



A STUDY ON THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND BANGLADESH UNDER MODI GOVERNMENT

Vishwajeet Gurjar,

Research Scholar,

Department of African Studies, University of Delhi

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the changes that have taken place in the relationship between India and Bangladesh as a result of Narendra Modi's leadership between the two countries. An intricate web of political, cultural, intellectual, and economic relations exists between India and Bangladesh. These ties are entangled with one another. It is difficult to avoid the obvious fact that in today's society, a connection between two people who live in close quarters will be one of complex reliance. There are many reasons for this, and it is difficult to avoid the truth. Bangladesh and India are not only related by the fact that they share a border in South Asia, but they are also highly comparable to one another in terms of their history, culture, and economic base.

Keywords: Bangladesh, India, Modi, Bilateral Relations.

INTRODUCTION

The national interests of a nation are the primary influence on its foreign policy, which is also influenced by the geostrategic position of the nation. Because the two nations do not have a mutual understanding of the constraints that each other faces, they are skeptical of the actions and intentions of the other. There are restrictions placed on the activities that the political class can take to safeguard the nation's democratic legitimacy and the nation's interests, which makes it difficult for them to come to an agreement. In his book "Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence," published in 2015, the well-known Indian foreign policy expert C. Raja Mohan said that Prime Minister Narendra Modi had transformed India into a "Third Republic" in terms of its approach to international affairs. His primary argument was that Modi had revitalized India's foreign policy and, in the end, eradicated a great deal of the dogmas that had restricted the nation's capacity to make judgments on its foreign policy.

In India, the Ministry of External Affairs is responsible for carrying out the country's foreign policy. This responsibility falls under the leadership of External Affairs Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar. As Modi said in his speech in Nepal, India is actively involved with its neighbors and

the larger community in Southeast Asia, as well as the major international powers. This is something that India is trying to do. The speech was given by Modi in Nepal. Over the last several months, Modi's foreign policy has been centered on strengthening relations with South Asian republics that are geographically close to India.

In May of 2017, the government of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), which Narendra Modi had led for a period of three years, was able to successfully complete its time in office. There are just a few of Indian prime ministers who have made such a significant investment in being abreast of global politics, and he is one of those leading figures. During his first few months in power as Prime Minister, he traveled to a number of countries, representing both major and small nations. During his 31 globe tours that have spanned six continents, he has visited over 49 nations, including eight states twice and the United States five times. As of August 2017, he has visited all of these countries. The recently elected government of India has initiated a variety of initiatives, such as the Neighbourhood First policy and the Act East plan, with the intention of rekindling the nation's interest in the happenings of the international community. As a consequence of these measures, many people are now anticipating that India's foreign policy would go through significant transformations.

At many different levels, including geography, history, and culture, Bangladesh and India have a strong relationship with one another. Over the course of many years, the relationship between India and Bangladesh has seen both positive and negative developments. This is the case despite the fact that they are geographically, culturally, and historically fairly near to one another, and that they also share a great deal of importance with one another. The relationship between India and Bangladesh "have frequently been difficult, tense, crisis-ridden, and overshadowed by allegations and counter-accusations." That is the case. It was very important for the Bangladeshi independence struggle to have India's assistance in order for the nation to eventually be formed into Bangladesh.

Additionally, India was the first country to recognize Bangladesh's independence inside its borders before any other nation began to do so. "The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Peace" was signed between India and Bangladesh in 1972. This treaty would continue to be in existence for a period of twenty-five years. In accordance with the terms of the agreement, both countries agreed to refrain from interfering in the internal difficulties of the other. Additionally, both countries have made a commitment to guarantee that they would respect the autonomy, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of the other. There are others who believe that the period of time when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Indira Gandhi, respectively, ruled over Congress administrations in Delhi and Dhaka, was the age that represented the pinnacle of relations between India and Bangladesh. Bangladesh became India's principal recipient of official assistance during the years 1971 and 1975. Prime Minister Narendra Modi met with Prime

Minister Sheikh Hasina on his visit to Dhaka to commemorate the centenary of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's birth and the silver jubilee of the struggle of independence. On their meeting, Modi shed light on the shared history, aspirations, and problems of the two countries. During the celebrations, which included a cultural performance, an emotional celebration in Dhaka, and a visit by Mr. Modi to the Bangabandhu (Mujib) monument in his birthplace of Tungipara, India awarded the Gandhi Peace Prize to Mujib after his death rather than after his death.

