

INDO-BANGLADESH BILATERAL RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF DISPUTE OVER SHARING OF RIVER WATER

Siddhartha Naskar

Research Scholar

Department of International Relations

Jadavpur University

Email- naskarsiddhartha5@gmail.com

Abstract: Distribution of water among nations has become a problem which confront every nation. Among these problems the factors which lead to this dispute relate to climatic change, basin diversions, riparian structure, riparian organization change of ruling regime etc. All these factors are important to study Ganges water dispute which arose since the period of India-Pakistan independence. In fact, about 200 rivers flow through India culminating their flow through East Pakistan later on Bangladesh. In this paper, I have tried to highlight the genesis of this problem since 1950 and undertaken in-depth analysis in a phase wise manner so that the dispute of Gangeswater distribution can be analyzed from the true points of view. Teesta, a river ,originated from Sikkim has become a stumbling block in the relation between India and Bangladesh. In this theoretical paper, the key point being the interest of both the countries are required to be fulfilled. Hence, I have suggested possible solution to the water sharing problem of Teesta river.

Keywords: Ganges water treaty,Indo-Bangladesh water dispute,climatic change,riparian structure, riparian organization, joint river commission, sharing of Ganges water,spatial distribution of population, water resources, upstream, downstream.

Distribution of water among nations is a problem which afflicts each nation. From International perspective, it can be said that since water is very much important for survival of human life, every nation is increasingly concerned with this problem. From this point of view India and Pakistan, the two neighbouring countries are at the loggerheads with each other over sharing of water particularly Ganges water.

A study of different papers on this issue reveals that there are many drivers of International water conflict. Among them sovereignty of each state is to be taken into account. Every nation is very much concerned with its national sovereignty and by no means the concerned state usually compromise with its sovereign right and tries to protect its interest in the river basin areas.¹

International river basin occupies very pertinent position and must be taken into account the determinant of the level of development of the country. That is to say, the level of economic development and technological capabilities of the basin state are to be taken into account.

Water scarcity is also a pertinent issue in the sphere of resource which usually determines the capabilities of basin state. In fact, it can be safely said that a scarcity of water arise when demand or need of water exceeds the real supply.²

Another factor which, I think, is of paramount important is climatic availability of water of real terms. It is well known that for the arid region, the issue of water sharing especially in dry season leads to conflict.

¹ Rakesh Tiwari, "Conflicts over International Waters", Economic and Political weekly, Vol-41, No-17, April 29-May5, 2006, p-1685.

² Ibid.

Another determinant which governs water dispute relates to depletion of a source (like an aquifer) because of basin diversion of sharing of water, redirection or other uses for another places, consumption, spatial distribution of population and water resources. I would like to highlight other important factors which usually lead to international water conflict. Among them the most important is riparian structure³ and riparian organization. Here I would like to state that riparian structure refers to international river basin which is linked with to all the riparian states. These riparian states might have a complex network of environmental, economic, political and securities interdependency. In this process it creates the potentials for inter-state conflicts as well as the opportunities of co-operation.

Riparian Organisation: Actions and Options⁴

	Upstream	Downstream
Comparative Stronger Nation	Proactive operational action, emphasis on bilateralism, semblances of regional action, strongly resist outside intervention, against\abstain 1997 UN Convention	Attach strategic \securityimportance to water supply, suppresses upstream diversion schemes, military threats or action, offer imbalanced reciprocity,discourage upstream alliances
Comparatively Weaker Nation	Demand imbalanced reciprocity, delay as a tool to bargain, non-cooperation for UN 1997 Convention	Internationalization, campaign for outside intervention, look for riparian alliances to pressurize, non- cooperation in other critical sectors, for UN 1997 Convention.

Another factor which can be highlighted in the context i.e, riparian organization(Nation state formation process, Ruling regimes, Water security etc), to be taken as continual inputs in the sphere of dynamism of international water conflicts. Here, it would be relevant to refer Rakesh Tiwari's paper "Conflict over International waters" who explained the function of these concepts in different river basin. I can discuss this issue as envisaged in the following way.

Ganges water dispute began in 1951when the present Bangladesh formed the eastern part of Pakistan. Now India faced the problem of water crisis and decided to construct a barrage at Farakka in West Bengal. According to B.M Abbas, an eminent Bangladesh water resources expert(later he became a

³ Riparian structure refers to how the political units are arranged in the geographical space, or the comparative location of political units in the given river basin are. It explains the spatio-temporal aspects of water availability in the basin. It is a static concept which allots almost permanent privileges and disabilities as far as access, utilization and management of water resources are concerned. For more information see Ramaswamy R Iyre, "Conflict-Resolution: Three River Treaties", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 24 (Jun. 12-18, 1999), p-1516.

⁴ Rakesh Tiwari ,op.cit, p-1686.

minister of flood control, irrigation and power in 1978), “the real purpose of the barrage is to control the river for supplying Ganges water to the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.”⁵

India got freedom in 1947. Its leaders decided to solve the water dispute in order to implement various programmes like hydroelectricity generation, industrial uses, navigation, waterway transportation, agriculture and irrigation, ground water decline, river linking project, flood control and riverbank erosion, increase water salinity etc. Moreover, it thought that the solution of water dispute is required for its environmental and maritime securities. Ganga was seen as a national river and hence the problem became a national problem. In order to overcome water scarcity the then Indian government decided in 1951 to construct a barrage at Farakka of Murshidabad district in West Bengal to control the flow of Ganges river. The Barrage was built to divert the Ganges River water into the Hoogly River during the dry season, from January to June, to flush out the accumulating silt and to increase navigability of Hoogly river for Kolkata port. Construction of Farakka dam actually began in 1964. The project was designed to convey a maximum of 40,000 Cusecs from the flow of Ganges into the Bhagirathi River which later becomes the Hoogly river and consisted of a 2,245 meters long barrage across the main channel of the Ganges and a feeder canal 38 K.M long, 150 meters wide, and 6 meters deep.⁶ When India started the project, Pakistan vehemently objected. Hence, the issue turned into a conflict which soured the relationship between the two antagonistic neighbouring countries. Eventually the construction delayed. Now, I would like to explain the Ganges Water dispute between India and Pakistan into the phases like (phase-I): 1950-1971, (phase-II): 1971-1996: creation of Bangladesh to the signing the Ganges water treaty, change riparian organization and riparian structure, (phase-III): the latest position.

Phase-I: (1950-1971) the dispute over Ganga river in phase-I period can be described as fruitless effort because India could not be able to build either Farakka barrage or make any amicable settlement with Pakistan over the dispute. Hence, the period is marked by a general state of hostility between India and Pakistan.

