probe committees conveyed. If our policymakers remain subservient to foreign power/powers, they will remain psychologically weak and utterly fail to take bold step against those who are outwardly our friends, but arch enemies in practice. Government is to play the vital role to detect our real adversary/adversaries and without fear take appropriate measures to face it/them.

The BDR massacre left a great lesson for our policymakers. They should comprehend to what extent our adversaries can go to inflict heavy blow on our interest, even existence. They should explore ways and means to mend all those pores that will again enable our enemies to enter our sensitive establishments. They should work out and develop a sense of national unity and consensus mending all their personal and political differences and rivalries, so that we can jointly and strongly face any adverse situation. Above all, they should place national interest above their personal one.

Attention should be given to address the grievances not only of BDR, but also other forces and intelligence agencies that are directly and indirectly related to defend our country and its sovereignty and integrity. We must not allow anymore crisis like BDR carnage. We must admit that BDR needs more manpower, better equipment and training to do its job properly. Their salaries and privileges should be raised to an honourable and acceptable level. But BDR jawans are to refrain from all types of malpractices and crimes that randomly occur in the bordering areas. They should place national interest above their own ones. BDR jawans should not develop any type of contact with BSF or Indian nationals or smugglers under any

circumstances. They should not allow or welcome infiltration of Indian intelligence agencies in BDR. All the branches of our defence management should realize that the BDR massacre was committed by the same adversary against which they were raised to fight with. It was their proxy war in Peelkhana against Bangladesh. Both BDR and Army are the victims of the same adversary that deliberately engaged the former against the later.

The scar of BDR massacre is difficult to erase. We have no room to let more blood or mourn further. Still we have to march forward with new zeal keeping our memories alive. “Corrective actions must be initiated immediately without waiting for the findings or recommendations of the investigation committees, since the lacunae in certain areas are so obvious as to brook no delay.” (Brig. Gen. Shahedul Anam Khan (retd.) Forum — a monthly publication of ‘The Daily Star’, Dhaka, April, 2009). Government should remain vigil so that no innocent BDR jawans are harassed or punished for alleged involvement in the BDR massacre. On the other hand, all the killers and their local and alien mentors are to be identified and punished according to the law of the land. No personal friendship or favouritism, nepotism or grudge should be indulged in identifying, trying and punishing the real culprits. Government to prove its fairness and transparency should immediately form an independent parliamentary committee to investigate the BDR carnage so that our policymakers can at least know the local and foreign adversaries that manipulated such a debacle.

The incumbent Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has to perform a historical responsibility. She is to keep it in mind why the founder of the nation late Sheikh Mujibur Rahman initiated to form an independent Bangladesh disintegrating Pakistan for which he personally struggled. She should comprehend that the sacrifice of Sheikh Mujib and millions of martyrs will be frustrated if Bangladesh loses its separate identify, sovereignty

and independence due to our cowardice or self-seeking policy of our policymakers. Let us think what will be the position and status of Sheikh Mujib and all of us if our country is merged to India. India's overt and covert designs and its anti-Bangladesh activities indicate that India is desperate to swallow it by hook or crook. So Sheikh Hasina is to be very careful in dealing with India. The country is to be salvaged from the damage that has already been made due to our sincerity or pro-India policy. The historical responsibility of salvaging Bangladesh has been bestowed on Sheikh Hasina who was overwhelmingly voted to power. If any other government endeavours to get rid of Indian claws, that will be branded as Pro-Pakistani and anti-independence clique. So Sheikh Hasina is to initiate to release Bangladesh from undue Indian influence shunning pro-India policies which are detrimental to the sovereignty and long-term interest of Bangladesh. Independence of any country is not confined to a flag, government, even territory. It requires viable sovereignty. Sovereignty does not mean to follow the roadmap dictated or prescribed by other country. Independence means having viable sovereign authority free from all types of external influence, interference, intimidation and dictation. Such a policy can only protect national interest and independence and sovereignty. Sheikh Hasina is to comprehend this reality and adopts policies accordingly.

