

**THE ISSUE OF MIGRATION IN INDIA-BANGLADESH
RELATIONS: 2001-2017**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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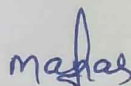
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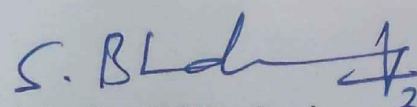
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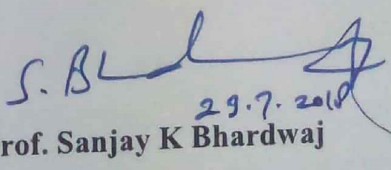
I do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**The Issue of Migration in India-Bangladesh Relations: 2001-2017**” submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.


MANAS KUMAR BEHERA

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation is placed before the examiners for the evaluation.


Prof. Sanjay K Bhardwaj
Chairperson, CSAS
23.7.2018


Prof. Sanjay K Bhardwaj
Supervisor
29.7.2018

I dedicated my work

To

My Grandfather,

And my Parents, who have worked extremely hard just to get me here,

And also to

Mr. Baburam Kabi, My dearest Uncle.

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MAPS



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Figure1:- Map of North-eastern States.



Figure 2:- Map of Rakhine State in Myanmar where Rohingyas are migrating.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAGSP	All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad
AASU	All Assam Student's Union
ARSA	Arakan Rohingya Solidarity Army
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATS	Anti-Terrorist Squad
ATTF	All Tripura Tiger Force
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIMSTIC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BMET	Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BSF	Border Security Force
CEGIS	Center for Environmental and Geographic Information Services
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CSC	Citizens Scrutiny Cards
DTC	Delhi Transport Corporation
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
GOI	Government of India
HRW	Human Rights Watch's
HUJI	Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islam

HUM	Harkat-ul-Mujahideen
ICDR	Institute of Culture & Development Research
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICS	Islamic Chatra Shibir
IM	Indian Mujahideen
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISI	Inter-Service Intelligence
ISS	Islamic Sevak Sangh
IURPI	Islamic United Reformation Protest of India
JEI-BD	Jamat-e-Islami of Bangladesh
JMB	Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh
KLO	Kamtapur Liberation Organisation
LBA	Land Boundary Agreement
LeT	Lashkar-e-Taiba
MoU	Memorandum of Unity
MULTA	Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NDFB	National Democratic Front Boroland
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIA	National Investigation Agency
NLFT	National Liberation Front of Tripura
NSCN	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
NSCN-IM	Socialist Council of Nagaland

OCHA	Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PLA	Polices Liberation Army of Manipur
RTM	Research Training and Management
SIMI	Students Islamic Movement in India
SIO	Students Islamic Organization
TMC	Trinamool Congress
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
ULFSS	United Liberation Front of Seven Sister
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UNLF	United National Front of Manipur
WHO	World Health Organisation

CHAPTER-I

1 INTRODUCTION

South Asia is a least integrated region in the world in which the Indian subcontinent is a part of it. Before 1947 India was integrated under the umbrella of British India for a long period. Undivided British India was constituted of the present countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and some parts of Myanmar. After British left from this region in 1947, South Asia has witnessed the unprecedented movement of people from one region to another due to emerging of nation-states by drawing an artificial boundary which forced people to move and leads the area of tension since then. Migration is one of the dominant contentious issues among the member states of South Asia. Even though migration is a universal problem but it has been seriously concerned for South Asia due to lack of understanding and cooperation among states.

South Asia as a region of a continuous and complex history of seven thousand years has witnessed the massive scale of composite culture that emerged through a historical course wherein the region has emphasised on 'unity in diversity'. However, South Asia had become more complicated when Foreigners started to invade it and ruled this region for long times. Especially, due to the richness of natural resources, South Asia had been an attracted destination for many foreign countries, and the region was victimised by repeated foreign aggression especially by British ruled. As a result, the region as a whole of South Asia has still been struggling for its existence due to the cause of British legacy.

The Foreigner's wave towards South Asia has been started since the time of immemorial. The ancient history of South Asia represents many ancient successive invasions such as the Aryans, the Greeks, the Shakas, the Huns, the Turkish the Afghans, the Mughals and the Europeans especially Portuguese, French, Dutch, and finally the British who came to this region for the fulfilment of their needs and ruled more than two hundred years.

During the colonial period, the whole socio-economic and political-cultural structure of South Asia had changed dramatically due to western hegemony. Broadly in South Asia,

there were different types of governance existed in this region. The British government governed Indian empire dominion which comprised the present-day “Republic of India”, “The Islamic Republic of Pakistan”, “People’s Republic of Bangladesh” and Sri Lanka, was governed by the British government as a representative of British King. The smaller nation states of Bhutan, Nepal, and the Maldives were not under the British government, but they were protectorates, i.e. in return for surrendering their autonomy over their external relations; their independent existence was protected by the British. Apart from South Asia, Burma, (present-day Republic of the Union of Myanmar) which is considered as a part of South-East Asia was also under direct control of the British Indian administration. However, British India separated Burma province from British Indian administration in 1937 and granted the separate province with a new constitution. Finally, Burma achieved independence from the British regime on 4 January 1948.

After the Second World War, almost all colonised countries were demanded independence from colonial exploitation and subjugation. The Colonial people had vigorously followed the path of nationalism for sovereign nation-states, it was a pure antipathy against colonial ruler those were conquered their land by strength, exploited their wealth by force, crushed by their government, and oppressed their people. When the epidemic of nationalism spread from Europe to third-world counties, it was not only united the peoples but also encouraged them to contribute their valuable effort to nation-building. Nationalism became a visionary effort which aims at building an independent nation-state based on the principles of independence, liberty, equality, justice, and nationality. To lead this independent movement, India had produced the most significant mass movement in the world. The freedom movement not only succeeded in freeing from colonial yoke but also left a historically developed, well thought of programme for free India.

The freedom movement of British India led to the religious clash between Hindus and Muslims. After one ninety years of British ruled in India, in August 1947 when British finally left the Indian subcontinent. As a result partition of British India into two separate independent political entities in the name of religion. The Hindu majority British India became the Republic of India, and the Muslim majority became the Islamic Pakistan. The

partition of British India on August 14th - 15th, 1947 was the most tragic period of world history because partition gives thousands of Hindu families left Pakistan and entered into India and thousands of Muslims left India for went to Pakistan. Immediately, this was one of the largest migrations of the human history. Therefore, it is considered the wave of migration history started in South Asia mainly after the partition.

Human Migration is not a new instead it is a historical and worldwide phenomenon. It is not only exclusive to humans only rather include animals too. Human Migration is a fact of human history (Kumar 2013). Migration is a regular but natural and very influential phenomenon in social science. Migration has taken place from the very beginning of human civilisation (Singh 2007). Peoples have been migrating since ancient time; the primitive nomadic tribes basically moved from one place to another for searching of foods, or suitable livelihood environments. “From the antiquity, people are found to move from one place to another, sometimes in search of better opportunities when they see some of their needs and desires are not adequately fulfilled in their present location, sometimes just to maintain the status quo when they see their present situation seems to be a declining one” (Barman 2004).

Contemporarily Peoples have been migrating for a variety of reasons and purposes such as economic deprivation, political violence, social persecution, climate changes, environmental degradation, cultural and ethnic conflicts or some other factors are also responsible. When human beings struggle for life or survive in this situation, the security threat of life recognised no border and forced to move to another place (Datta 2005).

1.1 Conceptual Framework on Migration

People’s movement is an age-old phenomenon that it has been continuing from the earliest period of human civilisation. Therefore, to understand the concept of migration, it is essential to look at the different manifesto and definitions of migration defined by different academicians. The concept of migration is expansive and comprehensive in term of definitions given by intellectuals who have been tried to define the concept of migration distinctly with their different approaches. There are different interdisciplinary

branches of study defined concepts and approaches of migration such as geographers, sociologists, economists, and demographers (Gutkar 2018).

The geographers have emphasised migration is a geographical movement that engages a change of usual place. Migration is an inflow and outflow of population from an origin area to a new area for a permanent or semi-permanent establishment (Mishra 1981). The sociologists have laid stress on the social consequences of migration. According to Eisenstadt, the movements of people or group of people's form one society to another due to social persecution, he indicated that when a person is leaving previous residents of the whole set of social life and established a new set of social life where they moved and wanted to reside. "Migration is an instrument of cultural diffusion, and social integration of it may create communities within a community" (Shrivastava 1983).

The economist suggested an economic aspect is one of the crucial factors of migration. Primarily people migrate from one place to another because of searching employment and economic activities for their livelihood. The demographer pointed out the study of migration is one of the important branches of demography. They also claimed that after fertility and mortality, the migration is the third component of population change (Das and Talukdar 2016). According to Newman and Matzke who critically analysed the concept of migration, "most definitions focused on the notion of a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence in order to distinguish migration from circulation. The latter does not involve a change of residence and includes such daily movement as commuting to and from work, shopping trips and vacations. Both migration and circulation are included under the broader heading of population mobility".

1.2 Meaning and Concepts of migration

Whenever someone talks about migration, some of the essential words and terms that spring to our mind are the Migrants, Emigrants, Immigrants, Refugees, Asylum Seeker, Illegal Migrants and Stateless Person. Therefore, before starting any discussion about the migration, it is essential to define these some significant terms.

According to UNHCR “A **migrant** is someone who makes a considered decision to leave their current country and pursue a better or different life somewhere else. It is a neutral and broad term which can apply to people who have legally migrated to a new country or those who are in the process of finding a country to settle in.” In general, migration refers to the shifting of a people or group of peoples from one geographical or political region to another new place to settle a new life, which may be internal or international migration. There are two important terms in the regard of migration that is emigration and immigration. Emigration defines peoples leave their home country move to another foreign country due to some specific reasons, and immigration means people are coming into the country from elsewhere (Singh 2009).

According to UNHCR refugee convention on 28 July 1951, the status of refugee

“a **refugee** is a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (UNHCR refugee convention 1951).

In general, a refugee is someone who has been forced to leave their country afraid of social persecution, violence, and war. Refugees are those who cannot return to their home country for fear of social persecution, political and communal violence, for example, the most persecuted refugees are Rohingyas in Myanmar (Kumar 2011). The term was made broad-based later on by adding to it in the angles of human rights, military and environmental perspectives. The UN Protocol of 31 January 1967 omitted the phrases “as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and as a result of such events from its definition of refugee” (Ghosh 2006: 1-2).

Based on the above analysis, hence, a line of separation may be drawn between the terms “migrant” and “refugee” on the ground that, a migrant is generally a person who moves from one geographical unit to another or makes a change in the place of his residence by crossing of specified political or administrative boundaries according to his wish or desire, though in certain cases there might be forced migration. Migrants decide for themselves to move different place according to their personal choice and the motivating

factors. These factors spark their movement to find out a better life in their new place of residence. On the other hand, a refugee is a person who does not move on his own and will leave his own country of origin as long as there is no violence affecting against them. A refugee is believed to be a person who neither belongs to his own country due to varied reasons nor welcomed nor accepted by the host country. The term “refugee” remains a political term. In a nutshell, a migrant is not necessarily a refugee through a refugee can be a migrant. In the context of geographical space, the distinction between the place of origin or place of departure and the place of destination or the host country demands prime importance. Migration often does not occur directly between these two places but involves one, or several places of transit (IOM 2003).

“An **asylum seeker** is someone who has left their home country and applied for refugee status, under the terms of the Refugee Convention (1951), but whose claim has not been assessed or approved. The Convention sets out a number of requirements for someone to be declared a refugee and outlines their fundamental rights. A refugee is someone who is not able or willing to stay in their home country, due to threats or fear of being persecuted for their race, religion, nationality, political views, or membership in a certain group. Not every asylum seeker will be formally granted refugee status, but all refugees are initially classified as asylum seekers” (Mumford 2016).

The migrants are of two types, viz. legal and illegal. The issue of **illegal migration** or undocumented migration has been rising day by day. It is a controversial factor for a long time. Illegal migration explains when an individual or group of people enter into a foreign country without a valid document or without government permissions and staying beyond the allotment of visa period they become the illegal migrants for these countries. The majority of the illegal migrants enter into a country for the reasons for tourist, health treatment, higher education and business purpose but they do not go back (Sen 2017). The most burning examples of illegal migrations are from Mexico to USA and Bangladesh and Myanmar to India. The legal migrants are those who moved by having the legal documents and with the permission of the receiver country (IOM 2003).

Convention of **Stateless Persons** in 1954 explained, “A stateless person is someone who is not recognised by any country as a citizen” (UNHCR 1954). Statelessness or the lack of nationality is a universal problem. Globally several million peoples are being affected by this, which is not only affects the humankind's freedom but also threading to national

and international communities, (Bianchini 2017). Adequately stateless person means a person or group of person who is not recognised by any state as a citizen (UNHCR 1954). A human can become stateless at birth or in later life; there are many reasons which are responsible for stateless citizen including state succession, discrimination, migration and deficient birth registration. These are the path of increasing the risk of statelessness (Bianchini 2017). The most contemporary examples of stateless persons are the Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar. When a person becomes stateless, they have denied from accessing all types of rights including fundamental rights, no educational, health, and cultural, economic, social, and political rights.

According to Universal Declaration of Human Right 1948, article 15(1), “everyone has the right to a nationality” and under article 15(2) explained, “No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality” (UDHR 1948). According to the UNHCR estimate, globally there are nearly about 12 million peoples are stateless (UNHCR 1954). Therefore to tackle this problem of stateless, persons the international communities were established in 1954 “convention relating to the status of stateless persons” and in 1961 “convention on the reduction of statelessness”.

There are three major important components such as fertility, mortality and migration which play a very crucial role in the changes in population history (Thet 2014). Migration is one of the most important components of population change (Colin 1988). Migration is the movement of people or group of people from one geographical region to another that involves a permanent or semi-permanent and changes of place of residence for almost a long stable period (Ghosh 1989). He has mentioned the demographic point of view when a person leaves one place for seasonal labour or temporarily for a very short time it is not a migration. There are two types of migration the internal migration and the external migration. Internal migration means migrate within nations political boundary, and external migration defines migrate cross the nation’s political border to another country; it can be temporarily or permanently (Singh 2009).

1.3 Migration: A Global Issue

The human race over the centuries have migrated from one country to another defined a new place to settle down and build a home. If we look at the international migration scenario, it is a very realistic situation. In Africa, all race of Sudan has been a shelter for people from Chad, Ethiopia, and Uganda. The nineties witness a recurrent famine and war that have resulted in two million refugees in Somalia where thousands of people are living in Tanzania. In Hong Kong, the migrants comprised the majority. Likewise, in Bangladesh and in India, the Rohingyas became migrants taking shelter in both these countries. Hence, illegal migrates became infiltrators which are considered a worldwide problem.

Migration or immigration is a global phenomenon, and it is also a controversial issue throughout the world. Indeed it is benefited for both donors and receiving countries (Kumar 2011). The free movement of people increased after the Second World War when Europe lost its manpower. During that time the large influx of immigration contributed to boosting economic recovery of Europe basically Germany, UK and France (Singh 2007).

The classical immigration countries were the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United Kingdom. These developed countries have welcomed a large number of mass exoduses because they knew the immigrants brought many developmental resources like cheap labour, cultural diversity, different languages, different knowledge's, and many other things that contributed to the countries' socio-economic development. A large number of migrations have been playing a crucial role in the development of major cities in the world which makes it more urbanisation. The process of globalisation makes the borderless world, and the flow of international migration has accelerated over the last few decades from third world countries to first and second world countries (Joseph and Narendran 2013). The process of globalisation opened a new journey route for colonial countries to developed countries especially from Asia, Africa, and Latin America to Europe and North America for the better economic opportunity (Singh 2002).

Human migration pyramid rising highly day by day and the more modernised world has meant more movement of people. According to IMO the World Migration Report, 2018 claimed India is the largest country of origin of international migrants around 17 million, and Mexico is the second largest of 13 million (IOM 2018). The number of international migration has been growing up rapidly in the last third and half decades, especially since globalisation. The total worldwide migrated population was 173 million in 2000; it touched 220 million in 2010; now in 2017 it reaches 258 million because of “demographic disparity, environmental change, new political and economic dynamics, technological revolution and social networks” (World Migration Report 2017). The maximum numbers of international migrants are living in Asia about 80 million; Europe hosted the second largest of international migrants of 78 million; North America is the third position of international migrants about 58 million. In 2017, the largest numbers (50 million) of international migrants reside in the United States of America. The second position hosted by the Russian Federation and followed by Saudi Arabia, and Germany (World Migration Report 2017). The international migration report of 2018 suggested, out of 258 million international migrants, 106 million were born in Asia. India is the largest migration originating country not only the Asian continent but also the whole planet; China is the second and other South Asian countries such as Bangladesh, Afghanistan, and Pakistan also responsible for this (World Migration Report 2018).

1.4 Migration in South Asia

Humankind has already witnessed how the European colonial power like British, French had colonised two hundred years (1858-1947) almost entire South Asia. After the Second World War and before the beginning of the cold war, most of these colonies gained independence from the oppressive colonial ruler. After the colonial regime, the newly independent countries faced huge developmental and internal crisis including territorial disputes, water disputes, border disputes, cross-border terrorism, human trafficking, drug trafficking, illegal trade, caste conflicts, ethnic conflicts, Kashmir issues and illegal migration, refugees and so on. In Contemporary South Asia comprising the Himalaya, Hindu Kusa, Karakorum mountain wall on the North and sea on the other two sides, the Arabian Sea on the west, the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Indian Ocean on the

South, this psychical geography of South Asia separate it from the Asian continent. South Asia a region consisting of eight nation states including India, Afghanistan, Maldives, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Socially, culturally and religiously south Asia is both homogeneous and heterogeneous. Indeed, culturally, linguistically, socially and ethnically the region is very diverse, but in the meantime, all countries are strongly binding to each other in the spirit of universal brotherhood.

All countries in South Asia are sharing common borders with each other. In the constellation of South Asia, India may be described as the economically, militarily and politically dominant major power, and also largest democratic state of the world. In South Asia Pakistan as a symbolic and logically cohesive middle power economically Afghanistan and Bangladesh as a weak and dependent middle power, Nepal and Sri Lanka as the weak, small powers and geographically Maldives and Bhutan as a mini-state.

Migration has been a long-standing controversial issue in South Asia; exclusively those countries sharing common borders between them. The flow of migration has been started in the South Asian region since colonial time, but after the partition of British India, the flow of movement was increased suddenly. The partition of British India in 1947 was one of the cruellest partitions in the history of the world, which brought in unimaginable shadow for both countries. Under the compelling circumstances, thousands of the citizens had been forced to flee from their birthplace to destiny place (Dutta 2005). Some major tragic, bitter sorrowful historical events contribute mass migration towards India. India has a very long history of migration, which was one of the world's top destinations for international migration (Connor 2017). The majority of immigrants to India from its immediate neighbouring countries and India received the migration wave periodically such as from Pakistan, Tibet, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Nepal, and Myanmar. Moreover, the Rohingya refugees from Myanmar, and the Chakma and Hajong refugees from Bangladesh, contemporarily these immigrants bring lots of pressure to India (Jha 2018).

During the partitioned time, there was an outbreak of the brutal violence, mass abduction, arson, sexual violence, mass murder and attack to each other on the name of religions-

Muslims on one side and Hindus and Sikhs on the other a result of this bloodshed, more than fifteen million peoples had lost their ancestor homes. Immediately after the violence, the region had witnessed one of the greatest mass migrations in human history where millions of Hindus illegally entered into India and vice-versa (Dalrymple 2015).

After one decade of British India partition, the next major movement of refugee towards India was from Tibet in 1959. When the Dalai Lama and his Lakh of followers left Tibet and entered into India; they were settled northern and north-eastern states of India. The Tibetan refugees are also largely settled in Dharamshala of Himachal Pradesh (Jha 2018).

Bangladesh's war of independence known as the war of liberation (Mukti Juddho), started on 25 March 1971, which was one of the major refugee crises for India (Rahman 2010). The conflict between Bangladesh military force and Pakistan army conflict broke out in the midnight of 25 March 1971, when Pakistan army ordered to launch a military crackdown in the name of operation "searchlight". After that East wings resulted in the mass killing of innocent civilians and intellectuals, rape, torture, burning and looting of thousands of homes, destroy millions of state property and the crime against humanity and genocide contributed mass exodus to India (Rahman 2010). During that time India was opened its border to allow Bangladeshis and the Border States governments such as Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, and West Bengal established refugee camps for Bangladeshi refugees along the border (Alston 2015). After the nine months of the bloody war, about 10 million refugees took shelter in India that caused a sudden increment in the population in the Indian Border States (Aljazeera 2010).