The leaders of the meeting paid tribute to the individuals who laid the foundation for the country, as well as the millions of innocent people who were killed by the Pakistani military dictatorship in 1971, and the martyrs who committed their lives in the struggle for Bangladesh's freedom. A total of almost four thousand Indian soldiers tragically lost their lives while protecting Bangladesh. Over the course of her talk, she expressed her gratitude to India for its aid and, subsequently, shelter after the death of her family, which included her father Mujib. In addition to this, she brought attention to the significant part that India played in the establishment of Bangladesh. As a consequence of Mr. Modi's efforts in 2015 to conclude the long-delayed Land Boundary Agreement and his acknowledgment of Bangladesh's win in a maritime dispute that lingered for forty years after its verdict by an international court, there was an increase in trust. Both of these events contributed to the increase in trust. Through the expansion of the joint statement, six more rivers were included, as well as the debate over the distribution of Teesta water. Relations between the two countries have been tense as a result of the problem of fatalities that have occurred at the border involving Bangladeshi people.

The treaty of peace and friendship between India and Bangladesh was signed on March 19, 1972 by the governments of both countries. It is largely seen as the key pillar of relations between Bangladesh and India. That being said, the Treaty was only signed for a period of twenty-five years, notwithstanding the necessity. Because Bangladesh believed that the Treaty infringed her right to independence, it was not renewed when the time that it had been in effect had ended. Studys 5 and 6 of the Treaty primarily addressed the political, social, cultural, and security concerns of the two countries, but they also made financial commitments to strengthen the economic links that existed between them. It is anticipated that reciprocal cooperation will arise in a variety of domains, including but not limited to the following: commerce, transportation, communication, flood control, river basin development, agricultural expansion, and hydroelectricity.⁶ The traces that history leaves behind are a good way to observe the enduring impact that history has had. The long-standing beliefs and customs of the two countries have been passed down from one generation to the next of their respective populations.



Indo-Bangladesh Partnership

Since Sheikh Hasina of the Bangladesh Awami League (AL) assumed power and began taking substantial political risks in an effort to revitalize bilateral relations in 2008, India-Bangladesh relations have deteriorated as a result of New Delhi's failure to capitalize on the favorable political conditions in Bangladesh. This is especially true since Sheikh Hasina's assumption of power. Because New Delhi has allowed Bangladesh's favorable political conditions to slip through its fingers, this is the situation that has arisen. In the process of resolving remaining bilateral disputes, India has been unable to make considerable progress due to the slowness of its bureaucracy and the lack of political commitment that it has. The items that are imported from Bangladesh are subject to limitations that include both tariffs and non-tariff barriers; Bangladesh has requested that India react promptly to its request to eliminate these obstacles. Furthermore, the Teesta river, which is very important to the agricultural production in the northwest region of Bangladesh, has not yet had its transit rights or a water-sharing agreement developed to a sufficiently advanced stage. The Indian administration has shown a lack of clarity in reaction to Hasina's efforts to reach out to the public.