Phase-II: (1971-1996): During the period Ganges water dispute took a new dimension. Indo-Pak war ended in 1965, the Bangladesh was made in 1971 which changed the riparian organization at different point of time. Now, for convenient of my discussion on this issue this phase of Ganga water dispute can be categorized in different sub phases.

Ganga water dispute during 1971-1976

The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation state created a new dimension of political relationship in the South Asian region. The foremost of this was the changing scenario of riparian structure and riparian organization of Ganga-Brahmaputra river basin. Following this, the government of India and Bangladesh tried to look towards this issue in the new perspective of bilateral relations. Since India helped in the creation of Bangladesh by supplying military and humanitarian assistance, the Bangladesh Government under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, tried to solve this problem with Indian Government, led by former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. When Mrs. Gandhi visited Bangladesh, signed a “Treaty of friendship, co-operation and peace”⁷ on March, 1972 where Article VI clearly stated

⁵ B.M Abbas, “The Ganga River dispute”, University Press, Dhaka, 1982.

⁶ Surya P. Subedi, “Hydro-Diplomacy in South Asia: The Conclusion of Mahakali and Ganges River Treaties”, The American Journal of International Law, Vol-93, No-4, October-1999, p-958.

⁷ ‘Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Treaty’ was a treaty that was signed on 19 March 1972. It was also known as Indira-Mujib treaty. The twelve Article incorporated in the treaty. Some of the Article are –the present treaty is signed for a term of 25 years, and shall be renewed by mutual agreement (Article-xi). Any differences interpreting any Article of the treaty shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in spirit of mutual respect and understanding. (Article-xii). Both the parties shall promote relations in the fields of arts, literature, education, culture, sports and health. . (Article-vii). The contrasting parties

that “the contracting parties agree to make a joint studies and take point action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.”The two charismatic leaders also formulated a comprehensive plan and both of them agreed to form a joint river commission (JRC)on a permanent basisin 1972. The members of this joint river commission were taken from both the countries. The commission made a plan to make a comprehensive survey over the Ganges water resources and how the water could be distributed between the two nations with an eye to the interest of both the nations. In 1974, at the ministerial level meeting with Bangladesh, India agreed to a mutually accepted solution before the Farakka Barrage began operation. They agreed to solve this problem on the basis of joint declaration, the content of the declaration are as follows-

1. There was a need to increase the volume of Ganga water during the minimum flow period to meet the full need of both Bangladesh and India.
2. The augmentation of water would be done through optimum utilization of water resources available to both the countries

Now, the two sides decided to empower the river commission constituted by India and Bangladesh to find out a solution regarding the augmentation of water. Divergent of views were put forward for augmentation.

Bangladesh made a proposal to the effect that augmentation would be done by storage facilities in the upper Ganga river basin. The reservoir in India and Nepal would store monsoon water to be released during the dry season and it would significantly augment the flow but this proposal of Bangladesh was rejected by India.⁸ On the other hand, India proposed an alternative proposal of augmentation of Ganga water flow by constructing Brahmaputra - Ganga link canal to divert the water from Brahmaputra to Ganga (Padma-Meghna river basin in Bangladesh)). But, this suggestion was unacceptable to Bangladesh on the ground that the link canal excavation will cause loss of fertile land and consequent displacement of population in Bangladesh.⁹

Hence, the phase of settlement of Ganga water dispute was however stalled. By the 1974 when the Farakka barrage was in a state of near completion, the issue began to surface in Bangladesh domestic politics. The opponent of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the prime minister of Bangladesh, accused him of surrendering in the country's interest to India as a pay off for India's support to him and his ruling party Awami League. Anti-Indian sentiment were on the rise and Farakka barrage issue served as catalyst.

Under this circumstances,on April 18, 1975 an interim agreement for 41 days, for the period 21 April to 31 May, was signed between the two countries in Dhaka. In this agreement the two countries agreed to cover the flow of Ganga during the lean period from 21 April to 31 May in which the major portion was given to Bangladesh. The two countries decided to run the feeder canal and it was also decided India would withdraw its share in the following manner. India would be allowed to divert 11,000 Cusecs of flow into the feeder canal in April and 16,000Cusecs in May 1975.¹⁰

condemn colonialism and racialism of all forms,and reaffirm their determination to strive for their final and complete elimination. (Article-ii).

⁸ Asim Mukhopadhyay, “River of Contention”, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-15, No-17, April-26, 1980, pp-767.

⁹ Ramaswamy R Iyre, “The Fallacy of Augmentation: Demands on Ganga Waters.”, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-34, No-33, August-14-20, 1999, p-2296.

¹⁰ Surya P. Subedi, op.cit, p-958.

But the dispute remained. The issue came up when the government of Bangladesh was changed and the relations with India started to deteriorate. The Farakka Barrage issue was highly publicized by the then government of Bangladesh through the government controlled media. In May, 1976, Bangladesh raised the Farakka barrage issue at the Istanbul Islamic foreign ministers' conference. In its joint communiqué it expressed deep concern over the problem of equitable distribution of international river Ganga. It also highlighted that since India was not giving water as required by Bangladesh, its economy began to fall, food scarcity was very high and the process of National construction in Bangladesh was in jeopardy. Bangladesh also raised this issue at the Non Allied Movement (NAM) summit at Colombo in August, 1976. But, it did not yield any result. Later on, Bangladesh decided to raise this issue in the United Nations Organization (UNO) at its 31st General Assembly Session with the help of some countries like Sri Lanka, Syria, Egypt, Algeria, etc. India and Bangladesh representatives agreed to meet together to sort out the problem and accordingly reported it to the UNO General Assembly session in 1977.

Attempts of solutions from 1977-1988:

During this period both India and Bangladesh agreed to test a trial run of Farakka Barrage for 41 days under temporary basis but the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on August 15, 1975 created a lot of problem. After the assassination, India was reluctant to negotiate this issue with Bangladesh military regime led by General Ziaur Rahman. In 1977 the Janata Party under the leadership of Morarji Desai came to power in India. Then Indian stand towards Bangladesh regarding the Farakka Barrage became cordial. Consequently, a five year agreement with Bangladesh was signed between the then agricultural and irrigation minister of India Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala and Rear Admiral Musharraf Hussain Khan, Chief of Naval Staff and Member, President's Council of Advisors in charge of the ministry of communications, Flood Control, Water Resources and Power of Bangladesh. The term and condition of this agreement¹¹ are given below-for appraisal at Farakka water issue between the two countries.