Another refugee issue is the Chakma and Hajong problem. The Chakmas are predominately Buddhists, and the Hajongs are primarily Hindus (The Hindu 2017). They lived in Chittagong hill tracks in East Pakistan. After the construction of Kaptai dam on the Karnaphuli River, they lost their hearted homelands and migrated to India (The Hindu 2017). They have been living in India since five decades basically inhabited in West Bengal and north-eastern region of India. According to the census report of 2011, the report states that 47,000 Chakmas are living in Arunachal Pradesh (Jha 2018).

“In 2015, the Supreme Court directed the Centre to grant citizenship to Chakma and Hajongs who had migrated from Bangladesh in 1964-69. The order was passed while hearing a plea by the Committee for Citizenship Rights of the Chakmas. Following this, the Centre introduced amendments to the Citizenship Act, 1955. The Bill is yet to be passed, as the opposition says the Bill makes illegal migrants eligible for citizenship on the basis of religion, which is a violation of Article 14 of the Constitution” (The Hindu 2017).

The flow of migration continuing since that time even today, the issue of migration is continuing, and it makes the relation between India and Bangladesh more complicated.

The Sri Lankan Tamils started to flee India after the successive government of Sri Lanka brings discriminatory policies against the Tamil community. Most of them migrated during after the Black July riots of 1983 and after the outbreak of Sri Lankan civil war (The Hindu 2017). The Sri Lankan Tamil refugees take shelter in southern India basically Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka. Exploration for the better livelihood for them and better future for their kids they started to move towards India “More than 1.34 lakh Sri Lankan Tamils crossed the Palk Strait to India between 1983 and 1987 during the first inflow. In three more phases, many more refugees entered India. The ethnic war-torn Sri Lankans sought refuge in southern India with more than 60,000 those who are currently staying in 109 camps in Tamil Nadu alone” (Nath 2016).

After the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, some Afghans also took shelter in India. According to UNHCR, the number of Afghan Sikhs and Hindus who left their home country due to persecution, without any document they illegally entered into Indian Territory. The UNHCR and World Bank report suggested that currently more than 200,000 Afghan refugees are living in India and most of them are concentrating in north Indian especially in around Delhi (Jha 2018).

In contemporary time the most eyes catching refugee crisis is Rohingya Muslim issue. Approximately 40,000 Rohingya Muslims are staying illegally in India after they were fled their home country (Dutta 2017). For the protection of Rohingya rights office of the UNCHR has issued the identity card for them, about 16,500 Rohingya registered under the registrations system. The official said that it helps them from “prevent harassment, arbitrary arrests, detention, and deportation” (FPJ Bureau 2017). However, the Rohingyas

are the illegal migrants it would create an unnecessary threat to India's national security, so the government aims to deport them. "India's claim to send the Rohingya back to Myanmar rests on the notion that the refugees are of Burmese stock. However, the issue at hand is that the Burmese do not consider the Rohingyas as their citizens and consider them to be immigrants who were brought in from Bangladesh during the British colonial rule. Further, Bangladesh, which remains the favourite destination for the Rohingyas facing atrocities in Myanmar, is of the opinion that they are natives of the Myanmar state and should be protected there" (Roychowdhury 2017). Over the years India has been received tide after tide refugee floods from its neighbours and accepts it with a great humanitarian way.

1.5 The issue of Migration between India and Bangladesh

Since independent, Bangladesh has been facing much more developmental problems. Some of the major problems socio-economic developmental speed breakers are political instability, high population growth, the rise of religious fundamentalism, environmental degradation, poor economy, unemployment, low literacy, terrorism, and so on. These common facts are that are forcing people to search for a better future and pushing them on a gun barrel to migrate to abroad. Apart from for social persecution, some of the major developmental projects also displaced thousands of inhabitants in Bangladesh. Especially these issues are the construction of Farakka barrage between India and Bangladesh displaced nearly 2 million peoples, and development of a hydroelectric project in Chittagong hill track called Kapat dam in Bangladesh created nearly 100,000 citizens homeless where 70 per cent of them are Chakams (Government of Bangladesh 1975). Due to this reasons, thousands affected displaced peoples from Bangladesh have been migrated to India for searching for jobs and better livelihood.

In South Asia, India shares the longest international border with Bangladesh 4,096.7 km, with 1,016 km riverine and 63 km maritime (Border Management Annual Report 2007-08). The border between India and Bangladesh are extremely porous and not fully fence with disputed areas are heavily populated (Das 2008). The porous and unfenced border invites several of problems such as smuggling, illegal trade, human trafficking, cattle

trafficking, drug trafficking and weapon trafficking, free movement of insurgents, counterfeit currency, terrorism, and free movement of illegal migration. These problems are seriously creating a threat to India's national security and changing the demography pattern of north-eastern Border States (Das 2008).

The Bangladeshis are entering into India through various routes of land and water line. The migration issue is one of the major controversial disputes between India and Bangladesh relations. A large number of illegal Bangladeshi migrants created huge threats for India's internal security, and it has adversely affected the demographic pattern, ethnic conflicts, religious, linguistic, economic and ecological fabric and way of life in the north-eastern states of India. They are also putting pressure on the labour market.

There is no reliable exact figure of how many illegal Bangladeshi migrants are living in India. "An analysis of population growth and demographic statistics for Bangladesh and India" in the last four censuses of 1981, 1991, 2001, and 2011 recommended that more than 15 million Bangladeshis are living in India (Tripathi 2016). A recent government of India reports claims "As per available inputs, near around 20 million illegal Bangladeshi migrants are staying in India" (The Indian Express 2016).

Most of the Bangladeshis have settled in the Border States with Bangladesh, and now they are moving towards metropolitan cities and in different parts of India. This illegal mass exodus from Bangladesh to India has caused an alarming change in the border area with Bangladesh. The native people of Assam become a minority in their homeland. According to the finance minister of the Assam, "the Hindu rate of population growth is declining, but the Muslim rate is rising. Most of the Muslims here are from Bangladesh. If this continues, the Assamese Hindus will become a minority soon; we will lose our language, our culture, our identity" (Sarma, 2016).

Some corrupt, unethical politicians used migrants as their vote bank offering them ration card and other various facilities (Kumar 2009). Some of the immigrants are involving in anti-social activities like smuggling, robbery, traffickings like human, animal, weapon, and drug, prostitution, associated crime, beggary and fake currency. The Bangladeshi migrants are also causing communal violence in neighbouring states especially Assam

and Tripura which are generating grounds for communal tensions. “The Pakistan Inter-Service Intelligence is playing a very passive role in Bangladesh by using it as a base for anti-India movements. It is not only running training camps for insurgents in the northeast states of India but also sending them to India. In that manner, it is causing illegal infiltration” (Kumar 2009).

At present, India is facing a significant issue regarding the illegal Rohingya refugee coming to India through Bangladesh and direct from Myanmar that poses a great threat to India-Bangladesh relations. According to the (UMHA) of India, India is home to approximately 40,000 Rohingya Muslims who are living illegally in India for almost half a decade (Dutta 2017). They have entered into northeast India through various routes like land and water. The Rohingyas are spread over a large area across the Indian states; they have their camps in Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal, Assam, Utter Pradesh, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, and now they are moving to metropolitan cities. According to the State government report, the maximum numbers of the Rohingya Muslims are living in Jammu 5, 700. Moreover, it is expected that the Rohingya population has increased four times in the last two years.

Moreover, it has also fuelled the extremist militants in some of the north-eastern states like Assam. For example, a large number of illegal Bangladesh immigrants from erstwhile East Pakistan, and their enlistment as voters led to a popular movement of Assam for there (1979–1985) that demanded their deportation.

“The agitation completed in the Assam Accord that was signed on August 15, 1985, by the central and state governments and leaders of the All Assam Students Union and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad, which spearheaded the Assam movement. Our detect-delete-deport campaign is even more important because now Islamic extremist groups from Bangladesh are also sending their people to India along with the immigrants on this route” told Samujjal Bhattacharya, a long time activist (Anand 2016).

India is neither a signatory member of the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) convention in 1951 nor the Refugee protocol of 1967 (Anand 2016). That is why India is not bound to accept any international treaty in the regard of refugees.

Despite the of above negative impacts or implication for India due to the influx of Bangladeshi and Rohingya migrants, India's migration foreign policy is very crucial in keeping eyes on good and friendly relations with Bangladesh as well as Myanmar. In the 21st century, migration is a common phenomenon, and at the same time, it is very difficult to take strong action by implementing an anti-migration policy for any country. Strategically and economically Bangladesh and Myanmar both are important neighbouring countries in South East Asia for India. To tackle the problems of cross-border terrorism, counterfeit currency, human trafficking, and China-Pakistan influence keeping good relation with Bangladesh are indispensable for India. Having kept in mind of future perspective, India needs to take pro-foreign policy stands on issues like migration policy, trade relation, economic assistance, infrastructure development program, human skill development, training and so on so that Bangladesh as an economically poor state may able to provide the basic requirement of people, and positively migrants issue may be settled down. Indeed, India has taken many major developmental policies like land-boundary agreement in 2015, trans-border communication through bus and train, border heat.

Presently, the world is more disturbed due to war on terrorism. Refugees are on the rising everywhere. Securing the Borders by a country has become more important to prevent illegal entries of people in the country. It also helps to control other nefarious activities that are harmful to the country. Proper lighting, using the latest technology and CC T.V cameras will help to more secure in border areas of the country more secure. India-Bangladesh Border fencing is an excellent achievement by the Government to reduce the problems between countries.

1.6 Definition, Rationale, and Scope of the Study

The proposed of the study attempts to understand the present structure and function of the Bangladeshi migration, and the Rohingya crisis in India. The study also discusses how migrants will be affected India-Bangladesh bilateral relation. The study focuses on India's future perspective for Bangladesh how it will be a good neighbour as well as a good partner for all time. In such a scenario, the stable and prosperous relation is

essential for both countries to maintain good relations because without good relation to countries cannot solve this complicated issue. The age-old problem of migration from Bangladesh to India in many instances has brought not only severe crux on diplomatic relation but also the very existence of neighbourly relations as well. Moreover, the migration also culminated with the many serious threat to the life of people in forms of communal riots, sex trafficking, terror atrocities. However, we cannot easily forget about other menaces like counterfeiting currency, drug smuggling, and illegal trade so on so forth with respect to illegal migration. Sometimes the soft stand of India resulted in many indigenous communal issues to the uncertain risk of financial market of it. On the flip side, the stern legal and diplomatic policy helps India to protect not only its national securities but also a fair neighbourly relation from time to time from the international point.

The purpose of the Study is to discuss the current status quo of Indo-Bangladesh relation and to look forward to the possible future prospective and way forward for healthy and sustainable development in both the countries. Starting from an economic perspective, as India is an emerging economy there is a huge potentiality lies with it. The growth substance can drastically influence Bangladesh in different fields like eradication of poverty to building infrastructure and on the other way Bangladesh also a huge population base, so for India, its large consumer base can definitely help in the huge export of merchandise and favourable foreign exchange reserve. Secondly, stabilising the national political system in Bangladesh is a priority subject of India. Otherwise, the extremist group in Bangladesh can take over the political tool in its own hand .and the Pakistani extremist group can take an easy political asylum which is the cause of concern for India. So India's cooperation in Stabilizing democracy in that country is always a first-hand objective.

Thirdly, Bangladesh has huge potential for hydropower generation. So with the need of the time, India can strengthen the relationship to hunting the power sector to fulfil its own energy needs. Fourthly, the shifting of foreign policy goal from look east policy to act east policy provides better option to amalgamate with the foreign policy of Bangladesh towards a common goal.

Fifthly, to counter the china's appeasement, India should have a strong diplomatic engagement with Bangladesh in developing infrastructure to port development other humanitarian involvement. China's port development in Chittagong is a huge message towards India. So despite the deplorable issues like illegal migration, India should extend its hand for better and healthy relation. Sixthly, to curb the illegal cattle trading on border areas also not an avoidable cause for India. So, the cooperation of both the nation on the ground can help to find any substantial answer. Myanmar is important to India for economically as well strategically. Stability as well as curbing Beijing's influence in the nascent democracy is imperative for India's own objective of Act East policy and development of the neglected north Eastern region. India must, therefore, to bring peace to this region by all means possible.

1.7 Research Questions:

- Why do people migrate from Bangladesh to India?
- What are the causes of migration among the people of Bangladesh?
- Why does Bangladesh government fail to prevent migration of its own people?
- How does India respond the migrant people of Bangladesh?
- Why are Rohingyas migrating from Myanmar to Bangladesh and India?
- How Rohingyas creates unnecessary threats to India?
- How migrants policy of India impact on India-Bangladesh relations?

1.8 Hypotheses:

- The lack of Socio-economic development and political violence in Bangladesh forcing people to migrate from the country.
- The Rohingya migrant from Myanmar to Bangladesh and India is causing an internal security threat to the region.
- The issue of migration from Bangladesh to India is critically affecting demographics structure of India.

1.9 Research Methodology

The choice of an appropriate research methodology is important for any research work. The proposed study is descriptive, exploratory and explanatory in nature. The research will be historical and analytical methods. The study proposes to refer both primary and secondary sources of information and data by using the deductive method. The textual and conceptual information related to the present study were collected both from primary and secondary sources of information. The primary sources will include reports and documents published by the government of India, the United Nation, and the government of Bangladesh. Secondary sources like books written by experts and researchers, working papers and articles from journals/periodicals, newspaper articles, media briefings, and monographs could be used to substantiate statements and arguments. Journals like *Migration in South Asia: A Review* and *Journal of International Migration Organisation* would be used for the research work.

1.10 Structure of the study

Keeping in view the objectives and the hypotheses this Dissertation has been organised into five chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction

The background of the study is presented in the first chapter; the introductory chapter will address dedicated to the introduction which gives an account of the conceptual and theoretical study of migration. For the better understanding of the chapters briefly discussed the types and factors of migration it also discusses the history of migration in South Asia from 1947 to 2017.

Chapter Two: Causes of migration

This chapter will narrate about the different reasons and causes of migration from Bangladesh to India. This chapter will shortly focus the causal factors behind Bangladeshi migration like economic, political, environmental, and social those contribute migrants to India.

Chapter Three: India and Bangladesh stands on the Rohingya crisis

This chapter briefly describes the legal status of the Rohingya and why they are fleeing Myanmar. The study focused on how India and Bangladesh try to solve the Rohingya crisis. This chapter also looks at how the Rohingyas are creating the unnecessary threat to India as well as Bangladesh in different perspectives internally as well as externally. It also covers how the government of India and Bangladesh is suffering for Rohingya and what is the future initiative to solve this issue smoothly.

Chapter Four: Migration and its Impact on India-Bangladesh Relations

The chapter analyses the impact of India-Bangladesh relations regarding the migration. Moreover, this chapter also tries to focus on how Bangladeshi migrants threaten India's internal security and India-Bangladesh bilateral relations. It also analyses the various migration policies undertaken by different governments and their benefits and impacts for the state to reduce migration.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Finally, the last chapter deals with the overall assessment of the research findings and tests the hypothesis. The conclusion focus will be made on how India and Bangladesh can solve the problems bilaterally and alternative suggestions for the Government will be forwarded for dealing with the issue.

CHAPTER-II

2 CAUSES OF MIGRATION FROM BANGLADESH TO INDIA

2.1 Introduction

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another, and the intentions of settling to new areas can either be permanent or temporary. Migration is the movement of people and the intentions of settling to new areas. One of the critical features of human history is the search for a better standard of livelihood leading to migration from one place to another. This type of people's movement usually covers long distance transcending national boundaries. Nomadic tribe movements are not considered as migration because their intention is not to settle in any new place; instead, they are seasonal. Only a handful of nomadic people today follows this type of lifestyle in the modern era. Migration is as old as human history; the processes continue since time immemorial. During that time if peoples were moving temporarily for pilgrimages or tourism and educational purposes, this will not be considered as migration because the intentions are neither to live nor settle.

After “fertility rate” and “mortality rate,” migration is the third most important component of population distribution that influenced not only the biological aspect but also of social, cultural, political and economic. Most nomadic tribes were known for their frequent migrations for a variety of reasons including the search for food and better habitation. The most important causes of migration are social, economic, and political. The issue of migration is a worldwide phenomenon, and after the Second World War, its crises multiplied all over the world. As far as the nature of the migration process from Bangladesh to India is concerned, it starts from the partition time. The post-independence period has also changed dramatically due to various economic, political, religious and environmental reasons from a well-defined nature of either permanent migration or temporary migration. In other words, migration may also be described as the movement of a people or group of people from one geographical unit to another across an

administrative or political border, wishing to settle permanent or semi-permanent in a place other than their place of origin (IOM 2003)

2.2 Theories and Concept of Migration

The concept of migration is vast and comprehensive regarding definitions given by different scholars who have tried to define the concept of migration with their different approaches. The concepts and definitions of migration differ from one another in many ways. Therefore, to understand the concept of migration, it is highly essential to look at the definition of migration defined by different scholars. While geographers have emphasised the time and space significance of migration, on the other hand, sociologists have laid stress on social and cultural consequences of mobility of migration. Similarly, the economists have given the economic aspects of migration. However, the study has found that the literal meaning of migration is the shifting of people or an individual or group of individuals from one place to another. “Migration is also defined as a permanent change in place of residence by the crossing of specified administrative or political boundaries. The persons who fulfil these two criteria are regarded as migrants”, (Ghosh 2006: 5).

The word “Migration” is derived from the Latin word “Migrate,” which means to change one’s residence” (Noah Webster 2013). Dictionaries generally refer to migration as a change of residence from one area to another. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of current English, “to migrate” means to “move from one place to another (to live there).” According to the Webster’s New World Dictionary, it means “move from one place to another, especially one country to another country” or “to move from place to place to harvest seasonal crops.”

According to United Nation Multilingual Demographic Dictionary (1958), “migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from a place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival” (Ghosh 2006: 5).

Mishra (1981) defined migration as “an inflow or outflow of population from a defined region to another region for a permanent or semi-permanent settlement.”

Mangalam (1968) has analyzed migration as “a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional systems of the migrants.”

Many other researchers (Fernie and Pitkethly 1985) has also rightly pointed out various forms of migration that takes place due to the unacceptable regime, wars, and droughts have engendered a mass movement of refugee suffering from poverty, malnutrition and ill health. Forced migration is due to political causes such as war, displacement decision and physical causes which further include flood, drought, earthquake, and epidemics. Voluntary migrations are caused by objective-based self-decision and higher aspiration of the people.

Similalry, Bogue (1969) suggested that there are both positive and negative aspects of migration. According to him, the positive aspects of migration is related to pulling factors while negative aspects of migration are related to push factors, operating at the destination and origin places of migrants. An adverse effect of migration is seen in the spreads too. Raj (1981) pointed out about the positive and negative effects of migration. However, the collective effect of migration is generally seen in the distortion of the demographic structure at both the places (origin and destination).”

2.3 Types of Migration

Migration is a natural but dynamic phenomenon of social science continuing from primitive to the modern age. Retrospection of our past led to the realisation that migration has been one of the most important factors behind the formation of human history. Migration is not a new circumstance; instead, it is a continuous process and has been playing a significant role in shaping world population patterns, social transformation,

generating feelings and sentiments of ethnicity and culture and in developing nation-building process.

According to the survey of literature related to migration, it may be categorised into two different categories. In general, there are two parts of migration divided by demographers. The field of migration study defines these are internal migration and international migrations (Das and Talukdar 2016). Internal migration is also known as in-migrant because in this regard people migrate within the country's political boundary or same region. According to demographers, most of the people prefer to migrate within a country instead of out of the country because after they move they find familiar culture, language, tradition, social customs, food habits, education, literature, art and music. Comparison to international migration, in-migration or movements of within a nation involves much shorter distances while international migration or out-migration involve long distance. The internal migration or intra-national migration can be divided into two different categories such as "interregional migration" and "intraregional migration." The interregional migration defines an individual move one administrative region of a country to another for the search of a job, for an example migration from Odisha to Gujarat. Intraregional migration means a person's movement within one state or region from older city to newer suburbs for better lifestyle an example rural to urban (Phschool 2018).

