# FOUR DECADES OF INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

**Historical Imperatives and Future Direction** 

Editor Smruti S Pattanaik



Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi



## Four Decades of India-Bangladesh Relations : Historical Imperatives and Future Direction

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#### **Preface**

The current volume is the result of a dialogue between the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi and the Bangladesh Institute for International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). For the first time, the scholars of the two premier think tanks–IDSA and BIISS have come together to discuss important aspects of India-Bangladesh relations. The volume provides both Indian and Bangladeshi perspectives and is a valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject which would be relevant to the policy makers of the two countries. The contributors have examined the issues keeping the future of bilateral relations in mind. Thus, the focus is on the future of India-Bangladesh relations. In the recent past, the two countries have worked closely to improve their relations and forged close interconnectivity, keeping the regional perspectives in mind. The dialogue took place at IDSA in May 2011.

The book comprises thirteen chapters discussing the entire gamut of bilateral relations and the way forward. The first chapter titled "Consonance and Dissonance: Issues and Trends in Indo-Bangladesh Relations" provides a historical background to the relations between the two countries and the issues that have bedeviled the bilateral relations. This chapter discusses the synergy between the two countries during the liberation war, relations between them during different regimes in power and a detailed survey on a host of issues that have emerged as a challenge.

The chapter by Arvind Gupta titled "Trends in Indian Foreign Policy" discusses global and regional developments and factors affecting India's foreign policy. It examines the contours of India's neighbourhood policy and the challenges it confronts, and examines the trends in India's foreign policy. It briefly contextualizes India-Bangladesh relations of the wider neighbourhood and explores areas where the two countries can cooperate.

"South Asia and the International Order" by Segufta Hossain, examines in detail major power interests in the region during the cold war period and the developments in the post-cold war era. Post-9/11 developments again attracted the attention of the international community as the global war on terror gained momentum. This chapter places Bangladesh in the regional context and discusses the potential that the country has and the challenges it is facing. The chapter provides recommendations to overcome these challenges.

Ashok Behuria's chapter on "South Asia: Regional Security Challenges", deals with the challenges that the countries of the region are facing in terms of social, economic and security challenges and the continuation of political instability in some of the infant democracies in the neighbourhood, that have posed serious a problem to stability. The author argues that security dilemmas and differences in the perception of the regimes have prevented the building of a regional security architecture, and suggests that a multi-track dialogue at various levels is essential to move away from the current impasse which breeds distrust.

Sreeradha Datta's chapter on "India-Bangladesh Cross-Border Connectivity" discusses India's efforts to develop a rail and road network that would facilitate trade and transit that Bangladesh is trying to establish with the countries of the region. It provides details of cross-border connectivity and new road and rail links that are being established as part of improving trans-boundary connections. The chapter details prospects of border trade and future connectivity in terms of connecting the energy grid to deal with the shortage of power.

The chapter "Bangladesh-India Connectivity: A Focus on Transit" by Ishtiaque Selim, deals in detail with the longstanding issue of transit, various routes that exist which can be used for the proposed transit route, and examines various schools of thought that exist in Bangladesh regarding provision of transit to India. It also deals with studies that have been undertaken to look at the transit issue and various infrastructure challenges that would emerge as a hindrance to the process. This chapter argues that transit would generate revenue for Bangladesh and create opportunities for employment.

Anand Kumar in his chapter "Indo-Bangladesh Trade: Problems

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and prospects", provides an Indian perspective on the issue of trade. The author delineates various hurdles to India-Bangladesh trade which includes various tariff regimes, illegal trade, smuggling, trade in service and problems of the Non-Tariff Barrier (NTB). The chapter examines whether the Free Trade Agreement can be a way out. The chapter examines the recent developments in bilateral trading relations and suggests measures on how to improve trade. The author argues that private players need to be encouraged to play a larger role in terms of investment.

Mahfuz Kabir's chapter on "Bangladesh-India Trade and Investment: Bangladeshi Perspectives", analyses in detail the volume and composition of bilateral trade, issues like trade deficit, establishing bilateral and regional free trade area, tariff and non tariff barriers, and suggests trade facilitation measures. The author suggests some measures on improving trade between Bangladesh and India from Bangladesh's perspective.

In her second chapter titled "Cooperation on Water Issue: Bangladesh Perspective", Segufta Hossain examines water as a security concern for Bangladesh in terms of water scarcity. She examines the low riparian anxieties by looking at the issue of Farakka and the proposed river linking project in India and also the controversy surrounding the Tipaimukh Dam. The chapter analyses in detail the challenges to cooperation vis-à-vis water and the constraints in the way of optimizing any such cooperation. The chapter has a section on recommendations on how to overcome the challenges to cooperation between the two countries.