Due to the recent improvement in ties between India and Bangladesh, Dhaka may be regarded New Delhi's most significant strategic partner in this region. This is because of the fact that Dhaka is located in Bangladesh. The reason for this is that these ties have been reinforced, which is the basis for this trend. The long-running dispute over maritime order was ultimately ended in July 2014, when both New Delhi and Dhaka acknowledged the ruling of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. This was the conclusive moment in the war. The land boundary settlement paperwork were approved by both countries during Modi's visit to Bangladesh in June of 2015 (Kaura and Rani 19). India promised to return 51 enclaves to its own nation as part of the agreement, while Dhaka would get 111 enclaves back from India after the agreement. "Big Brother" was a show of arrogance, according to Sushma Swaraj, India's minister of international affairs at the time, who made the statement in parliament. "Elder Brother" demonstrated a caring mindset, while "Big Brother" was a sign of hubris. The long-held beliefs about India's big-brother mindset were called into question by this comment when it was made. Sheikh Hasina, the Prime Minister of India, made the announcement during her visit to Bangladesh in April of 2017. She said that a new credit line of \$4.5 billion had been established, with an extra \$500 million being reserved for the purchase of military equipment. At this time, the country of Bangladesh is functioning as the driving force behind India's effort to combat terrorism. In addition to this, it has also developed into an essential entrance point for a number of India's sub-regional initiatives, such as the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and the Bay of Bengal Regional Information Network (BBIN). Beginning in the beginning of 2016, India and Bangladesh made a key step in integrating the



BIMSTEC subregion by beginning to provide coastal shipping services to one another.

Water-sharing issues

Bangladesh is extremely dependent on India as a result of the 54 rivers that run through Indian territory. Because of the unequal allocation of river water in comparison to India, Bangladesh has voiced their dissatisfaction with the situation. There was a significant amount of animosity between the two countries as a result of India's building of the Farakka Barrage, which was a tiny dam located in the West Bengal Province with the intention of increasing the amount of water that the Hoogli River produced. A feeder canal was constructed on the Indian subcontinent at the point where the Ganges River splits. Because it diverted water from the river on the Indian side, this canal provided India with a greater degree of control over the flow of the river. The conflict was resolved in 1996 when the parties concerned reached an agreement on the distribution of water from the Ganges River that would continue for thirty years. Following the expiration date of an earlier agreement, this taking place took occurred. However, tensions between the two countries have risen once again as a result of India's announcement that it intends to connect thirty major international rivers in order to redirect water away from regions that are prone to drought. Bangladesh is concerned about the possible environmental and economic effects of the program, despite the fact that India believes that its plan to link the rivers would not be detrimental to Bangladeshi interests. Despite the fact that Indian authorities have given promises that Bangladesh would be engaged in negotiations about the possibility of joining rivers in the north, the project is now only looking at rivers in the peninsula. The fact that India is the higher riparian state makes it quite evident that it has authority over the management of water resources. Although there is already a water-sharing agreement in place for the Ganges, the most significant concern for Dhaka is the need for further agreements to be made for the other 53 rivers that are shared. The refusal of India to provide Bangladesh with water has resulted in the drying up of a number of rivers and canals, as stated by the authorities of the municipal institutions.

Beginning in the early 1970s, Bangladesh and India have been engaged in a conflict about environmentally related issues. One of the main points of disagreement between India and Bangladesh is the ownership of water rights to the rivers Teesta and Ganges. However, despite the fact that it shares 54 rivers with India, the low-lying coastal country of Bangladesh has very little control over these waterways. It is very astonishing to me that this synchronicity occurred. In the course of a considerable amount of time, India was responsible for the autonomous draining or redirection of water from international or transnational rivers. Without first receiving permission from Bangladesh, it has begun the construction of dams and the transfer of water from a number of transboundary rivers, including as the Teesta, Gumti, Khowai, Dharla, Dudkumar, and Monu, amongst others. A number of rivers that flow into Bangladesh from Tripura are said to have been severed by India, according to a rumor. A number of rivers,



including the Muhri, Fulchari, Chagalnaiya, and Kachu, are included in this compilation. In spite of the fact that the Indo-Bangladesh Joint River Commission (JRC) has been in existence since 1972, neither nation has yet reached a consensus over the redirection or obstruction of river flows. This is due to the fact that the transborder rivers are completely located inside Indian territory.

