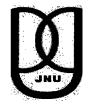# ILLEGAL BANGLADESHI NATIONALS INTO INDIA'S NORTH-EAST REGION: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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2004

19th July, 2004

Certificate

Certified that dissertation entitled "**Illegal Immigration of Bangladeshi Nationals into India's North-East Region: Implications for National Security**" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my own work.

Rajmoni Borah

(Rajmoni Borah)

We recommend that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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(**Prof. Zoya Hasan**)
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New Delhi

19th July, 2004 (Rajmoni Borah)

Contents

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, migration and security were considered distinct subjects of academic studies and political discourses. Analysts focused mostly on defence strategy and power relations between states. Preserving the territorial integrity of the state and the stability of the government in the face of external or internal military threat were considered a matter of *high* politics while migration was considered *low* politics. However, in recent years, especially after the end of the cold war, there is a growing recognition that migration does not involve only human and personal security and human rights issues but also has internal as well as external security implications. Migration is now considered one of the new security threats. Myron Weiner has treated population flows as an independent rather than as a dependent variable in his security analysis. The large-scale migration of Bangladeshi nationals into the North-East region of India fits very well into the category of unwanted population.

According to the Group of Minister' report 2001, nearly two crores which means almost two per cent of India's population is constituted

by the illegal immigrants. Bangladeshi immigrants top the list with the infiltration touching 1.50 crores, out of which 1.20 crores are said to have made the Northeast their home. The presence of such a huge population of unwanted immigrants from Bangladesh has posed a greater threat to the entire North-East. The Demographic invasion from across the eastern borders has not only endangered the social, cultural and political harmony, but has very serious implications for the nation's security. About four years back, the military intelligence had unearthed an ISI plot of pushing Bangladeshi nationals, especially the Muslims, into India with a view to swelling their number in the Border States of India. The aim was to tilt the demographic balance heavily in their favour so as to create in the long run fertile religious ground for the demand for a new pro-Pakistan region. The ISI seems to be succeeding in its design as the demographic equilibrium has been disturbed to a great extent, rendering the original inhabitants a minority in their own land.

The recent history of Assam bears ample testimony to the fact that demographic aggression from Bangladesh is turning out to be one of the major factors instrumental in inviting insurgency to Assam and other adjoining states in North-East. Moreover, to compound the problem further, it has been given complete communal tinge wherein identification of

infiltrators is being seen as harassment of minorities. Not only have some political organizations been formed to fight for infiltrator's rights but a few Muslim-dominated armed outfits have reportedly sprung up, notably in the North-East, giving a perilous twist to insurgency in the region. The report of the ex-governor of Assam Lt. Gen. (Rtd) S.K. Sinha is nothing but a clear reflection of the gravity of the problem.

The problem of infiltration is not longer confined to the eastern-region; the pressure is being felt as far as in Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata. . Expressing serious concern over the way illegal Bangladeshi migrants were pouring into the country, the Supreme Court on February 26, 2001 said that they were a threat to both the economy and the security of India. "They are eating into the economy of the country and to a large extent is a security threat,"- a three-judge bench had said. Yet the issue remains as unresolved, contentious and as protracted as ever. But one cannot wish these issues away. They have to be tackled in a practical and peaceful manner through political means. The solution does not lie in Indian accusations and Bangladeshi denials. The two governments should sit together and negotiate a practical solution if regional economic cooperation arrangements or sub-regional cooperation are to be in place. Bangladeshis could be given work permits for temporary residence arrangements so that the migrants stand

identified and do not become part of the political processes within India, which has obvious pernicious and negative implications for Indian policy. Such a solution will take some time but some steps need to be initiated. It is high time to wake up. If both India and Bangladesh do not sufficiently apply their mind to the ever-growing demographic menace, the situation can become explosive, severely jeopardizing the national security interests of India. If it is not checked properly, the problem will go on aggravating. It is in this context, the study intends to analyze the internal and external dimensions of the security implications, arising out of continuous trans-border illegal migration into North-East India.

Organization of the Work –

In the first chapter "Immigration – A Conceptual Framework", - a brief idea is dealt with on immigration. What is immigration, why do people migrate- such connected matters are mentioned to discuss its influence and effects, both positive and negative, on the receiving as well as sending countries. Even the various trends and tendencies of international migration are duly focused in the first chapter.

In the Second chapter "Immigration and National Security" – a comparative relation between the two, *i.e.* immigration and national

security is maintained. It is done with the help of four specified axeses namely, socio-economic, political, securitatrian and identitarian. Here, security is divided into two parts- State security and societal security. Mutual relation between two is also discussed in brief.

The third chapter "Illegal Immigration of Bangladeshis into India's North-East: National Security Implications"- is the main chapter of the ongoing discussion. The various reasons for which the Bangladeshi nationals are immigrating into India, the factors of attractions to India, particularly to the North-East region, its various effects are also discussed to the point. In what ways they have been intimidations to the national security, mainly to the demographic balance of the region, is also held by various practical examples as well as non-government reports at various times.

In the conclusion stress is given on the practical, meaningful and permanent solution of the Bangladeshi immigration problem. How this menace can be ended this matter is also analyzed with various practical means.

CHAPTER-1

IMMIGRATION: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Migration is not a newly heard concept for man. In fact, it has always been supplementary for man. Right from his appearance on the planet man has been migrating, temporarily or permanently, either to improve his economic status or to stay at a place where he feels socially and culturally more secure and politically more independent. In every age, whether it is Paleolithic, medieval or modern, migration seems to be a human necessity. Since man has a tendency to live with peace, thrive and security, he migrates to the areas that suite for the same. But it is noteworthy; every movement of people cannot be equated with migration. A local mover who may move just across the street or a tourist, who travels places, cannot be called a migrant. So, the basic question is what migration really is.

For a better understanding, we must make ourselves clear about the concept 'migration'.

THE CONCEPT: SOME DEFINITIONS

It is not easy to define migration. Of the three basic demographic processes, i.e. fertility, mortality and migration, the last has always been the most perplexing and difficult to analyze. The general lack of data on the influence and extent of migration in both developed and developing countries of the world is a basic problem to be confronted. Moreover, unlike fertility and mortality, migration is not just an unequivocal biological event but also a physical and social transaction.[1] Finally, the lack of data on the causes of migration- that is why people move- does not help in formulating general theories of migration.

Nevertheless, serious and valuable attempts at developing such theories of migration have been made. Discussion on migration would be better understood if one takes the views of some of the prominent exponents of migration such as Lee, Zelinsky, etc.

Eisenstadt defines migration as *the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another*[2]. This transition usually

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[1] Wilber Zelinsky "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition", *Geographical Review,* Vol. 61, 1971, PP 219-249

[2] S.N. Eisenstadt, *"Analysis of Pattern of Immigration and Absorption of Immigration"* in A Leszek Kosinsky & Mansell R. Prothero (Eds) "People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration", Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1975 PP-3

involves abanding one social setting and entering another and different one.

Weinberg opines that *human migration is the changing of place of abode permanently, or when temporally for an appreciable duration as example in case of seasonal workers.*[3] Mangalum says, *migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical area 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 international system of migration.*[4] Durkheim defines; *migration is one of the sectors, which led to the breakdown of traditional communities held together by mechanical solidarity.*[5] Lee broadly considered migration as *a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence with no restrictions on the distance involved in the movement.*[6] Bogue on the other hand refers the term migration *only those changes of residence that involve a complete change and readjustment*

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[3] A.A. Weinberg, *"Migration and Belongings: A Study of Mental Health and personal adjustment in Israel"*, in Ibid, PP-3

[4] J J. Mangalam, *"Human Migration: A guide to migration literature in English* 1955-62, Lexington 1968, PP-8

[5] Richmond H. Anthony *"Immigration and Ethnic Conflicts"* New York University, Toronto, McMillan Press 1988, PP-78

[6] E S Lee, *"A Theory of Migration"*, *Demography.* Vol – 3, 1966, PP- 47-57.

of community affiliation of the individual.[7] Thus, he excluded the local mover who may move just across the street.

Therefore, we may conclude that migration is a movement of population involving a change of permanent residence of substantial duration. In other words, it is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of arrival. Thus, no reference is made at this point to nomadism, tourism, commuting or other similar movement, which lie outside the scope of such a definition.

TYPES OF MIGRATION: INTERNAL & EXTERNAL

Migration is one of the fundamental elements of population growth and population structure in an area. However, it is quite impossible to give a scientific essential criterion for classification of migration. Migration, in fact, may be inter-urban, rural-urban, inter-regional or international. On the basis of *time* criterion, migration may be temporary or permanent. On the basis of *motivation*, it can be divided as economic and social migration, depending upon the factors that make the migrants move. If

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[7] D I Bogue, "*Internal Migration* in Duncan and P.H. Houster (Eds) "The Study of Population: and inventory and appraisal", Chicago University Press, Chicago PP-489

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we consider distance, migration may be long or short. However, in a broader sense, migration is divided as internal and external migration. All those migrations that take place within an area lying within the territorial jurisdiction of a country are distinguished as internal migration. On the other hand, where the migrants move across the international border, the migration is known as external migration. The terms *immigration* and *emigration*, are used to connote out-migration and in-migration across the international border. Migrants leaving India to settle in Canada are immigrants to Canada and emigrants from India. The internal migration is further classified into four types on the basis of area, (1) Rural to Urban, (2) Urban to Rural (3) Urban to Urban and (4) Rural to Rural

As our discussion is about Bangladeshi immigrants into India, we should stress more on the external aspects of migration, i.e. International Migration. International migration may be discussed in the following way.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: TRENDS &TENDENCIES

International migration is as old as human history. But lack of precise information on the matter has made it quite impossible to give the exact number of migrants in the world. However, attempts were made and it

was only in the 17th century, the process of recording of migration had started in a real sense. During that period the European had migrated in a large number in Asia, Africa, Australia and America.

The European emigration occurred mainly because of over population and industrialization. The European emigrated in two different directions: (i) to the sparsely populated tropical and sub tropical coastlands which were easily accessible and which possessed potential for the production of cotton, sugar, tobacco, tea etc. in the coast lands of America from Virginia to Brazil. In order to meet the labor demands these newly discovered lands, cheap labour had to be imported. Initially it was the Europeans themselves who provided the necessary labour but as the demand started multiplying, it gave rise to what is now popularly known as slave trade from Africa, which continued until the abolition of slavery during the 19thcentury. After this the densely populated countries of Asia were exploited by the British and Dutch Colonists. Consequently, semi-slave trade supplied labour to newly developed plantation agriculture areas of Malaysia, Sumatra, Fiji, East Africa, etc. (ii) large European emigrants moved into the temperate Zone of the Americas, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

This constituted the most important migratory movement of human history involving about one fifth of Europe's total population. [8]

World War I and II gave rebirth to forced migration but these migrations were not for economic gains. Davis highlights as to how the two world wars ignited by a nation obsessed with the separateness and solidarity of its own folk were ironically ended by legitimization of the obsession for the nation, in general.[9] The most important features of forced migration is that the normal selectivity in the migration process by age, sex, skill, education, is lacking and communities as a whole are uprooted. Over one million Russians are said to have been left stranded in the adjacent parts of Europe as a result of 1917 revolution. Following the World War II *eastern* and *central* Europe had witnessed migration in huge number in just three years .About 18million people were believed to be migrated during that period. However, the world had seen the largest migration in 1947 when India was divided into two countries. It is estimated that in that transfer, nearly 7.2 million people migrated from India to Pakistan and about the same number was transferred to India from Pakistan.

