

CONCLUSION

Bangladesh's relationship with India and Pakistan during the regimes of Ziaur Rahman and H.M. Ershad reflected the influence of a wide variety of stimuli, ranging from unique, catalytic events, such as Mujibur Rahman's assassination, to pervasive, long-term effects, such as those deriving from colonial domination. In resolving the multiplicity of pressures which have impinged on Bangladeshi foreign policy, three perspectives were applied in the thesis: general, regional and domestic. This approach was used to counter the considerable bias in the contemporary and secondary sources and to appraise the common view that Bangladesh's foreign relations and the difficulties experienced in the course of pursuing those relationships were shaped largely by Bangladesh's inherent political and economic instability. The study of Bangladesh's most significant relationships, that is, with India and Pakistan, shows that they have a much broader and more intricate foundation than one which rests on stereotypical notions such as Bangladesh's 'inability to establish a stable regime'; its 'national chauvinism'; its 'anti-Indianism', its 'disruptive role' in South Asia's northeast, or its heavy dependency on foreign aid.¹

Many other pressures, apart from Bangladesh's domestic problems, have been identified in the thesis as playing influential roles in Bangladesh's relations with India and Pakistan. While no single ingredient can be isolated as being the main determinant for the conduct of Bangladeshi foreign relations, the evidence presented in the thesis suggests that it is possible to place the most prominent 'causal' pressures within a loose hierarchy. At the broadest level, Bangladesh's foreign policy is considered to be most influenced by pressures emanating from within the South Asian region. Such pressures have been consistently the most influential in shaping Bangladesh's foreign policy. Bangladesh's domestic realm has been placed second in the hierarchy; with the extra-regional arena considered to have had the least influence of the three. While the pressures exerted by the regional machinations of the superpowers and Bangladesh's aid donors have played a part in determining the character of

¹ K. P. Khanal, 'Impact of Domestic Conflicts on Regional Cooperation in South Asia', in B. Sen Gupta, (ed.) *Regional Cooperation and Development in South Asia*, Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1986, p. 192 and Nancy Jetly, 'India and the Domestic Turmoil in South Asia', in U. Phadnis (ed.) (et al.), *Domestic Conflicts in South Asia, vol. 1: Political Dimensions*, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 72-73.

Bangladeshi foreign policy, this study shows that their roles have been of less influence than often suggested. The ending of the Cold War, for example, has not precipitated a reduction in South Asian tension or an improvement in Bangladesh's relations with India and Pakistan.

The evidence suggests that, within the regional perspective, India's domestic and regional concerns have been most influential in the conduct of Indo-Bangladesh relations. Indo-Pakistani rivalry has been placed second in order of influence. Bangladesh's domestic political and economic instability appears to have been less influential than either of these.

The degree of political will exhibited by the Indian government has been the most consistently influential determinant shaping Indo-Bangladesh relations during the period under study. The ease with which those relations could be placed on either a cordial or sour footing, depending on the prevailing Indian government's foreign policy, shows that India's influence over the course of the relationship has been considerable, and far greater than generally acknowledged. The concessions made by the Desai and Singh governments towards Bangladesh were minor as such, but when compared with the few initiatives shown during the regimes of Indira and Rajiv Gandhi, they were exceptional. The Desai and Singh overtures were not rebuffed by Ziaur Rahman and Ershad, both of whom responded positively. A longer term of office for either the Desai or Singh governments might have had a substantial impact on the course of Indo-Bangladesh relations.

For much of the period from 1975 to 1990, however, the theme which dominates is the Indian government's general unwillingness to compromise with or to offer concessions to Bangladesh. The rivalry between India and Pakistan is woven into India's reactions to Bangladesh, taking on a similar pattern, particularly with regard to matters of political geography. Disputes over the sharing of water and over ownership of small parcels of territory, such as the Tin Bigha corridor, Muhuri Char and New Moore Island, were symptomatic of the essentially poor relationship between India and Bangladesh and fostered further ill-will between the two states. Both states added fuel to their mutual disputes, both over-reacting with aggression and suspicion. Of the two states, India was in a far better position to compromise. Bangladesh did not represent a military threat and had much more to lose than India. The disputes should have been quickly resolvable through diplomatic channels. Instead, the conduct of the issues was characterised by belligerence and insensitivity on India's part,

and oversensitivity and suspicion on the part of Bangladesh. The Indian government, particularly under Indira Gandhi, had great difficulty in differentiating between disputes with Bangladesh and those with rivals, Pakistan and China. A Bangladesh government which wasn't obviously pro-Indian, as it was under Mujibur Rahman, was automatically dubbed by India, Cold War-style, as being pro-Pakistan.