With the intention of enhancing access to the port of Calcutta and redirecting a portion of the flow during the dry season, India constructed the enormous Farakka Barrage in the year 1975. It was erected in 1975, which resulted in a considerable reduction in the amount of fresh water used by the Ganges River. Several knock-on consequences were caused as a result of this in the southwest region of Bangladesh. As well as agriculture, forestry, fishing, navigation, irrigation, groundwater depletion, river silting, coastal erosion, and sedimentation, common economic activities are among the most badly damaged. Other areas that are also significantly impacted include sedimentation and coastal erosion. There is a negative impact on each and every one of these actions. There has been a persistent level of animosity between India and Bangladesh about the allocation of water ever since Bangladesh was established. Bangladesh will face a great number of difficulties in the next decades as a result of the fact that its population is quickly growing, which will result in an increase in the amount of water that is being used. It is possible that a scarcity of water might bring about hostilities; instability and the consequences it has could have an impact on more than one state, which could lead to tensions and wars in the area. In light of the fact that the existing water sharing system in the Teesta River is unfair, it is India's duty to ensure that it is fair and level when it comes to dealing with rivers that are shared by other countries.

Challenges to Bilateral Relations

These are only a few of the many elements that make up the intricate web of links that exists between India and Bangladesh. Other dimensions include economic, geopolitical, and intellectual relations. Recently, Bangladesh has made diplomatic efforts, but these have been hampered by widespread distrust, a feeling of vulnerability, and suspicions of Indian supremacy. When it comes to concurrently functioning inside a bilateral parameter, it is a source of anxiety and stress. Bangladesh has been a strong advocate for international accords on a wide range of topics, including the lack of available water, transit services, gas export, and commercial transactions. When Bangladesh enters into a multilateral agreement with India, the smaller nation has more space to negotiate on equal footing than when it enters into a bilateral agreement. This allows Bangladesh to feel more at ease.

Since the year 2009, when Prime Minister Hasina was inaugurated, the friendship between India and Bangladesh, which has been carefully cultivated and is exceptionally robust, has grown. This



connection that we have has been around for a very long time. On account of the security link that has grown between Bangladesh and India over the course of the last several years, New Delhi has received a great deal of assistance in maintaining the safety of the states that are located in the northeastern and eastern regions of India. Additionally, the Hasina government's campaigns against anti-Indian organizations have proven to be of great assistance.

On many different levels, including geography, history, culture, society, and economics, India and Bangladesh are interwoven. These connections span several ages and civilizations, and they are a result of their long-standing relationship. The region that is now known as Bangladesh was once a part of both India and Pakistan back in the day. After that, Bangladesh engaged in a significant military conflict with Pakistan, which was supported by significant contributions from India. This conflict finally resulted in Bangladesh gaining its independence in 1971. The contribution that India played in the fight for independence in 1971 is something that Bangladesh acknowledges without any reservations. The closeness of India and Bangladesh in terms of culture, history, and geography has not always resulted in harmonious ties between the two countries (Maini, 2015). However, India has provided assistance to Bangladesh at times of crisis. In point of fact, the relationship between these two administrations has often been confrontational, antagonistic, and demanding, and it has been dominated by accusations and counter-allegations (Kashem and Islam, 2016). When a coalition government consisting of the Bangladesh Awami League (BAL) and the India National Congress (INC) is in power, the general public has the perception that relations between the two nations resume their previous level of activity. It is because of the profound and long-standing connection that exists between the BAL and the INC that this is the case. The leader of the Indian National Congress, Indira Gandhi, extended a warm welcome to Bangladesh both during and after the country's battle for independence. However, when they take government, both the Awami League (AL) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) will have foreign policies that accurately reflect the deterioration of ties between India and Bangladesh. Unfortunately, as a consequence of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party's (BNP) rise to power in Bangladesh, the linkages that exist between Dhaka and Islamabad will grow stronger than those that exist between Dhaka and Delhi. As a result, the majority of Bangladeshis, including academics and politicians, were concerned that the BJP's ideological tilt towards Hindu nationalism would hinder India and Bangladesh from building closer connections. During the time when Narendra Modi (henceforth referred to as "Modi") was ascending to power in 2014, this was the circumstance.