Historically Sociologists suggested the main pattern of people's movement has been from a remote rural area to urban metropolitan cities in pursuit of employment. In contemporary the numbers of highly modernised countries have seen people move from a metropolitan city to rural areas for reason of clean, peaceful, attractive environment (Phschool 2018).

The international migration also is known as out-migration. The migration study considered the international migration is when a people migrate from one country territorial administrative boundary to another country, for example, migration from India to France; it is also termed as an immigrant (Das and Talukdar 2016).

The theory of International migration study further classified international migration is of two types namely, voluntary and forced. Forced migration means a push factor that

means some important extreme vulnerable conditions that force people to move to another country. While voluntary migration implies, pull factor that means the peoples movement for better economic improvement. Usually, the cultural factor also compels to be migrated; indeed the economic push and pull factors usually related to voluntary migration (Phschool 2018). Forced migration associated the migrant having no preference but to move forcefully. The voluntary migration is depended on open migrants choice. The pattern of migration from Bangladesh to India is sometimes forced and sometimes voluntary. Further, the patterns of migration depend on factors of migration. The United Nation (UN) defines “an international migrant as a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year” (Koser 2007).

2.4 Push and Pull Factors

Generally, various factors cause people to migrate. It impacted both positive and negative and connected with migration. People are migrating from one country to another for various reasons and purposes. The natural logic for individual movement can be classified into different aspects as political, social, economic, environmental (Dutta 2005). The maximum numbers of people migrate for an economic reason; Poverty, Hunger, security threats recognise no boundary. Moreover, the socio, political and environmental factors are also responsible for migration. Generally, the area of migration study divided it into two main factors namely push factor and pull factor. These factors are important variables in migration history related to the positive and the negative aspects of migration. Push and Pull factors are naturally opposed to each other, the positive aspects are associated with pulling factors while negative aspects are related to push factors, operating at the destination and origin places of migrants. As compare the positive, the negative effect of migration is seen in the spreads too (Bogue 1969). Push factors are in general called negative factors that enforce peoples to leave that place and move to some other place due to different reasons. The Push or the force factors refers to various misery conditions some of the major factors are civil wars or wars in general within a country, political conflicts, religious and communal violence, terror violence, environmental disruptions like climate changes, drought, famine, food shortage, flood,

natural calamities, social causes like lack of job opportunity, lack of career development or simply poverty and so on (Theet 2004).

The Pull factors are factors which inspire an individual move to a new place. Pull factors are called attractive intentions which depending on the individual's choice for the betterment of their life. These factors are encouraging people's for migration include the opportunity for better employment, higher income, social security, better education, peaceful and standard lifestyle, political and religious freedom, amenities of modern and hygienic lifestyle and other attractive amenities (Theet 2014). Many people from across the world like to move towards developed countries like USA, UK, Norway, and Ireland with which the reason is well known.

“Population mobility is best viewed as being arranged along a continuum ranging from totally voluntary migration, in which the choice and will of the migrants is the overwhelming decisive element encouraging people to move, to forced migration, where the migrants are faced with death if they remain in their present place of residence. The extremes in fact rarely occur, and most mobility is located along the continuum” (Hugo 2008: 16).

2.5 Historical and Geographical Perspective of Bangladesh

Post-Second World War when British imperialism was at its lowest, most of the British-colonized countries achieved independence. In August 1947, when the British regime relinquished its power, British India was divided into two independent sovereign countries in the name of religion. Independent India and Pakistan were separated geographically; both adopted the two nations theory whereby Pakistan became a theocratic state rooted in Islamic ideology while India declared itself as a secular country. Muslim-majority Pakistan there has two regions, viz. West Pakistan and East Pakistan, with which both wings are separated from each other with a distance of approximately 1,600 kilometres without a connecting land corridor. Apart from their religion, they have less in common wherein both states, i.e. West Pakistan and East Pakistan, differed culturally, linguistically and geographically causing tension between the two which led to the formation of two independent countries of Bangladesh and Pakistan in 1971. After nine months of civil war, East Pakistan separated from Pakistan and became Bangladesh in 1971 by helping hand of India.

Bangladesh is a new name of the old land. The People's Republic of Bangladesh, culturally and the linguistically formed country is also known as “Bengal nation”. It is a newly emerged and one of the youngest independent countries of the Asian continent, located in the North-Eastern part of South Asia. In the world, India-Bangladesh border is the 5th longest border after US-Canada (8,893 km), Russia-Kazakhstan (6, 846 km), Argentina-Chile (5,300 km), and China-Mongolia (4,677 km) borderline (Smith 2017). Bangladesh shares about 4,096.7 kilometre long borders with five Indian states namely West Bengal (2,216.7 km) in the West, Mizoram (318 km), Tripura (856 km), and Myanmar (271 km) in the East, Assam (262 km) and Meghalaya (443 km) in the north, and Bay of Bengal in the south (Jamwal 2004). Bangladesh also connects its territory with two different regions South Asia and South East Asia; Myanmar is one of the South East Asian countries connected with Bangladesh. Geographically Bangladesh’s six out of seven divisions such as (Rajshahi, Khulna, Rangpur, Mymensingh, Chittagong and Sylhet) shares approximately 95 per cent of borders with India, while only 5 per cent with Myanmar so thereby comparatively making it an “India-locked” country (Bhardwaj 2014).

Geographically Bangladesh is not a big country it has a territory of nearly about 1, 47,570 square kilometres (56,977 sq. miles), (Minister of Planning: GOB 2010). The population of Bangladesh near about 166.37 million, but it is one of the high population density countries (1,252 people per sq.km), its positions eighth most populous country of the planet and fifth most populous country of the Asian continent (World Bank 2018). According to the 2011 census, the majority peoples of Bangladesh follow the religion of Islam, 85 to 90 per cent constitute Muslim peoples are following Sunni Muslims. After Indonesia and Pakistan, it is also the third largest Muslim-majority country in the world (World Bank 2018).

Bengali is the national language of Bangladesh, English is still widely used for official work and business purpose. Three major international rivers in the world flow in Bangladesh, the “Ganges”, the “Brahmaputra”, and the “Meghna” apart from other tributaries and smaller rivers. Due to the fresh water and fertile soil, sixty-eight per cent populations of Bangladesh depend on agriculture and agricultural related work. The

major industries that boost the country's economy include jute, cotton, garments, sugar, textiles, fishing, paper printing, tea processing, cement, and chemical fertiliser. Bangladesh is one among those countries severely affected by the impacts of environmental degradation. Sudden natural disasters and slowest environmental disruption create threats to the livelihoods of many Bangladeshis who depend on agriculture. The country is prone to receiving most natural calamities such as floods, cyclone, drought, salinity, river erosion and so on (Climate change and Bangladesh, 2007).

Mobility is a regular part of everyday life in Bangladesh. It is primarily based on the migrant-sending country whose people mainly work as manual and cheap labourers in various parts of countries and the world especially concentrated in the Gulf countries. Every year thousands of Bangladeshis are leaving the country temporarily to work abroad. Their income of the foreign currency plays a significant role in the country's economic development. Bangladesh is one of the most continually affected nations in the world by the impacts of climate change. Thus emigration is also a significant adopted method of people whose entire lives and livelihoods are endangered by natural disasters and subtle environmental changes.

2.6 History of Migration from Bangladesh to India

The process of migration to the North-eastern British India region to contemporary independent India is a long history, which owes its origin to the colonial period. During the last few decades, a large number of Bangladeshi peoples are migrating to India and other parts of Indian subcontinent. These are some major bitter historical events in South Asia that contribute mass migration towards Indian Territory. After the partition of British India in 1947, the flow of population on both sides of the Indian border approximated around fifteen million undocumented Hindus as well as Muslims entering India. The mass exodus from Burma with more than one million Burmese Indians entered into India from 1948 to 1965. The minority group of Sri Lankan Tamils illegally entered in south India since 1954. The 1971 historic liberation war between India and Pakistan contributed 10 million refugees from East Pakistan to India. In 1981 one million

Chakmas from Bangladesh entered into India particularly in West Bengal and Assam. The Farakka Barrage construction project between and Bangladesh displaced nearly two million peoples; Kapati dam of Bangladesh made nearly 40,000 people homeless. There is no reliable figure on the actual Bangladeshi illegal migrants living in India. According to 2001 Census report of India, it had found that 6,084, 826 people were living in India who was born in other neighbouring countries with fifty-six per cent of the migrants from Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. Most of them have settled in the border states with Bangladesh who are now on the move toward metropolitan cities in different parts of India.

The nature of migration has been elucidated up by Bose (1996) in a short and precise sentence, “The refugees or illegal migrants arrived in India at different times, sometimes as a mass exodus, sometimes as a trickle, sometimes as an almost invisible shadow blending into the background and practically indistinguishable from the local population.”

2.7 Causes of Migration from Bangladesh to India

Migration has become a regular phenomenon between India and Bangladesh. Generally, no clear-cut answer can be attributed for the causation of people to migrate. The rationale behind the migration from Bangladesh to India can be attributed to many economic, social, political and environmental reasons. Besides, all factors are interrelated with one another, with both motivating and forced factors interdependent on one another. The economic factors are related to the political factors, at the same time, the social causes of migration are also linked to the environmental process. Thus, the causes of migration are more or less permanent. However, some of these causes depend on time, conditions and its place. The process of migration is, therefore, a complicated issue.

Hazarika, (2000), has outrightly pointed out that economic destitution, overpopulation, and political reasons are the most important causes of migration. The reason and causes of migration consist of some specific factors such as push-pull, demand- supply and networking forces (Martin, 2003: 6). Haas (2008) argued that some other factors that cause migration include illegal trades, favourable geographic environment, stability and

security of the destination. Even though there is vast literature concerning migration, there is no common accepted theoretical framework regarding the reasons and causes and consequence of migration. According to some authors (Massey et al., 1994: 700), “social scientists do not approach the study of immigration from a shared paradigm, but from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints fragmented across disciplines, regions, and ideologies.” On the other hand, Massey (1993) pointed out that migration cannot be looked at a personal level as it is a multi-layered level. Hugo (1994) argues that the decision to migrate is an arduous and multi-dimensional process.

According to Hazarika (2000: 4),

“Migration is also the outcome of a series of factors as far as the case of Bangladesh is concerned and it appears to be disconnected. Some of these factors are slow to develop, like land degradation; others are dynamic and immediately visible, such as devastating floods. The reasons for migration thus range from population density, land pressures, and land-carrying capacity, erosion of river banks, to even a drop in fish catch and the pull of those who have gone before. There are religious anxieties among smaller groups. These are multidimensional issues. People may also move because they are attracted by the prospects of a better life, not necessarily because they believe they will have one. They know that while life may be better, it may not be easier, at least as far as social interaction with the host community is concerned.”

Migration or mobility from Bangladesh to India has been influenced by various reasons at different points in time. The newly independent Bangladesh is facing much more developmental problems like the weak economy, political instability, poor infrastructure, terrorism, climate change, natural calamities, high unemployment, population growth, and low literacy and so on. These factors are forcing people to migrate to another country. Mobility or migration is a regular part of everyday life in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is the one country on the globe that provides proper training to its citizens for foreign employment (Rammohan E.N. 2006: 17). The “Bureau of Manpower, Employment, and Training” (BMET) is a governmental agency established in 1976 by the government of Bangladesh. The BMET is the highest administrative authority to regulate all kinds of workforce recruitment processes in Bangladesh (Etzold and Mallik 2015). It recruited its workforce to send to foreign countries either through proper consent or through the use of force by providing them proper education, training, and support to cross boundaries, sometimes at gunpoint. It is primarily a migrant-sending

country whose people mainly works as seasonal and cheap labourers in different parts of the world but mainly concentrated in the Gulf and western countries (Government of Bangladesh 2013). Every year thousands of Bangladeshis are leaving the country provisionally to work abroad. The cross-border movement of people between India and Bangladesh comes under the two main factors of “push” and “pull.”

2.8 Factors of Migration

The push factors operating in Bangladesh which encourage peoples to migrate towards India are complex by nature and are interconnected to one another. The major push factors behind the unabated inflow of illegal migrants into India may be identified as follows:

2.9 Population Pressure and Economic Vulnerability of Bangladesh

Many people migrate from Bangladesh to India for economic reason in search of regular employment, better sources of occupation, and better chances of livelihood better educational and social benefits in India (Hazarika 2002). Despite its small size, it is the seventh most populous and one of the developing countries in the world. In 2001, Bangladesh had one of the highest densities of the population with 159 million, and the density of population accounted 1,015 persons per sq.km. East Pakistan or Bangladesh was a region with a high population along with poor economic and social condition. In such a state with a high density of population, people develop the tendency to discover and adopt better living conditions coupled with economic wellbeing, thereby motivating the process of population movement across borders. The majority of migrants from Bangladesh moved for economic reasons to have a better and more secure economic life and higher earnings. “The growing mobility of people is due to their response to differences for economic opportunity” (Abella 2005: 2). So employment or earning opportunities and potential is one of the primary reasons for migration. According to Nandy (2005), neoclassical theory, which stated that people migrate from developing countries to developed nation or from minimum earning to a maximum earning place, is only practically usable to the migration from Bangladesh to India. Deka (2011) pointed out that the economic condition in Bangladesh is forcing people to migrate to India. In

the words of Baruah (1994), “Assam has attracted exceptionally high immigration from other parts of South Asia, especially from the densely populated region of East Bengal that now constitutes the sovereign state of Bangladesh.”

2.10 Political Factors

In the words of Weiner (1995: 29), “most of the population flows since world war two did not merely happen; they were made to happen. For the governments of sending countries, emigration may serve a variety of political objectives. Emigration can be a solution to the problems of cultural heterogeneity. It can be a device for dealing with political dissidents, including class enemies. Moreover, it can be a mechanism for affecting the domestic and foreign policies of other states.”

Generally, migration is two types - voluntary and forced “Bangladesh is a surprising example of a country that has been seen in both trends” (Hazarika 2000: 7). The forced migration is an aspect of sudden extreme events like political instability and extreme environmental degradations that took place in the subcontinent. Some of the significant historical, political violence was the partition of British India in 1947 when the Hindus chose to move to India, leaving everything due to fear of religious (Nanda, 2005). When Bangladesh was separated from Pakistan in 1971, millions of people entered India; the 1965 India-Pakistan war also witnessed humongous migration (Roy: 2003).

The stunning victory of East Pakistan achieved independence from West Pakistan and established a sovereign independent state. The newly independent state faced a much more developmental crisis such as political instability, economic poor and social violence, and that the problems of nation-building process become more complicated for Bangladesh. The minority groups wanted to establish a secular country, while the majority of Muslim people vied for a pro-Islamic ideology. Another major factor of migration from Bangladesh to India was the political instability due to the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman in 1975 which changed the entire political scenario of Bangladesh as a large number of followers of the Awami League wanted to refuge in India.

Insecurity was one of the major causes for migration, and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Bangladesh resulted in contributing mass migration into India. Many Indian newspapers and various reports appeared about cross-border illegal migration into West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and other border states in 1975 (Ghosh 1989: 28). Therefore, the post-independence period of Bangladesh experienced a constant flow of migrants which possibly might have been caused by political instability, administrative discrimination policies, economic crisis, marginalisation of a religious minority and environmental degradation. “According to the government of India report, around 8.3 million people left Bangladesh during the 1971 war due to internally generated economic and political instability or both, followed by externally induced pressure or intervention intended either to exploit or to reverse that growing instability” (Teitelbaum 1948: 433). The 1964 and 1965 violence followed by India-Pakistan war in 1965 contribute 19 per cent Muslims and 6 per cent Hindus to migrate into India. The Pakistan government adopts another program, the Enemy Property Act of 1965 which led to mass exodus of another one million from East Pakistan to take shelter in India. Exploitative and discriminatory actions taken by the sending country had led to forced migration (Nandy 2005: 12).

In 2004, Dutta identified through his field survey that, “Before 1971, massive migration took place during 1948- 52. Main reasons were (I) partition of India and (II) Hindu backlash. During 1964-65, migration was due to Indo-Pak war. Regarding volume, migration was highest before 1971, most probably during 1948-52. If the largest single stream of movement is considered, the peak period was during Bangladesh liberation war in 1971 the main reasons of this massive migration were (I) Political instability in Bangladesh due to independence war in 1971, (II) Lack of safety and securities of the Hindu families mainly, due to war, (III) Religious issue and communal tension affecting mainly Hindus during regime of Ziaur Rahman (1975-1981) (IV) Friends and relatives giving shelter in West Bengal to those displaced undocumented migrants (V) Economic instability in Bangladesh and (VI) Curtailment of facilities enjoyed by Hindu minority group” (Datta 2004: 338).

2.11 Social Factors

The social causes of migration would be a significant issue between India and Bangladesh if we looked at our preparation history all region of British India now became the independent countries of South Asia. That is why the social and cultural ties between among these south Asian countries are a pervasive factor. Linguistically, culturally, and socially, and all south Asian countries are similar to each other. Both the countries of India and Bangladesh are related socially with each other thus paving a relatively easy way for their migration. The social cause of migration from Bangladesh to India is a witness that the communication is one of the primary reasons for migration. The network defined as: “Sets of interpersonal ties that connect migration, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Massey et al., 1993: 448).

According to network theory,

“each act of migration creates the social structure necessary to sustain the additional movement. Migrants are linked to non- migrants through social ties that carry reciprocal obligations for assistance based on shared understanding of kingship, friendship, and common community origin. Non-migrants draw upon these ties to gain access to employment abroad. Every new migrant reduces the costs and risk of migration for a set of friends and relatives, and with these lowered costs and risks, they are induced to migrate, which further expands the set of people with ties abroad” (Massey et al., 1994: 734).

Another primary reason for social causes of migration is freedom from social evil as the peoples of Bangladesh want more freedom politically, economically and religiously. India, being a secular country, might have influenced the people of Bangladesh to think of the former as a bastion of freedom regarding religion, speech, expression, and sound quality of social and political life and hence the widespread migration. The Hindu families are sent to their girls to India for the matrimonial purpose. Some another issues are “Sometimes family meeting and joining of friends, relatives, and neighbours, and low costs of cross-border migration also constitute major components of continuing migration process” (Awal 1998: 181).

2.12 Environmental Factors

Environmental events are one of the major causes of internal and international migration. The environmental migration patterns are divided into two types, viz. gradual environmental change, and unforeseen extreme environmental events. The Environmental events may cause affected peoples to leave their homes at least temporarily or permanently. Both extreme environmental events and gradual environmental change influence people to migrate, however, in different ways. The Sudden extreme environmental events are cyclones, floods, and river erosion. Slow, gradual environmental processes are coastal erosion, rising temperatures, saltwater intrusion, sea-level rise, changing rainfall patterns and drought. Due to the extreme environmental disasters, people have to migrate from their home country to some safer place like India where they get stable living conditions and food securities. Every year each of these events damages to the massive amount of public property lives, infrastructure and the economy of the country.

According to the World Migration Report 2010, it stated that “While the relationship between environmental change and migration is complex and remain unpredictable, the number of migrants, especially in the less developed world, is expected to increase significantly as a result of environmental change” (IOM, 2010: 4). Floods are a reality within the country with every year flooding around one-fourth of the country’s total land. Most people living in these areas have adapted to raising their houses and adjusting their agricultural systems. On the other hand, “once every few years there is a severe flood that covers a considerably greater area with much more significant damage to lives and livelihoods. In the last 25 years, Bangladesh has experienced six severe floods with the 1988 and 1998 floods, causing 2000 to 6,500 peoples livelihood and 1,100 deaths respectively and displacing as many as 45 and 30 million people” (Minister of Environment and Forest: Government of Bangladesh 2005). The 21st century is witnessing the major climate changes not only in Bangladesh but also worldwide. Its effects are probably to increase the risk of more common and rigorous floods through higher river flows resulting from more substantial and more irregular rainfall in the major rivers of the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and the Meghna, on account of increased melting

of the Himalayan glaciers (Minister of Environment and Forest: Government of Bangladesh 2009).