[8] Jones, H R, "A Geography of Population" Harper& Row, London(1981) pp.254
[9] K Davis, "The Migrations of Human Populations" *Scientific Americans*, vol231(3), 1951,pp-93-105

Between 1945 and the early 1970s, virtually all of *northern* and *western* Europe was affected by labour migration. Even Western European states like Greece, Italy and Spain, which for long times were Zones of emigration, have become immigration areas. Several Central and Eastern European states, particularly, Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic are becoming immigration lands.

The Middle East is affected by complex population movements. In the 1960s and 1970s millions of Turks went to work in Western Europe. When labour recruitment stopped, family reunion and refugee movements took over, and workers started to go on to the oil states of the Persian Gulf. To its South, Syria has been a major recipient of Palestinian refugees, as has Lebanon. Jordan is also doing the same job of giving asylum to the Palestinian refugees and hosting many other immigrants as well. Following the oil-price explosion of the 1970s, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait become major magnets to immigrants from the Arab world and Asia. Iran became the heaven for refugees.

In Africa, colonization and white settlement led to the establishment of migrant labour systems for plantations and mines. The largest international recruitment system was set-up by South Africa and

continues to function in a modified form in the post *apartheid* era. One of

the key problems that the post- *apartheid* government faced was prevention

of illegal immigration from whole of Africa. Algeria had mass emigration to

France until recently, but also has a significant refugee population from the

Western Sahara. Sudan, which is one of the world's poorest nations, houses

a huge population of refugees. Indeed, throughout Africa, there were over 10

Million refugees in 2000.

In Asia, large scale international migrations have also

become frequent. Pakistan has millions of Afghan refugees whereas India

has been receiving immigrants from Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. To

the North, in the area of the ex-Soviet Union, the potential for migration

unleashed by the momentous changes of recent years seems enormous.

In Latin America also, all of the countries have experienced

movement of refugees or foreign workers. Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina

are major poles of immigration. Large scale labour migration (often illegal)

across the long border between Mexico and the USA is of great economic

and political significance. There has been mass labour migration from

Jamaica and other Caribbean countries to the USA, while refugees from

Cuba and Haiti continue to arrive and settle in USA.

Even today, despite the continuous efforts of the countries to stop further migration to their land, migration remains unchanged.

So, it is clear that international migration has certain general tendencies and these tendencies are likely to play a major role in the near future. These can be summarized in the following way.

Globalization of migration:

The globalization of international migration is manifest in two ways. First, pretty well all countries now engage in migration systems growing in size and complexity and producing an increasing diversity of flows. Second, many of the processes that create and drain these systems operate on a world wide basis, the consequence of economic globalization, capital mobility, the activities of international business corporations, and widespread realization of the governments that human resources can be traced for profit like any other resource. Hence employers and some governments are prepared to extend their search for skills to a global level; other governments do all they can do to promote labour export, in return for remittances and savings.[10]

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[10] UNIDIR, "Migrations & Population Change in Europe" section-1, UN-1993, New York, pp.1-6

Polarization of Labour Migration:

Today, most of the receiving countries have become more selective, actively seeking only foreign skilled workers. For the foreseeable future, organized labour movements occurring with the consent of immigration authorities will be principally of skilled workers.

Acceleration of migration:

Migrations are growing in volume in all major regions at the present time. Clearly this quantitative growth increases both the urgency and difficulty of governmental policies. However, as indicated by the decrease of global refugee total since 1993, international migration is not an inexorable process. Governmental policies can prevent or reduce international migration and repatriation is a possibility.

Differentiation of migration:

Most countries do not simply have one type of immigration, such as labour migration, refugee or permanent settlement, but a whole range of types at once. Typically, migratory chains which starts with one type of movement often continue with other forms, despite government

efforts to stop or control it. This differentiation presents a major obstacle to national and international policy measures.

Feminization of migration:

Since the 1960s, women have played a major role in labour immigration. Today, women workers from the majority in movements are as diverse as those of Cape Verdians to Italy, Filipinos to the Middle East and Thais to Japan. Some refugee movements are marked by a majority woman.

Politicization of migration:

Domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships and national security policies of states around the world are increasingly affected by international migration. Since the late 80s, especially after the end of the cold war, international migration has moved from the realm of low politics (i.e. Problems of domestic governance, especially labour market and demographic policies) to the realm of high politics (i.e. problems effecting relation between states including question of war and peace.)

IMMIGRANTS: LEGAL & ILLEGAL

Migration can be both legal and illegal. Those who have the legal sanction of the receiving countries are regarded as legal or documented

migrants and those whose status is considered illegal by the receiving countries are called illegal migrants. Legal migrants further fall into two categories, one who are admitted as potential future citizens and are given citizenship, and two, whose stay abroad is restricted by the availability of employment and who have not been granted the citizenship. At present, there are very few countries in the world, which allow or encourage the immigration of foreigners on a permanent basis.

The number of such countries, which still attract sizable immigrants, is still small. These include the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Israel. The immigrants, coming to these traditionally receiving countries have a vast majority from developing countries though UK still constitutes the main source of migrants to them. It is followed by Mexico, Philippines and Cuba. India ranks 8th among the suppliers of immigrants.

Western South Asia and Southern Africa are also a source of attraction for the immigrants. Migration to South Africa is highly institutionalized, as like Europe and western South Africa. Migration to USA, Venezuela etc. may not have institutionalization or regulations as like Europe, West South Africa and Southern Africa, but have some kind of legal sanctions.

However, it is the illegal flow of people, which constitute the dominant alien work force. The dominant illegal flows are from South to North, from the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the developed countries of Western Europe, Northern America and Oceania as well as to a number of developing countries that are *capital-rich* or that have transitional economies. In addition to medium and long-range intra-regional flows that are also of the North-South type as well as movement between contiguous countries.

Trends are even harder to establish than illegal immigrant stocks. There are few data on either past or present movements which make it impossible to give precise estimates of the growth of illegal immigrants. However, according to the proceeding of the UN Expert Group on Population Distribution - Migration and Development, an estimated 12 to 13 million people worldwide fall into this category. United States itself has, as estimated, 4 to 6 million illegal immigrants. Illegal immigration is also common in Europe where strict policies adopted since 1973 have made the job seekers adopt illegal means to enter a country.

In a majority of instances illegal migration is a rational process when, for example, illegal migration is really a continuation of

traditional migration in the context of new nation-states or relatively new international borders when it is a substitute for or functional equivalent of, a foreign worker programme or more generally, when the movement is sanctioned or ignored by the authorities of the receiving country and there is little fear or reprisal. In such instances the illegal migrants motivation is probably little different from that of a documented migrant. In other instances, where illegal migration is a means of circumventing strict barriers to authorized migration and where may involve great personal risk or severe penalty, the motivation may be quite different and the system of rationality may be put to its extreme.[11]

Although differences in economic, political and social contexts limit generalization, certain features of illegal migration are more or less universal. There is general agreement that the economic factors are paramount in inducing persons to migrate illegally. A highly skewed distribution of income within a sending country or regional economic inequality may be important determinant of illegal flows. Better employment opportunities and higher wages in the receiving country are widely acknowledged. An undocumented Colombian migrant, deported from

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[11] Anil Kural, *"Politics of Population Influx & Labour Problem"* Udh Publishers, Nai Sarak PP – 246.

Venezuela in the mid-1970s, had been earning, as estimated, more than three times the minimum monthly wage in Colombia.

Of course, it is not only current economic factor but sometimes long standing economic and historical ties that explain illegal flows. This is happening very often in USA and Mexico. Family ties are also an important factor.

There are a variety of reasons for such migration taking place including absence of explicit immigration policies or an administrative infrastructure to implement the existing ones, administrative inefficiency, imprecise or incompatible laws or regulations, etc.

Due to the above mentioned reasons, illegal flow of people has been increasing in such a way that is created fear, tension and insecurity among most of the receiving countries. Moreover, public opinion also goes against any further flow of illegal immigration. Consequently, respected government of the receiving countries has compelled to take some strict actions against the illegal immigrants. For instance, the authority of California, the largest receiver of immigrants of USA, won a public opinion to curb education to children of illegal immigrants, refusing them citizenship and ending state payments for their emergency medical care. Similarly,

Australian legislation imposes penalties of a fine or imprisonment on persons who encourage or assist immigrants to enter without proper document, or who overstay their visas as well as on those who knowingly employ illegal immigrants; such legislation does not appear to be used extensively as one of the techniques for limiting illegal migration.

REFUGEE –THE REJECTED PEOPLE

According to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is a person residing outside his or her country of nationality, who is unable or unwilling to return because of a "well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." One hundred and forty-five of the 191 UN member states have signed the 1951 Convention or its 1967 Protocol. Member states undertake to protect refugees and to respect the principle of non-refoulement (i.e., not to return them to a country where they may be persecuted). This may require allowing refugees to enter and granting them temporary or permanent residence status. Officially recognized refugees are often better off than other forced migrants, because they have a clear legal status and enjoy the protection of a powerful institution: the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The global refugee population grew from 2.4 million in 1975 to 10.5 million in 1985 and 14.9 million in 1990. A peak was reached after the end of the Cold War with 18.2 million in 1993. By early 2003, the global refugee population had declined to 10.4 million, according to UNHCR. The broader category of "people of concern to the UNHCR" (which includes refugees, some internally displaced persons, and some returnees) peaked at 27.4 million in 1995, and was down to 20.6 million in 2003. In addition to the people with whom UNHCR is concerned, the establishment of the state of Israel and the displacement of many Palestinian Arabs led to the world's longest-standing refugee situation, with over four million refugees today. This issue is too complicated to be discussed in detail here. Refugees came from countries hit by war, violence, and chaos. According to UNHCR figures for 2002, the 10 main places of origin were Afghanistan (with 2.5 million refugees), Burundi (574,000), Sudan (505,000), Angola (433,000), Somalia (429,000), Democratic Republic of Congo (415,000), Iraq (401,000), Bosnia-Herzegovina (372,000), Vietnam (348,000) and Eritrea (316,000}.