BANGLADESH-INDIA: AGREEMENT ON SHARING OF THE GANGES WATERS^{12*}

[Done at Dacca, November 5, 1977]

Government of Bangladesh Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(External Publicity Division) Dacca.

NO-14(I)76-EP. IV November 5, 1977

Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Government the Republic of India on sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka and on augmenting its flows.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

DETERMINED to promote and strengthen their relations of friendship and good neighbourliness,

INSPIRED by the common desire of promoting the well-being of their peoples,

BEING desirous of sharing by mutual agreement the waters of the international rivers flowing through the territories of the two countries and of making the optimum utilization of the water resources of their region by joint efforts,

RECOGNISING that the need of making an interim arrangement for sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka in a spirit of mutual accommodation and the need for a solution of the long term problem of augmenting the flows of the Ganges are in the mutual interests of the peoples of the two countries.

¹¹ "Bangladesh- India: agreement on sharing of the Ganges' waters", international legal materials, vol-17, No-1, January 1978, pp-103-106.

¹² <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201066/volume-1066-I-16210-English.pdf>, accessed on 12.08.2020

BEING desirous of finding a fair solution of the question before them, without the rights and entitlements of either country other than those covered by this Agreement, establishing any general principles of law or precedent,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

A. Arrangements for sharing of the waters of the Ganges at Farakka.

ARTICLE I

The quantum of waters agreed to be released by India to Bangladesh will be at Farakka.

ARTICLE II

(i) The sharing between Bangladesh and India of the Ganges waters at Farakka from the 1st January to the 31st May every year will be with reference to the quantum shown in column 2 of the Schedule annexed hereto which is based on 75 percent availability calculated from the recorded flows of the Ganges at Farakka from 1948 to 1973.

(ii) India shall release to Bangladesh waters by 10-day periods in quantum shown in column 4 of the Schedule:

Provided that if the actual availability at Farakka of the Ganges waters during day period is higher or lower than the quantum shown in column 2 of the Schedule it shall be shared in the proportion applicable to that period;

Provided further that if during a particular 10-day period, the Ganges flows at Farakka come down to such a level that the share of Bangladesh is lower than 80 percent value shown in column 4, the release of waters to Bangladesh during that 10-day period not fall below 80 percent of the value shown in column 4.

ARTICLE III

The waters released to Bangladesh at Farakka under Article I shall not be reduced at Farakka except for reasonable uses of waters, not exceeding 200 cusecs, by India between and the point on the Ganges where both its banks are in Bangladesh.

ARTICLE IV

A Committee consisting of the representatives nominated by the two Governments (hereinafter called the Joint Committee) shall be constituted. The Joint Committee shall set up suitable teams at Farakka and Hardinge Bridge to observe and record at Farakka the daily flows below Farakka Barrage and in the Feeder Canal, as well as at Hardinge Bridge.

ARTICLE V

The Joint Committee shall decide its own procedure and method of functioning.

ARTICLE VI

The Joint Committee shall submit to the two Governments all data collected by it and shall also submit a yearly report to both the Governments.

ARTICLE VII

The Joint Committee shall be responsible for implementing the arrangements contained in this part of the Agreement and examining any difficulty arising out of the implementation of the above arrangements and of the operation of Farakka Barrage. Any difference or dispute arising in this regard, if not resolved by the Joint Committee, shall be referred to a panel of an equal number of Bangladeshi and Indian experts nominated by the two Governments. If the difference or dispute still remains unresolved, it shall be referred to the two Governments which shall meet urgently at the appropriate level to resolve it by mutual discussion and failing that by such other arrangements as they may mutually agree upon.

B. Long-Term Arrangements

ARTICLE VIII

The two Governments recognize the need to cooperate with each other in finding a solution to the long-term problem of augmenting the flows of the Ganges during the dry season.

ARTICLE IX

The Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission established by the two Governments in 1972 shall carry out investigation and study of schemes relating to the augmentation of the dry season flows of the Ganges,

proposed or to be proposed by either Government with a view to finding a solution which is economical and feasible. It shall submit its recommendations to the two Governments within a period of three years.

ARTICLE X

The two Governments shall consider and agree upon a scheme or schemes, taking into account the recommendations of the Joint Rivers Commission, and take necessary measures to implement or them as speedily as possible.

ARTICLE XI

Any difficulty, difference or dispute arising from or with regard to this part of the Agreement, if not resolved by the Joint Rivers Commission, shall be referred to the two Governments which shall meet urgently at the appropriate level to resolve it by mutual discussion.

C. Review and Duration

ARTICLE XII

The provisions of this Agreement will be implemented by both parties in good faith. During the period for which the Agreement continues to be in force in accordance with Article XV of the Agreement, the quantum of waters agreed to be released to Bangladesh at Farakka in accordance with this Agreement shall not be reduced.

ARTICLE XIII

The Agreement will be reviewed by the two Governments at the expiry of three years from the date of coming into force of this Agreement. Further reviews shall take place six months before the expiry of this Agreement or as may be agreed upon between the two Governments.

ARTICLE XIV

The review or reviews referred to in Article XIII shall entail consideration of the working impact, implementation and progress of the arrangements contained in parts A and B of this Agreement.

ARTICLE XV

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature and shall remain in force for a period of 5 years from the date of its coming into force. It may be extended further for a specified period by mutual agreement in the light of the review or reviews referred to in Article XIII.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by the respective governments, have signed this Agreement.

Done in duplicate at Dacca on the 5th November, 1977 in the Bengali, Hindi and languages. In the event of any conflict between the texts, the English text shall prevail.

Rear Admiral Musharraf Husain Khan

Surjit Singh Barnala

Chief of Naval Staff and

Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation,

Member, President's Council of Advisers

Government of the Republic of India.

in-charge of the Ministry of Communications,

Flood Control, Water Resources and Power,

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

SCHEDULE

[Vide Article II (i)1

Sharing of waters at Farakka between the 1st January and the 31st May every year.

Period	Flows reaching Farraka (based on 75% availability from observed data (1948-73)).	Withdrawal by India at Farraka	Release to Bangladesh

		Cusecs	Cusecs	Cusecs
January	1-10	98,500	40,000	58,500
	11-20	89,750	38,500	51,250
	21-31	82,500	35,000	47,500
February	1-10	79,250	33,000	46,250
	11-20	74,000	31,500	42,500
	21-28/29	70,000	30,750	39,250
March	1-10	65,250	26,750	38,5000
	11-20	63,500	25,500	38,000
	21-30	61,000	25,000	36,000
April	1-10	59,000	24,000	35,000
	11-20	55,500	20,750	34,750
	21-30	55,000	20,500	34,500
May	1-10	56,500	21,500	35,000
	11-20	59,250	24.000	35,250
	21-31	65,500	26,750	38,750

The above Ganges Water treaty was under stress and strain from both the countries. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on returning to power in January, 1980, by and large, brought back the indo-Bangladesh Ganges water treaty to an antagonistic level because anti-Indian propaganda was then at the peak in Bangladesh. As a result, she refused to continue the 1977 Farakka pact and excluded Nepal from participating any measure to augment Ganga water treaty in longest time frame.