Many people rightly or wrongly believe that Sheikh Hasina as well as her party AL is tilted to India. Indian policymakers and media also deliberately indicate that AL and Sheikh Hasina are the trusted allies of India. It is the duty of Sheikh Hasina to remove this ignominy. None can do this job, but Sheikh Hasina. She is to courageously deal with India. Sheikh Hasina, just before the election (2008) urged the countrymen to elect her their Prime Minister once more. People did what she desired. People questioned why she wanted to get the chance to become the Prime Minister again whether to serve her personal or party interest or to become immortal in history by

strengthening the sovereignty of Bangladesh and protecting its future generations from foreign domination. If she stands for Bangladesh and protects the strategic and economic interest of Bangladesh and places it on strong foundation free from Indian influence she will attain a prestigious position in history. The future of Bangladesh entirely depends on the prudence, courage and patriotism of Sheikh Hasina. If she fails Bangladesh will lose its viable identity, independence and sovereignty, what is contrary to our dream and expectation. \*

## Conclusion:

It is an irony that Bangladesh, a resourceful peace-loving country, borders an arrogant expansionist India. Despite besets with secessionist and Maoist wars, caste and communal hatred and rivalries, poor economy and fragile society, India bids to exhibit itself as so-called superpower. To attain this status, India insanely tries to extend its hegemonic paw on its neighbouring countries and throw them to an awkward position to keep them shaky, instable and chaotic. The BDR debacle originated out of such notorious design.

The conspiracies that India devises are directed to merge Bangladesh to India what it did in case of Sikkim. I want to recall, in brief, how deceitfully and treacherously India swallowed an independent nation — Sikkim. To annex Sikkim (having an area of 7,110kms) to India, Indian intelligence agencies purchased, financed and nursed almost all the activists and the leaders, particularly Landup Dorjee, of the Sikkim Congress. India using Sikkim Congress in early seventies of the 20th century, organized and fueled mass uprising against the king, officially was known as 'Chogyal'. India persuaded 'Chogyal' that to ensure law and order in the Kingdom and above all, protect the king, Indian Army should be allowed to enter Sikkim. But Indian Army did nothing to suppress the so-called mass movement for democracy whose hidden target was to end monarchy in Sikkim and merge Sikkim to India. Chogyal under Indian pressure and prescription was compelled to democratize Sikkim. A farce democratic election was held in Sikkim. Sikkim Congress occupied all the 32 seats of the assembly. Landup Dorjee became the first so-called democratically elected Prime Minister of Sikkim. The Assembly unanimously abolished the monarchy of Sikkim and Chogyal was deposed in 1974. Later through a resolution the same Assembly decided to merge



Sikkim to India. India to bluff the international community and legalise the annexation held a fake referendum that overwhelmingly okayed Sikkim's accession to India. India, thus, officially annexed Sikkim as its 22nd State in 1975.

India tries its best to stage the same drama in case of Bangladesh. Ironically, there is a section of imprudent people in all levels in Bangladesh who claim that India will never take over a problematic Bangladesh. I am sorry to say that they are not aware of history and reality. Sikkim was never a threat to India. Nevertheless India didn't spare the rocky mountainous and tiny Sikkim from swallowing it. How India will allow Bangladesh to remain independent and sovereign whilst its founding fathers repeatedly dreamed its accession to India.

India is trying its best to repeat the same satire in Bangladesh when its first effort of turning it to its Protectorate State was failed in 1971. Bangladesh did not harm India in any way. Nonetheless India creates hindrance in all fronts on its way to prosperity and stability. The repeated debacles that Bangladesh faces — right from street agitation to campus violence, arson on mills and factories to water blockade, secret killings to coups and counter-coups, are directed to make Bangladesh India's Protectorate State that will lead to its final annexation to India. The BDR massacre was directed to that end. Now India publicly threatens that it will not sit idle rather send its troops to Bangladesh under the excuse of protecting the Sheikh Hasina government (2009--) of Bangladesh. Such a declaration was originated not out of fascination for Sheikh Hasina, but to station Indian Army in Bangladesh to grab it in course of time.