Table 1: THE TOP TEN REFUGEE HOSTING COUNTRIES, 2000

TOTAL REFUGEE POPULATION		REFUGEES PER 1,000 INHABITANTS		REFUGEE POPULATION RELATIVE TO GDP	
Country	No of Refugees ('000)	Country	Refugees per 1,000 inhabitants	Country	Refugees per US$ 1 million of GDP
Pakistan	2,002	Armenia	79.7	Armenia	172.4
Iran	1,868	Guinea	58.5	Guinea	119.9
Germany	906	FR Yugoslavia	45.7	Tanzania	86.0
Tanzania	681	DR Congo	42.5	Zambia	74.9

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					Central	
FR Yugoslavia	484	Iran	27.6		African Republic	52.7
Guinea	433	Zambia	27.3		DR Congo	47.7
Sudan	401	Liberia	21.7		Uganda	35.6
DR Congo	333	Tanzania	20.3		Pakistan	31.3
China	294	Sweden	17.7		Ethiopia	30.1

Source: UNHCR (2001) Global Report 2000: Achievements and Impact, UNHCR, Geneva, p28

Table 1 shows the top ten refugee-hosting countries in 2000 according to three different criteria. The first column shows the total refugee population. Pakistan and Iran had by far the largest refugee populations—mainly from Afghanistan. Africa figures prominently in the table, but the United States is also on the list, together with two European countries: Germany and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). However, to understand the weight of the "refugee burden," it is more useful to relate the refugee population to the overall population in host

countries. This is shown in the second column of Table 1, which consists mainly of very poor countries, with the sole exceptions of Yugoslavia and Sweden. Even more instructive is to relate refugee populations to the wealth of the receiving country (third column). This list does not include a single developed country. Refugees are overwhelmingly concentrated in the poorest countries. This puts in perspective the frequent the claims of countries of the North (loosely defined as the developed countries of Europe, North America, and Oceania) that they are unfairly burdened with refugees from the less-developed countries of the South.

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS OF MIGRATION

-THE PUSH &PULL

While studying migration, it is important to find out why some people migrate and others do not. In other word, it is important to study the motivational factors associated with migratory moment.

As no generalization about selectivity in migration is universally true, the study of motivational factors of migration becomes even more complex than the study of behavourial and psychological aspects of the

other two factors of population change, namely fertility and mortality. However, those who have tried to generalize about migration phenomena or have attempted to study the motivational factors of migration have adopted two distinctly different approaches. The first one is mainly situation oriented in terms of push and pull factors, and the other is an attempt to formulate empirical generalizations and describes patterns of migrations, preferably in terms of mathematical models which are valid as universal laws.[12] However, almost all the theorists, whether it is Revenstein, Lee or Zelinsky, are showing their consent that it is the push-pull factors which are the root cause of migration.

Push and pull factors:

Push factors are those that operate in areas of out- migration and compel people to move to other place/places. Pull factors are those that operate in areas of in- migration and attract the people to these areas. Overpopulation, exhaustion of natural resources, draught, floods, natural calamities and acute social, political or religious conflict compelling people to migrate to other places for reasons of safety. [13] These are the push factors

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[12] UN "The *Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends*" Vol. – 1, OP.CIT, P – 209.

[13] Ralf Thomlison, "Population dynamics," New York, Random House, 1965, pp.224

of migration. On the other hand, better economic opportunity, facilities for higher education, pleasant climatic conditions, and socio-cultural activities etc.are regarded as pull factors.[14] It is noteworthy to say that it is not necessary that in an area only push or only pull factors should operate. In fact, both push and pull factors operate simultaneously in the same area. Because of this, sometimes it becomes difficult to differentiate between push and pull factors. It is in this context that a scheme other than the push-pull syndrome has to be recommended for a detailed inventory of determinants of migration. All migration in the modern context are born out of growing process of industrialization, technological advancement and other changes that are taking place in the social and economic spheres. In addition, wars, political events, regional disparities in employment potentials, in wages and in availability of agricultural land are other stimuli for population movements.

It is obvious that the push –pull approach has been useful in listing the several factors that motivate to migrate. This approach, however, does not by itself, lead to any theory of migration. Some demographers have been questioned the adequacy of its basic concepts.

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[14] Ibid PP- 224

William Peterson observes that this conceptualization is inadequate as it implies that man is everywhere sedentary, remaining fixed until he is induced to move by some force. [15] It is also apparent that in most cases, migration occurs not because of either push or pull factors alone but as a result of the combined effect of both. Moreover, the push- pull type of conceptualization does not explain why under the same circumstances some persons migrate and others do not. The motivational aspects of migration are, therefore, highly subjective in nature. Now, we will discuss the determinants of migration in some details

.DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION:

Migration is a complex phenomenon and enquiry about the motives behind it, is the most difficult part of the analysis of the process of migration. Not only that, the studies which have been conducted in this field, are mostly of specific nature and it is difficult to generalize their findings so as to make the same co applicable in different situations. Not only do the factors controlling migration vary from area to area but also the significance of the same factor varies from person to person.

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[15] William Peterson, "Population" London, Macmillan Company, 1969, pp.289

There are several factors in an area that hold the people of the area to it or attract more people to it and there are innumerable factors that repel the people from it. Each place of origin as well as of destination has its own set of *positive, negative,* and *indifferent* factors for each potential migrant.[16]Thus, a factor may be positive for particular person, may be negative for the other and indifferent for still another. It is this complexity of the factors that makes most of the generalizations about determinants of migration vague.

However, the determinants of migration can be classified into four broad categories, namely, economic, social, demographic and political determinants.

Economic determinants

As observed earlier, economic motives constitute the most vital determinants of population movements. Large scale of poverty, unemployment and attraction for better economic opportunity-always motivated and sometimes forced people to emigrate from their native places. For example, in 1930, the slump and economic depression resulted into an exodus of British workers to Canada and USA in spite of efforts to stop

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[16] E.S. Lee, "*A Theory of Migration* in Population Geography A Reader" Eds by G.J. Demleo and others, McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1970, PP-288-297

them. Most of the migrations in the developing world are for economic reasons.

The availability of good agricultural land continues to be most powerful economic factor determining magnitude and direction of population migration. The areas which have actual pressure of population upon their limited agricultural land resource base, thus, generate out migration, whereas those where new agricultural lands are reclaimed receive such migrants. Closely associated with these factors is the factor of size of land holdings. Migrations all over the world have been stimulated by the temptation of increasing the size of one's landholdings. It has commonly been observed that the regions of dwindling landholdings send out the streams of migrants to areas of developmental activities.

This takes us the question of availability of employment opportunities. Urbanized and more developed areas are witnessing more in-migration. The development of means of transportation and communication in recent times has also stimulated migratory tendencies.

Social determinants:

Certain social customs, religious freedom, socio-economic status, information network, cultural contract, desire for social upliftment, government policies– all are equally important like the economic determinants of migration. People who have low socio-economics status are more mobile than people with high status. For instance, in society like that of 19th century Britain, people having lower social status were the most mobile. [17]

However, in the contemporary developed world, it is the more skilled, highly educated and economically better one who has greater propensity to migrate, particularly over long distance. However, not all the higher status groups have high rate of spatial mobility.[18] Closely associated with these factors, is the factor of information network. The availability of information through education, cultural contacts, and spatial interaction also widens the migration propensity spectrum. The communities who are ruled by ancient traditions, customs and strong communal ties are less mobile than those which are socially more awakened and where people have cultural contact with the other world and possess intense desire for social upliftment.

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[17] C. Pooley, "Residential Mobility in Victorian City" Institute *of British Geographers*, Vol – 4, 1979, PP-258-277.

[18] Lindsky, "The Geographical Mobility of Professional and Technical Manpower," *Journal of Human Resources*, vol.4, 1979, pp.258-77

[19] The information network and cultural contact widens the horizons for job opportunities. Thus, migration generates more migration, which signifies the role of information network in the stimulation of migration. In India, the Sikhs are the most adventurous and well-informed people who migrate even to the less developed and less attractive areas like Bolivia, Columbia, Nicaragua, Central African Republic, Sudan, Yemen, etc.

The government policies also affected severally or adversely the pattern of population movement. The UK, French, Russia, United States, New Zealand, Canada, etc. have specific population policies and most of them discourage immigrants.

Demographic Determinants:

A number of demographic factors like age, over population etc. also play a pivotal role in the migration pattern. Young adults are more migratory than other groups. The varying degree of population pressure vis-à-vis resource potential of the area finds expression through migration of population. The great historic movement of European population across the Atlantic was an expression of increasing stress upon the resources of

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[19] UN *"Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends"* Publication No. – XVII, 1953, PP 1-7

Europe. However, neither internal nor international migration can offer real long-term solution of population growth, limited resources and unemployment.

Political Determinants:

One of the important causes of migration is the political one. It gains momentum after the Second World War. Political refugee is a worldwide phenomenon today. Turkish, Armenians and White Russians early in the 20th century; Jews after the 2nd world war and Palestinians, Tibetans, Afghans, Kurds, Siberians are some of the examples of such type of migration today. All these are the examples of forced migrations induced by political factors.

The forced and compulsory migrations are always bound up with tragic highlights in human history. During the medieval period, Negroes used to be sold in the urban markets of Spain, Portugal, France and Italy. These slaves were exported to USA from the western coast of Africa, from the Senegal to the Gold Coast and Congo.

The proceeding discussion on the determinates of migration reveals that the factors involved in the process of migration are not easy to

trace. The preceding inventory of factors includes only such factors that may operate at micro level. The micro level studies may, however, reveal still wider spectrum of factors operating at local level.

CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION:

There is no doubt that migration affects the area of out migration, the area of immigration, and the migrants themselves. Beavjev Garnier, rightly remarks that each migrant by nature seeks to recreate something of the original milieu in the midst of the new environment and consequently, enriches the civilization. Thus, the consequences of migration are no less significant than the cause of migration.[20]

The area from which the people move out and the area to which the people move in both undergo a quantitative as well as qualitative change in their demographic structure, Since population movements are the expression of re-allocation of human resources, the population resource relationship of the two areas involved in the process of migration gets modified significantly. With the movements of people from one place to

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[20] J, Beaujeu Garner, Geography of Population, Longman, London, 1966, pp.232

another all the demographic attributes, like numbers, density growth, age, sex etc. experience a quantitative change in their numerical expressions.

The so-called brain -drain becomes an issue of considerable concern in relation to permanent emigration by skilled individuals from developing countries to the industrialized countries. The problem is low to achieve a balance between training and actual requirement to avoid a relative over supply of highly trained individuals who cannot be absorbed and to create conditions to preserve skills at home and attract nationals with necessary skills to return and participate in the economic and social development processes of the home country. A major question in this regard is whether returnees are likely to go back the village. Evidence would indicate that many prefer to settle in the cities to benefit from superior opportunities; to use their skills and to improve their social standing. Villages may than continue to be deprived of the necessary skills and dynamism and continue to loose young and able people.

Social or family structures may also be more of seriously affected by the prolonged or repeated absence of the head of the household or other family members. Depending on the cultural setting, increased responsibilities may have to be assumed by wives and mothers remaining

behind. In some African countries, this leads to a decline in, for example, agricultural output. [21] Moreover, returning migrant workers also often face problems in resuming their previous lifestyle or employment.

The migrant also faces serious adaptation problems e.g. rural migrants moving to the new industrial towns suffer from lack of pure air and open space; also from the presence of noxious fumes, dust etc. They also have to adapt to the new dietary habits, timing of foods etc. There are evidences to prove that the incidences of respiratory diseases among the people who migrate from rural areas to industrial areas are very high.