Periodic rigorous floods in Bangladesh resulted in huge scale displacement. The more recent years have seen the devastating flood of 2007 extending the swamping area around 32,000 Kilometers affected almost around 3 million households and 16 million people (Ministry of Food & Disaster Management: Government of Bangladesh 2007). Around 85,000 houses were cruelly affected with 1.12 million hectares of cultivated land damaged and an estimated loss of 5.8 million Bangladeshi Taka. However, as the water recedes, most households do return to their land. Rahman (2000) has suggested that these floods became a contributing factor in decisions concerning migration. According to the official report of Bangladesh, every year 18-20 million people are losing their homes by floods (Prafulla 2006).

The Tropical cyclones hit Bangladesh on average every three years which are accompanied by high winds and storm rise of up to seven meters (Minister of Environment and Forest: Government of Bangladesh 2009). This surge led to massive damage to houses and loss of lives and livelihoods. Tropical cyclones in the 1970's and 1990' killed 500,000 and 140,000 people respectively. As with floods, tropical cyclones cause widespread mass displacement of people both during that time and after the storm itself. The most recent cyclone, Aila, affected 3.9 million people and the loss of about 150,000 livestock, breaching 1,742 kilometres of embankments and displacing 76,478 families in Satkhira and Khulna alone (the two worst affected districts).

The riverbank erosion is a constant threat to people as the latter are living alongside Bangladesh's major river and on river islands '*chars*'. Riverbank erosion is the most common cause of out-migration in Bangladesh, since 1973, over 158,780 hectares of land has been eroded through river bank erosion. The year 2010 alone, displaced nearly 11,000 people whose were lived in the river banks of Jamuna and now more than 5,000 people living alongside the Padma and Ganges rivers (Government of Bangladesh 2010). At the same time, land accumulation creates new land in and along the rivers where approximately more than 2 million people are living on the '*chars*' due to the erosion of river bank people are migrating to an urban area (Lein 2009). The BIMSTIC summit

held in Myanmar during 1-4 March 2014, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina in her delivery address warned that global warming and climate change potentially made 30 million Bangladeshi becoming “climate migrants” (The Hindu 2014).

Slow, gradual environmental degradation processes are coastal erosion, temperatures, saltwater intrusion, rising sea-level, changing rainfall patterns and drought. As with river erosion, coastal erosion is a continuous gradual process in Bangladesh, in which the flow of the country’s main rivers plays an important role. Coastal erosion is a slow-onset environment degradation process with one study identified rates of erosion on “Bhola Island,” for instance, as between 0.31 to 0.43cm per day (Krantz 1999).

Farmers in Bangladesh already have to deal with a highly variable climate including significant variations in the onset and end of monsoon, unpredictable rainfalls patterns and problems with excessive temperatures, dry spells, and low soil moisture (Selvaraju et al. 2006). River water Saline invasion is already a significant problem in the South West of Bangladesh. The decreased flow of the fresh water label on the dry season which enables salt water to pass through on the inland through the canal system, severely limiting the potential for agricultural irrigation and likely damage crops during unusually high tides (Uddin 2006). In the west of the Ganges tidal region, Floodplain Rivers already turn into saline during the dry season and also tube-well irrigation system is not possible because the upper underground water is also saline thus cruelly limiting options for dry season crop production (ibid). On the other hand, over recent decades the salt-water front in tidal rivers has moved inland as a result of the upstream diversion of river water, including by the Farakka barrage in India. Increased salinity in the river water due to the rise of sea level, saline water has critically affected agricultural productivity, with the various effects, changes of soil quality from moderate salinity to strong salinity in the coastal zone and changes of surface and groundwater water quality combining to reduce crop production (Hassan and Shah 2006). “Climate change is expected to exacerbate this situation, with projections by CEGIS suggesting that the ‘5 ppt’ isohaline line could shift as far north as 90 km inland due to sea level rise by the 2070s” (Ahmed and Neelormi 2008).

In addition to natural calamities, there are also man-made disasters which have also affects the environment and also the economic condition of the people of Bangladesh. Examples of such major memorable disasters are the construction of Farakkha Barrage (Swain, 1996), and also the Kaptai Dam, which has displaced around 100,000 peoples and submerged 54,000 acres of cultivated land. This development and displacement government project hugely destroyed the livelihood of the indigenous peoples of those areas (Bangladesh district Gazetteers, 1975).

“Now all of them are not coming to India, but it would be not implausible to believe that some of them would be. The inherent law of migration... is that people move to areas close to themselves which are compatible, geographically and culturally. Over a period, this outflow can cross international borders” (Hazarika 2002: 27).

2.13 Porous Border

The porous border is one of the major causes of dealing the problems of cross-border illegal migration from Bangladesh to India. Bangladesh shares the land border, six out of seven divisions with India having an approximate length of 4,096.7 (Khulna, Chittagong, Dhaka, Rangpur, Rajshahi, and Sylhet). It connects with five Indian states, namely Tripura (856 km), West Bengal (2,216.7 km), Meghalaya (443), Assam (262 km), and Mizoram (318 km). The border includes mountain, plains, jungle terrain, rivers, agricultural lands, sanctuaries, national parks, reserve forests, large estuaries and enclaves with remarkable biological and environmental diversity (Bhardwaj 2014).

The India-Bangladesh border is characterised by not being fully demarcated on their boundaries. The grounds in various places cut through rivers and water bodies, agriculture lands, char lands, mountains, public institutions and communication roads and has resulted in the coming out of many enclaves on the border areas (ibid). These porous borders give the opportunity to migrants to enter into Indian Territory illegally. The illegal movement led to problems of trafficking, cross-border terrorism, illegal trade, counterfeit currency, smuggling, insurgency, arms, and drugs smuggling that directly threatened India’s national security (ibid). Besides this, waterway or maritime are also responsible as approximately 1,000 km river border, and 54 cross-border rivers are shared

between the two countries. The government of both countries has taken various steps to maintain proper vigilance to control population influx including emigration through fishermen's vessels (ibid). The border state of India-Bangladesh has become more complicated due to lack of permanent boundary pillars.

River erosions and rerouting of river courses also create multiple channels, creating problems for innumerable problems with regards to cultivation and thereby internally displacing people and facilitating illegal migration across the border. The people of both countries work in close proximity to the border areas which are heavily populated. "The presence of numerous rivers, rivulets, and other waterways make the India-Bangladesh borders extremely porous and ill-equipped for border management," (Datta 2009). "Most remarkable was the border having 6.5 kilometres of un-demarcated boundaries extending into three sectors. First, West Bengal sector (1.5 km of the Berubari sector at Mouza Daikhata-56 Khudipara-Singhpara); second, in the Assam sector (2.5 km of Lathitila/Dhumabari); in the third, in the Tripura sector (2.5km of the Muhuri River of the Belonia sector at Naokhali/Comilla)" (Chatterjee 2012).

"There are also some adversely possessed exchangeable and non-exchangeable enclaves. India has 111 enclaves in Bangladesh (17,258.24 acres), and Bangladesh has 51 enclaves (7,083.72 acres) inside India" (Gupta and Chanda 2001). This has facilitated natural cross-border movement. On July 31, 2015, was to be the memorable historical day for both India and Bangladesh. On the eve of becoming friendships, a significant step was taken by the government of India and Bangladesh. Throughout that period the Prime Minister of India visited Bangladesh on June 6-7, 2015. As per the Land Boundary Agreement (LBA) 1974 and Protocol of 2011, 111 erstwhile Indian enclaves with an area of 17158 inside Bangladesh and 51 erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves with an area of 7110 inside India, were physically transferred to the other country with effect from the midnight of 31 July 2015 (Government of India 2016). Based on the joint survey exercise by India-Bangladesh with Joint Boundary Working Group carefully "approved in the enclaves it was determined that 989 persons out of total 38,521 residents from erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh have opted to retain their original nationality, while all

14,863 inhabitants of the Bangladesh enclaves in India have opted for Indian citizenship” (Government of India 2016).

2.14 The rise of Islamic Fundamentalism in Bangladesh

The assassination of the architect of Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 15th August 1975 marked an end to the era of secularism in Bangladesh. There was a change in the leadership in April 1977 that led to the removal of the “fundamental principle of secularism” from the constitution, and it was preceded by “In the name of Allah, the Beneficent and the Merciful” and “Bismillah Rahmanir Rahim” (Bhardwaj 2009: 20). The 8th constitutional amendment on June 7, 1988, declared Islam as the state religion. Naturally, the Islamic fundamentalists and Pakistani supporters were happy with the killing of Mijibur and most of his family members including wife, brother, three sons, and daughter in laws. During the regime of Khondarker Mushtaq Ahmed, the Awami leagues with four of their prominent leaders Muhammad Mansur Ali, Syed Nazrul Islam, and A.H.M. Qamaruzzaman including Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed (during liberation period) were cruelly murdered on 3 November 1975 in the Dhaka central jail. On 21 April 1977, Zaiur-Rahman became the president and chief martial-law administrator of Bangladesh, but he was also assassinated in Chittagong Circuit House by Bangladesh army personnel on 30 may 1981. After the major constitutional change and mass murder, the minority Hindu ethnic group fell insecure in Bangladesh that led to large-scale migration into India. During the decade of 1971 to 1981, an estimated 1.8 million Hindus migrated from Bangladesh to India (Thapliyal, 2000).

“The post Mujibur era in Bangladesh has witnessed the reversal of the state principles of secularism, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the growth of Islamic militancy as an integral part of international terrorism” (Nandy 2007).

Hussain Mohammad Ershad became the chief martial law administrator on 24 April 1982. He declared himself the president of Bangladesh in 1983. Ershad added fuel to the fire during his time as he declared Islam as the state religion of Bangladesh that creates more place for the upsurge of Islamic radicalism and Islamic fundamentalist organisations. Likewise, various factors were responsible for the resurgence of Islamic

fanaticism in Bangladesh in the last decade with the tide of rising Islamism as witnessed in the last BNP government (Bhardwaj 2014). The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and its supporters have always wanted to secure the society and polity along the lines of Islamism, vehemently opposing the liberalist and secular notion of the Awami Leagues. The leader of Awami League (AL), Sheikh Hasina, at a delivered speech on 12, April 2004 accused the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party of creating many anti-India extremist groups in CHT. The Mayor of Chittagong, Mohiuddin Ahmad Chowdhury, also told that the Bangladesh army and Bangladesh rifles Personnel were providing training to anti-Indian insurgents in their haven in Bangladesh. The major anti-Indian insurgent organisations to be found in the mainland of Bangladesh are MULTA, ULFA PLA, ATTF, NLFT, NDFA, ATTF, NSCN (IM), Achijk National volunteer council, DimaHalamDaoga and Chakma CNLF (Kalam 2006).

In 2002, India declared that the insurgent organisation operating leaders were living in a different part of Bangladesh (Datta 2009). The training camps have been situated in the Chittagong Hill Track, Bogra, Rajshahi, district of Naogaon, Khustia, and Pabna bordering West Bengal. The Inter-Services Intelligence is today playing a very passive role in Bangladesh by using it as a base for anti-India movements. It is not only running training camps for insurgents in the northeast states of India but also sending them to India. In that manner, it is causing illegal infiltration. “As for the new exodus of Hindus from Bangladesh, they are true refugees; they are not migrants. They are as traumatised, frightened and brutalised as a refuge in any other part of the world and this has been seen especially since the new government in Bangladesh took over. The attacks have abated, and the exodus has eased, but these incidents show the uncertainty and insecurity which remains a part of their lives, leading especially the rural middle class and marginalised to leave” (Hazarika 2002: 28).

Based on the above discussions and analysis, the study has found that, various factors and causes such as economic, political, religious and environmental forces people to move from one destiny to other. These causes are not an exception for the case of migration from Bangladesh to India. As far as migration from Bangladesh to India is concerned, it is a continuing process in general and better livelihood, safety, and security for the

holistic development of an individual or groups are particular. Thus, Migration from Bangladesh to India is a most important issue as far as the present population situation of India is concerned. Since its inception, both the countries especially India has taken several steps to control illegal migration, however still it remained as one of the unsolved issues. On the other hand, after independence, there was also the large-scale migration from Pakistan to India was taking place due to communal violence and other reason. However, the post-partition scenario and major historical events such as the creation of Bangladesh in one hand and poverty, failure of government, environmental degradation, violence, political instability and various internal disturbances in Bangladesh, on the other hand, are the major cause of migration. The issue of migration from Bangladesh to India has caused grave concerns about the threats posed by them, not only to the Border States but also to the Indian subcontinent. Within this context, more attention should be given in this regard.

CHAPTER-III

3 INDIA AND BANGLADESH STANDS ON THE ROHINGYA CRISIS

3.1 Introduction

The theory of migration study explains that there are two factors namely the pull factor and the push factors which influence the issue of migration. The reasons of attractive incentives for migration are known as the Pull factors of migration whereas the compelling circumstances forcing migration are known as the Push factors. The push factors are related to negative aspects which may be war, poverty, natural disasters, and religious violence and so on whereas pull factors are related to positive aspects such as political stability, good governance, freedom, liberty, equality, higher incomes, developed infrastructure, peaceful leaving style, family reasons. However, whenever someone hears the word refugee, there are many terms and images that springs to mind of violence, mass exodus, genocide, human rights, and national security and so on, (Jha 2018). In the background of the Rohingya refugee crisis in Myanmar, it may be identified as the push factor of migration due to extreme ethnic bloodshed, violence, mass murder, rape and torture, and arson by Myanmar security forces.

3.2 Historical Background of the Rohingya crisis

In the last few years, in the persecuted minority community in the world that has caught maximum international attention, that is the Rohingyas of Myanmar. The Rohingyas are predominately an ethnic Muslim minority (Sunni Islam) group settled in the North-west coastal region of Rakhine province of Myanmar. Moreover, a smaller number of the Rohingyas are also staying in countries like Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Bangladesh. The Rakhine province of Myanmar shares a border with Bangladesh. It is accounted that the Rohingyas are approximately seven per cent of Myanmar's population nearing about 1.1 million. They have been residing in Rakhine state since time immemorial. The historians have traced that the Rohingyas in the region has settled there since the fifteenth century. The Arakan Rohingya National Organisation claimed

thousands of Rohingya Muslims came to the former Arakan Kingdom (presently Rakhine) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's for cultivation when Rakhine was governed by British colonial rule as a part of the British India (Shamilapur and Sittwe 2015). They are socially diverse in comparison to Myanmar's dominant Buddhist groups on many grounds like culturally, ethnically, linguistically, religiously, rituals, food habits, living style and so on. Since independence the successive governments of Burma and the dominant Buddhist nationalist community peoples (who consists of 80 percent of Myanmar's population) claimed that Rohingyas are illegal immigrants who came from East Bengal during the colonial period, and hundreds and thousands among them had left during the period of India partition by the British which was followed by a large-scale of peoples movement during the Bangladesh war of independence in 1971 (Ahmed 2009).

As per the survey of the World Bank report, the Rakhine state is one of the least developed regions in the country. Around 78 per cent of total people's of Rakhine living under below the poverty line. The region has poor infrastructure like schools, colleges, health facility along with a lack of employment opportunity. This province has witnessed a rapid violation of human rights and this inhuman cruelty over the Rohingyas community is considered to be one of the most persecuted ethnic communities on Earth (IOM 2016).

3.3 Legal status of the Rohingya

Burma achieved independent from the British regime on 4th January 1948. The earlier citizenship laws 1948 of Myanmar considered that all persons, those who are born on Myanmar's soil and whose one parent is Burmese are the citizens of Myanmar (Swanson 2013). However, the dictator General Ne Win's who come to power in 1962, set up a plan to declassify and revoke the rights of the Rohingya Muslim community. He cancelled the Rohingya's language programs in 1965. He also established the country's constitution in 1974 and changed the name of Arakan to Rakhine state (Thevathasan et al., 2014). Then in 1982, he passed an inequitable law called the Citizenship Act. According to 1982 national law, those people who came to the Rakhine state by the

British colonial government during the British regime and their ancestors must have settled in Myanmar after 1823, therefore and they do not come under the 135 indigenous ethnic group lists which is an officially recognised list by the government (ibid). The 1973 census report of Myanmar recognised that the country has 143 ethnic groups; the Rohingya and other Muslims were identified as an indigenous of Myanmar (Win 2015). The controversial citizenship law of 1982 delisted Rohingya Muslims from ethnic groups list, and the same laws has granted the legitimate citizenship status to other groups including Burman, Karen, Kayah, Mon, Kachin, Sahan, Rakhine and other ethnic groups who settled in Myanmar territory before 1823 (Thevathasan et al., 2014). Meanwhile, the government declared that the Rohingya Muslims are a non-indigenous ethnic group of Myanmar.

Consequently, since then, the government of Myanmar has been refusing to give them citizenship rights, and in the meantime, the Rohingyas are not to be considered as the citizens of Myanmar. They are treated as the foreigners as well as illegal migrants by the country. As a result, the unjustly bitter governmental decision has forced nearly 1.1 million Rohingyas to be stateless, alien and immigrants and finally, they became the alien in their homeland (Eleanor 2018). The government has stopped all basic rights for them. They have been living in an open prison in the northern province of Arakhan, the capital city of Rakhine state. They have been denied all basic human rights, and their fundamental rights are also violated in their day to day life. For example, educational rights for the Rohingya students prevents from taking up subjects like engineering, medicine, history, law, and dentistry. They have faced discrimination in the field of employment, no right for religious choice, restriction of marriage, during the marriages time the groom's beards should be cleanly shaven before marriage is approved. Marriage permission is desirable from the governmental authorities to marry (Rights 2014). To reduce their population, family planning of two child policy has been strictly applied for Rohingyas. No basic medical service, no rights to freedom of movement are granted, and they are even not allowed to move freely between villages (Thevathasan et al., 2014). Travel restrictions greatly hurt them from pursuing higher education and doing business. According to Action centre La Faim report in 2012, child morbidity is outrageously high in Northern Arakhan. This report has also pointed out that only 42 nurses are applicable

for the entire health care services of the Northern Arakan which means that on an average one nurse is available per 18,400 people in other areas while in Maungdaw Township those is only one nurse for 58,000 people (Win 2015).

These extremely vulnerable and inhuman conditions have forced the Rohingyas to flee their homeland. Confiscation is a common practice in the Rohingya inhabited area. The Buddhist people have captured all properties like houses, shops, mosques, and cattle which are taken away from them and converted into modern villages. The government also depopulated the Rakhine Rohingya districts (Thevathasan et al., 2014).

The Rohingyas are treated as foreigners, engaged in forced labour without payment, subjected to torture including arbitrary arrest, extrajudicial killing, and restricted access to health care and educational institutions. Women and girls were being brutally raped, abducted, attacked and murdered without any proper justice (ibid). The director of the Arakan project Chris Lewa said: “The Rohingya have been constant victims of arbitrary arrests, extortion, harassment, and fines due to their precarious legal status and laws prohibiting basic rights such as freedom of movement” (Swanson 2013). As a result of the law, the Myanmar governments has enforce numerous strict restrictions on Rohingya, such as rights to work, study, freedom of movement, access to health services, practice their religion, and right to marry. The Rohingya cannot vote under the law; they enjoyed limited civil rights and limited placed for them entering into certain professions such as law and medicine these are the violation of human rights (Prodip 2017).

3.4 Causes of the Rohingya Migration

In 1982 after Myanmar’s national citizenship law was passed, in overnight, the Rohingyas political status was changed dramatically. It made nearly 1.1 million Rohingya homeless. The law was strongly condemned by various national and international organizations. Until 1962 the independent government of Myanmar accepted Rohingyas as an ethnic minority and the Rohingya were accessed full citizenship, but after the military government of General Ne Win took power in 1962, their citizenship rights were taken away. However, after twenty years they were able to register as temporary residents with identification cards (Eleanor 2018). The temporary

identification cards have been issued by the government for many Muslim groups both for Rohingya and non-Rohingya till 1990. This card is known as a white card, but it conferred limited rights. Under his dictatorial regime “Operation Nagamin” was started on 12 December 1977. The national census registered all indigenous groups as citizens by the military government and Rohingya were treated as foreigners and excluded them from that census (Ullah 2011). As a decision, Myanmar citizenship registration policies forced Rohingyas to migrate to Bangladesh. The first major migration wave started in May 1978 approximately 200,000 Rohingyas fled Myanmar and migrated to Bangladesh (Coutts 2005; Ullah 2011).