In Bangladesh, a crisis situation was seen when Ziaur Rahman was assassinated in Chittagong in 1981. The most anti-Indian chauvinistic leader Ziaur Rahman compelled Mrs. Indira Gandhi to go away from Indian traditional doctrine of bilateralism and as a result the issue of Farakka became complicated. However, From the Indian side, various commentators on India's stand on bilateralism argued that to refrain from superpower intervention in this matter, this regional issue may be negotiated by means of its inclusion in the SAARC.

The 1977 agreement regarding distribution of water between India and Bangladesh did not last long. After the completion of five year it expired in November 1982. As a result, both the country felt it necessary to make a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) regarding Ganges water distribution and the MOU signed on October 7, 1982 by foreign minister of Bangladesh and India, A.R.S Doha and P.V.Narashima Roy respectively for two years during president Ershed's visit to India. But after that, three MOUs were signed in 1983, 1984 and 1985 respectively. The 1985 MOU was valid for three years. The MOU did not mention the clause relating to the sharing of water and as visualized in 1977 agreement regarding the feasibility of distribution of water was however followed. Now, the Bangladesh government made a new proposal that India should construct a storage dam in the Indo-Nepal border region while India wanted that a canal be constructed across Bangladesh linking the Brahmaputra river basin into Ganges, but, unfortunately, the two proposals did not materialize.

The Government of India then thought it worthwhile to make temporary agreement. With this end in mind the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and the president Hossam Mohamad Ershad of Bangladesh met in 1986, but, their proposals were rejected by Nepal who did not support the two government's scheme for building a storage reservoir in Nepal. The MOU of 1985 accordingly lapsed and there was no agreement or MoU between the two countries for several years on many account particularly for political unrest.

It reveals from the study of the paper on "Indo Bangladesh Treaty on Farakka Barage and International Law Application" that the 1977 agreement where 34000-55000 cusec of water, a generous distribution of water to Bangladesh did not materialize for a long time. Bangladesh faced a havoc flood in 1987-1988. As a result, the attention of the two Government now shifted from water sharing to flood control. A task force was created as a result of the summit between the two heads of states and they were able to provide short term measure. It appears from this that, no serious effort was made to enter into a permanent settlement for distribution of water between the two countries.¹³

The Awami League party under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina Wajed came to power in Bangladesh on 23rd June 1996. As a result, a major shift in Indo Bangladesh relations was seen. When Sheikh Hasina Wajed assumed power then a renewed demand for water raised in Bangladesh. It stated that Bangladesh government should revert back to the 1977 agreement but the problem arose which came from West Bengal government's stand which demanded 40000 cusec water from Farakka Barage to maintain navigability of Calcutta port.¹⁴ A series of talks was held in Dhaka and New Delhi but the dispute regarding the quantum of water to be released to Bangladesh and India remained unsolved. In this way, the dispute went till September 1996 and the political will to solve the problem was lacking from both the countries.

Under the Government of Sheikh Hasina Wajed the bilateral water relations of the two countries turn into a new phase. As a sequel to this development, the sharing of Ganga water was taken favourably by both the countries and the terms of the treaty were beneficial to both of them. As a result, both the countries got water for a long time which helped Bangladesh in making water resources planning and management. Water sharing provision has been delinked from augmentation. Hence, Bangladesh got enough water from Farakka and the sharing of water was on the proportion of 50:50 instead of 62.7:37.3 as provided in 1977 agreement.¹⁵ In the treaty it was mentioned that 35000 cusec of water was to be diverted to Farakka resulting in protecting of Calcutta port which was not possible in 1977 agreement. India gained much in this 1996 Ganges water treaty because it could undertake project for upstream utilization but India should not unilaterally reduce the total flows regarding Farakka.

"1996 GANGES WATER TREATY"¹⁶

TREATY BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH ON SHARING OF THE GANGA / GANGES WATERS AT FARAKKA.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH,
DETERMINED to promote and strengthen their relations of friendship and good neighborliness,

¹³ Shaista Tabassum, "Indo Bangladesh Treaty on Farakka Barage and International Law Application" Pakistan Horizon, Vol 56, No 3, July 2003, pp 55-56.

¹⁴ Kazi Montu, "Farakka Dispute", Economic and Political weekly, Vol-15, No-27, July-5, 1980, p-1132.

¹⁵ Rakesh Tiwari, op.cit, p-1690.

¹⁶ WWW.Jstore.com, "1996 Ganges Water Treaty", Government of the people's republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1996

INSPIRED by the common desire of promoting the well-being of their peoples,
BEING desirous of sharing by mutual agreement the waters of the international rivers flowing through the territories of the two countries and of making the optimum utilization of the waterresources of their region in the fields of flood management, irrigation, river basin development and generation of hydro-power for the mutual benefit of the peoples of the two countries,

RECOGNISING that the need for making, an arrangement for sharing of the Ganga / Ganges waters at Farakka in a spirit of mutual accommodation and the need for a solution to the long-term problem of augmenting the flows of the Ganga / Ganges are in the mutual interests of the peoples of the two countries,

BEING desirous of finding a fair and just solution without affecting the rights and entitlements of either country other than those covered by this Treaty, or establishing any general principles of law or precedent,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE -I

The quantum of waters agreed to be released by India to Bangladesh will be at Farakka.

ARTICLE -II

(i)The sharing between India and Bangladesh of the Ganga / Ganges waters at Farakka by ten day periods from the 1st January to the 31st May every year will be with reference to the formula at Annexure I and an indicative schedule giving the implications of the sharing arrangement under Annexure I is at Annexure II.

(ii) The indicative schedule at Annexure II, as referred to in sub para (i) above, is based on 40 years (1949-1988) 10-day period average availability of water at Farakka* Every effort would be made by the upper riparian to protect flows of water at Farakka as in the 40-years average availability as mentioned above.

(iii) In the event flow at Farakka falls below 50,000 cusecs in any 10-day period, the two governments will enter into immediate consultations to make adjustments on an emergencybasis, in accordance with the principles of equity, fair play no harm to either party.