On the other hand, during Modi's time as India's prime minister, India-Bangladesh relations have surged forward and achieved new heights, despite the fact that they have been confronted with problems that have never been seen before. In this essay, we will discuss the recent achievements that have been made in India-Bangladesh relations under the term of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Due to the fact that the research focuses on the potential and problems that are associated

with Indo-Bangladesh relationships, policymakers may get fresh insights on how to strengthen bilateral relations in the future. This is because the administration of Modi does not have a clear strategy for Bangladesh, which is the reason for this situation.

OBJECTIVES

1. The Study Politically, the Present Situation of Relations Between the Modi Administration and Bangladesh.
2. According to the study India and Bangladesh have deep and varied ties in many areas, including the economy, culture, politics, and academia. Modern society relies on the link.

BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

Unquestionably, the Indian people and government played a significant part in assisting Bangladesh in its journey toward becoming an independent country. Because this is a reality, you cannot refute it. In a statement that was made public on March 27, 1971, the charismatic leader and prime minister of India at the time, Indira Gandhi, expressed her formal support for the resistance movement in Bangladesh. For this reason, she opened the border between India and Bangladesh and established refugee camps in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and West Bengal. The goal was to provide a safe haven for those who were escaping violence in Bangladesh while they were in Bangladesh. In spite of India's declared policy of non-alignment, this was nonetheless carried out. Additionally, the government of India was responsible for coordinating the rebel organization known as Mukti Bahini (Freedom fighter) in their purchase of weapons and training. Throughout the whole of the nine-month Bangladesh Liberation War, the government of Indira Gandhi provided the Bangladeshi revolutionaries with complete diplomatic and political backing. In order to generate support for Bangladesh, Indira Gandhi embarked on a personal journey that took her all over the world. On July 25, 2011, she was posthumously awarded the Bangladesh Freedom Honor in recognition of her contributions to the Bangladesh Liberation War, as well as her capacity to motivate her fellow warriors and successfully navigate the intricate regional struggle that included global superpowers. To quote The Hindu (2011a). This was done with the intention of formally acknowledging her contributions during the battle. Indira Gandhi is the only person in Bangladeshi history to have ever been awarded this highest state recognition by the Pakistani government. As the only recipient of this distinguished honor, which is the highest state award that is presented to non-nationals in Bangladesh, she is the only person to have won it.

INDO-BANGLADESH RELATIONS UNDER MODI'S REGIME

The position that the Modi administration takes on Bangladesh will be evaluated within the

context of the "Neighborhood First Policy" (NFP), which is a more comprehensive framework. This is because the Modi administration does not have a distinct policy on Bangladesh. As a result of the impasse that has occurred within the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), India now has a fresh opportunity to revitalize its diplomatic ties with its neighbors via the National Forum for Peace (NFP). "We will deepen regional connectivity and cooperation between Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, and Nepal," Prime Minister Modi said. "[We] will also work to strengthen regional cooperation." The organization of this structure may be described as having a natural logic to it. In the 2015 edition of *The Hindu*. In addition, Sushma Swaraj, the Minister of External Affairs of India, made the following statement: "[f]oreign policy begins on our borders, and quite appropriately, we embarked on a "Neighbourhood First" policy from the very beginning of our tenure." year 2016, according to Islam and Kashem's reports. India's leadership in Nepal's post-earthquake rescue efforts, the invitation of all neighboring countries' heads of state to attend Modi's oath-taking ceremony, and the official visits made by Modi to Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Nepal within his first year as prime minister are all indications that India is serious about the Non-Family Partnership (NFP). The ratification of the LBA with Bangladesh after decades of waiting, the acceptance of the PCA's ruling in favor of Bangladesh, and the acceptance of the PCA's ruling in favor of Bangladesh are all indications that India is serious about the Non-Family Partnership (NFP).