The Myanmar government’s “Central Body” introduced three type coloured cards in 1989. These cards called Citizens Scrutiny Cards (CSC). These three cards differentiated between each other, the ‘Green cards’ were for naturalised citizens, the ‘blue cards’ for associate citizens, and the ‘pink cards’ for full citizens. The central body did not issued any CSC cards for Rohingyas and argued that the Rohingya Muslims were not qualified for any of these colour cards status (Lewa 2001; Uddin 2012). Then the ethnic bloodshed and state-sponsored series of attack started in 1991-1992 which pushed 250,000 Rohingyas from the western part of Myanmar’s Rakhine State to the southeast district of Cox’s Bazar in Bangladesh (Mahmood 2012; Ullah 2011).

Since the 1970s a number of attacks on Rohingyas in Myanmar have been forcing them to flee to neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh, India, Thailand, Malaysia and other south-east Asian countries. Put simply the Rohingyas are the animals, aliens or non-humans for Myanmar. Many inflammatory Buddhist politicians and authors referred to Rohingya as a virus for the country (Thevathasan et al., 2014). Common Burmese people look at them as the illegal Bengalis. The antagonistic to the groups of Rohingya and various governments and nongovernment institutions have been brainwashed and have been propagating anti-Muslim campaigns against Rohingya to the common people since decades (ibid).

Despite repeated calls for change in the previous discriminatory law, attempts at amendment by Tin May, a Member of Parliament (MP) from Union Solidarity and Development Party in November 2012, the situation remains the same. At that time much

international communities had also spoken to amend the law, but the Buddhist parliamentarians were opposed to such an amendment. The refusal amendment proposal added fuel to the fire for the Rohingya, and the sectarian violence broke out in Rakhine state between the Buddhist population and Rohingya the Muslims in June and October 2012 (Swanson 2013).

The violence finally broke out between the Rohingya Muslims minority and the Buddhists after weeks of sectarian disputes in 2012 including when three Rohingya men were apparently accused of brutal gang rape and murder of a Buddhist woman near her village (Tha Pri Chaung) in Rakhine state (Narinjara 2013). On 8 June 2012, Rohingyas started to burn Buddhist and other ethnic communities' houses and causing an unknown number of deaths and destroyed Rakhine States properties (Fuller 2012). This incident led to clashes between the two ethnic groups. The Buddhists got a chance to root out the historical problem, the riots between the two groups had started in Maungdaw including beatings, killings and burning down Rohingyas villages and homes. On 10 June 2012, the state of emergency was declared by President Thein Sein due to "unrest and terrorist attack" and "intended to restore security and stability to the people immediately" (ibid).

The ethnic bloodshed between Rohingyas and Buddhists erupted again in late October. According to the Myanmar government report, as a result of the riots, 88 peoples lost their lives of which 57 were Muslim Bengalis, and 31 peoples were from Rakhine state (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Government of Myanmar 2012). Both Rohingyas and Buddhist burnt down more than 4,600 houses and religious buildings; more than 22,000 people were displaced in the latest wave of violence. The outburst of fighting between two groups since violence broke out in June displaced around 100,000 people (BBC 2012).

Soon after the incident, the Rohingya Muslims saw themselves being evicted from their homes and land by Myanmar military. In August 2014 UNHCR reported that since the violence erupted in June 2012 about some 87,000 people (mostly Rohingya) fled Rakhine State and during which at least 200 people died (Aljazeera 2018). In 2015 UNHCR claimed hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas fled Myanmar and entered into Bangladesh and other South Asian countries and many of them also travelled towards South East

Asian countries including Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia via the waters of the Andaman Sea and Malacca Strait (The week 2015).

The clashes in Rakhine broke out again in October 2016 when Rohingya insurgent group Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army” (ARSA) attacked Burmese border posts along with the Myanmar-Bangladesh border. The ARSA, formerly known as Harakatul Yakeen, first developed in October 2016; the group leader of (ARSA) Atullah Abu Amar Jununi released an 8-minute video statement, blamed the Myanmar military for murder, arson, torture and mass rape against Rohingya (Edroos 2017). He also said “For over 75 years there have been various crimes and atrocities committed against the Rohingya...that's why we carried out the October 9, 2016, attack - to send a message that if the violence is not stopped, we have the right to defend ourselves”.

According to the Myanmar state report on 9 October 2016, the insurgent group coordinated and attacked several police posts and killed nine border guards. Meanwhile, the government of Myanmar declared ARSA is a terrorist organisation following the attacks and government has claimed that ARAS is intent on establishing an Islamic state in Rakhine (Taylor 2017). The ARSA actions emerged out of “systematic abuses of genocidal proportions” and “This is not a terrorist group aimed at striking at the heart of Myanmar society as the government claims it is”, Maung Zarni told Aljazeera (Edroos 2017).

According to UN officials, in response, the authorities in Myanmar launched a counter military campaign against the Rohingya in Rakhine it was called “Clearance Operations” from October 2016 to June 2017 more than 1,000 Rohingya Muslim civilians have been killed in a counter-insurgency operation (Withnall 2017). Following of the ARSA attacks, the ethnic violence erupted once again on 25 August 2017 in Northern Rakhine state (Htusan 2017). At least seventy one people have been killed in overnight during fighting between the Myanmar security forces and Rohingya militants. The State Counselor’s office said Myanmar left 12 security personnel, 59 Bengali insurgents, ten police officers, one soldier, and one immigration officer dead (ibid).

Nobel peace prize winner, Aung San Suu Kyi, said that Myanmar's military and border police force responded to the attacks by launching huge counter-offensive called "clearance operations" (ibid). The violence resulted in the deaths of hundreds of death of the innocent civilian in Rakhine. The UN Special Reporter on Human Rights for Myanmar, Yanghee Lee, reported on 25 August that at least 1,000 people had been killed over the past two weeks where most of them were non-combatant civilians including children and women (Wright and Westcott 2017).

Rex Tillerson, the United States Secretary of State, said: "These abuses by some among the military, security forces, and local vigilantes have caused tremendous suffering and forced hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children to flee their homes" (Bangladesh Defence Forum 2017). After the crackdown, thousands of Rohingyas quickly began to flee Myanmar and entered into Bangladesh. The recent violence in Myanmar has displaced nearly 582,000 Rohingya refugees, and they have taken shelter in Bangladesh refugee camp in Cox's Bazar near the Myanmar border. None of the immediate neighbouring countries such as India, Bangladesh, Thailand, China, are willing to support or accept them. Despite the end of the military regime in Myanmar, the democratic welfare government has taken no effective steps to root out this controversy.

3.5 The Violence of Human Rights and Ethnic Cleansing in Myanmar

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood", (Article 1 of UDHR). These are the valuable words of the starting lines of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" the most widely recognised announcement of the rights that every individual on our Earth has (UDHR 1948).

According to United Nations (UN) Human Rights chief, Zeid Raad Al Hussen said that the infringement against the Rohingya population in Myanmar is a witness of "Textbook Example of Ethnic Cleansing" and a similar statement was delivered by UN Secretary-General António Guterres (The Guardian 2017). The then secretary of state for United States Rex Tillerson told in a report that "The situation in northern Rakhine state

constitutes ethnic cleansing against the Rohingya” (The Guardian 2017). The United Nation has in the previously characterised ethnic cleansing as “rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area”, (ibid). The “ethnic cleansing” is not identified as a different crime under the Universal law; on the other hand, international courts heard allegations of “ethnic cleansing” as part of the widespread and wider precise human rights violations. Radovan Karadzic, the former Bosnian Serb leader (1992-95) who told ethnic cleansing is condemned of genocide and crime against humanity (The Guardian 2017). Phil Robertson, Asia division Deputy Director of Human Rights Watch’s (HRW), said initial inspection in Myanmar was “indicative of an ethnic cleansing campaign”. He also states that “when an army is burning people out of their villages all over northern Rakhine state and using violence against civilians, it results in the kind of incredible refugee flows we are seeing,”

3.6 Genocide and Crimes against Humanity in Myanmar

The term “genocide” was not a word in the dictionary before 1944. In 1943, A Russian intellectual Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959) formulated the term “genocide” in a book entitled “Axis Rule in Occupied Europe” documenting Nazi policies of systematically destroying national and ethnic groups (Lemkin 1944: 79). Genocide is the very specific term, referring to brutal crimes committed against groups with the intent to destroy the existence of the group. Lemkin defines genocide as “a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves.” According to the definition above, the activities carried out by Myanmar government in Rakhine province against Rohingyas is seemed like an act of genocide.

With the view of killing thousands and thousands of Rohingyas Muslims, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has accused and amounted to “genocide” (The Guardian 2017). According to United Estimate, more than 400 people have died in a week after the Rohingya insurgents attacked security forces (The Guardian 2017). The majority Buddhist army responded with a huge counter-offensive series of brutal crackdown

attacks, and immediately started operations against the insurgents it was called “clearance the insurgents”.

The director of the Arakan project Chris Lewa said “according to our information from the ground, at least 130 were killed, most of them died from gunshot wounds” and she also added the military surrounded the village and attacked people when they fled (Holmes and Stoakes 2017). It is evident from social media and uploaded the videos that hundreds of civilians were killed and tortured. According to UNHCR estimates, in May 2012 clashes with Buddhist caused 168,000 Rohingya Muslims to Myanmar and attempted to cross into neighbour south Asian countries such as Bangladesh (Tan 2017).

Deputy Asia director for Human Rights Watch Phil Robertson said “The government has to stop this offence. It has to allow humanitarian assistance and let journalists be allowed into this area” (The Guardian 2017). UNHCR’s Representative in Bangladesh Shinji Kubo said “These children, women, and men are highly vulnerable. They are being re-victimised even in exile unless urgent action is taken”. Myanmar does not recognise the Crimes against humanity and genocide systematic attacks against the Rohingyas. At the United Nations, the US ambassador Nikki Haley condemned ARSA but added: “As Burmese security forces act to prevent further violence, they have a responsibility to adhere to the international humanitarian law, which includes refraining from attacking innocent civilians and humanitarian workers.”

The 1991 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Aung San Suu Kyi, has endured boundless universal critic judgment for not doing sufficient to safeguard the homeless Rohingya community. Suu Kyi who gave her speech in Oslo while receiving Nobel Peace Prize in 1991 that “ultimately our aim should be to create a world free from the displaced, the homeless and the hopeless, a world of which each and every corner is a true sanctuary where the inhabitants will have the freedom and the capacity to live in peace” (BBC 2018). However, she expressed her views that she has no direct authority over the Myanmar armed force which remains powerful under the country’s army-written constitution. International leaders claimed that she is Myanmar’s Foreign Affairs minister and de facto civilian leader and has guarded the brutal military operation. A senior U.S. official explained in a conference call “It is not a situation that is completely under her authority,

but certainly we are counting on her to show leadership and also to work through the civilian government with the military to address the crisis”. Dalai Lama reported in Australia in 2015 “I met her two times, first in London and then the Czech Republic. I mentioned about this problem, and she told me she found some difficulties, that things were not simple but very complicated”, (BBC 2018).

3.7 Bangladesh’s Stand on the Rohingya Crisis

Bangladesh is one of the countries in South Asia, facing the real brunt of the refugee crisis which received the mass exodus crowd of Rohingyas refugees from Myanmar’s Rakhine state. Even though geographically Bangladesh is a small country, has a high density of the population of 1,049 persons per sq.km. At the same time, internationally it is one of the host countries of refugees with the maximum number of Rohingyas since 1978 after Myanmar designated Rohingya as the non-indigenous ethnic group of Myanmar (External Affairs report of Bangladesh, 2013). At present, country hosts around 8, 00000 of Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar.

Since Rohingyas are linguistically Bengali; religiously Islamic followers; and culturally similar to the Bangladeshis, therefore, their priority is to move towards Bangladesh through different routes. Physically Bangladesh shares 170 miles of land border with Myanmar, which is an easy way for Rohingya to enter into Bangladesh.

Rohingya refugees have been coming from Myanmar to Bangladesh when they faced abuses of human rights, limited mobility, forced labour, discrimination, rape, and murder by Myanmar military since the 1970s. In 1978 Myanmar government’s citizen registration policies forced them to enter Bangladesh (Haque 2012). In 1991-1992 state-sponsored bloodshed in Myanmar forced more than 2, 50,000 Rohingya refugees from Rakhine state to come into the south-east district of Cox’s Bazar in Bangladesh (Imran and Mian 2014). The government of Bangladesh recognised vast numbers of Rohingya refugees are unlawfully residing in Bandarban, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Cox’s Bazar (Haque 2012). In the early of 2000s, about 230,000 of Rohingyas were returned to Myanmar against their will, and approximately 20,000 Rohingyas had taken shelter in Nayapara and Kutupalong refugee camps of Bangladesh (Larry 2005). During the

influxes of 1991-1992, the GOB initially accommodated twenty-one refugee camps for Rohingyas in the south-eastern region in Cox's Bazar (Zinnat 2016).

According to the "International Organization for Migration" report, more than 87,000 Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh from October 2016 to July 2017 (Tan 2017). UNHCR report of 2017 states that since the violence began in 2017 more than 500,000 Rohingyas have fled to Bangladesh and more than 1,000 Rohingya people have been killed in Myanmar (Tan 2017).

The treatment and status of the persecuted Rohingyas refugees have become a debatable issue for Bangladesh government because Bangladesh does not have any bilateral and multilateral treaty with Myanmar. Bangladesh is not bound lawfully to arrange a requirement for the refugees (Ahmed 2010). Moreover, Bangladesh is not a party state of the 1951 UN "Refugee convention" and its 1967 "Refugee Protocol" is just like India's. Bangladesh is also not a signatory member of the 1954 and 1961 "Stateless Persons Conventions" (Abrar 2012). However, Bangladesh has often opened its border door to welcome the world's one of the most persecuted Rohingya ethnic minority in the biggest humanitarian possible way. After the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed in 1993 between Bangladesh government and United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Bangladesh governments welcomed to UNHCR taking responsibility of the Rohingyas in refugee camps (D'Costa, 2014).

Issues became severe when the recent crisis took place on 25 August 2017 in Myanmar whereby the new arrivals approximately 655,500 Rohingyas were forced to flee into Bangladesh. As a result, the total number of migrants from Myanmar to Bangladesh crossed over 868,000 (IOM 2018). Khondker M Talha, the Bangladesh Deputy High Commissioner illustrated that the latest 25 August incidents as an "in the history of mankind, the fastest displacement of a persecuted population". On 4 October 2017, a joint statement from the UN office for the UNICEF and "Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs" (OCHA), was highlighted regarding the Rohingya refugee crisis, "staggering in its scale, complexity and rapidity and the world's fastest developing refugee emergency" (OCHA 2017). In the report of the UN office for the UNICEF and "Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs" (OCHA) suggested that Bangladesh admitted more refugees

within three weeks of violence eruption. Executive director of UNICEF Mr Anthony Lake reported at a joint press conference along with the Emergency Relief Coordinator, Mr. Mark Lowcock that, “we shouldn’t let the numbers of this crisis numb us to the fact that every one of these numbers represents a human life, the majority of them are children - children who need our urgent help” (ibid).

According to report, 4,000 to 5,000 Rohingyas were crossing the border each day; they were staying either under the open sky or in new refugee camps at Nayapara and Shah Porir Dwip, and many areas of Cox’s Bazar, Ukhiya’s Kutupalong and Palongkhali, at Teknaf town of Bangladesh (Miaze 2017).

The arrival of the Rohingya more than half a million since 25 August has put a boundless pressure on camps in Bangladesh where there are growing fears of a disease epidemic. The World Health Organization warned on 6 December 2017 that diphtheria is now spreading rapidly in refugee camps of Cox’s Bazar. Probably 449 peoples have been affected with 9 of them were leading death (IOM 2017). International Organization for Migration (IMO) has been providing health care service to Rohingya since 2013 and is now expanding its service with 100,000 medical consultants.

In refugee camps, there is lack of proper sanitation facilities such as clean water, enough toilets, bathrooms, basic health and other facilities whereby they were using water from various open sources and suffered from many diseases (Miaze 2017). Dr Iqbal Mahmud doctor of Chittagong Medical College Hospital and his medical team reported in the Dhaka Tribune “Hundreds of thousands of refugees are living under open sky amid rain. As a result, they are suffering from cold and fever, while clean water shortage is leading to diarrhoea diseases”. Frequent rainfall and mosquitoes at night made people’s lives more difficult. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) technical officer Syed Abu Hasan in Bangladesh, told every management groups should set up their work to provide shelters and clean water to the refugees. The “Department of Public Health Engineering of the Bangladesh government” controls the water supply. The governments and NGOs have installed 1,800 new toilets near the Kutupalong and Palongkhali new shelter houses (Miaze 2017). Since the crisis has started the UN and other international organisations have delivered 9 million food rations, provided emergency shelter kits to 190,000 peoples

and 159,000 peoples with access to primary healthcare service. Over 3,000 latrines and 400 tube wells have been constructed. More than 100,000 children are vaccinated for against rubella, polio, and measles by the Government and with the kind of support of WHO and UNICEF.

After visiting the Kutupalong refugee camp in Ukhiya, a border town in the Cox's Bazar district, Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina delivered the statement, "We have the ability to feed 160 million people of Bangladesh, and we have enough food security to feed the...refugees." She has also provided 2,000 acres of land in Cox's bazaar for the camp of the refugees (Suresh 2017). When Sheikh Hasina attended the UN General Assembly meeting in 2017, she narrated that the Rohingya refugee problem is not a question only for Bangladesh, and rather it has turned into a global matter from a regional one (Aljazeera 2017). In her speech, she reiterated Bangladesh was providing home more than 800,000 Rohingya, of whom 430,000 had arrived in the past twenty days (Aljazeera 2017). Hasina also added a point to create a "safe zones" under the UN supervision inside Myanmar's Rakhine state where Rohingya refugees could return. Moreover, she also highlighted about the attitude of Myanmar government by stating "We are horrified to see that the Myanmar authorities are laying landmines along their stretch of the border to prevent the Rohingya from returning to Myanmar."

3.8 Hasina's Five-Point Formula for Rohingya

In order to solve the problem of Rohingyas issues, Sheikh Hasina, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh has proposed the five-point formula at 72nd UN General Assembly at New York in 2017. She also called for immediate steps to end the "ethnic cleansing" (Habib 2017). Hashina explained her five points which are the followings

- Firstly, "Myanmar must stop the violence and practice of ethnic cleansing in the Rakhine state unconditionally, immediately and forever".
- Secondly, "she requested that UN Secretary-General should immediately send a fact-finding mission team to visit the ill human living conditions area".

- Thirdly, “all civilians irrespective of religion and ethnicity must be protected in Myanmar”. She said that these people should be given an opportunity to live in a safe zone under UN supervision and honour.
- The fourth point was “sustainable return to all forcibly displaced Rohingyas in Bangladesh to their homes in Myanmar must be ensured.”
- The fifth point the “recommendations of the Kofi Annan Commission report must be implemented immediately, unconditionally and entirely.”

3.9 Bangladesh initiatives for Rohingyas

Despite the many problems faced domestically, Bangladesh has been taking a numbers of initiatives for the Rohingya refugees. Bangladesh has built one of the world’s largest refugee camps to provide shelter for all the 800,000 oppress Rohingya Muslims who have come from Rakhine (The Guardian 2017). Amit Kumar Baul, the Bangladesh head of the government official said in 2015 that Bangladesh has planned to relocate thousands of Rohingyas who have been spending their life in camps near the Myanmar border to a southern island (The Guardian 2015). The government administrator has identified a suitable area in Hatiya Island, inside of 200 hectares in the Bay Of Bangle to shift them. According to Bangladesh official, Amit Kumar Baul said “The government has been giving importance to the tourism sector. Therefore a plan to relocate them to an isolated area the work processing is underway” (ibid).

Bangladesh administrators had planned to expand a refugee camp for the overflow of refugees at Kutupalong near the border town of Cox’s Bazar to shelter the Rohingya (The Guardian 2017). Before 2017 the Kutupalong camp had existed in 720 hectares of land, but after the 25 August episode, the newcomers has exceeded 500,000, and the Bangladeshi government added another 400 hectares for the new camp (ibid). Minister for disaster management and relief, Mofazzal Hossain Chowdhury Maya said “all the Rohingyas would eventually be moved from 23 camps along the border and other makeshift camps around Cox’s Bazar to the new zone”, he also added “All of those who are living in scattered places ... would be brought into one place. That is why more land is needed slowly all of them will come” (ibid).