A further important distinction is that new arrivals are seen as more inclined than their predecessors are to maintain their linguistic and cultural identity. Language becomes a serious problem when people of different languages migrate in large numbers and live together for long. French and English in Canada; Dutch and English in South Africa today pose a serious language problem for their respective government.

However, the most important thing is that large scale migration of aliens may pose a threat to the identity of the local people by

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[21] J.N. Huguet "*International Labour Migration from the ESCAP Region*" in "the Impact of International Migration on Developing countries", Regional Appleyard (Eds), OECD Paris 1989 PP 490-497

changing the demographic balance of the area of destination. It may create social tension and local resentment. This in one of the main reasons why the influx of foreigners has become a matter of growing concern. Countries which have been badly affected by the influx of migration have begun to think illegal migration as a national security threat. Even the 'classical countries of immigration' have started to control immigration by making the rules and laws of migration more stringent .Attempts have been made to recast international migration as a problem of national security and international organizations such as the UNHCR have come under intense pressure to help states manage the increasing flows .

Why is it so? Why do states start to think migration a national security threat? For a better understanding, we have to make ourselves easy and clear about the concept of national security. What is national security? What are its basic aspects?? We will discuss it in detail in the successive chapters. However, we may say in brief that international migration has moved from the realm of low politics (*i.e.* problems of domestic governance, especially, labour market and demographic policies) to the realm of high politics (*i.e.* problems affecting relations between states including, questions of war and peace).

CHAPTER-2

CHAPTER-2

IMMIGRATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Until recently, international migration was not seen as a central political issue. Rather, migrants were divided up into categories, such as permanent settlers, foreign workers or refugees; dealt with by a variety of special agencies, such as immigration department, labour offices, aliens' police and education ministries. It is only in the late 80s that international migration began to be accorded high level and systematic attention.

In the last decades of the 20th century, especially after the end of the Cold war, immigration has become a central issue of politics and public policy. In Europe it is already a driving factor in electoral politics and in USA, it is increasingly potent electoral issue. After decades of importing foreign labour as Guest Workers, many European nations are now confronted with the unexpected and unwanted challenge of assimilating such large numbers of culturally different, permanent resident aliens and their offspring. General public is increasingly uneasy about the long-term implications of current immigration flows for maintenance of national culture, language and identity. International migration has moved, as

already mentioned, from the realm of 'low politics' to the 'high politics'. Attempts have been made to recast international migration as a national security threat. Migrants who were welcomed as a useful labour force, are now presented in political discourses as criminals, troublemakers, economic and social de-frauders, terrorists, drug traffickers, arms smugglers, inassimilable persons and so-forth. They are demonized as being increasingly associated with organized crime. They are accused of taking away from nationals, taking advantage of social services and harming the identity of host countries. [1]

The question is, therefore, on what basis does such a threat rest? Why is immigration being treated as a threat to national security?? Why, in contemporary society and present national interest, countries which have been harbouring migration in last few decades or span of time, have started to open their minds to the possibility of considering immigration as considerable threat to national security ???-In order to see how and why immigration is a national security threat; one should first understand what is meant by the term *national security*?

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[1] Ayse Ceyhan and Anastassia Tsoukala, "The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent discourses and policies", *Alternatives* 27, Spl. Issue 2002 PP- 21-39.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY

Defining national security, Walter Lipman said, *a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war and is able to maintain them, if challenged, by war.* [2] To Berkowitz & Booke, *National security is the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats.* [3] However, all these definitions appear dated and narrow. The received wisdom has been challenged as anachronistic, narrow-minded and potentially dangerous. The old assured focus on the state and the use of military force is being supplemented by a wider perspective that takes into account not only military but also political, social, economic and environmental security threats that affect not only states but also groups and individuals as well as other non-state actors. [4] What is emerging is a broader re-conceptualization of security that is not solely national in scope, nor military in focus. In the words of Robert

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[2] Walter Lipmen, "US *foreign policy: shield of Republic*" Boston, MASS, 1943, PP-5.

[3] Berkowitz & Booke, "National *Security*" in Devid L. Sills (Ed) "International encyclopedia of Social Sciences", Vol. −11, London, 1968, PP-41-45.

[4] .E.A. Kolodzeij, "Renaissance of Security Studies Caveat Lector", *International Studies Quarterly* 36, No. −4, December 1994.

McNamara, *Security is not military force, though it may encompass it. Security is development and without development there is no security.*[5]

Thus, it could be broadly maintained that the domain of national security has widened its course much more than the traditional military notion .It is now widely felt that development of the state and greater stress towards equalization of the world order would also be necessary components of national security. Therefore, the ideal security policy is one which would lead to a distribution of values satisfactory to all nations in such a way that the intention to attack and with it the problem of security would be minimized.

However, national security is an ambiguous symbol. This ambiguity is manifested in Wolfer's definition of security. Security, according to him, *is the absence of threats to acquired values.* Adopting this definition of security, it is immediately necessary to ask two related questions: Security for whom? Security for which values?? The first question requires a specification of the referent object of security analysis, while the second question demands that we specify what values we wish to

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[5] Robert McNamara, *"The Essence of Security"*, Harper & Row, New York, 1968, PP- 141-162.

secure. The two questions are interrelated, because our answer to the first question will in turn; help decide our answer to the second. The question of what values we wish to secure points to the multi-dimensionality of security. Security may be concerned about preserving any number of possible values, ranging from the territorial integrity of the state to the cleanliness of the water supply. The multi-dimensionality of security indicates open ended possibilities for what can count as the value worthy of being secured and breaks down the hierarchy of *hard* and *soft* security issues. What is of value to one group may not be of value to another. Thus, in a given country, what is highly valued may not be shared by elites and counter-elites.*[76]

Having outlined the theoretical approach adopted here, it is now possible to apply this conceptual understanding of security to the issue of illegal migration as a security threat.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The security arguments against immigration are usually articulated around four main axes:

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[6] Dov Waxman, "Immigration and Identity: A New Security prospective in Euro-Maghreb Relations" *Research Institute for the study of conflict and terrorism*, PP: 1-29.

(i)   The socio-economic axis,

(ii)   The securitarian axis,

(iii)   The identitarian axis, and

(iv)   The political axis

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AXIS:

Migration is often associated with unemployment, the rise of informal economy, the crisis of the welfare state and other urban environment deterioration. Existing research suggests that immigrants, whether entering legally or illegally, may have, at worse, a neutral impact on the receiving state's economy. Possible positive economic effects may be particularly marked in regions or localities where immigrants become concentrated, owing to their direct contribution to local production and consumption. This may hold even in conditions of relatively high unemployment because immigrants (particularly illegal one) often accept the kinds of jobs, which are shunned by the members of indigenous community including the unemployed. Moreover, one can identify a clear link between

the strength of the informal economy in Southern Europe levels of illegal migrants into the region.

Things that have been receiving the greatest attention are the depression of wages and working conditions and the displacement of native workers from jobs. It is believed that a large supply of inexpensive foreign labour in a country is responsible for depressing wages and working conditions and weakening the trade unions, particularly in large urban areas.[7] Illegal aliens are often preferred by employers who find them to be hard working and productive employees. Of course, they may also be sought because of their off-cited docility which really amounts to their objective vulnerability as a direct result of their having crossed a political border. In addition, many foreign workers are willing to accept jobs that native workers reject. In combination of circumstance, in the view of certain economists as well as security experts, can result in a general reduction in wages, health and safety conditions and various fringe benefits. It is also argued that if native workers are underbid by foreign workers, job displacement occurs. Since illegal immigrants are generally unskilled, any displacement would likely to have an impact on the low wage labour market.

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[7] .Anil Karal, "Politics *of Population influx and Labour problem*" Udh Publishers, PP: 243-281.

THE SECURITARIAN AXIS:

Here, migration is linked to the loss of a country's sovereignty, fear of crime and the fear of weakening of border control. These fears provide a powerful narrative .The stress of loosing control understates the degree to which the state has actually structured, conditioned and even unable (often unintentionally) clandestine border crossing and overstates the degree to which the state has been able to control its border since the past.[8]

Border continues (even in the age of Globalization) to be the pivotal term of securitarian discourses. Borders have highly powerful symbolic power. As *institution*, they define a legal understanding of the sovereign states and as *processes*, they are markers of identity, invested with mythic significance in building nations and political identities. [9]Hence, the discussive focus of securitarian discourses on borders and the establishment of a continuum of threats that closely link illegal immigration with a broad range of criminal phenomena from pretty crime and urban violence to

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[8] . Peter Andrews, "Borders *games: Policing the US- Mexico Divide*", Ithaca, New York, Cornell UP 2000, PP: 7

[9] .Malcom Anderson, "Frontiers, *Territory and State formation in the Modern World*" Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996, PP: 1-11.

organized crime, money laundering, financial crime, drug trafficking and fundamentalist terrorism.

Illegal immigration is often link to organized crime .A necessary reminder is that it has never been proved that there is a particular link between immigration and organized crime. On the contrary, it is argued that migrants are hardly or never involved in organized crime activities. But, despite these arguments, official reports and publications of various agencies and several judges agree to consider immigration as a fact involving henceforth illegal immigrants and drug trafficking under the *mafia*'s control. This thesis which is strongly accepted by European authorities, in fact, reproduces the pattern followed from the early 80s, by the US *intelligence services* with regard to threats coming from the countries of the South and in particular, to the threat coming from Latin American *drug traffickers*.[10] Indeed in USA this policy led to the militarization of the US-Mexico border and to the rise of *American Crime fare State*. Since the beginning of the so called war on *drugs* in 1986, the southern border has been transformed into a military style front on which are deployed the US ARMY, US BORDER PATROL and US CUSTOMS &DRUG

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[10] Palidda "Migration, *Crime and Law*" in G. Gray ed., "A European Dilemma: Immigration, Citizenship and Identity", New York, Boghahn, 2000, PP: 103-131.

ENFORCEMENT AGENCY, the FBI, the NATIONAL GUARD and other security agencies.