The nation of Bangladesh has established a reputation for itself in the sphere of technical and economic cooperation, and it is becoming an increasingly important country for South Asian regional projects like as BBIN and BIMSTEC by the day. One of the most important internal aims of the Modi administration is to better integrate and develop the provinces that are located in India's northeastern region. The possibility exists that Bangladesh might play a role in putting these concepts into action and acting as a catalyst in this particular domain. If this is the case, then the opinions and actions of Indian politicians and high-ranking officials, in addition to the National Foreign Policy (NFP), may provide some insight on the position that Bangladesh plays in Modi's foreign policy. Consider the following statement made by Sushma Swaraj, India's Minister of External Affairs, at the fourth meeting of the India-Bangladesh Joint Consultative Commission: "[I]ndia is following a policy of neighbours first, and among the neighbours, Bangladesh is foremost" (*The Hindu*, 2017c). In the course of a meeting held in New Delhi to discuss India-Bangladesh ties, the National Security Advisor of India, Ajit Doval, acknowledged Bangladesh as "India's most important neighbor" (Haidar & Habib, 2015). The following is a paraphrasing of a statement made by India's Foreign Secretary Subrahmanyam Jaishankar: "If there is one example where the neighbourhood first policy has yielded good result, it is in the case of Bangladesh." The issue of *The Hindu* from July 2017 When Narendra Modi paid a historic visit to Bangladesh on June 6, 2015, the relationship between Delhi and Dhaka hit a new milestone. This visit attained a new level of significance. It is thought that the 22 agreements that

were signed and extended will eventually produce fruit; they cover a variety of concerns, including trade, electricity, connectivity, and security. It is expected that these agreements will bear fruit in due time. The Indian Minister of State for External Affairs made an official visit to Bangladesh in August of 2014. This visit was particularly significant for the development of relations between Delhi and Dhaka's capital city. When seen from the perspective of Bangladesh, the official visit of President Abdul Hamid to India in December 2014 was a very important success in terms of the strengthening of bilateral relations between the two countries. Since Bangladesh obtained its independence, this journey to India was the first time that the ceremonial leader of Bangladesh has been to India. When Bangladesh's executive leader, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, made an official visit to India in April 2017, it marked a significant step forward in the development of relations between Bangladesh and India.

This historic visit boosted bilateral ties to an unprecedented degree, with 22 agreements between governments on energy cooperation and connectivity concerns and another 14 accords including business investment (The Hindi, 2017b). Other agreements included a total of 14 accords involving corporate investment. In addition to the aforementioned trips, the third and fourth sessions of the Joint Consultative Commission (JCC) between Bangladesh and India, which were attended by foreign ministers, played a significant part in the establishment of bilateral relationships. These meetings contributed to the development of bilateral relations. The third meeting of the Joint Commission on Cooperation (JCC), which took place in September 2014, was dedicated to the discussion and resolution of a broader variety of concerns. There were a great number of other concerns that were taken into consideration as well, including connectivity, renewable energy, development cooperation, security, and socio-cultural engagement (Government of India, September 2014). Nevertheless, at the fourth meeting of the Joint Commission on Cooperation (JCC), which took place in October 2017, both delegations brought up the concerns of connectivity as well as economic and development cooperation between the two countries. Despite the fact that Sushma Swaraj did not specify any particular difficulties, she did advise that the fourth Joint Commission on Cooperation (JCC) meeting had to address all of the challenges that are affecting the relationship between India and Bangladesh (The Hindi, 2017c). At this point, there is a need to make a statement. The fact that the LBA was approved by Mamata Banerjee, the chief minister of West Bengal, is something that should be mentioned since it was made possible by the Modi administration. It is clear from this that Modi is making an effort to strengthen the relationship between India and Bangladesh.