The government of Bangladesh and many international voluntary organisations and NGOs were providing humanitarian aids including shelter, food, cloth, sanitation and clean water in refugee camps. According to IOM, approximately 80 per cent of Rohingya who comes from Myanmar, are mainly children and women and most of them are suffering from cold, fever, and diarrhoea and other waterborne diseases. The government also welcomed Red Crescent Societies (IRFC), World Food Program, International Federation of Red Cross, and the Red Crescent Society of Bangladesh.

Emergency Relief Coordinator Mr Mark Lowcock said 2017 “The conditions that people are living in are horrific, and it is vital that we do all we can to make sure that the current refugee tragedy does not now become a catastrophe with the outbreak of diseases. We will only ensure that if there is more funding to scale up the response.”

In the midst of the crisis in the refugee camps, Bangladesh administration also provides basic primary education for Rohingya children, who have been receiving a formal education since 1997 (Feeny 2001). After 2007, the GOB established secondary education system for Rohingya students. At present inside the camps, they have 21 primary schools (10 schools in Kutupalong and 11 in Nayapara), and there are also 2 secondary schools (one is Kutupalong, and another is Nayapara) with 45 classrooms where 67 proper trained Bengali and Rohingya teachers have been employed (Prodip 2017). They are providing the best and free education for all in a possible way. These facilities enable for 4,000 students to access child-friendly healthy environment and education. Each school is supplied free educational equipment such as textbooks, writing pens, notes, blackboard, chalk, slates, with seating mats and other educational resources provided by international organisations and governments (ibid). All students are following the governmental recommended educational curriculum and take exams for their better future. At present, the education program regulated by Research Training and Management International (RTMI) in all camp schools are only taught English and Burmese language education and are completely prohibited from learning Bangla language (Karim 2018). The government of Bangladesh is providing the Burmese language rather than Bangla language for the quick deportation of the Rohingya refugees.

The government was thinking if the Rohingya learn Bangala language they would future create the burden for Bangladesh.

Presently, Bangladesh stands tall in the eyes of the world. The economic burden is previously remarkable in Cox's Bazar where many of the Rohingya refugee camps are placed. The regional populations are facing much more problems like job shortages, cost rising, social conflict and other problems. Bangladesh plans to repatriate the Rohingya has been put on hold because of continued violence in Myanmar and an anti-Rohingya tendency. With repatriation deferred, the GOB will need more international help. This is not a small crisis that can be managed alone. Therefore, Bangladesh has been trying to cooperate and work with different countries in order to tackle the Rohingyas problems.

India's Stand on the Rohingya Crisis

Geographically India shares a long mountainous and unfenced extremely porous land border with Myanmar which it approximately 1,670 km along with 200 km of the maritime border (Rai 2009). It connects with four north-eastern Indian states like Nagaland (250 km), Mizoram (510 km), Manipur (398 km), and Arunachal Pradesh (520 km), (The Economic Times 2017). Historically both countries are holding strong socio-cultural, ethnic, kinship and linguistic ties with Buddhist heritage. India and independent Burma signed a treaty of friendship in 1951 (Lall 2006). Internationally Myanmar and India both are members of some regional organisations such as "Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation" (BIMSTEC), and the Mekong Ganga Cooperation. Myanmar is the only Southeast Asian country connecting its land border with India; therefore it is the gateway for India to access greater economic integration with other South East Asian countries. India has been engaging with the south-east region or (ASEAN) through its upgraded old policy of "Look East" to "Act East" in 2014, under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's regime. Recently on 3rd, January 2018, the Indian union cabinet accepted the agreement between the two countries cross-border movement for border inhabited people would move legally. The Indian government said that "the agreement was an enabling arrangement for the movement of people across the India-Myanmar border, designed both to facilitate regulation and harmonization of the movement of people and to provide connectivity and enhance

interaction between those from India's northeastern states and the people of Myanmar", (Parameswaran 2018).

In the meantime, the Rohingya refugee crisis is one of the significant serious issues between India and Myanmar. It has been disrupting bilateral relations between the two countries when communal, ethnic brutal bloodshed violence erupted in Myanmar in 2012. As a result, hundreds and thousands of Rohingya refugees illegally entered into India.

India does not have any refugee-specific law. In the entire south Asia India has caught the maximum attraction for refugee crisis since the partition movement to till now. This process is still continuing. The president of United States George Walker Bush once mocked that India surrounded with the very dangerous neighbourhood (Dubey 2017). The Rohingya refugee crisis is the latest burning example of the reality. According to the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, India is home to approximately 40,000 Rohingya Muslims who are living illegally in India for almost half a decade (Dutta 2017). They have entered into Northeast India through various land and sea routes. The Rohingyas have avoided staying near the violent Myanmar border area. They have spread over a large area across the Indian subcontinent. Interestingly they have settled in their camps in West Bengal, Assam, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir and spread in every corner of India. Now they are moving towards metropolitan cities (ibid).

The maximum numbers of Rohingya Muslims are living in Jammu. According to the central government, there could be approximately 10,000-11,000 Rohingyas staying in Jammu, but the state government reports claimed that 5,700 Rohingya Muslims are living in and around Jammu (Dutta 2017). According to the government of India 2015, Rohingya population estimates report considered in last two years that their populations might have increased by four times.

India was not a signatory member of the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention or the 1967 Refugee Protocol. Even though India has a proud tradition and fascinating humanitarian history, it always solved its neighbour's problem and provided assistance during the disaster period. Historically India has received a maximum number of refugees

in whole south Asia during 1947s British India partition, the 1960s from Tibetans, 1970s east Pakistani, 1980s Sri Lankan Tamils, Afghans in the 1990s and contemporarily the Rohingya refugees (Haidar 2017). On 5 September 2017 India's Union Minister Kiren Rajiju asserted that Rohingyas are the illegal immigrants, they have entered without legal documents into India, shall be deported them soon to their origin country (Press Trust of India 2014). "Approximately 16,500 Rohingya in India are registered with the office of United Nations High Commissioner Refugees (UNHCR) while the rest are said to be staying illegally" (Hindustan times 2017). The fact is, some of the Rohingyas have been residing in India for more than ten years; many of them are socially and psychologically facing problematic situations so that the UNHCR has issued identity cards for 16,500 Rohingyas. It says to help them "prevent harassment, arbitrary arrests, detention, and deportation" (Das and Miglani 2017). Rajiju, the State Minister of the Home Affair told the media "I want to tell the international organisation whether the Rohingya are registered under the united human right commission or not they are illegal immigrants in India" (Press Trust of India 2014). He also added, "India has absorbed a maximum number of refugees in the world so nobody should give India any lessons on how to deal with refugees."

Rohingya Muslims deserve a home, where they can live peacefully without the fear of ill-treatment, torture and persecution. International Organization UNHCR has appealed to India for non-refoulement or not to deport the Rohingyas where they face danger (ibid). Moreover, previously India had not been the signatory member of the UN refugee convention and the protocol, but presently "India is a signatory member of numerous International Conventions which include the principle of non-refoulement; India is also member party of the recent New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants signed in 2016 that recognized the rights of refugees to asylum and also affirmed the principle of non-refoulement" (Bhatia 2017). The regulation of non-refoulement is expressed in Article 33 of the 1951 refugee Convention. "It mandates that no state shall expel or return a refugee to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion".

Indian Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh on 15 September 2017 said in the Parliament that he had reported to the Supreme Court of its stand on Rohingya refugee. He told as per the law “they are all the illegal immigrants, they stand to be deported” (Scroll 2017). Across the region, the friendless Rohingya Muslims groups’ position is of ill-treated human beings no neighbouring countries were willing of helping them. In the midst of the crisis, India has created an evil plan to deport all 40,000 Rohingya. The cabinet claimed that the Rohingya Muslims were illegal immigrants who are changing the “demography and social structure” of the Indian society, and they will be creating “threat to India’s national security” (Bhatia 2017). Indian intelligence security agencies had information some of Rohingya Muslims had links with some extremist groups and Pakistan terrorist organisations, were involved in anti-national and illegal activities.

At a protest in New Delhi on 5 September 2017, a Rohingya refugee man Mohamed Irshad, summed up the situation with a hopeless request: “We are also human beings. Please see us as a human” (Shetty 2017). Meanwhile, two Rohingya Refugees Mohammad Shaqir and Mohammad Salimullah have made a petition filed in the Supreme Court claiming the violation of their fundamental rights and not to deport them to Myanmar. They had taken illegal immigration in India after fleeing from their home country due to the extreme violation, the suffering of discrimination and bloodshed war against the community in Myanmar. The plea filed on two broad affirms one is a violation of their fundamental rights like “right to equality” and “right to life”, and another is the violation of international law particularly the principle of non-refoulement if the Rohingyas were deported to Myanmar (Bhatia 2017).

According to the architecture of the Indian constitution, Dr B. R Ambedkar considered article 32 to be the “soul of the constitution and very heart of it”, and it provides to all India’s citizens the “right to constitutional remedies”. The Supreme Court has the power to issue writs under article 32, which means that allows all people’s citizens as well as foreigners direct move to Supreme Court in case of violation of their fundamental rights and argue for protection. Article 14 of the Indian constitution requires right to equality in India and “not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India” (Dubey 2017). Article 21 of the right to freedom

prevents the state from allowing any person to be “deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law”. Moreover, article 51 (c) provide equal right and liberty to every person. The fundamental principle of international refugee Convention law 1951 Article 33 explained that “if a person life is at risk then he or she deserves of non-refoulement that prohibits any country from returning refugees or asylum seekers to another country where there was a likelihood of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (Bhatia 2017).

3.10 Role of India in resolving Rohingya crisis

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi had visited Myanmar on 5, September 2017 after the crackdown started. However, “he condemned the “terrorist attack” referred to “extremist violence” in Rakhine in his public remarks and the India-Myanmar Joint statement only mentioned the terrorist attack by Rohingya militants against security personnel” (Das et al. 2017). Later in September, the government of India began to provide rehabilitation assistance and relief for the displaced peoples. The government of India including U.S., U.K., Canada, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Turkey, Azerbaijan and others started to dispatch humanitarian aid in the name of “Operation Insaniyat (Humanity)” (Haidar 2017). The first plane carrying 53 metric tons of relief assistance reached Bangladesh, Chittagong on 14 September 2017 afternoon, and the second consignment reached on 15 September (The Wire 2017).

Even though India has not directly accepted Rohingya Muslims when a large amount of Rohingyas fled Myanmar but it assured Bangladeshi government of providing support to tackle the Rohingyas issue. In this context, the Indian government launched “Operation Insaniyat” to contribute humanitarian assistance to Bangladesh government in response to the humanitarian disaster being faced by it due to the mass of influx of Rohingya refugee. Under this operation Insaniyat, India was provided relief material consisting of items including medicines, biscuits, rice, salt, sugar, cooking oil, pulses, and mosquito nets to the affected people.

In September 2017 during the phone conversation with Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, India's minister external affairs Sushma Swaraj has said: "The Rohingya problem is not an issue for Bangladesh only, it has turned into a global matter from a regional one". She also acknowledged the responsibility of the Indian government. India is trying to create pressure bilaterally and multilaterally on Myanmar to stop the mistreatment of Rohingya community as well as to take back the refugees who have taken shelter in Bangladesh. The foreign minister of Bangladesh Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali said "Bangladesh will not choose the path of war to resolve the Rohingya crisis. Instead, we will ensure acceptable solutions to the crisis through bilateral, multilateral discussions and diplomatic efforts" (Khokon 2017).

CHAPTER-IV

4 MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

4.1 Introduction

Migration from present Bangladesh to India is not a new issue. Since the partition of the British Indian subcontinent in 1947, it has been a continuing. Migration has been a long-standing controversial issue in South Asia especially those countries which are sharing common borders with their neighbours (Wickramasekara 2010). The present Bangladesh formerly known as East Pakistan is not only the one state that responsible migration to India, but periodically other India's neighbouring countries namely Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tibet and Burma's citizens take shelter in India in different ways like refugees, illegal migrants, stateless person. The intensity of refugees has varied from time to time.

Migration from Bangladesh to India has been a continuous process, and it becomes one of the disputed issues for bilateral relations between both countries. Before partition, Bangladesh was a part of British India in the name of East Bengal. After 1947, it was under the control of Pakistan and named as East Pakistan for 24 years. In 1971, East Pakistan was liberalised from Pakistan and became an independent state in the name of Bangladesh. Consequently, Bangladesh became an immediate neighbour of India with the geographical contiguity and socio-cultural affinity. Even though the region was divided on the religious line but historically both countries have much of uniformity in the field of cultural heritage, language, people to people ties, music, arts, and kind of literature (Government of India: Minister of External Affairs 2010). Since its formation in 1971, two countries have been holding a strong friendship. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace were signed between the Government of Republic of India and Governments of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on 19 March 1972 with the presence of two prominent leaders, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her counterpart Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for healthy relationships.

However, though Bangladesh got independence in 1971, it has been facing the serious developmental crisis because of the weak economic, social and political system. Moreover, natural calamities, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and alarming growth of population are bringing more catastrophes for Bangladesh. These are the speed breaker of Bangladesh's developmental path. Due to these reasons every year hundreds and thousands of native Bangladesh's citizens leaving the country hope of better opportunity abroad. In this way, India is their first destination country. So they come to India for settle here.

No doubt a migration phenomenon is incident since ancient human civilisation, and in the 21st century, it is more rapidly happening due to the globalised world. So now we are living in the age of migration (Castles S. et al. 2013). As a result of migration, both hosting and sending countries are having some kinds of benefits. Migration has always played a vital role in the development of economics and structural transformation of societies (Ahmd 2012). Largely, sending countries are economically benefited by sending people to other countries in term of remittances sent back by migrants. On the other hand, it raises various issues regarding security, identity, loyalty, development and demographic change in the hosting countries when the migrants enter into a new society.

Thus, with the view of the present scenario of migration happens rapidly from Bangladesh to India. This chapter deals with migration and its impact and consequences on India and Bangladesh bilateral relations.

The main problem for India and Bangladesh relation is illegal migrants from Bangladesh to India coming through different routes. They settle in different parts of India especially in the north-east region due to its proximity. Illegal immigration from Bangladesh over the years has led to serious demographic disturbance and generated huge social, linguistic, communal, economic, and political violence in different regions not only the north-eastern states but also the whole part of India. The most affected states are West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Tripura, Nagaland, and Meghalaya due to sharing a common frontier with Bangladesh. Bangladeshis are not confined with the north-east region in the recent year they are moving towards the metropolitan cities and have spread other states too like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Delhi and Rajasthan.

There is no reliable figure on how many illegal Bangladeshi migrants are residing in India. Neither the government of India nor Bangladesh government have correctly documented of how many Bangladeshis are living in India. According to an “analysis report on population growth and demographic statistics for Bangladesh and India” in the last four censuses of 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011, it claims that almost 15 million illegal Bangladeshis are staying in India (Tripathi 2016). In November 2016 Rajya Sabha MP Jharna Das Baidya posed a question to running government, currently how many Bangladeshi's are illegally living in India the Union Minister of State for Home, Kiren Rijiju, reported to Rajya Sabha with a written answer on the question “There are reports of Bangladeshi nationals having entered the country without valid travel documents. Since the entry of such Bangladeshi nationals into the country is clandestine and surreptitious, it is not possible to have accurate data of such Bangladeshi nationals living in the various parts of the country. As per available inputs, there are around 20 million (two crores) illegal Bangladeshi migrants staying in India”, (The Indian Express 2016).

4.2 The consequence of Illegal Migration into India

The Seven North Eastern state of India consists of Seven Sisters shares a long international border with its neighbouring states of Bhutan, China, Myanmar, and Bangladesh (Sarmah and Dutta 2014). Internationally India shares fifth longest international landline border with Bangladesh, India states has a total of 4,096.7 km including West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, and Mizoram (Amjad 2017). Out of this, alone West Bengal shares the longest (2,217 km) international land border with Bangladesh. Due to lack of acceptable and efficient border protection systems like the un-demarcated boundary, lack of border fencing and extreme natural hazards at the place and due to several push-pull factors of this region is involving a serious problem of illegal migration from Bangladesh to India. This tragic phenomenon has created a situation of the socio-economic, cultural-ethnic, religious, political and demographic structure vulnerability not only north-eastern Indian states but also the whole Indian subcontinent. The contentious issue that disturbing India-Bangladesh relations is threatening to India's national security (Sarmah and Dutta 2014).

4.3 Social and Cultural Consequences

After the fertility and mortality rate issue, migration is the third factors for population changes. Migration is not a biological incident like death and birth, but it is promoted by push-pull factors especially the causes of the poor economic condition, lack of social and cultural harmony, political instability, and environmental degradation (Divisha S). When migrants enter into a society, they bring in with their indigenous language, culture and traditions. It is not easy to take for a country to accommodate migrants suddenly. As results, they in intermix of diverse culture and leads to the evolution of composite cultures and traditions. Historically, India has one of the most complex and diverse migration countries in the world it hosts the mass exodus from its neighbour countries with different culture, language and religion.

The migrant population may exert significant influence on the social and cultural spheres of a host country. Their social customs, traditions and culture might be perceived as a factor in the loss of social, cultural tradition and ethnic identities by the local inhabitants. Such perceived fear of losing one's own ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity can give rise to the complexities and communal tensions and conflicts due to the widening gap between the local residents and the migrants. Thus, migration might give birth to communal tensions and conflicts in the host countries.

Apart from increased competition in the labour markets, increasing inflow of migrants imposes an integration challenge in all areas of social life. A threat to cultural identity is the major social impact of the illegal migration in India.

4.4 Economic Consequences

Bangladesh has become a very prominent source of skilled and semiskilled labour migration after the Establishment of Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) in 1976 (Etzold and Mallick 2015). The government of Bangladesh trained its men labour power for out-migrate to introduce service desks for migrants at Dhaka international airport and the central body of BMET operates 3,000 public and private various training centres and vocational education and training both for domestically as

well as international professional workers. For the support of the international labour migration, the BEMT operates 47 technical training centres in the country and the government also established “Migration Welfare Bank” in 2011. For the increase of the out-migration, the government of Bangladesh and BMET brings various policies and initiatives in 2012. The government of Bangladesh and government of Malaysia signed a (MoU) for the better regulating of sending and receiving of migrant workers between both countries.

India hosts the maximum number of Bangladeshi migrants because of the extreme porous border. It is difficult to regulate and control of irregular cross-border illegal migrants. The irregular and illegal migrant creates alarming vulnerability growth of Bengali speaking Muslims populations in the north-eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, and West Bengal as a result in the diplomatic tensions happening between India-Bangladesh. Besides India, the Gulf Cooperation Council is the important major destination for low-qualified or unskilled Bangladeshi labour migrants. The male migrants are employed in the informal business services and constructions industries. They are especially engaging themselves in the work of manufacturing, driving, tailoring, retail, agriculture and cleaning sector.

The economic consequences of Migration have been benefited both for sending and receiving countries (Ahmad 2012). However, the economic consequence of migration varies widely. In the field of economy, it is just like the international trade. For sending countries emigration and remittances have both direct and indirect short-term benefits on the welfare of the population. The remittances have been found that emigration earns money from abroad and send more money to their family during the periods of financial crisis and natural disasters of the countries. On the other hand, it also has the negative implication on sending country which is being suffered from “brain drain”. The most educated and skilled peoples leave countries to the developed countries with the hope of more facilities.

The positive benefits of immigration for receiving countries is that the immigrants have been found to increase the supply of cheap labour, higher productivity, increase employment, and boost countries’ economy and infrastructural development (Ortega and

Peri 2009). Despite the positive, the adverse effect of immigration is the policymakers and bureaucrats in the receiving country. Literally accepts that the immigration can become the heavy burden on public service, fear of loss of jobs and an economic burden, diseases, discrimination, increase criminality and social tension of the country. The main negative effects at the destination country for the increase of the immigration population lead the job competition. It will become high competition for the existing jobs due to the rising of the population which will lead to unemployment. It also has many social consequences. Highly unemployment may lead to illicit social activities such as crimes, loots, pornography, drugs addiction, poverty and so on. At the same time, it allegedly brings down the wages for the local peoples. As a result, only tiny capitalists will get benefited of it due to cheap labours which will create a more gap between poor and rich in society.