To achieve this objective, the people of Bangladesh were being targeted in an ingenious way and from all directions of life. India's agenda does not obviously end in creating uneasy situation and keeping Bangladesh as a nominally independent country. Since 1972, India has been pouring in huge material and intellectual support to Indianise the mind and psyche of

Bangladeshi people through cultural aggression. The so-called modern school educational curriculums, in general, and the social sciences, in particular, have been said to be shaped and oriented to Vedic philosophy rather than to Islamic values and virtues. Besides, the promotion of narcotics in the society RAW is said to be supplementing terrorism via educational institutes in Bangladesh and the recent BDR mutiny exhibits the reach of Indian tentacles.

India deliberately orchestrated the BDR debacle. Available information confirmed that India sent its so-called 'Black Cat Commando' to kill our Army officers deputed in BDR. BDR massacre was a part of India's incessant conspiracy against Bangladesh and its sovereignty and independence. Due to this debacle Bangladesh became militarily weak and its border remained unprotected and unguarded for days. Spirit and morale of Army and BDR have been affected. It is difficult to predict when the bloody chapter of deep psychological scar that has been created through BDR massacre would heal up. It is apprehended whether Army and BDR jawans would be able to face our adversaries effectively and narrow down the misunderstanding and psychological distance that were created due to the BDR carnage and.

India had the preconceived idea about the consequences of the BDR debacle. So its foreign minister voluntarily put forward proposal to send so-called 'peace mission' in Bangladesh. But India's calculation suffers from fallacy. Indian military forces will never be welcome in Bangladesh whatever pretext India uses to enter into Bangladesh and such adventurous move (even if any government is stupid enough to request for such 'help') will be strongly resisted by our people. India shouldn't forget how humiliatingly Indian soldiers had to turn their tail from Sri Lanka. Indian soldiers will face more furious resistance in Bangladesh which will be the most terrible and prolonged war that will disintegrate India into pieces.

To end India's misbehaviour and expansionist adventure we are to remain solidly united though India spends billions of dollars to purchase and maintain its toadies in Bangladesh and carry out subversive activities. We should take urgent steps to immediately remove the scars and misunderstandings that were created due to bloody carnage at Peelkhana. I hope and believe Bangladesh authorities (both civil and military) would carry out thorough investigations into the whole conspiracy against the country's sovereign existence (not only against the AL government as some quarters want us to believe). It was a crime against Bangladesh itself, and should be treated accordingly. The investigations must be based on concrete evidences and facts, to find out the truth, to expose the traitors, foreign agents and infiltrators (even if some of them are powerful), and to punish the culprits. No conclusions should be drawn to fit into some pre-conceived hypothesis or on the 'advice' of some foreign agencies. We do not want any 'show trial' as happened in the past, but a genuine dispensation of justice, as the incident is involved not to any individual, but to the sovereignty and independence of Bangladesh. So we have no room to compromise. We have nothing that should scare us. We have to stand on our own feet. External suggestions will be suicidal for us. Before taking any help from any external power we are to be prudent enough to foresee the unseen goal of such suggestion or assistance. Besides, we are to restudy the past behaviour of those countries that offer cooperation whether they are trustworthy having no ulterior design to hamper our strategic interest in anyway.

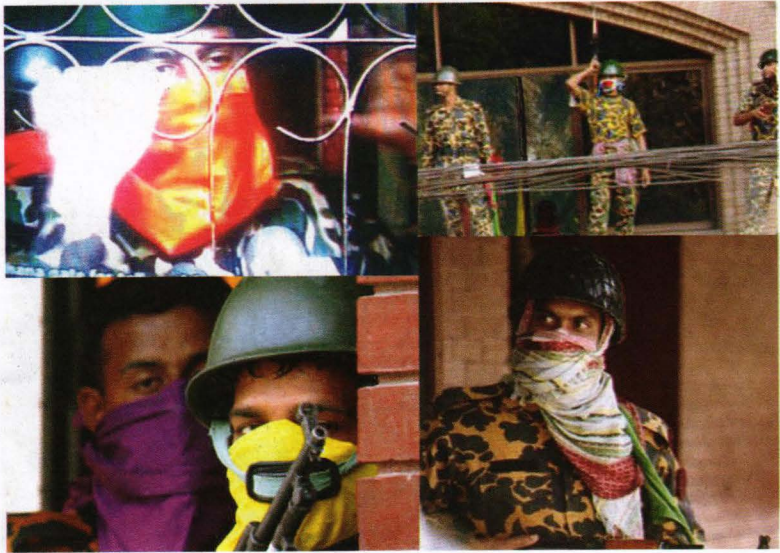
Indian proposal to reconstruct BDR deserves thorough securitization. This proposal virtually uncovered more prominently India's ugly face. The degraded position where the Indian tentacles and killers put our country made India dare to put forward such proposal mainly to turn BDR to its shadow force. Through such proposal India virtually plays dual roles,