ARTICLE –III

The waters released to Bangladesh at Farakka under ArticleI shall not be reduced below Farakka except for reasonable usesof waters, not exceeding 200 cusecs, by India between Farakka the point on the Ganga / Ganges where both its banks are Bangladesh.

ARTTICLE - IV

A Committee consisting of representatives nominated by the two Governments in equal numbers (hereinafter called the Joint Committee) shall be constituted following the signing of this Treaty. The Joint Committee shall set up suitable teams at Farakka and Hardinge Bridge to observe and record at Farakka the daily flows below Farakka Barrage, in the Feeder Canal, and at the Navigation Lock, as well as at the Hardinge Bridge.

ARTICLE -V

The Joint Committee shall decide its own procedure and method of functioning.

ARTICLE -VI

The Joint Committee shall submit to the two Governments all data collected by it and shall also submit a yearly report to both the Governments. Following submission of the reports the two Governments will meet at appropriate levels to decide upon such further actions as may be needed.

ARTICLE -VII

The Joint Committee shall be responsible for implementing the arrangements contained in this Treaty and examining any difficulty arising out of the implementation of the above arrangements and of the operation of Farakka Barrage. Any difference or dispute arising in this regard, if not resolved by the Joint Committee, shall be referred to the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission. If the difference or

dispute still remains unresolved, it shall be referred to the two Governments which shall meet urgently at the appropriate level to resolve it by mutual discussion.

ARTICLE - VIII

The two Governments recognize the need to cooperate with each other in finding a solution to the long-term problem of augmenting the flows of the Ganga / Ganges during the dry season.

ARTICLE-IX

Guided by the principles of equity, fairness and no harm to either party, both the Governments agree to conclude water sharing Treaties / Agreements with regard to other common rivers.

ARTICLE -X

The sharing arrangement under this Treaty shall be reviewed by the two Governments at five years' interval or earlier, as required by either party and needed adjustments, based on principles of equity, fairness, and no harm to either party made thereto, if necessary. It would be open to either party to seek the first review after two years to assess the impact and working of the sharing arrangement as contained in this Treaty.

ARTICLE -XI

For the period of this Treaty, in the absence of mutual agreement on adjustments following reviews as mentioned in Article X, India shall release downstream of Farakka Barrage, water at a rate not less than 90% (ninety per cent) of Bangladesh's share according to the formula referred to in Article II, until such time as mutually agreed flows are decided upon.

ARTICLE - XII

This Treaty shall enter into force upon signature and shall remain in force for a period of thirty years and it shall be renewable on the basis of mutual consent.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto by the respective Governments, have signed this Treaty.

DONE at New Delhi 12th December, 1996 in Hindi, Bangla and English languages. In the event of any conflict between the texts, the English text shall prevail.

(H.D. DEVE GOWDA)

PRIME MINISTER, (SHEIKH HASINA)

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF INDIA.

PRIMEMINISTER,

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH.

ANNEXURE-I

Availability at Farakka	Share of India	Share of Bangladesh
70,000 cusecs or less	50%	50%
70,000 - 75,000 cusecs	Balance of flow	35,000 cusecs
75,000 cusecs or more	40,000 cusecs	Balance of Flow

Subject to the condition that India and Bangladesh each shall receive guaranteed 35,000 cusecs of water in alternate three 10-day periods during the period March I to May 10.

ANNEXURE-II

Schedule

(Sharing of waters at Farakka between January 01 and May 31 every year.)

If actual availability corresponds to average flows of the period 1949 to 1988, the implication of the formula in Annexure-I for the share of each side is:

Period	Average of the total flow 1949-88	India's Share	Bangladesh's Share
	Cusecs	Cusecs	Cusecs

January	1-10	1,07,516	40,000	67,516
	11-20	97,673	40,000	57,673
	21-31	90,154	40,000	50,154
February	1-10	86,323	40,000	46,323
	11-20	82,859	40,000	42,859
	21-28/29	79,106	40,000	39,106
March	1-10	74,419	39,419	35,000
	11-20	68,931	33,931	35,000*
	21-30	64,688	35,000*	29,688
April	1-10	63,180	28,180	35,000*
	11-20	62,633	35,000*	27,633
	21-30	60,992	25,992	35,000*
May	1-10	67,351	35,000*	32,351
	11-20	73,590	38,590	35,000
	21-31	81,854	40,000	41,854

(* Three ten day periods during which 35.000 cusec shall be provided).

But, the above 1996 Ganges water treaty in regard to Teesta faced problem because Article IX of 1996 Ganges water treaty clearly stated that "Guided by the principles of equity, fairness and no harm to either party, both the Governments agree to conclude water sharing Treaties / Agreements with regard to other common rivers." However, the treaty does not mention any time frame or method. There is no priority for immediate attention for major river like Teesta, Barak, Monu, and Muhuri which should be taken on a priority basis.

SHARING OF WATER OF THE TEESTA RIVER

Now, in respect of sharing of water the river Teesta comes in fore. The Teesta river originates from Teesta Kangse Glacier about 7,068 metres (23,189ft.) height and flow southward through gorges and rapids in the Sikkim Himalaya. It flows through Sikkim, West Bengal and Bangladesh where after coursing through about 45 km of irrigable land merges with Brahmaputra river or Jamuna when it enters into Bangladesh and ends in the Bay of Bengal. It is an important irrigation source for paddy for farmers in both the countries. The river is flanked by white sand which is used by the construction industry in the region.¹⁷

The Teesta river water dispute began when West Bengal Government constructed barrage on the Teesta river in 1976 at a cost of RS 69.7 crore with the target for irrigation in the six North Bengal districts (Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar North Dinajpur, South Dinajpur, Malda) and generating 67.5 MW of

¹⁷Dr. Aruna R mital, "Indo-Bangladesh water sharing issues", international journal of Humanities and Science Research, vol-2, issue 11, November 2016, p-9.

hydropower project.¹⁸ Bangladesh Government immediately opposed it. It argued that the major rice producing areas of Bangladesh especially the 'rice bowl' Rangpur region of Bangladesh lie in the Teesta and Brahmaputra river basin. Hence, the construction of barrage leads to scarcity of water for irrigation and low rice production.