Now same problems are being faced by Indian people due to enormous migrants coming from different countries especially from Bangladesh. “The problem is not immigration; it is integration, especially in the labour market. If there are no jobs, the consequences are segregation, housing problems and divided cities” (Traynor 2010).

When people migrate from one country to another economic constraint are experienced by the host country as migrants put pressure on the available resources of hosting country. The migrants are also perceived to grab a share of the available employment opportunities and other economic benefits provided by and available in the country. The host country has to accommodate the migrants within the scope of its limited available resources which might exercise strains on the exchequers of the host countries.

4.5 Political consequences:

Migration exerts one of the major implications of the political sphere of host countries. Migrants are found to affect the politics of host countries both directly or indirectly way. They might participate in regular political affairs with an aim to assimilate themselves with the local population either legally or illegally way. In some instances, such migrants tend to participate in the politics of a country and also continuously increasing rate over the time. For instance, the Bangladeshi settlers in Assam obtain false voter identity cards,

ration cards through the help of politicians or political parties, at the same time many of the Indian citizens do not possess such to cities. Political parties also take advantage from such migrants and offer to them with the required documents to prove them as Indian citizens and hence, increase their vote banks. The Congress Party in Assam has been since long accused of exploiting the poor Bangladeshi migrants and using them as a 'vote banks' to win elections. Similarly, the Nepali migrants who have settled in Darjeeling, Sikkim and certain parts of north-east have been contributing to the politics of the country. Specifically, their demand for a 'Gorkhaland' has been an attributing factor in the politics of India. Moreover, migration can lead to creating communalization of politics on specific lines by the political parties for their vested interests.

4.6 Security consequences

The issue of security is a serious concern both at the regional and national levels due to the migration. Security nexus has attracted worldwide attention. More particularly, in the post 9/11 era, migrants have been viewed as a major source of the security threat by states both at the national as well as international levels. The migrants who might have links with militant groups or terrorists would also bring along with them their violent nexus leading to the spread of terrorism in the host countries and cross-border terrorist activities.

4.7 The Growth of Religion Extremist and Terrorist Organisations in North-East

Therefore, it is assumed that illegal immigration from Bangladesh has been critically affecting the internal security environment not only the north-east but also the whole of India. For the protection of the native culture, language and traditions, some of the indigenous youths and local extremist peoples emerge as the insurgent groups and terrorist organisations. Consequently, maintaining law and order becomes a severe problem for the country. Besides the insurgent groups, there are some Muslim terrorist groups and Muslim fundamentalist organisations which are playing a very significant successive role for the internal disturbances (Roy 2006). Moreover, several Islamic fundamentalist organisations including Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS), Islamic United

Reformation Protest of India (IURPI) have come into existence. The bloodshed activities of Harkat-ul-Jehad Islam (HUJI) and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), Bangladesh based terrorist group have expanded significantly day by day. These organisations are very much related to Islamic Chhatra Sibira (ICS), a student wing of Jamat-e-Islami of Bangladesh (JEI-BD) and Pakistan ISI (Roy 2006). These organisations are involved in the nefarious activities and spread hatred rumour in India.

In August 1999, some of the terrorist group agents worked under the ISI had been arrested in the city of Guwahati of Assam, and also other states like Utter Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir. The arrested persons who disclosed that the ISI had established its network in lower Assam Districts including Gopalpara and Dhubri. Based on their statements number of terror activists of HUJI and HUM were arrested (Roy 2006).

In the aftermath of the investigation of seven HUJI/HUM expounders exposed that the Muslim youths from north-eastern states and Northern Bengal are taken away into Bangladesh, and later they are sent to Pakistan for arms training. The leaders of the HUJI/HUM are primarily targeted the uneducated and unemployed poor Muslim youths to fulfil their recruitment (Roy 2006).

The primary objective of the Islamic Organizations in Pakistan and Bangladesh is that they have been trying to generate communal and social violence in north-eastern states and also distributed anti-Indian materials among Muslims to propagate their religious fundamental activities in order to wash their mind (ibid). In October- November 2001 in Karimganj district of Assam the police found Osama-bin-Laden photographs showing in calendars, the police also recovered the Laden Cassettes and CDs at Tezpur. In November 2002, the Karimganj police reclaimed a large number of anti-India explosive audio and speeches cassettes and the voice of Maulana Dilavar Hussain Sayeedi, the leader of Jamat-e-Islami of Bangladesh (JEI-BD). The anti-India provocative audio and inflammatory speeches cassettes were recorded in Bangladesh and were brought to India for free distribution among the Muslims in the North-East.

Since 2004, Harkat-ul-Jehad Islam (HUJI) has been linked to the number of terrorist attacks from Varanasi, Kolkata, New Delhi, Lucknow, Rajasthan to Bangalore, and

Hyderabad (Chaulia 2008). The most prominent terror attack was the 11 July 2006 serial bombing on the seven rail networks (Matunga Road, Borivali, Mahim, Jogeshwari, Bandra, Khar Road, and Bhayandar) in Mumbai that killed 180 innocent people and 700 were injured (Gupta 2017).

The most popular tourist 'Pink City' Jaipur hunted by a serial blast on 13 May 2008 evening that killed 63 civilians, and 216 or more people were brutally injured (Mujumdar 2008). The investigations pointed to the Indian Islamists militants in connivance with a Bangladeshi Islamist militant group. According to the Jaipur local police investigation, a large number of Bangladeshi migrants are living in the Bagrana area; the police also claimed most drug smugglers in Jaipur reside in this area (Redife.Com 2008). Police arrested 42 illegal Bangladeshis on suspicion of their identity and the police even arrested a man who allegedly went to Pakistan after completed his six months militant arms training (India Today 2008).

Bangladeshis migrants are also involved in other criminal activities. After the serial blasts, the Rajasthan government issued an order to all district magistrates to identify all Bangladeshi illegal migrants in the state and start the process of their expulsion (Mahajan 2008).

The role of HUJI once again came under the scanner after the holiest Hindu city Varanasi was blasted on 7 December 2010 where a baby girl was killed, and 25 got injured. The Investigators and forensic experts said the explosive sample indicates Indian Mujahideen involvement in the blast under the regulated by HUJI (NDTV 2010).

For this particular terror incident, Indian militants the Students Islamic Movement in India (SIMI) and Indian Mujahideen (IM) cadres were given militant training by HUJI. Students Islamic Movement of India's links with Islami Chhatra Shibir, the student organisation of Jamaat-i-Islami of Bangladesh has also provided information of material links that terror outfits and anti-Indian sentiments operating in India have with supporters of extremism in Bangladesh.

Besides, several illegal Bangladeshi migrants were arrested in connection with the Delhi serial blast on October 29, 2005, just two days before Diwali (Jha 2005). The bombs were

planted in three places namely, the crowded market Sarojini Nagar, a Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) bus and Paharganj that result in 66 innocent people died and 220 injured heartlessly.

India's economic capital Mumbai becomes the main reason for the attraction of international migration and many Bangladeshis also come for a better livelihood. In fact, some of them with Islamic fundamentalist sentiment and their links with the Indian Islamic militant provide local support to HUJI and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) even act as foot soldiers. The Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) Nagpur suspected that 25 illegal Bangladeshis were acting as moles for HUJI and they are closely linked with Bangladesh based terrorist organisations (Bose 2009). Apart from that they involve in other anti-national activities like counterfeit currency, drug smuggling and narcotics and spreading across India.

On the special occasion of the Mahatma Gandhi Jayanti, on 2 October 2014 Khagragarh blast in Burdwan indicated the existing of terrorism in mainland of West Bengal (Chakraborty 2014). That was two suspected Indian Mujahideen militants killed and critically injured a third person. After the incident the news was highlighted that the Bangladeshi militant organisation had linked, that was the political battle between the two political parties Trinamool Congress and BJP (Datta 2014).

The militant extremists of Bangladesh are intimately related to the local extremist group. The Trinamool Congress has made it easier for expanding extremist group operates force in the mainland. "The TMC Rajya Sabha member Ahmed Hassan Imran is also allegedly linked to the JMB. Imran was one of the founder members of the Islamic Students' Organization and president of its West Bengal chapter. Imran is also known for inciting violence and attending anti-India and anti-Awami League seminars", (Kumar 2015)

4.8 Growing Extremism in West Bengal with Growing Bangladeshi Immigration

Apart from north-eastern states other states mainly West Bengal has been seriously hit by illegal Bangladeshi migrants. West Bengal shares longest international border with Bangladesh along with cultural and linguistic affinity between both states which are very

much related with each other. Due to this identifying illegal Bangladeshis has always been too complicated. With the increase in the Bangladeshi illegal immigration in West Bengal, it has been witnessed the expanding Muslim radical militant organisations in the state. It has been found that West Bengal alone operating 58 terror modules (Kumar 2015).

Some of the significant highly active Muslim fundamentalist militant organisations are Students Islamic Organization (SIO), Jamiat-Ahle-Hadis, Jamait-e-Islami-e-Hind, Tabligh-e-Jamat, Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), and Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB). Apart from the terrorism, the fake currency and cattle smuggling network highly expanded in India-Bangladeshi border by smugglers.

4.9 Threat to Siliguri Corridor

The Siliguri corridor was created after the partition of British India in 1947. The “Siliguri corridor” is also known as the “Chicken’s Neck” a narrow alley between Assam and North Bengal besides it shares the border with three countries Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. It is especially important to India as it connects the mainland of India with the eight northeast States. Siliguri Corridor acts a gateway for India to access to north-eastern states. Important railways and National highways 31 and 31(A) pass through this area. Some of the major installations are located in the narrow stretch such as hydrocarbon pipeline, airfield of Hasimara and Bagdogra (Chanda 2017).

Northeastern regions are demographically and politically inaccessible from the mainland of India. The demographic profile in the Siliguri corridor is jungles, low hills, and broken ground with numerous rivers flow this lines. The Chicken’s neck is 200 km long and varying of widths with the narrowest 4 km strip between Bangladesh and Nepal at Tetulia corridor, and the average width is 17 to 60 km (Singh 2017). The 5 km of Siliguri corridor which has the international border with North Bangladesh has changed rapidly due to illegal migration from Bangladesh. The large-scale immigration has significantly changed the demographic structure of the border district of West Bengal such as Malda and Dinajpur. There are villages in and around Siliguri corridor which has a curious population mix, a fantastic increase of Muslim population domination often act as havens

for ISI activists. The town's like Gangtok, Kishengunj, and Guwahati cosmopolitan character makes it more accessible for foreigners to get assimilated into the local inhabitants.

According to National Investigation Agency (NIA), various fake currencies of printing hub are found in the Chapai Nawabganj district of Bangladesh (Chanda 2017). These notes distributed to all over India by their agencies through the illegal border crossing and direct connect from the bus, railroad link in Siliguri and Malda. The Kaliachak in Malda is a transit point for fake currency, and it is the nerve centre for counterfeit currency and illegal trade. The government of India declared on 8 November 2016 demonetisation of 1,000 and 500 notes. After demonetization with a span of hundred days on 15 February 2017, the Border Security Force inspected 100 fake currency 2,000 notes at Malda district West Bengal (Business Today 2017).

After the failure Kargil war now Pakistan has attempting to isolate the entire northeast state from India by cutting off the "Chicken neck" with the help of the Fundamentalist Muslim militants (Roy 2006). Pakistan has tried its best to accelerate to anti-Indian activities by expanding fundamentalist Islamic militants. ISI functionaries have also developed a strong base in Islampur in North Dinajpur district of West Bengal (Kumar 2010). The Islampur village has some 2,000 Baluch, and Pushto settlers from Afghanistan engaged in money lending and 'suspected ISI activities'. It also has some 6,000 Iranians, who settled here in the late 1960s, involved in narcotics, smuggling, terrorism, trafficking, bomb-making, illegal trade and other illegal activities' and some Saudis who involve in drug smuggling and other criminal activities (ibid). The Jammat-ul-Mujahidden (JUM), Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM) and Harkat-ul-Jihadi-Islami (HUJI) have spread its branch in this area. The Tabligh-e-Jamaat is also reportedly active around the Siliguri corridor and has close links with the HUM. The Islamic trusts and non-governmental organisations are also highly active (Roy 2006).

Except for anti-India publicity, the illegal weapon trade is a critical security concern in this region. The numerous Muslim militant organisations are adopting all types of modernised weapons like AK rifles, M-16, Carbines LMGs, Rocket launcher, 303 Rifles, SMGs, IEDs, Pistols and so on (ibid).

The number of banned insurgent groups is significantly threading the Siliguri corridor. These groups are United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Kamtapur Liberation Organisation (KLO), and National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). Without any fear, the militant groups are using the corridor for movement between Bangladesh and the North East (Panda 2013). The recent significant incidents like the serial blast in Assam and bicycle bombing at Jabalpur in Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal demonstrated the presence of these insurgents is a serious hazard to this area (Giri and Hossain 2006). The West Bengal government has found the situation too difficult to handle with more so with the recent Maoist disturbance.

4.10 The Rise of Terrorism and Islamic Fanaticism

The militant group of Assam named United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) which has emerged as a strong protest group against the illegal Bangladeshi immigration in Assam. The Commander of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Paresh Barua delivered a statement “the people of Assam to continue with their agitation against illegal migrants in the state to protect the interest of indigenous people. Assam must be free from foreigners so that indigenous people are protected or else their very existence will be wiped out” (The Assam Tribune 2012). He also added, “Politicians and lax Indian bureaucracy are allowing these aliens to become Indian nationals and settle in Assam (to) make the indigenous inhabitants a minority in their own land”.

The Protestant group ULFA lost its integrity when its leader took shelter in Bangladesh after the Bhutanese operation against the militant group in December 2003. The most targeted weakened insurgent group ULFA finally build a good relation with Bangladesh’s fundamentalist Islamist groups, Pakistan’s ISI and with northeast insurgents (Thakuria 2008). After that, the ISI agents and other Bangladeshi Islamist militant organizations along with ULFA are continually trying to create all sorts of violence and terror activities throughout India by carrying out their various types of anti-national activities.

The ISI with the collaboration of Bangladeshi terrorist groups such as (HUJI) and (HUM) it has reportedly been operating arm training camps at places near the Bangladesh border. The members of insurgent groups of the North Eastern states are located in this area.

These groups known as the Peoples Liberation Army of Manipur (PLAM), United Liberation Front of Seven Sister (ULFSS), the United National Front of Manipur (UNLF) comprising of National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM) the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) and the National Democratic Front Boroland (NDFB), receive arm training. The strategy of the ISI called the 'Internal Encirclement of India' is to Islamise the border with India to facilitate the invasion of terrorist into every corner of the country.

4.11 The Policy Discrepancy

The BJP led NDA government the former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has made some initial noises about illegal immigration from Bangladesh but took no substantial steps to stop the illegal border crossings. The government has failed to stop the illegal movements from Bangladesh due to lack of political will on their part to solve this highly problematic issue and the desire to use these illegal migrants as the vote bank for their vested interest. In February 2000 at the meeting of north-eastern chief ministers with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee at Shillong, S. C. Jamir then Chief Minister of Nagaland had warned that after Assam the Nagaland is the next state to be hit by large-scale infiltrators from Bangladesh. Jamir said, "Unless steps are taken to prevent the entry of people of dubious nationality into our state, Nagaland may face the same problem as that of Assam" (Gogoi 2001).

During the 2014 Lok Sabha election rally the BJP Prime Minister candidate Narendra Modi said in a public rally at Ramnagar "As soon as we come to power at the Centre, detention camps housing Hindu migrants from Bangladesh will be done away with...We have a responsibility toward Hindus who are harassed and suffer in other countries. Where will they go? India is the only place for them. Our government cannot continue to harass them. We will have to accommodate them here" (Times of India 2014). After this statement delivered by Modi, the AASU immediately pointed "Division of illegal migrants on the basis of religion is unjustified and all illegal migrants will have to leave the State."

The issue of illegal movement between India and Bangladesh is now addressed within the large framework of counterfeit currency, human trafficking, illegal trade, cattle smuggling, sex trade and cross-border terrorism and so on. Bangladesh Minister of Home affairs in 2012 Annual report illustrate trafficking as, “the end-object of this crime is commercial sexual work, forced labour, prostitution, or other forms of exploitation. As such, unsafe/irregular migration always runs the risk of human trafficking” (Government of Bangladesh: Ministry of Home Affairs 2012).

West Bengal has not given more attention about Bangladeshi migration, during the time of 2014 Lok Sabha elections campaign in West Bengal BJP has made the illegal migration from Bangladesh is the core part of their election strategy (Pattanaik 2014). As part of the election rally, BJP Prime Minister Candidate Narendra Modi addressed in a public campaign in Bankura where he declared that “only Bangladeshis those who worship goddess Durga will be welcome in India, and they can live in India.”

After the BJP come to power in 2014, they strongly followed the pro-immigration inclusive policy for non-Muslims, and the government declared in 2015 those non-Muslims who are from Pakistan and Bangladesh they can stay in India even if they had no valid documents. These controversial statements clarify that illegal Bangladeshi Hindu immigrants who had crossed the border illegally the government could not be deported them. The Bharatiya Janta Party government’s position for pro-Hindus migration inclusive policy and anti-Muslims migration exclusive policy for persecuted Hindus. Recently the political parties of Assam like BJP and Congress come closer over the issue. The discriminatory policy against Hindu minority in Bangladesh and sending illegal Muslim immigration to India for communalising the border area to create “Greater Bangladesh,” is the activity of Islamic militants (Kumar 2015).

The 2016 citizenship amendment bill says “Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis, and Christians from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan... shall not be treated as illegal migrants for the purposes of this Act” (Nandy 2016). The bill grants citizenship to Bangladeshi Hindus and other illegal minority communities from its neighbour countries. The political parties are thinking Hindu minorities from neighbour countries those who

have migrated under the religious persecution should be given citizenship under the new citizenship act.

The Hindu sympathetic view of Assam government, the state cabinet of Assam has approved that, the Hindu minority in Bangladesh after facing religious persecution those who entered into India after Assam agitation post 25th March 1971 will not be treated as illegal migrants (Kumar 2015).

The BJP government Hindu inclusive policy believes that admitting Hindu migrants to India and provide them Indian citizenship is no political risks because the Hindus are the majority community in India and these Hindus are treated as the minority in Bangladesh to do so they alleged religious persecution. On the other hand, Muslim migrants are the minority in India, and these are the majority in Bangladesh emigrate for the economic reason they would create security and political risk to India (Nandy 2016).

4.12 Options for India

The issue of migration became headache reason for India and Bangladesh relations. For decades Assam has been facing serious, long-standing migration problems, and current now in Assam, there has a 'DDD' campaign against the Bangladeshi illegal migrants. The Assam people had promised to Detection, Deletion, and Deportation of Bangladeshi illegal migrants those who are capturing their homeland over decades. Assam Finance minister expressed the Washington post "The Hindu rate of population growth is declining. However, the Muslim rate is rising. Most of the Muslims here are from Bangladesh. If this continues, the Assamese Hindus will become a minority soon we will lose our language, our culture, our identity" (Enjeti 2016). Unfortunately, the illegal migration from Bangladesh has more difficult to detection. Various reasons included for this. First, they are inhabited in this region over a long period of time, and they are frequently related to the local language and cultures. As a result, it is too complicated to identify the illegal migrants, and another was problem shorted out after the popular movement in Assam against the illegal migration called "Assam agitation." The movement was agreed that those people are arriving in Assam after 25th March 1971 should be treated as the illegal migration. However, after the decision declared there was

no official survey to estimate how many Bangladeshi illegally living in India, now it is made the deportation more complicated.

In India there has no urban place for free Bangladeshi; interestingly Dhaka does not accept the existence of illegal migrants from Bangladesh is residing in India illegally. Some Bangladeshi intellectuals and authors build counter-narrative they argued that according to their survey 500,000 Indians who are living illegally in Bangladesh they are working in different fields like textiles, garments, IT, NGO and other places and sending money to home country (Jamaluddin 2009). The Bangladesh government claim “People who are migrating to Bangladesh illegally are from West Bengal, Meghalaya, Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram. According to the government authorities of the country, most of them come in search of job opportunities and mostly work in NGOs, garments and textile industries”, (Silicon India 2013).