The possibility that India might soften its stance towards Bangladesh with the strengthening global mood of *Perestroika*, the easing of Cold War tensions and the movement towards South Asian regional co-operation did not eventuate. India's increasing domestic instability and continually tense relations with Pakistan ensured that defensiveness and distrust remained characteristic of Indo-Bangladesh relations. The United States was more inclined to leave the region in India's hands, rather than give disproportionate military assistance to Pakistan, but tensions did not ease automatically. Declining superpower interest also meant that the smaller states, such as Bangladesh, faced a much more difficult task in arousing international attention and support for their grievances, knowing that outside assistance or intervention was unlikely to be forthcoming. India had considerable leeway during this later period to act as it saw fit in the region, representing, according to M.A. Carranza, 'a golden opportunity for India to mend fences with its smaller neighbours'.² India's need for military predominance in South Asia was no longer driven by Cold War imperatives, but the opportunity to improve relations with its South Asian neighbours was not acted upon. India's increasing domestic insecurity and instability, and its tense relations with Sri Lanka as well as Pakistan, meant that there was little chance or incentive to improve relations with Bangladesh.

Indo-Pakistani rivalry, reinforced by the ongoing territorial dispute over Kashmir, has been a feature endemic to the South Asian region since Partition, pervading all South Asian interstate relationships. India's treatment of Bangladesh has been coloured by this rivalry, but not to the same extent that it has influenced Bangladesh's relations with Pakistan, instilling relations between the latter parties with comparative warmth and stability. Indo-Pakistani rivalry has therefore been considered as the most influential category of pressures to affect Bangladesh-Pakistan relations. While comparatively cordial, Bangladesh's relations with Pakistan were based on shared insecurities, rather

² M.E. Carranza, 'Rethinking Indo-Pakistani Nuclear Relations', *Asian Survey*, vol. 36, no. 6, June 1996, pp. 562-3.

than on more positive aspects, with the result that those relations did not mature noticeably.

The domestic preoccupations of the Pakistan and Bangladesh governments have also been of considerable influence on relations, but domestic irritants have not been sufficient to sour relations irreparably. Pakistan's domestic problems have been somewhat more influential in impeding relations than have those of Bangladesh. The lack of progress in relations in the late 1980s represented a prime example of how Pakistan's domestic difficulties could impinge on the relationship. Benazir Bhutto's fledgling regime, beset by the tasks of quelling ethnic violence and holding on to power, had little hesitation in sacrificing improved relations with Bangladesh in the interests of domestic political necessity. The Bangladesh government's embryonic, somewhat naive, efforts to pursue a mediatory role in South Asia and to take a generally more independent stance were looked upon by Pakistan with suspicion rather than respect. The Bangladesh leadership also failed to explore fresh diplomatic avenues, tending instead to harp almost reflexively on time-worn disputes between the two states.

Personalities, rather than compatible regimes, also played an integral role in the course of Bangladesh-Pakistan relations. Forceful individuals such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Ziaur Rahman held considerable personal sway over foreign policy. The effects of Bhutto's response to Mujib's assassination represented a typical example. At the same time, the abrupt removal of such influential individuals from positions of power did not negate the stabilising and unifying effects of a mutual fear of Indian regional dominance.

Because of its preeminent position in the region, a large portion of the responsibility for improving South Asian interstate relations rests on India's shoulders. Each of the three states under study has faced considerable, and increasing, political, economic, civil and communal strife, but India has always been in the strongest position of the three to deal with domestic difficulties. India's successive governments have been plagued by problems such as political mismanagement, corruption, the dominance of personalities, over-centralisation and communal and ethnic violence, but so have those of Pakistan and Bangladesh, often to a much greater degree. India's political institutions and democratic structure have also shown extreme resilience, whereas for Bangladesh and Pakistan, the struggle to establish and maintain viable,

democratic forms of government has been much greater.³ Bangladesh and Pakistan are both more vulnerable to external political manipulation than India. If there is to be an improvement in Bangladesh's relations with India, and in South Asian international relations generally, then India is most able to initiate necessary changes. Unfortunately, according to Judith Brown, the Indian government has been typified by a 'limited capacity to engineer change', and is becoming more subject to the pressure of powerful, self-serving political groups.⁴ Brown does believe, nonetheless, that the process of political decay in India is 'neither inevitable nor irreversible', subject to the actions of politicians with vision and integrity.⁵

The argument that India is simply interested in preserving regional peace and finds difficulty in doing so because of its politically unstable, militarily-dominated and over-sensitive neighbours, has been shown in this study to be inadequate. India has played on the instability of its neighbours in furthering its political aims. So too have the smaller states played on India's regional dominance to attract international and domestic support, although in a less subtle manner, making it easier for India to lay blame on the other states for the lack of regional co-operation.

Less obvious obstructions, such as India's resistance to multilateral negotiation and its preoccupation with preserving the regional *status quo*, are more difficult to pinpoint. Each of the South Asian states, including India, has overplayed regional and domestic tensions. A 'no-war, no-peace' position in South Asia has allowed the smaller states to internationalise issues, obtain military assistance and justify martial law.⁶ It has also been used by India to deny concessions and to take a tough stance with the other states.

India's recalcitrance in offering concessions has been exemplified by its reluctance to accept Pakistan's proposals for nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia, while at the same time, supporting the elimination of nuclear weapons at the global level.⁷ Improved relations with China in the 1990s and the ending of the Cold War have not been sufficient incentives for India to initiate military

3 Despite the post-Ershad upheavals in Bangladesh, a democratic structure is becoming established in Bangladesh and has survived the challenges to date.