Medha Bisht in the chapter on "Water problems in Bangladesh: External and Internal Dimensions", deals with three aspects of water security – water reliability, water quality and water quantity. These three issues are discussed taking into account the internal and external dimensions of the water problem that Bangladesh is facing. It also deals with broader problems like river pollution which affect the quality and wastage of the water which could be mitigated by water harvesting and using it judiciously. The chapter also deals in detail with the India-Bangladesh water engagement and related bilateral problems.

The chapter on "Bangladesh-India Cooperation on Energy Issues: Bangladesh Perspectives" by Mahfuz Kabir analyses the energy requirement of the growing economies of the two countries and the energy security problems they face in terms of the rising price of crude oil, developing alternative sources to meet their energy need and diversification of their energy market. The author argues that the two countries can jointly explore energy sources and cooperate by institutionalizing joint monitoring of pilferage, harmonize oil prices to curb cross-border informal trade, and share information and experience in renewable energy, nuclear energy and energy conservation.

The chapter on "Transcending India-Bangladesh Relations: Framing Mutual Security Parameters" deals with the factors that make cooperation on security issues imperative rather than it being a choice, given a host of non-traditional challenges that would require a cooperative effort. The problems of border management, issues of smuggling, illegal migration and the need to chart out a cooperative security framework are dealt with in detail. The chapter also analyses bilateral and multilateral cooperative frameworks that exist for such cooperation on security. The author argues that cooperation on security assumes greater importance as it is security issues that generate mistrust and suspicions that percolate to other areas of bilateral ties.

Shaheen Afroze's chapter on "Security Dynamics and Bangladesh-India Relations: Bangladeshi Perspectives", deals with various challenges the countries are facing. The chapter details how the security concerns of India are impacting on Bangladesh-India relations. It analyses the border-related security challenges which includes killings on the border, illegal migration, problems of enclaves and the delay in implementing the 1974 boundary agreement, and suggests measures on how to meet some of these challenges. The author argues that given the sensitive nature of the issues that confront the two countries, both the governments should be responsive to the mood and sentiment of the people while resolving the problems.

The book also comprises some important documents including latest MoUs and agreements related to India-Bangladesh relations as annexures which would be useful to those researching on India-Bangladesh relations.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank all the contributors of this volume for adhering to the deadlines and submitting their chapters, bearing with various editorial queries, being open to various editorial Preface 11

suggestions and comments and resubmitting their drafts on time. I would like to sincerely thank Director General IDSA Dr Arvind Gupta, for his unstinted support now and earlier as the head of the South Asia Centre. Without his emphasis to publish the book in time, this effort would have got delayed.

I take this opportunity also to remember the late AKM Abdus Sabur, for his selfless support when both of us were making efforts from 2007 to start the bilateral dialogue between IDSA and BIISS which could not happen for one reason or the other. It was only in 2009 when he visited IDSA to attend a conference, that we both finalized the draft of the MoU which was signed in 2010. A special mention needs to be made for Ambassador Virendra Gupta, former deputy director who wanted me to explore the possibility of restarting the bilateral when I was a visiting fellow at Dhaka University in 2007. I also would like to especially thank Dr Shaheen Afroze, Research Director BIISS, for coordinating this programme with me and the Director-General BIISS, Imrul Quayes and former DG IDSA, Shri N.S.Sisodia, for taking keen interest to see that the bilateral is held after a break of almost ten years. My sincere thanks to my colleagues at the South Asia Centre for all their help in successful conduction of this bilateral at IDSA in May 2011. I would like to especially mention Gulbin and Pramod who took special care of the delegates from the BIISS, and Dr Uttam Kumar Sinha an expert on water issues, for presenting a paper on water security at this bilateral.

I would like to express my personal thanks to Dr Ashok K. Behuria, Coordinator, South Asia Centre, for his support and encouragement and bearing with my insistence to submit his chapter in spite of his busy work schedule. I will fail in my duty if I do not thank Mr Vivek Kaushik, Assistant Editor at IDSA, for providing all help with the publication of the volume. The two copyeditors of this volume, Dr Kiran Sahni and Seema Nambiar need to be complimented for a meticulous job and putting up with last minute editing. My sincere thanks to Shri Amit Garg and his team at Gyan Publishing House, for working round the clock to see that the book is published in time.