as if, India “runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds”. The tempest unveiled how inept our policymakers are. Despite their sincerity they failed to protect the lives of so many Army officers. They have little room to claim that they ably tackled the situation. Their weakness and imprudence exposed more clearly when they succumbed to Indian pressure and welcomed India’s ridiculous proposal to reconstruct BDR against which BDR jawans fight almost daily. It goes without saying India will not train up BDR to that level that will gain the capacity and courage to fight back Indian intruders and skirmishers in the border. So such India-trained BDR will be a force in name, that will get salaries and other benefits from Bangladesh but work for India. India virtually believes in ‘no border’ with Bangladesh.

We are to get rid of Indian influence and solidify our unity and build a secured and prosperous Bangladesh for our coming generations. The BDR tragedy should awaken us, particularly our policymakers, who should devise ways and means, above all attain courage, to cope with such abrupt and adverse situation without hampering or minimizing our sovereignty and independence. We should handle the situation without being terrified or leaning towards our adversaries. We are to face overt and covert designs of our adversaries without compromising our sovereignty and independence.

We fought to liberate the country not to become a part of India, but to build a prosperous country free from all types of foreign interference, intimidation and dictation. Despite overt and covert designs, we are marching forward towards that dream. In 1972-73 fiscal our budget was only Tk. Seven crore and 52 lakh. The budget for the current fiscal (2009-10) is Tk. One lakh 13 thousand and 819 crores. This onward trend continues despite India’s incessant overt and covert conspiracies and subversive activities, repeated India-made and natural flood, and other calamities, and population explosion. Bangladesh could have exceeded Malaysia and Singapore if India wouldn’t

have blockaded water of the international rivers, caused drought in the winter and repeated flood during the rainy season, financed sabotage and subversive activities against our educational institutions, mills and factories and other financial sectors, international trade, shrimp cultivation, etc. We are to make it sure that our greed for power, personal interest, unintelligence, imprudence and compromising cowardice policy must not cause our country under any circumstances. We should judiciously and courageously face and frustrate all the overt and covert designs that target Bangladesh. We cannot let our bright future to go to astray.\*



Who were they?



BDR jawans fled away leaving their official uniforms





Army officers killed at Peelkhana and recovered at Kamrangirchar



Body of the dead Army officers were being recovered from sewerage line



Dead bodies of the Army officers were being recovered from mass graves



Dead bodies of the Army officers were being recovered from mass graves





Their killers must be punished



Our beloved sons were kept ready for eternal farewell

The BDR debacle of February 25 and 26, a shocking holocaust, manipulated by the adversaries of Bangladesh has little precedence in the contemporary world that rocked Bangladesh and shattered its border security and defense management, which was directed to weaken and undo its sovereignty and independence. The debacle pained and worried an uncompromising journalist and researcher of our time Mohammad Zainal Abedin, a LISA (London Institute of South Asia) Award winner, so much that he within a short span of time endeavoured to document this most tragic part of our history. He sees this horrible atrocious cruel debacle as a part of longstanding conspiracy to wipeout the border and map of Bangladesh.

The author through his inquisitive outlook and argument unveiled the hidden power that staged the debacle at BDR Headquarters. Analyzing the circumstantial evidences, ground realities, historical background, Indian proposals and benefits, particularly its war preparation, etc., he identified India as the mastermind of the debacle.

The book despite some negligible limitations is a timely written documentation of the horrendous murder of our brilliant Army officers. It is indeed a noteworthy work of the author which will be treated as reference book for the researchers and historians. Other than the common people this book will find huge readers among the BDR, Armed Forces, and other law enforcing agencies. The book conveys some messages to the friends and foes of Bangladesh. Author of such an authentic and documentary book should get acclamation and recognition of those quarters that have love for humanity, independence and sovereignty for all nations.\*