4 J.M. Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy*, (second ed.), Oxford, 1994, pp. 396-7.

5 *ibid.*, p. 397.

6 S.P. Cohen, 'India, South Asia, and the Superpowers: War and Society', in P. Wallace (ed.), *Region and Nation in India*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 241.

7 M.E. Carranza, *op. cit.*, p. 565.

restraint and regional arms control, and to date, India continues to acquire sophisticated weaponry aimed at keeping Pakistan and China in check.⁸ A compromise on the nuclear front would enhance India's international prestige and ease regional tensions, without necessarily arousing a domestic outcry, as would occur with attempts to back down on the major bone of contention in the region: the dispute over Kashmir. Unless India begins to show a greater willingness to compromise and accommodate the concerns of the smaller states, it is unlikely that significant improvements in South Asian co-operation will occur.

While India is in a better political and economic position to initiate improvements in South Asian interstate relations, Bangladesh does have considerable potential to develop a mediatory role in South Asia. Bangladesh has already demonstrated its maturity in the international arena, as exemplified by its election in 1978 to a two-year term on the United Nations Security Council; its initiative in proposing and helping to establish the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation; its hosting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference in 1983, and the Bangladesh foreign minister's election as President of the 41st Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1986. Bangladesh is also in a position to distance itself somewhat from the rivalry and antagonism which pervade the Indo-Pakistan relationship and which have been so influential in the course of South Asian interstate relations as a whole.

Because the regional realm is considered to have had the greatest impact on Bangladesh's foreign relations, then it seems logical that any improvements in those relations, particularly with India, will take place within the regional context. Neither bilateral nor extra-regional negotiations and fora have proved effective in solving South Asian problems. Improving economic links within South Asia has often been put forward as an informal, indirect means by which a confidence-building process might begin to take shape in South Asia. The launching of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) represented the first step in using a regional approach to ease South Asian disharmony. The continued existence of the forum is a feat not to be underestimated, whether or not significant achievements have been

⁸ In March 1997 India acquired forty long-range, multi-role Sukhoi-30MK (Su-30) jet aircraft from Russia for approximately US\$1.8 billion. These aircraft were purchased to 'counter the potential threat posed by F-16 and Mirage 2000 fighters in service with Pakistan.' The Su-30s were also more sophisticated than the batch of seventy Su-27s recently purchased by China, allowing India to play 'an enhanced role across South, South-East and East Asian countries, principally to counter Chinese ambitions.' *The Australian* (Canberra), 17 March 1997.

forthcoming as yet. It is unlikely that improved economic relations, one of the main aims of SAARC, will generate political co-operation and change in the region. Economic reform is more predicated by political will than *vice versa*, as expressed by Kishore Dash:

...[I]f regional economic cooperation is left to market forces alone, it would take decades. Therefore, conscious efforts at the political level and demonstration of political will by the South Asian leaders are absolutely necessary for the growth of regional economic cooperation in South Asia.⁹

It may be that SAARC's specifically regional focus is a vital ingredient necessary before long-term improvements in relations between each of the South Asian states can occur. The evolution of SAARC offers considerable scope for on-going study. Despite its timorous beginnings, the Association may, in time, become a much more effective body. Perhaps a predominantly environmental, rather than economic, focus might be more effective, especially as the natural incentives for improved regional trade are minimal. If SAARC was able to implement effective measures in tackling the region's escalating environmental difficulties, such as those caused by overpopulation, natural hazards, scarcity of resources, and environmental degradation, it would have marked beneficial consequences for interstate relations, in particular, between Bangladesh and India, many of their disputes having an environmental, as well as political, dimension.

Since the mooting of SAARC, Bangladesh has begun to take a more active role in South Asian interstate negotiations and mediation. While Bangladesh's mediatory efforts have been regarded somewhat askance by India and Pakistan, the prospects for Bangladesh to become more effective, at least within the realm of negotiation, appear to be positive. With its strong political and cultural links with both India and Pakistan, Bangladesh is in an ideal position to contribute meaningfully to discussions aimed at easing the main source of tension in the region: the rivalry between India and Pakistan. Bangladesh's effectiveness in the regional sphere will improve particularly if its relationship with India stabilises and strengthens. There are some signs that Indo-Bangladesh relations are finding a firmer footing, particularly with the signing of a thirty-year treaty on the sharing of the Ganges water in December 1996.¹⁰ The

⁹ K.C. Dash, 'The Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in South Asia', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 2, 1996, p. 207.

¹⁰ The treaty is, nevertheless, controversial, with Opposition parties in both India and Bangladesh raising strong criticisms. Ishtiaq Hossain, *Bangladesh-India Ganges Water Sharing Treaty: Problems and Prospects*, Paper Delivered at the 'Bangladesh:

continued survival of Bangladesh's parliamentary democracy, despite the political upheavals of 1996, also bodes well for Bangladesh's future stability. If Bangladesh can set the laudable regional example of maintaining a stable political structure and cordial relations with both India and Pakistan, then its potential to devise well-aimed initiatives for regional reconciliation which are, in turn, taken seriously, will be greatly enhanced.

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