Smruti S. Pattanaik

Editor

#### **List of Contributors**

Dr Smruti S Pattanaik is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA). She is a PhD from the South Asian Studies Division of School of International studies, JNU. She joined IDSA in 1998. Her main areas of interest are politics of identity in South Asia, army in politics and foreign policy issues. She was a Kodikara Fellow at the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo. She was a visiting Asia fellow at the department of international relations, Dhaka University in 2004 and 2007. She was a post doctoral fellow at the Centre for International Relations and Research (CERI) in Paris in 2008, visiting fellow at Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 2009. She is the author of "Elite perceptions in foreign policy: Role of print media in influencing Indo-Pak relations, 1989-99" (2004) and has edited a book titled South Asia: Envisioning a Regional Future (2011). Her current project focuses on "India Neighbourhood Policy". She is the book review Editor of Strategic Analysis, IDSA journal published by francis and Taylor. Dr Pattanaik coordinates the Pakistan Project of IDSA. She is member of various taskforce of IDSA focusing on India's neighbours. She has written around 50 articles and 20 book chapters in various national and international publications.

**Dr Arvind Gupta** is the Director General of IDSA, New Delhi. He is an officer of the Indian Foreign Service and earlier held the Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair at the Institute. Prior to joining the IDSA, Dr Arvind Gupta was Joint Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat from 1999 to 2008. During his tenure at the NSCS, he dealt with a wide spectrum of national security issues. He has served in the Ministry of External Affairs and Indian Missions abroad on various diplomatic assignments. His current interests include: the impact of globalization on India's security; security in South Asia, foreign policy and diplomatic challenges before India, energy security, climate

change, institutional reform, India's neighbours, internal security, technology and security issues. He has a number of publications to his credit.

Ms. Segufta Hossain is Research Fellow at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). Her areas of interest are Strategic Issues, Environment and Environmental Security. Some of her important publications are: "North Korea's Nuclear Test: Implications for East Asian Security", BIISS Journal, Vol. 27, No. 4, October 2006; "Bangladesh's Foreign Minister's Visit to China: Issues, Outcomes, and Future Exploration", Bangladesh Foreign Policy Survey (BFPS), Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 1, June-August 2006; "Maoist People's War in Nepal: Issues and Concerns", BIISS Journal, Vol. 27, No. 1, January 2006. She has also co-authored articles in various journals and edited books, such as: "Migrant Labours, Remittance Inflow and Economic Development" in Golam Mohammad (ed.), National Security Bangladesh 2009, BIISS and The University Press Limited, 2010; "Urban Environmental Change: A Case Study on Eastern Dhaka City Wetlands Transformation from 1963-2009", BIISS Journal, Vol. 31, No. 2, April 2010; "Bangladesh (Part II)" in Caroline Ziemke-Dickens and Julian Droogan (eds.), Asian Transnational Security Challenges: Emerging Trends, Regional Visions, The Council for Asian Transnational Threat Research (CATR) and Centre for Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism (PICT), Macquarie University, 2010; "Non-Traditional Security of Bangladesh 2008: Food Security" in Sheikh Md Monirul Islam (ed.), National Security Bangladesh 2008, BIISS and The University Press Limited, 2009; "Non-Traditional Security of Bangladesh" in M. R. Osmany (ed.), Whither National Security Bangladesh 2007, BIISS and UPL, 2008.

**Dr Ashok Behuria** obtained his Ph.D. from School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1995. For his Ph.D. he worked on Ethno-communal violence as a factor in India-Pakistan relations during the 1980susing the linkage theory framework. He joined International Centre for Peace Studies (ICPS) in 1996 and worked as Assistant Director, Associate Editor of *Weekly Kashmir Trends*, Assistant Editor of *Journal of Peace Studies*. He joined IDSA in 2003 and has been working as Research Fellow on issues relating to South Asia in general and Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal in particular. He has written a number of research articles, monographs and

commentaries on various regional and international issues. He is the coordinator of South Asia Centre at IDSA.

**Dr. Sreeradha Datta** is the Director of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute for Asian Studies (MAKAIAS), Kolkata. Earlier, she was a Research Fellow at Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. Prior to joining IDSA, she was Coordinator (Research) with South Asian Centre for Strategic Studies, New Delhi (1996-99) also the Editor, South Asia Watch (1997-1999). She has been recipient of the Kodikara Fellowship (1997). She was selected for International Visitors Leadership Programme, USA (2006); She is a regular participant in Indo-Bangladesh Track II dialogues and also has been working on climate change and water security issues in South Asia. Some of her selected publications are: Caretaking Democracy: Political Process in Bangladesh 2006-08 (New Delhi: IDSA, 2009); Changing Security Dynamics in Southeast Asia (Coedited) (New Delhi: Magnum, 2008); Bangladesh: A Fragile Democracy (New Delhi: Shipra, 2004).; The Northeast Complexities and its Determinants (New Delhi: IDSA/Shipra, 2003) and Islamic Militancy in Bangladesh: The Treat from Within, in South Asia: Spectre of Terrorism (Ed.) P R Kumaraswamy, Ian Copland (New Delhi) Routledge, 2008.