Apart from these, another aspect of illegal immigration is the rise of terrorism. The terrorist threats come in two forms, *firstly*, terrorism perpetrated by Illegal immigrants and *secondly*, terrorism directed against illegal immigrants. This second threat may not at first seem to constitute terrorism, but adopting the widely accepted definition of terrorism proposed by Paul Wilkinson, makes clear that it is. According to him, *Political terrorism may be briefly described as coercive intimidation. It is the systematic use of murder and destruction and the threat of murder and destruction, in order to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to the terrorists' political demands.*[11]

Discussion of the threat of terrorism centre almost entirely on that posed by immigrants. But, it is necessary to draw attention to the use by extreme right wing fascist or nationalist-socialist groups of terrorism specifically directed against immigrants. Notable example of this occurred in Germany but there have also been outbreaks elsewhere. Such incidents are

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[11] Wilkinston, *"Terrorism and Liberal State"*, 1986, PP: 51.

terrorist in nature and intent because they are designed to create terror, are indiscriminate in the targets they choose among the immigrant communities. They are also political as they are designed to pressure public opinion and government into altering policies concerning immigration. At present, such incidents are treated as criminal in nature

However, it is the threat of terrorism by immigrants that is foremost in the mind one consider terrorism in the context of immigration, The phenomena of terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism are closely connected in Western perceptions in a more general sense, the sponsors and stakes of international terrorism are seen as largely Muslim and Middle Eastern. The demonstrations, violence, and death threats that accompanied the Salman Rushdi affair, charges that Muslim citizen in Britain, France and America have formed radical networks with international connections. The World Trade Center bombing, the Paris Metro bombing, the September 11 incident-all have emphasized the danger of a domestic Islamic threat to the receiving states, particularly to the European receiving states. Since 1982 Shiite Islamic Groups have been responsible for roughly 8 percent of all

international terrorist incidents, yet these incidents accounted for 30 percent of the total number of death.[12]

The Identitarian Axis:

In Securitarian discourses, culture, migration and identity are linked one to another by the perception of the migrant as a *cultural other* who comes into western countries and disturbs their cultural identify. It is argued that culturally distinct settler group almost always maintain their languages and some elements of their homeland cultures, at least for a few generations. Where governments have recognized permanent settlement, there has been a tendency to move from politics to individual assimilation to acceptance of some degree of cultural differences. The result has been granting of minority cultural and political rights, as embodied in the policies of multi-culturalism introduced in Canada, Sweden and Australia since the 1970s. Government, which opposes or rejects this idea, also, opposes pluralism, which they see as a threat to national unity and identity. In such cases immigrants tend to turn into marginalized ethnic minorities. In other cases, for example, France, governments may accept the reality of settlement

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[12] ibid

but demand individual cultural assimilation as the price for granting of rights of citizenship.

Whatever the policies of the governments, immigration may lead to strong reactions from some sections of the population. Immigration often takes place at the same time as economic restructuring and for reaching social change. People whose conditions of life are already changing in an unpredictable way often see the newcomers as the cause of insecurity. Migration and minorities are seen as a danger to living standards, life styles and social cohesion. Consequently racism has grown. Racism is a threat not only to immigrants themselves but also to democratic institutions and social order.[13]

More serious is the new challenge to national identity. A sense of national identity provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world, through the prism of collective personality and its distinctive culture. Of course people line with multiple identities and these do not necessarily have a clear or permanent hierarchy in relation to each other. But, in specific situation, especially the closer one

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[13] Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, "*Introduction*" of" The Age of Migration", P: 1-18.

comes to war in either literal or metaphorical forms, the more there will be a hierarchy. In these conditions national identity is usually able to organize the other identities around it.

The rise of identity politics through out the world, especially in the western societies, and the increasing anxiety felt over the strength and preservation of national identities, can be seen as evidence, not of a renaissance of national identities but as an early warning signal of their crisis. One of the main contemporary phenomena that have led to current concerns over national identities is international migration since it appears to many as a direct challenge to national identity by threatening to reshape, in the long run, what the nation stands for. Immigration is perceived as endangering the stable core of national identities by introducing foreign alien elements into the supposedly unified and homogenous body politic of nation state. In short, immigration literally brings the 'outsider' 'inside'.

Of course, international migration is not a new phenomenon and it certainly predates nation-states. In a long historical view, nearly all nations are the product of hybridity and occupy their current positions as a result of earlier migrations. Indeed most of the current states in the Western Hemisphere owe much of their form and society to quite recent, and in many

cases still continuing immigration. It is notable that France has been a major population movement importer ever since the middle of the 19th century. The newness of contemporary immigration, however, lies in the fact that it involves large numbers of culturally and ethically distinct people at a time when, by all accounts, culture and ethnicity are increasingly contentious issues. Contemporary migration is transforming European societies into multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-national societies. This has already called into question prevailing notion of the nation-state and citizenship. Mounting immigration pressure from developing country is considered as one of the factors having already let to an unease in social and racial tensions in some of the receiving countries, particularly as unemployment rates within the European countries of the OECD remain relatively high, but also in view of the increasing cultural and religious dissimilarities between migrants and the receiving societies.[14]

Large scale of immigration may threaten the very existence of the indigenous people. It may create demographic imbalance and may out number the local population. For example, immigrants from the densely populated region of Eastern Nepal migrated into Bhutan for many years,

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[14] Ibid, p14

eventually leading to concerns that the local Tibetan population might soon be out numbered. Moreover, if citizenship is granted to the Nepalese and democracy is extended, then the Nepalese may vote to overturn the Monarchy and the country will cease to be an independent Tibetan state. The King, with the support from his Tibetan subjects has therefore imposed a series of restrictions on the non-Tibetan population with the intention of halting the flows of Nepalese into the country, as well as to ensure the cultural, political and demographic hegemony of the indigenous Tibetan population.

The Political Axis:

The rise and growth of extremely right wing political parties and organizations are a matter of concern. This not only can threaten the political instability in the country concerned, but also can threaten the very legitimacy of the constitutional order. It can open up potentially deep social cleavage (particularly between settled immigrants and nations). It would also affect relations with other states, most notably with the migrant sending countries, but also with most, if not all, liberal democratic states. A harbinger of this is already evident in the deep domestic division in France that have set in over the government's strict anti-immigrant legislation, and

internationally, in Turkey's resentment towards Germany's attitude and treatment concerning the substantial Turkish guest worker population in Germany.

A further political threat posed by immigrants derives from the fact that although immigrants generally forge attachments to the receiving country and society, they rarely detach themselves entirely from their country of origin, whether, economically, politically and culturally. Indeed, a number of studies carried out over recent years indicate that immigrant minority populations remain very sensitive to developments in their country of origin. This observation raises the possibility that immigrants groups can render the receiving state more vulnerable to developments in the sending countries or elsewhere which would otherwise remain almost entirely external. The Salman Rushdie affair provides one example of this. In some cases, the additional foreign policy pressure may serve drastically to restrict the host government's room for maneuver. The unrest manifesto among a number of Muslim groups during the Gulf war, the unease of the state governments, particularly the British government, over this domestic instability as a result of their participation in the alliance against Iraq is a portentous sign of this potential threat. Nevertheless

although immigrants may act as a powerful pressure group in the receiving country, this is not unlike any other social group seeking to advance their particular interests and concerns.

So, the threat to national security operates at both state and societal level, the equation of illegal migrants with radical terrorism appears to jeopardize state security; whilst the cultural distinctiveness of most of the immigrant communities threatens to undermine the cultural identity and integrity of the host societies, there by constituting a threat to societal security. It is noteworthy that societal security is one dimension of state security, that of socio-political cohesion. Lack of such socio-political cohesion produces weak states.[15]

Having outlined the approach adopted here, it is now

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[15] Barry Buzan *States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991)

possible to apply this conceptual framework of security to the issue of illegal

immigration of Bangladeshi nationals into India's North-East region as a

national security threat. To this task we turn to the next chapter.

CHAPTER-3

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION OF BANGLADESHIS INTO INDIA'S NORTH-EAST REGION: NATIONAL SECURITY IMPLICATIONS

"It is not just a question of infiltration, it is being used as a cover for sending in agents with the specific aim of preparing an extensive infrastructure, in the East and the North-East, for terrorist activities which include perpetuation of ghastly attacks like the one on the American Centre at Kolkata on 22 January, 2002. Also we should not forget that Syed Abu Nasir, who was caught in June 1999 in Delhi, is a Bangladeshi who had come with a group to blow up the US Embassy in the Capital as well as another US Consulate in the country. That is why Bangladesh is opposed to India's efforts to prevent infiltration."

-Hiranmay Karlekar

North-East India popularly known as the land of *seven sisters* is located in the northeastern corner of the Indian union with international frontiers on three sides. It has a 4,500 km-long international border, but is connected to the Indian mainland by a tenuous 22 kilometre land corridor through Siliguri in the State of West Bengal - a link popularly and evocatively known as the 'Chicken's Neck'. The region lies, geographically, between 22^0 and 29^0 North latitude, and $89^0.46$ and $97^0.5$ East latitude and covers an area of 25, 5083 sq. km. This region is dominated in the north by the snow capped Himalayan ranges 5000 to 6000 meters high, which gradually come down to 1000 to 1500 meters on its Eastern rim, i.e. the Patkai Bum ranges. The mountain slopes are steep, interspersed by narrow and deep valleys, covered by thick tropical forests. Three major valleys,

Brahmaputra, Barak and Surma are named often the three-river system, which drain the region. These have attracted immigrants on a large scale for several years, and influenced the course of the history of this region.[1]

The earliest known migration was of Asteroids and some Dravidians around 5000 B.C. These were the earliest known inhabitants. This was followed by warms of migrations of Mongoloid stocks from Southern China and Tibet. The progeny are the present day Bodos, Bodo-kacharis, Mishings, Raj Banshi, Akas, Dafalas and Abors. These tribes pushed forward towards the west and held sway over parts of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Present day Arunachal Pradesh, Western Meghalaya, Tripura, Eastern UP and Bihar. By this time, Aryan migrations had taken place from the West into Indo-Gangetic plains. Aryans gradually pushed Bodos 'eastwards' and established their kingdom at *Kamrupa*. The earliest epigraphic reference to *kamrupa* can be found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, where in, amongst other things, mention is made of *kamrupa*, which was a frontier state outside the *Gupta Empire.*[2] Last of the major migrations, then, took place in 13th century AD, when

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[1] Narahari, N S 'Preface', in "Security Threats to Northeast India" Manas Publications, New Delhi 2002,pp.5

militarily better organized and equipped Tai-Ahoms came in from South Western China via South East Asia. The Ahoms in the next two centuries, defeated Bodos, Kacharis, Chutiyas, Kochs, Dimasas, Khasis and Jaintias and established their reign in the entire valley. The Ahoms ruled the area for six hundred years. However, Ahom reign was over with the annexation of Assam by the British in 1826.British annexation of the state in 1826 opened the floodgates of migration to the region.

There were four groups of inward immigrations that took place during the British rule. The first group was the Bengali white-collared workers from the districts of East-Bengal. The second group constituted the Nepali labour for the construction of railways in Assam, to work to the coalmines and the oil fields in *Upper Assam* Valley. The third group was the tea plantation labour. Tea plantation labour had to be imported from outside. The labourers were from Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar etc.The fourth group was the Muslim peasants who came in gradually increasing numbers to cultivate the follow land. The massive migration of tribals from the Jharkhand region (in Bihar and Orissa) significantly transformed the

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[2] Acharya, N N The Historical Documents of Assam' quoted in N.S. Narahari's "Security Threats to Northeast India" chapters 3, pp. 30-55

demographic structure in Assam. Such massive migration made the State, demographically, the fastest growing province in Colonial India.[3] The population of tea garden employees in 1921 was 1.3 million or one-sixth of Assam's total population of the time[4]

The British, to fill the coffers of the Crown, imposed heavy taxes on the peasantry, leading to a peasant revolt in Assam in 1861 and 1891. Unable to enhance the rate of taxation any further, the colonialists tried to bring in larger tracts of land under agriculture to boost revenue generation. This amounted to encouraging the migration of peasants to Assam's wetlands from the thickly populated parts of East Bengal, mainly from the districts of Mymensingh, Rongpur and Pabna (in present-day Bangladesh).[5] At that time, of course, this was an internal migration of a deprived community in search of greener pastures.