To pacify Bangladesh India started negotiation of the issue in 1983 and an Ad-hoc arrangement on water sharing was concluded between India and Bangladesh. Since the upper riparian country-India controls the flow of water in the Bangladesh from the Teesta barrage at Gazaldoba, constructed to provide water to the Northern part of West Bengal. Bangladesh constructed a barrage downstream at Dalia in Lalmonirhat district which supplies water from agriculture and irrigation to draught prone areas of Northern Bangladesh (Rangpur, Rajshahi, Dinajpur). Then it was argued by Bangladesh Government that the construction of Gazaldoba barrage and the diversion of water have drastically reduced water availability at Dalia barrage particularly in the dry season.¹⁹

In terms of Ad-hoc arrangement both India and Bangladesh were allocated 39% and 36% water flow respectively. The remaining 25% Ad-hoc sharing of water demanded by Bangladesh on equitable basis.²⁰ The West Bengal Government, quite reasonably, pointed out that both West Bengal and Sikkim largely depended on the Teesta river for irrigation and hydropower generation. During the dry season, Bangladesh requires much water from September to March from Teesta for agricultural productions.²¹ This demand of Bangladesh Government refuses to meet the demand because it will dry out the Northern part of West Bengal. It was also predicted by India that it was to face water scarcity by 2025.

Under this situation the Government constructed a joint river water commission in order to collect hydrological data. It was also empowered to suggest rational method for water sharing. This commission recommended to increase Bangladesh's share on the ground that West Bengal's barrage is very close to Bangladesh border (nearly 19k.m). Some water will penetrate underground and benefit both the country.

But, the problem of Teesta Water sharing remained. In 2010, the Prime Minister, of India and Bangladesh issued a joint communique which stated that the Teesta issue would be resolved soon. As a sequel to this event, the two countries prepared a draft agreement on the Teesta issue and the statement of principles of sharing of water in the lean season. These documents were to form the basis on interim agreement on Teesta between India and Bangladesh.

Imtiaz Ahmed who teaches international relations at the university of Dhaka in Bangladesh in an illuminating paper, "Teesta, Tipaimukh and River Linking: Danger to Bangladesh-India Relations" vividly described the implication of Teesta water sharing between India and Bangladesh. He has rightly pointed out that ever since the Awami League regime in Bangladesh came to power in 2009, it signed a 50 Clauses historic communiqué with India. Following this, the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina visited New Delhi in January 2010 and she hoped an amicable settlement of the Teesta dispute which will strengthen India-Bangladesh bilateral water relations. But unfortunately, her hope marred. Following the visit of India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to Dhaka in September 2011, particularly when the water

¹⁸ Anand Kumar, "Impact of West Bengal politics on Indo-Bangladesh Relations", strategic analysis, Vol-37, No-3, 2013, p-345.

¹⁹ Dr. Aruna R mital, op.cit, p-9.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Punam Pandey, "Bangladesh,,India,,and Fifteen Years of Peace: future direction of Ganges Treaty." Asian Survey, Vol-54, No-4, 2014, p-652.

sharing agreement could not be signed and it was cancelled at the very last moment.²² Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamata Banerjee had good reasons to stall the agreement over Teesta with Bangladesh. The standpoint taken by Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamata Banerjee may be right because the paucity of water may hamper the agricultural production of North Bengal. Moreover, Chief Minister wanted a guarantee from New Delhi as to how much water Sikkim where the Teesta originated would be willing to share with West Bengal.

In fact commentators on Teesta water sharing imbroglio have pointed out that the Teesta river water dispute has gripped the Awami League domestically and a major section of opposition parties raised criticism saying that Sheikh Hasina has sold out Bangladesh to India and subjected to demand of India while getting little in turn.

There is now misgiving in Bangladesh about the West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee's motives. Imtiaz Ahmed in his paper, opined that questions in Bangladesh have risen that Mamata Banerjee has been trying "to please non-Bengalis interest in West Bengal who supposedly are less than keen on a newer Bangladesh-India Relationship, including 'pan-Bengalis fondness'", as it would create a space for Bangladeshi entrepreneurs and make them competitors, particularly in the North East (NE) states of India where these non Bengali businessmen hold a monopoly on economic activities.²³

Teesta is not the only issue. Sharing of the river water between India and Bangladesh on other rivers, particularly Feni as well as Manu, Muhuri, Khowai, Gumti, Dharla and Dudhkumar all got stalled as a result of India's vacillating attitude particularly Mamata Banerjee's stand on the issue is contrary to arrive at an amicable settlement, opined some commentators on Teesta water dispute.²⁴

In fact, the Teesta issue has turned Indo-Bangladesh relations into an impasse that can not be easily surmountable. Bangladesh has 57 cross Boundary Rivers of which 54 are shared with India and the remaining 3 with Myanmar. Any change in the flow of any of the 54 rivers shared by Bangladesh and India is bound to have an adverse impact on Bangladesh's economy, society, environment and even polity. Imtiaz Ahmed in his paper has rightly pointed out that Bangladesh being a riverine and a lower riparian country remains sensitive to the matters of water whether inland or maritime.

If Teesta dispute remains unsolved the issue will become worrisome for Bangladesh. In fact, the district being affected for shortage of water in Bangladesh as well as in North Bengal will create a problem because the people of the district concerned of both the countries depend on agriculture. The first and foremost is that India's North Eastern strategic corridor (Siliguri or Chicken's Neck) makes Bangladesh vital for India. The security of North Eastern India states is widely affected by Bangladesh's policies and activities. A hegemonic stance by India would have significant important on the Indo-Bangladesh relations. Therefore, India should rely on an institutional doctrine with greater involvement with smaller and weaker neighbouring states with the aim to develop friendly relations with them. It would be better to adopt a more feasible approach that would be constituted by an integrated collaborative and sustainable management of all shared rivers including Teesta.

WATER SHARING AGREEMENT FOR THE KUSHIYARA RIVER

The memorandum of understanding (MoU) on interim water sharing of the Kushiya river will be signed during Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's visit to India in the first week of September, according to state Minister for Water Resources of Bangladesh Zahid Farooque on 26th August, 2022. He stated that the Indian Cabinet has received the agreed-upon draft of the MoU in order to complete the procedures prior to signing the agreement. After returning from New Delhi, the state minister for Water Resources of

²² Imtiaz Ahmed, "Teesta, Tipaimukh and River Linking: Danger to Bangladesh-India Relations", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol- XLVII, No- 16, April 21, 2012, p-51.

²³ Ibid, p-52.