It is all turn out that the controversial issue of illegal immigration between India and Bangladesh cannot be completely solved unless the sending country bilateral talk and agreement. Both counties should take some positive steps like migration sending and receive agreements like European counties. India should also try to follow a similar European model agreement through diplomatic talks with the Bangladesh government (Kumar 2009). Contemporarily Bangladesh government has adopted a digital biometric database of its citizens for the future perspective it will helpful to identify illegal foreigners if India should adopt this kind of positive effects it might be more helpfully.

No doubt the illegal migrations are a burden for India but should be treated them as a human being. Many of the migrants come to India for the peaceful livelihood after they faced serious social, religious persecution or economic deprivation. India should create bilateral relations more strong it can also help more investment in Bangladesh financial market which will improve income, employment, and reduce the rate of immigration. Since 2009, the government of India and Bangladesh had taken some effective initiatives in this process they have signed 14 developmental projects for infrastructure development and road connectivity (Bhardwaj 2014). The government of India in 2014 also offered \$1 billion in soft loans for solar power project and development of infrastructure (Mirdah 2014). Educationally India has provided the scholarship for meritorious students. These

welfare programmes would help the connectivity between India and Bangladesh for the reduction of illegal immigration.

Border fencing and demarcation of disputed land have become one of the significant components of India's migration control strategy. India shares the longest international border with Bangladesh along with its neighbours. The border is extremely porous it cannot be safeguarded properly. Due to the unfenced border, the Border States are survived many more complicated things like Human trafficking, smuggling of Drugs, Cattle, arms, movement of militants and infiltrators (Global Security.org India Bangladesh Border Fence). Cattle smuggling is one of the significant issues for the Border Security Force (BSF). Except for other problems, the main problem is illegal immigration and Chakma insurgents from Bangladesh to India.

For the prevention of all types of illegal and anti-national activities, the border fencing was started by India government. The government of India had sectioned two phases in 1986 for the border fencing and construction of border roads. The first phase was (1987-1999) and the second phase was (2000-2007) which was proposed for fencing of 3,438 km (Bhardwaj 2014). The project was sanctioned (1986) in two phases: Phase I (1987-1999) and Phase II (2000-2007) which proposed fencing of 3,438 km (ibid). However, the work in the second phase is still going on as the project is yet to be finished. For the target of March 2019, the government of India had sectioned (3326.14 km) for barbed wire border fencing (Global security.org). The annual report of 2017-18 demonstrates "Out of the 3326 km of the sanctioned length of fence along Indo-Bangladesh Border, 2746.44 km has been completed", (Government of India: Ministry of Home Affairs 2018).

The border fencing with a high strong pillar razor barbed wire and Border Security Force (BSF). In reality, the border fencing and heavily armed BSF cannot stop the infiltration. The India Bangladesh border patrolling is sometimes complicating it is more dangerous for snakes the BSF keep vigilance along from the long extreme porous border (Government of India: Ministry of Home Affairs 2018).

During patrolling time the BSF intercept with illegal immigrants from across the border. Some of the Bangladeshi officials said for the stop of cattle smuggling India should plan to build more fence. Indian BSF reported every year 200 people were killed for cutting of snake (Government of India: Ministry of Home Affairs 2018). Bangladesh Rifles Major Mahmudul Hasan said “Most of the killings are related to illegal cattle trading. If it was legal to trade cattle the killings will stop.” Border Fencing has often outraged of the Bangladeshi people, and it has been criticised by the Bangladeshis government and also some region in India (Shamshad 2008).

For the reduction of all kind of challenge he (Bhardwaj 2014) suggested “It requires proper implementation and monitoring of the fencing with efficiency, transparency, political commitment and strong will. The negative attitude of corrupt border security agencies often helps the illegal migrants to cross over the border”.

The issues of illegal migration from Bangladesh become the important agenda of their election curriculum. Some of the state politicians are in favour of illegal immigration for incensement of their vote-bank politics. Periodically different political parties at the different time providing protection and also enrolled their name in ration card and voter list (Kumar 2009).

The alarming growth of population pressure and high population density, economic deprivation in Bangladesh act as a push factor for Bangladeshi nationals in the meantime the emerging Indian economy, suitable environment and less population pressure as become pull factors for them. That is the reason behind this fact resulted in a continuously increasing Bangladeshi population in the border districts particularly the rural areas. Indeed, they have repeatedly forced the indigenous inhabitants to move to urban areas.

The phenomenon has created the situation venerable and high risk particularly chances of the demographic profile of Assam and West Bengal. Socio-culturally, the indigenous inhabitants became the minority in their homeland. Economically the illegal migrants are putting presser in the local labour market. The illegal immigrants labour does work very cheaper price they are more hardworking and competing with local labour that resulted in

creating unemployment. The large scale of the illegal migration has led the communal misbalance in north-eastern states that hampering the situation of law and order. The most important thing is that some of the Islamic fundamentalist migrants are spreading illegal and anti-national activities include terrorism, trafficking, smuggling, sex trade, and robbery these kinds of activities are critically affecting the unity and integrity of India.

Periodically India has tried to stop the flow of migrants and has taken various stapes towards deporting the existing migrants to Bangladesh. Emerging the strong force at the centre the central authority of India Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its allies were still grappling with the insurgencies in the northeast. With the collaboration of the AASU and BJP are strongly spearheaded against the illegal Bangladeshi migration. For the capture of the Hindu votes, the BJP alleged that illegal Muslim migrants from Bangladesh take away jobs from indigenous people. The BJP also pointed out that Bangladesh is regarded as the heaven by the Islamic fundamentalist groups and most of the immigrants had connections with “Islamic fundamentalist organisations in Bangladesh” and they are trying to create socio-political controversy, economic deprivation and ethnic unrest in north-eastern states of India.

India has repeatedly kept this issue, but Bangladesh government does not accept that the Bangladeshis are migrating to India under vulnerable, forced condition. Bangladesh government always denied for accepting that the illegal Bangladeshis. The movement of detection, deletion, and deportation are virtually hopeless. The deportation of identified illegal Bangladeshis will always be fraught with difficulties because it is severely affecting the bilateral relation of India and Bangladesh.

CHAPTER-V

5 CONCLUSION

Migration is one kind of universal phenomena starting from human beings to animals. Indeed, it is not a new concept for human beings. However, the dimensions and functions of migration have profoundly been changed in the present context especially after the origin of the concept of nation-states where sovereignty is the basic principle. According to the concept of sovereignty, the nation-states are the supreme organization within their territorial boundary which is the artificial entity. This artificial entity has been the problematic phenomena in the context of migration which obstructs any kinds of intervention from outside of the territory. While the main role of the state is to protect the interests and fulfil the goals of its own citizen, on the other hand, its primary responsibility is to protect its territory from the intervention of outsiders. Therefore, migration especially illegal migration has been the emerging and problematic issue for almost all countries starting from the United States to European countries to Asian countries. We can take the recent example of the United States' 'Anti-migration policy' toward many countries especially to Mexico and Muslims countries. Hence, it is surprising that even though we are living in the era of Globalisation which regards no territorial boundary and a transnational phenomenon, but the Westphalian concept of Nation-states still exist as the main actor in the international politics.

The same situation has arisen in the context of migration in between India and Bangladesh. After the partition of the British Indian subcontinent in 1947, the wave of cross-border migration patterns has emerged in South Asia. A large-scale population movement across borders has created so many problems which natures are so critical and controversial that even after seventy years of partition has not been possible to find out a sustainable solution. In South Asia the issues of large-scale trans-border migrants, refugees, and internally displaced problem are historical, and the roots of the issues are very deep which cannot be solved in an overnight. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon affecting the nation's internal security and developmental patterns like economic, social, and political conditions of the nations.

India and Bangladesh shared a cordial relationship since the creation of Bangladesh as a political entity and reached its highest peak during the period from 1972-73. Gradually, however, their relationship began to sour since the post-Mujib era which faced fluctuations and marred by unpredictability. The illegal migration from Bangladesh to India has been a burning issue since partition. The immigration and refugee issue between India and Bangladesh is an age-old phenomenon affecting India's diplomatic relations with the country. This problem of illegal migration must be addressed by India not merely as a regional issue but treated as a national problem.

Migrants brought in its wake not only socio-economic and political disturbance in the migrant-receiving states but also strained bilateral relations. After the independence of Bangladesh from West Pakistan in 1971, it has faced a more developmental crisis. Consequently, hundreds and thousands of Bangladeshis left their home country and crossed the border and settled in different parts of India, in general, and in the north-eastern border states of India, in particular, due to the political instability, economic deprivation and social persecution. The illegal Bangladeshi immigrants have been an issue for the original inhabitants of regions. The situation of north-eastern states has been vulnerable because of social instability like serious population explosion, lack of job opportunity, competition over land, cultural and religious supremacy between the original inhabitants and immigrants. The illegal immigrants are also critically affecting the change of a demographic pattern and political set-up of north-eastern states of India especially Tripura, Assam and West Bengal and many other border districts.

The natives have become the minority in their homeland. The explosions of Muslim population due to Bangladeshi migrants are creating communal acts of violence in these states. The loss of political power by the indigenous, the fear of marginalisation in their homeland and imminent threats to their culture and tradition has been the causes of raising the numerous militant insurgent groups for the protection of their fundamental rights in north-east states. Some of the major insurgent groups operating their illegal activities in North-eastern states include United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Manipur People's Liberation Front (MPLF), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), People's Liberation Army (PLA), All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF), National

Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT), and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), which are set up through unlawful associations creating terror in the hearts of the common people.

The Islamic militant outfits operating in Bangladesh in close connivance with those in Pakistan and Taliban have sought and succeeded to promote their anti-India strategies across the borders. The Islamic militant outfits in their quest for the dissemination of the tenets of Islam and the appeal to the Islamic world have united all the militant/insurgent organisations to supplement their terrorist activities. The insurgent outfits functioning in the north-east region are aided and supported by the Islamic world to maintain a situation of continuous internal insecurity in the region and disruption of peace. To broaden the geographical boundaries of the Islamic world, they conspire to incorporate Assam as a part of Bangladesh. The idea of inclusion of Assam as a part of Bangladesh can be dated to the days of Jinnah when he expressed to his colleague Moinul Haq Chaudhary that “Within a decade, I shall be able to annex Assam to East Pakistan by dint of more infiltration of Muslims there” (Das 2008: 68).

To quote Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the former President of the state of Pakistan, as expressed by him in his book ‘The Myth of Independence’, “Our controversy with India is not on the problem of Kashmir only, there is the problem of Assam. In Assam, there are some Muslim majority districts which should have been given to Pakistan at the time of the partition, these districts were wrongly included in India”, determine the early plans of Pakistan to include Assam as a part of it (Pandey 2006: 103).

The then President of Bangladesh Sheikh Mujibur Rehman once expressed:

“The population of East Bengal (Bangladesh) is increasing at alarming speed. Their inhabitants face acute shortage of land. The Bengalis need land, which can be given by Assam. Assam abounds in good forests and beautiful scenes of nature. If some inhabitants of Bangladesh migrate to Assam and settle there permanently, they will be very happy. Actually, Assam should have been included in East Pakistan” (Pandey 2006: 103).

Such a statement by Mujibur Rehman largely indicates that a pro-Indian Person like him also possessed the idea of incorporating Assam, the state being a land of immense opportunities to be a part of Bangladesh. Thus, the Islamic militant outfits are provided

with support by the GOB to carry out their subversive activities in collusion with the local insurgent outfits in Assam and to promote Islamic militancy in Assam. Five out of twenty-seven districts of Assam are already transformed into Muslim-majority districts due to easy accessibility and rampant corruption in the border areas among the police personnel, security staffs and the local politicians.

The study of the history of Bangladeshi migration to India suggests that the migrants who entered the Indian domain till the 1970s were mainly political refugees and that the present trend of migration portrays the majority of the migrants as constituting economic migrants. They migrate to Assam and the other north-eastern states to gain economic development and prosperity.

The ULFA emerged in the form a militant outfit as an offshoot of the Assam movement which demanded the deportation of the illegal migrants from Assam. With the gradual passage of time, the original objectives and ideologies of the ULFA have become influenced by Muslim ideologies, and thereby, has established links with the Islamic militant outfits operating in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Pakistan, as a part of its proxy war launched against India, utilises the territory of Bangladesh for organising camps and other training activities of the terrorist organisations. The ULFA's objective to establish Assam as a sovereign political entity is sought to be accomplished by acting in tandem with the Islamist forces. Not only ULFA, but other insurgent groups of the north-east also operate in close collaboration with the Islamic fundamentalist organisations. The Islamisation of Bangladesh and the alliance of political parties and Islamic fundamentalist organisations have rekindled the already perceived objectives of carving out a “Brihot Bangladesh” or a “Greater Bangladesh” which would include Assam within its geographical boundaries.

Thus, the local insurgent outfits in Assam, as well as the Islamic militant outfits, are operating in an environment where the issue of illegal migration from Bangladesh has been politicised and communalised instead of being dealt with efficiently. The Islamic militant outfits are desperately making constant efforts to disseminate the prophecy of Islam and carve out a larger Islamic society, of which Assam would invariably be an integral part. While on the other hand, the local insurgent outfits are functioning in

collaboration with these Islamic outfits for the sustenance of a continuous flow of funds to avoid disruption of their activities. Hence, both the Islamic militant outfits and the insurgent groups try to achieve their selfish interests by acting in tandem with the backbone formed by the Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan and the Directorate General Force Intelligence (DGFI) of Bangladesh.

To restrict the unstoppable massive influx of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, the state and national laws must opt for more border fencing as BSF patrolling of the Indo-Bangladesh border was not sufficient enough. The State and the Central government must make sincere efforts in active collaboration with each other for solving the problem through both meaningful bilateral talks with the Government of Bangladesh and also sought the help of international community like SAARC and BIMSTEC. Cross-border terrorism and insurgent groups cannot be rooted out only by national governments; co-ordination and co-operation between state governments are the need of the hour to combat this mess.

Bangladesh must realise that in its efforts to raise Islamic fundamentalism through extremist militancy in northeast India, there can be backlash effects on the country itself which will eventually prove disastrous. There are slim chances for a small country like Bangladesh with a small geographical territory and poor economy to confront the horrifying consequences of terrorism, as was evident from other developed countries of Europe and worldwide to contain the same.

Therefore, the Bangladesh government must adopt a positive attitude towards the extension of support and cooperation to deal with illegal migration and to combat terrorist activities. Some of the recommended measures to be adopted by both India and Bangladesh for securing their law and order situation are:

- The preventive major should be taken by the state, and central government and that border fencing, construction of border road should be completed with proper management like barbed wire along with heavily armed security force, patrolling, and lighting, better human and electronic surveillance should be improved. The help of the local people becomes essential to achieve the same.

- Both countries should undertake positive dialogue on the areas of granting work permits and also granting legal status to immigrants under Unique Identification Number (UID). Both countries and NGO should organise the necessary awareness programmes and seminars about the danger of illegal immigration.
- Thoughtful and sincere efforts should be made to identify illegal migrants. The central and state government should appoint a National Immigration Commission to frame a National Refugee Policy and a National Migration Policy. India should make immigration policy regarding this issue.
- All the local and national political party involved must consider the immigration problem beyond the conventional way of taking it as a mere regional issue towards a national issue. These can be achieved through the politicisation of the problem and include it in their election agenda for an immediate solution.
- Building common communication assets for security between India and Bangladesh
- The government should try to block sources of finance for the terrorist and insurgent groups and also provide adequate deterrence against ISI initiatives through disrupting and annihilating all illegal activities like trafficking, smuggling, narcotics and cross-border terrorism.
- Restoring the rule of law along with their proper maintenance in Border States like Assam, Tripura and West Bengal (Hariharan 2004).

The Centre must realise the geo-strategic importance of Assam thereby taking into consideration the gravity of the situation. The State and the Central governments should undertake coordinative measures to safeguard the integrity of India so that it can deter Bangladesh's efforts to establish a 'Greater Bangladesh'. Apart from the changing demographic scenario in Assam and other north-eastern states, the Bangladeshis are gradually spreading to all parts of India and assimilate themselves as parts of the Indian economy. The Directors-General of Police of different states has projected their failure to act against the influx of immigrants, particularly in the states of Assam, Tripura and West Bengal (Raman 2003). Along with the deployment of BSF along the borders for maintaining strict vigilance, police Personnel must also be deployed because the BSF are transferred from one place to another and hence lack appropriate knowledge of the local

areas and other local activities. While the police would possess better knowledge regarding the locality and the people in comparison to the BSF personnel thereby facilitating the arduous task of detecting and arresting the Bangladeshis faulty of illegal crossings.

The Bangladeshis, both temporary and permanent workers, who illegally cross the borders and obtain employment here must be dealt with softly. The Government must venture and adopt stringent measures for employers of illegal immigrants, and laws to deal with those who are found to work without work permits as a majority of them do not possess work permits. Therefore, it is possible to deal with the menace of unabated infiltration from Bangladesh through cooperation and coordination between the State and the Central Governments as well as from the international community.

With the primary objective to propagate Islam, Madrasas in India formulated socio-political agenda on Perso-Arabic traditions with a view to keeping off the Muslim community from the contemporary modern and scientific world (Upadhyay 2003). To curbing the propagation of orthodox Islamic education in the Madrasas, the Government must enact laws to guide the functioning of the private Madrasas and must also impart instructions to these Madrasas for maintaining transparency regarding their sources of funds so that these funds are not utilised for disruptive activities. Also, strict vigilance should be maintained on the mode of functioning of the Madrasas to ensure that such educational establishments are not misused for terrorist activities such as storehouses of drugs and narcotics, arms and ammunition.

Measures should be adopted for generation of employment opportunities in Bangladesh with the active involvement of India which would help in alleviating poverty and economic development of Bangladesh. This would eventually lead to not only improving the economic condition of Bangladesh but would also decrease the number of economic migrants from Bangladesh. Thus, both India and Bangladesh must maintain strict vigilance upon the mushrooming growth of madrasas along both sides of the Indo-Bangladesh border and their activities.

Bangladesh-India Strategic partnership needs to be evolved to deal efficiently with all the problems being commonly confronted by both of them. India and Bangladesh must identify their respective drawbacks and synergise to improve them accordingly. The GOI must initiate urgent measures to tackle the problem of illegal migration from Bangladesh into Assam because the more delay, the more chances of accomplishment of the evil designs of the enemies and in no time Assam would be seen in the map of Bangladesh.

The issue of illegal movement between India and Bangladesh is now addressed within the broader framework of counterfeit currency, human trafficking, illegal trade, cattle smuggling, sex trade and cross-border terrorism. Bangladesh Minister of Home affairs in 2012 Annual report illustrated trafficking as “the end-object of this crime is commercial sexual work, forced labour, prostitution, or other forms of exploitation. As such, unsafe/irregular migration always runs the risk of human trafficking” (Ministry of Home Affairs: GOB 2012).

The Rohingya crisis is one of the major burning issues for India and Bangladesh's bilateral relations. Both countries are trying to normalise the refugee problems. Bangladesh hosts the highest numbers of Rohingya refugee in the world. Both Bangladesh and Myanmar are strategically very important for India's neighbourhood policy. On the Rohingya problem, which is clearly an international issue, India should try to solve peacefully through the following suggestions.

Firstly, India can appoint an exceptional ambassador for the crises who would engage discreetly with the Myanmar government to help resolve the crisis. Secondly, it must raise the issue on local forums such as ASEAN and BIMSTIC and appeal to Myanmar to resolve the crisis on the ethical ground. Thirdly, by using its immense soft power to convey a Buddhist conference under the leadership of the Dalai Lama, and persuading the Buddhist majority to resolve the crisis peacefully. Fourthly, it must raise the issue to such an extent as the Syrian refugee crisis mainly to draw the attention of the West for a quicker resolution.

In the economic realm, Myanmar is important to India for both economically as well strategically. In India, we often say Myanmar is our “gateway” to access the East Asian

countries. Stability as well as curbing Beijing's influence in the nascent democracy is imperative for India's own objective of Act East policy and also the need for developing the previously neglected North-eastern regions. India must, therefore, bring peace to this region by all means possible. It, therefore, becomes imperative for India to bring peace to this affected regions by coming up with the necessary Trump cards on the table and vying for normalcy which would be a win-win situation for both the nations.

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