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[3] Kinsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, Cited in Hussain, *The Assam Movement*, p. 43.
[4] Edward Gait, *A History of Assam (1905)*, Calcutta: Thacker, Spinck and Co., 1933, p. 414.

[5] Hussain, *The Assam Movement*, pp. 41-42.

Nevertheless, fears about the adverse impact of migration could already be felt. In 1920, the British tried to impose certain restrictions on migration and introduced what was called the *Line System*. This regulation prevented migrant peasants from purchasing land within specified areas and forced a large number of them to the riverine areas (*Chars* in the local language), segregating them from the indigenous people. Being a loose regulation it failed to stop or check the influx into Assam. In fact, two Assamese and a Bodo tribal member from among the nine-member Line System Committee informed the British authorities that "they did not anticipate that the new rulers (the British) would invite foreigners to come in such large numbers so as to swamp the indigenous population." The note that these three members wrote said that it was the government's "sacred duty" to protect the Assamese from this wave of East Bengali immigration.[6]

Demographers have observed that Assam's rate of population growth during 1901-1951 was the second highest (137.80 per cent) in the world, exceeded only by Brazil (204.00 per cent).[7] This trend of a high rate of population growth continued in Assam in the years that followed India's

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[6] Baruah, *India against Itself*, p. 67.
[7] Susanta K. Das, *Spotlight on Assam*, cited in Baruah, *India Against Itself*, p. 50.

independence. It is a historical fact that the rate of growth of population in Assam has been much higher than that of India's average since the colonial period. Significantly in 1921, when the population growth rate was negative for India, Assam had shown a tremendously higher growth rate, that is 20.47 per cent. And the gap of growth between India and Assam was as high as 20.77 per cent.

At the time of India's independence in 1947,Pakistan was carved out of India on the basis of the religious composition of its population. In the eastern sector, Sylhet being a Muslim majority district of Assam at that time, most of that district was transferred to East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Only a part of Karimganj sub-division of that district, being Hindu majority at that time, remained in Assam. Immediately after the partitions, a large number of Hindus of East Bengal migrated to India because they feared the outbreak of communal trouble. Simultaneously a sizable number of Muslims crossed over to East Pakistan. The actual number of Hindu refugees who entered Assam and adjoining areas and the number of Muslims who migrated to East Pakistan was not available. However, according to the 1951 census of India, the share of the migrants from

all the periods under consideration. The then Home minister disclosed in reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha on 11th March 1970 that the infiltrators during 1951-61 on the basis of 1961 census had been assessed at 2, 21,000.[1] As the infiltration has been going on unabated the number of infiltrators in Assam in the 1961-71 periods is anybody's guess (which is not less than 5, 00,000).

The flow of the Bangladeshi immigrants to the N-E region, state wise are presented below.

Bangladeshi migrants to the N-E region of India during

1951&1991

Year	Assam	Arunachal Pradesh	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Tripura
1951	799735	1492	1394	24133	6512	1416	210161
1991	288109	8397	1012	11887	1560	303	434136

Source – Census of India 1951, 1991

[8] The Statesman, 12 March, 1970

It is clear from the table drawn above that Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya are mostly affected by the flow of the Bangladeshi immigrants to the N-E region. This resulted in higher rate of growth of population in these states as well as in the entire region compared to that of India during the entire period from 1951-2001. Despite the fact that the natural rate of growth of population in this region is lower than that of India as a whole, actual rate of growth is much higher in this region. This has changed the very equilibrium of the demographic structure of the North-East. The continuous migration from across the border has pushed up the population curve of this region working in tandem with the high rate natural increase of population.

As against India's population growth rate at 21.51% during the decade 1951-61, Tripura registered a growth rate of 78.71%, Mizoram 35.61%, Assam 34.98% and Meghalaya 27.03%. Such a difference with the national rate of growth persisted in these states during 1961-71, 1971-81, 1981-91 and 1991-2001 except in Nagaland and Tripura each in one decade and Assam in other two decades. Nagaland showed a growth rate of 14.07% in 1951-61 as against that of India's 21.58% during the same period. Tripura

shows a growth rate of population 15.74% as against that of India's 21.34% in 2001 census. Assam's exponential rate of growth during the decade 1971-81 has been shown as 23.36% as against India's 24.66%. In 1981, no census was taken in Assam due to the agitations of students of Assam in particular and North-East in general. The agitations were against the out-siders who according to Myron Weiner, "has shaken the foundation of Assamese social structures and created solidarity among the Assamese even while generating cleavages between the indigenous Assamese and indigenous tribals. It has influenced the educational, social and economic aspirations of countless Assamese, determined their central political cognizances. ... (It has) given rise to powerful assimilationist and nativist sentiments and backless separatist agitation, to massive conflict over languages, education and employment policy."[9] So there was no census in Assam in 1981 due to Assam Movement. In the same way, Assam's decadal growth rate of population was recorded as 18.85% as against India's 21.34%. Barring these four occasions, the North-Eastern states have uniformly registered a rate of growth of population much higher than the national average in each decade. It may be mentioned that decadal census was held regularly in Arunachal Pradesh only since 1961 and as such census data relating to population of

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[9] Weiner, Myron "Sons of the Soil-Migration and ethnic conflict" Princeton University Press, 1978

that state are available for that state for the period from 1961 onwards. The rate of growth of population in Nagaland has been the highest among all the North-Eastern states during the period from 1961 to 2001. As per 2001census, the rate of growth of population in Nagaland stands at 64.14%, the highest among all the states in the country.

The abnormal growth of population of North-East India is also explained by the average annual exponential growth rate of North-East India in 1991-2001 was 2.0 percent and it is much more than the national average i.e. 0.07 percent.

Density of population is also high in this region especially in Assam and Tripura. Density of population per square kilometer in India, as per 2001 census, 324 as against 340 in Assam and 304 in Tripura. These are the two states, which among the North-Eastern states have borne the brunt of migration from across the border. An important aspect of the demographic scenario in the North-East region is that the natural growth rate of population (the difference between the crude birth rate and crude death rate)

is much lower than that of India as a whole. Natural rate of growth in India is 19.5 as against 17.4 in Arunachal Pradesh, 19.4 in Assam, 16.8 in Tripura and 14.1 in Manipur. Despite the fact that the natural rate of growth of population in this region is lower than that of India as a whole, actual rate of growth is much higher here as shown before.

In this way, the continuous migration from across the border has pushed up the population curve of this region working in tandem with the high rate natural increase of population.

The illegal immigration of Bangladeshi nationals into North-East region of India has been engaging the attention of the common people and the government at large. For further introspections of this issue as such, one requires to reflect briefly the conditions in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh, with an estimated population of 127, 117 497 in July 1999 is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Many people are landless and forced to live on and cultivate flood-prone land;

have limited access to potable water; water-borne diseases are prevalent and intermittent water shortages occur because of falling water tables in the northern and central parts of the country. It faces problems of soil degradation, deforestation and severe over population. Despite sustained domestic and international efforts to improve economic and demographic prospects Bangladesh remains one of the world's poorest, most densely populated, and least developed nations`[10]

Despite recent fertility reductions, its annual population growth rate is about 2.17%. Studies conducted in the early 60 have indicated a total fertility rate (TFR) of seven children per woman. Such high fertility is declining but according to Bangladesh fertility survey (BFS) conducted in 1989, TFR was 5, which is still quite high by any standard. Thus, the fertility conditions prevailing in the country should be the core concern of national policies and programmes. The population of Bangladesh, which was 115.6 millions in 1990, is expected to grow to 243.9, 212.0, and 204.2 millions in the years 2020 according to the high, medium and low variant projections respectively.[11]

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[10] CIA (1999) The World Fact book, http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook front survey of India (1995) siter of forest report 1995, FSI, Dehradun.

[11] Biswas, S C & J.C. Paul (1996) population projection and fertility for Bangladesh, 2020. The Journal of Family Welfare 42 (4) pp.45-50.

The least developed among countries of the third world, a continued low level of socio-economic development, low literacy and high infant morality, low status of women and a predominantly agrarian economy characterizes Bangladesh[12] Social and economic institutions are characterized by labour-intensive technology, low productivity, patriarchy, son preference, low female status, male dominance, children valued for labour and old age insecurity are factors behind its high fertility.

The prevailing conditions in Bangladesh serve as push factors and migrants are attracted by relatively better conditions in North-East India and other states. The Bangladeshis have moved across difficult geographical obstacles driven by possibilities of better economic opportunities.

The migrants have moved out of their hearth and home in search of a better means of living, which the sparsely populated North-Eastern states might offer. The long and porous borders give an easy passage

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[12] Amin, R & others (1993) Reproductive change in Bangladesh: Evidence from recent Data. Asia Pacific Population Journal 8(4) 39-58

to these infiltrators. Bangladesh is having a common land border of 4096 kilometers with Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura and West Bengal. Another reason for the continuous flow of illegal Bangladeshi is the recurrent natural disasters like floods and cyclones. Religious persecution of Hindus and Islamic interests encouraging expansion of territory are some other factors which have contributed in the rise of illegal Bangladeshi population in the region. Above all, the vote bank politics of the political parties is responsible for this permissive attitude.

Are immigrants swarming the North-East a security threat? Yes, it is. Today, the identity of the indigenous people of the region is endangered due to the silent invasion from Bangladeshi side. What began as a demographic problem in bordering districts of west Bengal and Assam has transformed into a much larger social problem and has reached far off areas like Delhi and Mumbai.

As a result, demographic invasion from across the western borders has not only endangered the social, political and cultural harmony

but has very serious implications for the nation's security. This can be explained in the following manner:

In early stages of development, many countries welcome migration to get skilled laborers, as the tea garden laborers- an important component of the migrating population to the North-East region. There had never been economic, cultural, and political or security threats to the local people because the jobs for which they came, were not preferable by the local people. Also the migration of the East Pakistani cultivators was beneficial to the region because they helped the growth of the region's agriculture. These farmers were regarded as handy and prolific cultivators working their way northwards. These farmers were accustomed to the risk arising from diluvium and devastating floods which other cultivators were unwilling to face. The migrant cultivators diversified the pattern of land use. They began the production of jute for the first time in Assam. This cash crap occupied an important place in Assam's economy. It also goes to their credit that extensive areas of clear (alluvium) lands had been turned into lush green agricultural scene of Assam. These cultivators also ease the labour scarcity

in the rural economy.[13] But the problem started when the migrants from Bangladesh wanted to possess as much land as possible.

The illegal immigrant at first settled in the riverside tracts. But slowly they have apportioned a slice of the economic cake and with this land. This has occasionally caused alienation of tribal lands by Bangladeshis. Although there exists, at least on paper, some legislations to prevent tribal land alienation, such legislation has proved unaffecting. At times this has led to ethnic conflict and in 1983 a quite little town called Nellie in Assam's Morigaon district, tribal dispossessed of their lands slaughtered between 1200 to 1753 migrants from Bangladesh.