²⁴ ibid

Bangladesh told reporters at the Hazrat Shahjalal International Airport in Dhaka, “We firmly believe that the MoU will be signed when our prime minister will be visiting India. At the Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) meeting in New Delhi, he led the Bangladesh delegation. The Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) meeting was held following a lapse of 12 years. Bangladesh will receive 153 cusec of Kushiya river water from India. “We put pressure on them regarding the release of Teesta water. We immovably accept that we will before long see an answer for that end,” he expressed, alluding to top state leader Sheikh Hasina’s reiterated call for finalization of Teesta water sharing arrangement. The two countries discussed issues related to water-sharing treaties of various rivers, including the Ganga and Teesta, at the 38th ministerial level Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) meeting in New Delhi. The finalization of the design and location of the water intake point on the Feni River to meet the drinking water requirements of Sabroom town in Tripura in accordance with the October 2019 Bangladesh-India MoU on this subject was also welcomed by both parties at the meeting. The exchange of water from flood prone rivers of India is one important area of discussion in which India has agreed to extend assistance to Bangladesh. In order to assist Bangladesh in dealing with unforeseen flood events, India has recently extended the period of flood data sharing beyond October 15, 2019.

The fifty four rivers flowed through India and Bangladesh. Out of these seven of which have already been identified for the prioritization of the development of the framework for water sharing agreements. During the meeting, it was decided to add eight more rivers for data exchange to this ongoing cooperation area. The technical level committee of the Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) will continue to discuss the issue. During the Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) meeting, a variety of ongoing bilateral issues of mutual interest were discussed, such as the sharing of flood data, the prevention of river pollution, joint studies on sedimentation management, river bank protection projects, and so on.²⁵ On 22nd August, 2022, water resources secretary-level discussions preceded the Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) meeting.

On 7th September, 2022, India and Bangladesh, both are South Asian neighbours, signed an interim water sharing agreement for the Kushiya river. In Bangladesh and Assam, (India) the Kushiya River serves as a distributary river. That is to say Kushiya River has been serving as a distributary river for the rivers existing in this areas. It’s structures on the India-Bangladesh line as a part of the Barak river, when the Barak isolates into the Kushiya and Surma. As a result, the waters of the Kushiya flow from the Indian state of Nagaland to Manipur, Mizoram, and Assam via tributaries. From its starting point at the mouth of the Barak, otherwise called the Amshid bifurcation point, the Kushiya river toward the west framing the limit between Assam, (India) and the Sylhet Locale of Bangladesh. The Kushiya covers approximately 160 kilometers. Since the Ganges water treaty of 1996, this is the first such agreement between the two countries. The people of Assam and the Sylhet division of Bangladesh will benefit from the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) regarding the sharing of Kushiya river waters. “We have signed a significant agreement to share Kushiya river water. This will help southern Assam in India and Sylhet locale in Bangladesh,” Prime Minister Narendra Modi said after the discussions with Sheikh Hasina at a joint media communication at the Hyderabad House.

Prime Minister Modi stated that the livelihoods of people from both countries have been linked to the rivers that run through the Indo-Bangladesh border. “These rivers, folk tales about them, folk songs, have also been witness to our shared cultural heritage, These rivers, folk tales about them, folk songs.”

In the meantime, Hasina emphasized the need for additional agreements of this kind as to the functioning of other rivers. “I recall that the two countries have worked together and resolved numerous issues out of friendship, Hasina stated. She further added “We hope that all outstanding issues, including the Teesta

²⁵“Kushiya river water sharing deal to be signed during PM’s India visit”, **The Daily Star**, 26th August, 2022.

water sharing agreement, will be resolved as soon as possible as long as Modi government will remain in power in Delhi.”²⁶

In addition, the Indian premier stated, “I had a productive conversation with my Bangladeshi counterpart on enhancing cooperation in relation to flood mitigation. We have also extended the period of data sharing and India has been sharing flood-related data with Bangladesh in real time.”

Hasina was previously greeted warmly by Modi at a ceremonial reception at the Rashtrapati Bhawan. She stated that “the two countries were also working to strengthen their economic ties in order to meet the basic needs of their citizens. Developing the economy and fulfilling the basic needs of our people are our primary objectives. Any issue can be resolved through mutual friendly discussion. Therefore, we always do that.” Modi hosted a one-on-one lunch for the visiting dignitary at the Hyderabad House following the bilateral talks.²⁷

India and Bangladesh have entered a new phase in bilateralism with a pragmatic and practical approach based on sovereignty, equality, friendship, trust and reciprocal understanding for the mutual benefit and welfare of their peoples as well as collective prosperity of the south Asian region. The relationship between India and Bangladesh has witnessed their share of positive and difficult phases since its inception. There have been both good and bad times between India and Bangladesh in their relationship. In the history of Indo-Bangladesh bilateral relations, there were ups and downs on account of various unresolved issues like cross-border terrorism, issues of security, migration, resource sharing, sharing of river water, exchange of enclaves, Muhurir Char border dispute, Purbasha island dispute, border demarcation, construction of Tipaimukh dam, opening border haats, resolution of maritime boundary dispute, cattle smuggling, infiltration etc.. India-Bangladesh relations have suffered cyclic phases of highs and lows, largely reflecting the changing governments both in Dhaka and New Delhi. Nevertheless, it has remained friendly during the regime of ‘Bangobondhu’ Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for numerous decades. Mujib’s term in office may be described as the ‘honeymoon years’ between India and Bangladesh. The military dispensation in Bangladesh brought vast changes in its foreign policy in order to fulfill national interest as well as to come out of Indian domination. This shift in Bangladesh’s foreign policy equally led to a paradigm shift in India-Bangladesh relations. India-Bangladesh relations remained somewhat strained during subsequent years of military rule as well as civilian rule under different governments led by General Ziaur Rahman of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) from 1975 to 1981, Hussain Mohammad Ershad from 1983-1990 and again from 1991-1996 and 2001-2006 by Begum Khaleda Zia. During the period of 1991-2006, except Sheikh Hasina’s regime from 1996-2001 the relations between India and Bangladesh were neither cordial nor cooperative. Traditionally the Awami League government has had close link with New Delhi. India’s relations with Bangladesh warmed up when the Awami League, under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina came to power first in June 1996.²⁸ After winning the

²⁶India, Bangladesh sign first water sharing pact in 25 years”, **The Economics Times**,07.09.2022.also avail able at https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/india/india-bangladesh-sign-first-water-sharing-pact-in-25-years/articleshow/94035253.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst, accessed on 06.10.2022.