CONCLUSION

The visits of the prime ministers of India and Bangladesh are highly essential because they may create confidence and trust among the leadership. Although the projected historic breakthrough did not come to reality, Bangladesh is convinced that India would fulfill its vision and daring by

signing the Teesta treaty. Over the years and under successive administrations, Bangladesh's attitude on India and its approach for dealing with the country have varied. Friendliness between India and Bangladesh lasted while the Awami League was in government. When opposed to earlier administrations, this one did not regard India as an opponent of Bangladesh's sovereignty and independence. Despite maintaining amiable and cooperative military and economic connections with Pakistan and China, the BNP and other military governments maintained their distance from India. Their connections with Pakistan and China were different from this. There has been a notable difference in the quality of the sixteen meetings between India and Bangladesh as a consequence of the changes in management.

REFERENCES

1. Ganguly, S. (2017). Has Modi Truly Changed India's Foreign Policy? *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(2), 131-143.
2. Sharma, R. S., & Mehta, S. (2020). Foreign policy of India under Modi government. *International Journal of Political Science and Governance*, 2(2), 123-128.
3. Chandra, V. (2017). Modi government and changing patterns in Indian foreign policy. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 21(2), 98-117.
4. Kashem, M. A., & Islam, M. S. (2016). Narendra Modi's Bangladesh policy and India–Bangladesh relations: Challenges and possible policy responses. *India Quarterly*, 72(3), 250-267.
5. Rao, S. S. (2012). Indo–Bangladesh Relations. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, 16(3), 152-171.
6. Islam, N. (2004). Indo-Bangladesh economic relations: some thoughts. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4069-4075.
7. Pant, H. V. (2017). India and Bangladesh: A difficult partnership. In *Indian foreign policy* (pp. 94- 106). Manchester University Press.
8. Kaura, V., & Rani, M. (2020). India's neighbourhood policy during 2014–2019: political context and policy outcomes. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 66(1), 10-27.
9. Datta, S. (2008). Bangladesh's relations with China and India: A comparative study. *Strategic Analysis*, 32(5), 755-772.
10. Kumar, A. (2010). Shaikh Hasina's visit to India and the future of Indo-Bangladesh

- relations. *Asian Affairs*, 41(3), 422-435.
11. Jones, R. (2009). Geopolitical boundary narratives, the global war on terror and border fencing in India. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(3), 290-304.
 12. Kumar, A. (2010). Shaikh Hasina's visit to India and the future of Indo-Bangladesh relations. *Asian Affairs*, 41(3), 422-435.
 13. Bhattacharjee, J. (2012). India-Bangladesh relations: Finding a way forward.
 14. Ali, S. M. (2018). The Current and Future State of India–Bangladesh Relations. *Strategic Analysis*, 42(5), 529-537.
 15. Pattanaik, S. S. (2005). Internal political dynamics and Bangladesh's foreign policy towards India. *Strategic Analysis*, 29(3), 395-426.
 16. Datta, S. (2010). India and Bangladesh: The road towards common peace and prosperity.
 17. HOSSAIN, A. (2016). Future of Bangladesh-India relationship-A critical analysis. AIR WAR COLLEGE MONTGOMERY United States.
 18. Pant, H. V. (2007). India and Bangladesh: Will the twain ever meet? *Asian Survey*, 47(2), 231- 249.
 19. Islam, S. (2012). Bangladesh-India water sharing disputes: possible policy responses. *Journal of Bangladesh Studies*, 14(1), 38-49.
 20. Islam, N. (2004). Indo-Bangladesh economic relations: some thoughts. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4069-4075.
 21. Rao, S. S. (2012). Indo–Bangladesh Relations. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, 16(3), 152-171.