Gradually, the influx to the region started jeopardizing the interest of the local people. The region had to accept varied ethnic groups as migrants and faced such issues, which few other regions in the country encountered in such an acute form. The influx of the region is large enough to change the ethnic composition of the population and rouse the feeling of

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[13] Bandyopadhyay, Sabari &Debesh ChakrabortyMigration in the North-Eastern Region of India during 1901-1991:Size, Reasons and Impact, Demography Indiavol.28,no.1(1999)pp.94

the threatening cultural identity among the local people. Take the example of Tripura.The local population had been turned into a minority over time by the sheer number of cross border migrants from Bangladesh. In 1947, 56 % of Tripura's population consisted of tribal population. Today, this stands at a quarter of the total. Bengali Hindus become 71% by1971 and by then political and administrative power had passed from the indigenous tribal population to migrant Bengalis transfer of land to the Bengali migrants proved to be the critical factor in deteriorating social relations and in June 1980 riots hundreds lost their lines. [14] The tribal of Tripura, have been reduced to numerical non-entities and are engaged in armed conflict against the migrants whom they see as the usurpers of their homeland. With political and administrative power in the hands of the latter, the tribal are engaged in a losing battle for survival.

The problem that Tripura faces is the same that confronts the entire North-East today. The perception in Assam is that just as the tribals of Tripura were economically, politically and numerically marginalized the same fate may befall them. Since the turn of the century Assam has

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[14] B P Singh North-East India: Demography, culture and identify crisis. Modern Asian Studies 21(2), 1987, pp. 257-82.

maintained a steady growth despite deaths due to large-scale famine and influenza between 1907-1921. Assam has thus registered a 344.58% increased in population, highest among all other states in the last 70 yrs. (1901-1971) as against the all India average of 129.67%. According to 1961 census, there were 1.353,981 persons born outside the state and enumerated in Assam. Mr. Pahyentein estimated that 5, 20,000 persons have migrated into Assam between 1951-61. The 1971 census gives the number of immigrants into Assam as 1,503, 543. This figure is also not reliable. Taking the whole population of 3.29 million in Assam in 1901 as indigenous and applying the growth rate of India of 129.67 between 1901 and 1971, Assam's population should have been 7.56 instead of 14.63 million.[1515]

The tendency of geometric progression of increase of population continues. Using the figure estimated by different sources, the illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in Assam is about 4 to 5 million, means that between 18 to 22 percent of Assam's population comprises of illegal immigrants. Few regions in the world have such a high proportion of its populace as illegal aliens. In fact every society can receive immigrants to a threshold level. Once that threshold is passed and it has been Bengal just as it was many years earlier in Assam – they the host regards the new settler

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[15] *Census of India,* 1971

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not merely as an intruder but a threat to his place of mind, political control and prosperity.[16]

Compare the situation of USA with Assam. The former is one of the largest recipients of immigrants in the world and had 3 millions or more illegal migrants which make it have about 1.2% of its populace residing as illegal migrants. A far cry from 18-22% of its population as in Assam's case. This situation is aggravated by the low technological units and land carrying capacities in Assam compared to USA.

The perception that unending immigrants from across the border will ultimately marginalize the original inhabitants haunts the North-East. There is whispered apprehension that in the near future political power will be taken from them by the migrants. Stemming from unabated immigration the immigrant population is slowly but surely playing an increasingly important factor in state politics. A secret intelligence report calculated that the ethnic Assamese were a minority in as many as 85 of the

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[16] Hazarika S: *Rites of Passage: Border c rossings, imagined homelands, India's east and Bangladesh* penguin books India Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi 2000.

state's 126 constituencies.[17] The GOM report also suggests that Bangladeshi migrants are in a position to influence the results of elections in a large number of constituencies in the N-E including 32 constituencies in Assam.[18]

What is more alarming is that as a result of the massive influx of illegal migrants, the Muslims have become majority groups in Bhubri (70.46%), Barpeta (56.07) Goalpara (50.18%) and Hailakandi (35.42%). By 2001, they become majority in Morigaon, Nagaon and Karimganj too. A scenario might emerge in the coming decades whereby the neighboring Bangladesh government demands accession of Assam to Bangladesh. Assam's turn around of Rupees 3000 crore a year for tea, Rupees 2500 crore in oil and other assets can be lost to a foreign nation. None other than the Ex Governor of Assam Lt. Gen (Rtd.) S K Sinha expressed an apprehension to this effect. He wrote:

As a result of population movement from Bangladesh, the spectre looms large of the indigenous people of Assam being reduced to a minority in their home state. Their cultural survival will be in jeopardy, their political control

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[17] Cited in Barua Sanjib (1999) *India Against itself: Assam and the politics of nationality* Pennsylvania University press, Philadelphia.

will be weakened and their employment opportunities will be undermined.

This silent and invidious demographic invasion of Assam may result in the

loss of the geostrategically vital districts of Lower Assam [on the border

with Bangladesh]. The influx of these illegal migrants is turning these

districts into a Muslim majority region. It will then only be a matter of time

when a demand for their merger with Bangladesh may be made. The rapid

growth of international Islamic fundamentalism may provide the driving

force for this demand... Loss of Lower Assam [the area close to the

Bangladesh border] will severe the entire land mass of the North-East from

the rest of India and the rich natural resources of that region will be lost to

the Nation.19 Infiltrators, at present settled in some of the N-E states and

Bihar have already started a movement for an independent region for

Bangladeshi Muslims, "Swadhin Bangabhumi"[19].

Additionally, immigrant strongholds and settlement pockets are used by terrorists backed by the ISI of Pakistan to engage in anti India activities-arms ammunition, narcotics and counterfeit currency in addition to terrorist acts are being employed to destabilize the North-East. According to

[18] *The Sentinel*, Sept. 30, 2000

[19] Sinha, S K, Report *on Illegal Migration into Assam*, pp. 17-18.

the latest report by the Research and Analytical Wing (RAW) submitted to the PMO on March 13, 2002, 36 percent of Assam's populations are Bangladeshi infiltrators. Consequent upon the rising ratio of the Muslim population in Assam 14 separate fundamentalist Muslim militant outfits of Assam are aided and abetted by Pakistan, Iran and Bangladesh based fundamentalist outfits. They have approached several Muslim countries seeking financial assistance and arms supply to create disturbance in Assam with active connivance of the ISI and covert support of Bangladesh, according to *central intelligence agencies*. The outfit Muslim Liberation Tigers of Assam is reportedly harboring a dream to carve out an independent Islamic state from parts of ASSAM, Bihar and West Bengal.[20]

On the top of these evils Assam and rather Northeast now been the second frontiers after Kashmir chosen by the intelligence agencies of Pakistan and Bangladesh, with Bangladesh hatching a conspiracy to include Assam and other Muslim dominated areas of North-East in Greater Bangladesh and Pakistan to convert the region into an independent Islamic country. The ISI of Pakistan and Kashmiri as well as Muslim militant outfits

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[20] Bhaba Taran Das, "Assam Goes The Kashmir Way" Assam Tribune, September12, 2002

in Assam have reportedly been working in Bangladesh soil to achieve their game plane. Defence ministry, through a press release on Feb 1, 1994 and expressed fundamentalism among the Muslim immigrants. Some Muslim youths recruited from Assam areas predominantly inhabited by immigrants Muslims by some of the above mentioned fundamentalist organizations and have been trained in Bangladesh and Pakistan is providing money to whip up terror in the N-E in general and Assam in particular. In March1999, *Asia Times* carried a long report on ISI activities in the North East, giving further details, such as: 'The ISI has plans to appoint Pakistan nationals, trained as maulvis (religious instructors) in *madrassas* (religious schools) and mosques in Bangladesh, particularly the ones that are situated on the India-Bangladesh border. They will also be used for a variety of anti-India activities.' Even suicide squads are reported to have been entering Assam via Nepal and Bangladesh. Various reports suggest that AL Queda militants have snacked into Assam through porous Assam Bangladesh Border. Besides out of several Muslim fundamentalist outfits, a new outfit called Bangladesh Islamic Morcha is reported to have been formed recently in a two-day convention held at Cox bazaar area of Bangladesh. The MULTA of Assam also reportedly participated in the convention.

The US has taken note of the ISI role in fomenting trouble in northeast India. A state department official confirmed ISI operations in the northeast. When he quoted the Bangladesh ambassador to Washington, K.M Shehabuddin to the effect that Pakistani intelligence had been operating terrorist cells in Bangladesh, but they have been stymied by the Awami League government. [21] Reports say that there are at least 50 Pakistani Afghan nationals who have come under the observation of the intelligence agencies in the capital alone. About 10,000 ISI elements are operating in the northeast as the 'resident agents' of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan with their biggest concentration in the Tinsukia area of Assam. These elements are crucial clogs in the ISI networks. They provide the logistic and reconnaissance support to the main operatives. The terrorist strikes are carried out after large scale planning and involvement of agents at different levels. The role of the resident agents is important in preliminary investigations

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[21] *The Times of India*, March 11, 2000

On the top of these evils, on the occasion of Fateha-e-Duhaj-Daham, held on Sept. 19, 1998, a Pakistani Flag was hoisted by ISI at Howly-Barpeta Road College, reportedly with active cooperation of some educated person of minority community and in presence of some teachers and students of the college. Also, on August 14, 2002 Pakistan's Independence Day, a Pakistani flag was hoisted reportedly in a Morigaon-Nagaon border area, which predominantly inhabited by immigrant Muslims.[22] These incidents remind us the hoisting of Pakistani flag in Muslim dominated areas of Assam when Chinese army moved into the soil of Assam during the war of 1962. These prove nothing but the bitter truth that our security is at stake through the silent invasion of Bangladeshis into India's N-E Region.

Another aspect of the large-scale migration from Bangladesh is the growing pressure on land. Initially the settlement and development of the wasteland was considered positive fallout of the migration. Gradually the influx began to undermine the economic interest of indigenous people. The new entrants created acute economic problems since the mid-thirties as they began to settle down in forestland, particularly in the tribal areas. Forceful

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[22] ibid

occupation, purchase, mortgage etc. paved the way for the land alienation of the indigenous population. Increased population pressure on land aggravated the problem of landlessness among the indigenous people. Unplanned clearing of the forest led to the problem of soil erosion in the hills and consequent floods in the plains. It is a fact that growing populations places increasing pressure on the land from which the requirements such as food, fuel wood and timber are met. As food requirement increase even marginal lands needs to be put under plough. N-E regions population bested by illegal Bangladeshi immigrants has put incremental pressure on land and forest resources.

Since the inception of Bangladeshi immigration the impact on environment was intricately linked with the magnitude of migration. A study estimated that 38% of the annual fire wood requirement for a village population of 20 members was 3060 kg and if 500 kg of fuel wood is considered as the average annual consumption by 20 individuals, the consumption for a population 19.58 million in the N-E in 1971 would work out to be about 489×10^7 kg, an alarming impact on the natural resources on

this account alone.[23] North-East Region's illegal immigrant burden has substantial environmental impacts.