²⁷“India, Bangladesh sign first water sharing pact in 25 years”, **The Economics Times**,07.09.2022.also avail able at https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/india/india-bangladesh-sign-first-water-sharing-pact-in-25-years/articleshow/94035253.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst, accessed on 06.10.2022

²⁸ Dutta,V.P., ‘**India’s foreign policy in a changing world**’, Vikash Publishing House,New Delhi,1999,p.?

elections in 1996, Sheikh Hasina initiated all the necessary steps to restore true democracy in Bangladesh and made the constitution with the principles of secularity, liberty, equality and justice. She made all actions of her government accountable and transparent to the people for the country's sake. After the unicameral Jati Sangsad had (Parliament) election in 2008, Sheikh Hasina came to power in second term and adopted not only a pragmatic foreign policy but she also established a new era of friendship, cooperation and stability with India to be a model neighbour and economic partner for the sake of country's overall development. She had shown considerable courage and conviction to free its soil from anti-Indian activities to make India's confidence intact in future. Like her father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Sheikh Hasina introduced secularism and adopted a foreign policy towards India which provided an impetus to sluggish New Delhi-Dhaka relationship. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's two day maiden weekend visit to Bangladesh along with chief minister of West Bengal Mamata Banerjee in June 2015 created a new era of cordial relationship by removing the thorny issues. Though the challenges of Teesta and Fenny water sharing remain unsolved. During Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit Bangladesh apparently decided to put the water sharing issue aside and go ahead with other major bilateral developments to strengthen bilateral relations.

REFERENCES

- Rakesh Tiwari, "conflicts over International Waters", Economic and Political weekly, vol-41, no-17, April 29-May5, 2006, pp-1684-1692.
- B.M Abbas, "The Ganga River dispute", University Press, Dhaka, 1982.
- Asim Mukhopadhyay, "River of Contention", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-15, No-17, April-26, 1980, pp-766-768.
- Ramaswamy R Iyre, "The Fallacy of Augmentation: Demands on Ganga Waters.", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-34, No-33, August-14-20, 1999, pp-2296-2297.
- Ramaswamy R Iyre, "Conflict-Resolution: Three River Treaties", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 24 (Jun. 12-18, 1999), pp. 1509-1518.
- "Bangladesh- India: agreement on sharing of the Ganges' waters", international legal materials, vol-17, No-1, January 1978, pp-103-106.
- Jayanta Bandyopadhyay and Dipak Gyawali, "Himalayan Water Resources: Ecological and Political Aspects of Management", Mountain Research and Development, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Feb., 1994), pp. 1-24.
- Philippe Sands, "Bangladesh-India: Treaty on sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka", International Legal Materials, Vol. 36, No. 3 (MAY 1997), pp. 519-528
- Shaista Tabassum, "Indo Bangladesh Treaty on Farakka Barage and International Law Application" Pakistan Horizon, Vol 56, No 3, July 2003, pp 54-56.
- political economy analysis of the teesta river basin, March 2013, Prepared by The Asia Foundation India, 114 Jor Bagh, First Floor, New Delhi – 110 003, Email: tafindia@asiafound.org, Website: www.asiafoundation.org
- Kazi Montu, "Farakka Dispute", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-15, No-27, July-5, 1980, pp-1132-1133.
- 1996 Ganges Water Agreement, Government of the people's republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1996
- Dr. Aruna R mital, "Indo-Bangladesh water sharing issues", international journal of Humanities and Science Research, vol-2, issue 11, November 2016, pp-7-11.
- Imtiaz Ahmed, "Teesta, Tipaimukh and River Linking: Danger to Bangladesh –India Relations", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol- XLVII, No- 16, April 21, 2012, pp-51-53.
- Huma Baqai, "Water-related Issues in South Asia: Conflicts in the Making", Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 58, No. 3, July 2005, pp-77-88
- Brahma Chellaney, "Water, Power, and Competition in Asia", Asian Survey, Vol. 54, No. 4 July/August 2014, pp 621-650.
- Talukder Maniruzzaman, "Bangladesh in 1974: Economic Crisis and Political Polarization", Asian Survey, Vol. 15, No. 2, Feb., 1975, pp-117-128.

- Talukder Maniruzzaman, "Bangladesh in 1975: The Fall of the Mujib Regime and Its Aftermath", Asian Survey, Vol. 16, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1975: Part II ,Feb., 1976.pp-119-129.
- Syed Serajul Islam, "Bangladesh in 1986: Entering a New Phase", Asian Survey, Vol. 27, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1986: Part II (Feb., 1987),pp-163-172.
- Dipak Gyawali, "Institutional forces behind water conflict in the Ganga plains", GeoJournal, Vol. 47, No. 3, Grid-Group Cultural Theory, 1999.pp 443-452.
- Dipak Gyawali and Ajaya Dixit "Mahakali Impasse and Indo-Nepal Water Conflict", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 9 ,Feb. 27 - Mar. 5, 1999, pp-553-564.
- Ishtiaq Hossain, "Bangladesh-India Relations: Issues and Problems", Asian Survey, Vol. 21, No. 11 ,November., 1981, pp-1115-1128.
- Surya P.Subedi, "Hydro-Diplomacy in South Asia: The Conclusion of Mahakali and Ganges River Treaties", The American Journal of International Law, Vol-93, No-4, October-1999,pp-953-962.
- A K Biswas, and JuhaI Uitto (eds) , "Sustainable Development of the Ganga Bralhimaputra Meghna Basins", United Nation University Press, Tokyo, 2000.
- Ben Crow, A Lindquist and D Wilson , "Sharing the Ganga: The Politics and Technology of River Development", Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1995
- Arun Elhance, "Hydro-politics in the Third World: Conflict and Co-operation in International River Basins", United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC,1999.
- IshtiaqHossain, "Bangladesh-India Relations: The Ganga Water Sharing Treaty and Beyond", Asian Affairs, Fall, 1998.
- Amjad HosseinKhan,"Development and Management ofInternational River Basin: The Ganga Issue, Seminar Proceedings, Management of International River Basin and Environmental Challenges", Academic Publishers, Dhaka, 1994.
- A RKhan, Nurul IslamNazem, "Abundance and Scarcity of Water in Bangladesh: Issues Revisited", BIISS Journal, Vol 9, No 4, 1998.
- L G Moigne et al (eds) "Country Experience with Water Resources Management: Economic, Institutional, Technological and Environmental Issues, World Bank Technical Paper, No 175, World Bank, Washington DC, 1992.
- M, A Salman and L B Chazournes (eds), "International Watercourses: Enhancing Cooperation and Managing Conflict", World Bank Technical Paper 414, Washington DC,1998.
- Postel Sandra, "Changing the Course of International Water Management", Natural Resources Forum, Vol 21, No 2,1997.
- B G Verghese, "Waters of Hope", Oxford and IBH Publishing Co, New Delhi,1990.
- Anand Kumar, "impact of West Bengal politics on Indo-Bangladesh Relations", strategic analysis, Vol-37, No-3,2013.
- Punam Pandey, "Bangladesh,,India,,and Fifteen Years of Peace: future direction of GangesTreaty."Asian Survey, Vol-54, No-4, 2014.
- THE END