**Mr. Ishtiaque Selim** is Research Fellow at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). He joined BIISS in 2006. His areas of interest are regional integration and security issues

**Dr. Anand Kumar** is an Associate Fellow at IDSA, New Delhi. After completing his PhD from School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru Univesity (JNU), he joined the IDSA in 2007. His area of specialization is Bangladesh, Maldives, Counter-terrorism, South Asian politics and low intensity conflicts. His latest article "Shaikh Hasina's Visit to India and the future of Indo-Bangladesh Relations" has been published by the Royal Society for Asia Affairs, London, in their official journal, *Asian Affairs*.

**Dr Mohammad Mahfuz Kabir** is currently a Research Fellow at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). He holds PhD in International Economics from School of Economics and Finance, Curtin University of Technology, Australia. He worked on the issues of regional cooperation, SAARC, BIMSTEC and

BIMSTEC-Japan cooperation, which have been published in journals and books from Bangladesh and abroad. Recently he worked as an expert in the background studies on "external sector performance" and "comprehensive national security" components of the Sixth Five Year Plan (2011-2015) of Bangladesh. His areas of research interest include regionalism, international trade, panel data econometrics, and partial and computable general equilibrium models.

**Dr. Medha Bisht** is an Associate Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. Ms. Bisht has a doctorate from Diplomatic and Disarmament Studies Division, Jawaharlal Nehru University. She wrote a PhD on Multi-Satekeholder Negotiations on Security and Development. Dr Bisht has been a contributory author to various reports commissioned by the United Nations, IDRC Canada and the Government of India including the Progress of Women in South Asia (2005) & (2007) published and supported by UNIFEM. Since 2007 she has been one of the contributors (India section) to the Landmine Report published by the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Canada. International Negotiations and Civil Society Participation, Multi Stakeholder Processes, Bhutan, Transnational Water Issues and Dams in South Asia, Anti-Personnel Landmines. Some of her important publications are: "Advocacy Groups and Multi-Stakeholder Negotiations: Redefining Frameworks of Diplomatic Practice," International Studies, 45.2, 2008; "India's Development Diplomacy: Re-Engaging Afghanistan," Peace and Conflict Monitor, University of Peace, May 5, 2009; "Poverty and Governance in South Asia: Issues and Concerns" in Ashok Behuria (ed.), India and its Neighbours: Towards a New Partnership, 2008; "Red Star Rising," Asian Affairs, May 2008, Brunel Academic Publishers Ltd, United Kingdom and "Sanitation And Waste Management: A Perspective of Gender and Diplomacy" in Sudarshan and Pande (ed.), Ensuring Public Accountability through Community Action, ISST, 2007.

**Dr. Shaheen Afroze** is Research Director at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). She has done her Ph.D. in International Relations from University of Glasgow, UK in 1994. Her areas of interests are: South Asian Studies, Inter-state Relations in South Asia, Foreign Policy and Security of Small States, Gender Studies. Some of her **significant publications are:** 'India-Pakistan Rivalry and the Role of Small States: A Bangladesh Perspective',

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Regional Studies, Summer 2003, (Islamabad, Pakistan); 'Bangladesh-China Relations: An Assessment', in Asian Security and China in the Period 2000-2010, (Asian Security Review, IDSA, New Delhi, India, 2003); 'Gendering Economic Development: Change or Continuity?' in P. R. Chari and Sonika Gupta edited Evolving a Theoretical Perspective on Human Security, (New Delhi, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies), 2002; "India-Pakistan Nuclear Arms Race: Response of the Non-Nuclear Weapon States of South Asia", BIISS Papers, No. 17, December 1998 and "Non-Compliance of the Small States of South Asia: A Theoretical Perspective", Theoretical Perspectives, Vol. 3., No. 1, 1996; "Nuclear Rivalry and Non-Nuclear Weapon States in South Asia: Policy Contingency Framework", BIISS Journal, Vol. 16, No.4, 1995 and "Do Small States Behave Differently from Big States? A Critique of Maurice East's Alternative Model", BIISS Journal, Vol. 14, No.1, 1993.