Beyond fuel wood consumption, illegal migrants from Bangladesh are known to have encroached on forest margins. They have damaged the geo-ecological conditions of chars, bills and bathing. The increasing population pressure triggered by Bangladeshi immigrants has been one agent, among others, that has aggravated deforestation in the North-East. Though the region accounts for fewer than 8% of the country's geographical areas and contains more than a quarter of its forest cover, in terms of forest loss this is one of the critical ones in he country.[24] Without illegal migrants the population of the region would have been several million less than the present 38.4 million and pressure on land and forests would have substantially less. It is alleged that Bangladesh migrants are engaged in illegal feeling of timber and timber smuggling.

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[23] Ramakrishna S Tribal man in the humid tropics of the N-East man in India 65(1), 1985 pp. 1-32

[24] A. Saikia, "Population, shifting cultivation and sustainability: the changing context of N-E India *Development* 41(3), 1998, pp. 97-100

The demographic invasion from across the eastern borders has endangered the social, cultural and political harmony and in this way endangered India's security. With ISI butting, danger signals loom large on the country's security horizon as even the mortal peril of border — crossing does not seem to deter the desperate Bangladeshis from entering the North-East. Concerted and continuing changes in demography of the North-East states which have already overwhelmed the indigenous population in several districts are causing dismay and alarm among dispassionate intellectuals, ordinary citizens and even concerned administrators. Political parties however, have mostly turned the Nelson's eye to the crisis. Political parties in states such as West Bengal and Assam have sought to build vote banks. The methodology adopted is to supply illegal immigrants ration cards, on the basis of which they get enrolled on the electoral rolls and become the politician's electoral fodders. Those Bangladeshis who have been given ration cards and have graduated to the voters list have acquired de jure citizenship rights. Hence, all the political parties whether it is national or regional try to use the illegal migrants for their own vested interest. Congress leaders at the state and central level were playing the Muslim vote bank game, not only with regard to Muslim immigrants in Assam but also at the national level. In 1991, when the initial census data

tended to suggest that the foreigners' issue had been exaggerated, the then

Chief Minister of Assam Hiteswer Saikia took full political advantage of the

situation. He had a strong base among the Muslims and the census indicators

came in handy for him to consolidate his base. Referring to the fact that

Assam had during the last 20 years registered the lowest population growth

of 23 per cent which was one per cent point lower compared to the other N-

E states Saikia refuted the statement by the then Union Home Minister S.B.

Chawan, that illegal immigration continued unabated in his state.

Dramatically emphasizing the point, he said if anybody can identify a single

foreigner in Assam, I am willing to quite politics forever.[25] He dared to say

in such a way because he knew that it was not easy to identify a foreigner as

long as he possessed a ration card and his name was there in the voters list.

It is an open secret that infiltrators had ration cards issued and their names

were enlisted on electoral rolls. Secondly, he knew that as long as IMDT Act

was there, he had nothing to worry. IMDT Act is such an act, which is

applicable only in Assam for the detention and expulsion of foreigners who

come into Assam after 25.3.1971. The act is discriminatory which goes

against the great equality clause of Article 14 of the Indian constitution and

inspite of the cut-off date of 19.7.1948 as prescribed by the constitution of

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[25] Parth S Ghosh, "Illegal Immigration from Bangladesh I" *The Hindu*, 13 July 1998

India for identification of the foreigners, a new cut-off date of 25.3.1971 has been prescribed by the IMDT Act. Secondly, while the foreigner's Act 1946 (Act 31 of 1946) operates in the whole India in Assam it is the IMDT that is in force for detection of illegal migrants. There is hardly any country, which has two laws for the detection of foreigners. Under the provision of the act,

the onus of proving the citizenship credentials of a person in question lies with the complainant and the police, not on the accused. The motive of passing such an act that contravenes the spirit of the Indian Evidence Act in which the burden of the proof lies with the accused is indeed questionable.[26] Moreover, deportation rate was much higher before the IM (DT) Act came into being. As per records available, 23, 506 persons were deported under the provisions of the foreigners Act. According to records available, 174349 foreigners were deported during 1974-84. Despite this failure of the Act in securing the purpose for which it was enacted, successive parliaments governed by political compulsions never considered amending, modifying or scrapping it altogether. The reason is clear fear of losing Muslim vote. In the same way, other parties CPI, CPI (M) including AGP is not willing to repeal the act. Although AGP always demand for the repeat of the act, they do

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[26] Reddy, P S, Revision of electoral rolls in Assam: A case of continuing controversy*Gauhati University Journal of Arts*xxxviii pp.54

nothing important when they were in power and measurably failed to deport a considerable amount of illegal Bangladeshi nationals. In 1996, when AGP returned to power and UF formed government at center, the foreigners' issue surfaced again. AGP Govt. led by Prafulla Kumar Mahanta demanded the replacement of the IMDT Act with the Foreigners Act of 1946. The center led by the United Front, which included the AGP was sympathetic to the demand. Soon the demand got diluted under political compulsions.

The AGP itself became ambivalent. Since the replacement of the IMDT Act with the Foreigners Act was opposed by the Assamese Muslims, behind who was the congress, it was not a easy political decision for Mr. Mahanta to stick to his guns.The controversy also found its reverberations in national politics. The Congress (I), the CPI, the CPI (M), the Indian Union Muslim League, all supporters of UF government, were opposed to any change in the situation. Against this background, Mr. Mahanta found discretion the better part of velour and his favorite phrase became, "IMDT or no IMDT, we would like to make it clear that the minorities will not be harassed." Since the AGP itself had developed cold feet and there was no demand on such from any political quarter except some local groups like AASU, there was hardly any justification for the

Deve Gowda Government to alter the legal position on the detection of illegal foreigners. On November 26, 1996, therefore, he categorically ruled out the repeal of the IMDT Act.

Recently, Union Cabinet led by Atal Biheri Bajpai had decided to repeal the Act and introduced a bill to repeal it. But nothing more could be done due to the vote bank politics. Though it said repeatedly that it was willing to repeal the act but it had shown no willingness to call a joint parliamentary session to get approval for the repeal of the act. On the contrary when it came to know about the 30-34% Muslim voters in Assam, it showed its business to woo them only. Not only had that it fielded a suspected Muslim migrant in Durbin [Dhubri] as its Lok Sabha candidate in the 14th Lok Sabha election.[27] Now, Congress led United People's Alliance government is at center and the issue becomes more complicated.

So almost all the political parties for their partisan political consideration exploit the illegal migrant issue. The result is not unknown to anybody. The continuous immigration has already brought about a political,

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[27] *Dainik Asom*, 1 April, 2004

social, economic, linguistic and cultural upheaval into the region, besides rapid demographic changes in the region. The demographic changes resulted in acute conflicts over language, education and employment policies, leading to the fear of being overwhelmed demographically, culturally, and economically by the migrants. These developments eventually leading to political tension. This tension manifested in different forms ranging from political agitations, violent struggle, militant activities and insurgencies. Consequently, the agitation over the presence and domination of the foreigners and the 'outsiders' has fuelled conflict throughout the region. Insurgents of various hues have cited unchecked migration as the prime reason for their 'struggle' against the established order. Several of the Northeast states witnessed violent movements rooted in the foreigners' issue. The Chakmas are the "foreigners" in Arunachal Pradesh, Bengalis in Tripura, Chin refugees (from Myanmar) in Mizoram and Manipur and Bengalis and other non-Assamese in Assam. A strong 'anti-foreigner movement' against the Chakma residents of Arunachal Pradesh has rocked the state in the 90's. Chakma refugees were settled in the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) region (now Arunachal Pradesh) in the 1960s and since 1994, Chakmas and Hajongs have been facing deportation threats and

discrimination. All Arunachal Pradesh Students Union (AAPSU) has issued an ultimatum aimed at evicting Chakmas, Hajongs and Tibetans from the state. The issue of granting citizenship to the Chakmas is still hanging in balance in spite of the recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee.

The resentment over the increase in the number of Chakmas in the state is a cause for worry. Mizos allege that a large number of Chakmas from Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) region of Bangladesh have settled in the Chakma Autonomous District Council in the state. The tribal-outsider dichotomy has generated violence in Meghalaya, Tripura and Assam, thus leading to a silent out-migration of the non-tribal population from these states.27[28] The incessant flow of migrant has now assumed serious proportions threatening countries security, integrity and sovereignty besides jeopardizing the identity of the indigenous people of the region. Supreme Court, on September 20, 1999, expressed concern over this unabated migration of Bangladeshi nationals to various northeastern states saying that they are eating into the economy of the country and to a large extent are security threats.[29]

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[28] Sreeradha Dutta, "Northeast Turmoil:Vital Determinants" Strategic Analysis, March 2000 (Vol. XXIII No. 12)

[29] Indian Express,20th September,1999

CONCLUSION

Immigration is becoming a threat to National Security and no country can deny this fact especially after the September 11 incident. This is the prime reason why every country, even those who have been encouraging immigration for a long time, is making or trying to make the rules and regulations of migration more stringent. They understood that even immigration controls are lax, socio-political tension grows and internal security becomes weak. This has been the experience of not only India, but also of many other countries such as Pakistan, the Philippines, the West European countries and the United States.

Over the years, some parts of Pakistan including the city of Karachi in Sindh province, the · North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan province have become practically ungovernable because of large-scale immigration from Bangladesh and Afghanistan. The change in the demographic composition of Baluchistan in general and Quetta, its capital, in particular, has been dramatic due to the large-scale migration of Pashtuns from Afghanistan. In many districts, the Balochis, the sons of the soil, have been reduced to a minority and Quetta stands in danger of becoming Pustan city one day.

Fears over this prospect led to the outbreak of of Balochi-Pustan clashes in the 1990's.

In the same way, the frequent outbreak of violence in Karachi and its becoming the epicenter of sectarian and pan-Islamic terrorism have been due to the unchecked influx of Afghans, Bangladeshis, Arabs (particularly Yemenis) and Rohingia Muslims from Myanmar into the city during the past two decades. After Bangladesh became independent in 1971, the total Bengali speaking population of Karachi came down to an estimated 10,000. By 1995, it went up to 1,626,324, nearly one lakh. In addition Karachi had 654,693 Pasthuns from Afghanistan, 204,448 Rohingya Muslims, 2,320 Iranians, 70 Sri Lankan Tamil Muslims and unestimated number of Arabs mainly Yemenis. This influx of population in a large scale threatens the demographic structure of the city. In a secret report submitted to Benezir Bhutto, then Prime Minister, in 1995, the Inspector General Police of Karachi at that time pointed out that the activities of different terrorist groups could not be controlled unless action was taken to stop further illegal immigration of Muslims into Karachi from other countries and those already living illegally there were expelled. He expressed concern over the alarming increase in the influx of Bangladeshis through India and cautioned that if this continued, in another 20 years, Bengali speaking people would overtake the Urdu-speaking Mohajirs as the largest ethnic

group in Karachi and that this could lead to a demand for a second Bangladesh. Alarmed by this report, Mrs. Bhutto ordered the arrest and deportation of all Bangladeshi migrants in Karachi. The khalida Zia Government, which was then in power in Dhaka refused to accept them and sent two planeloads back to Pakistan. Her action created tension in Pakistan-Bangladesh relations and was criticized by the religious fundamentalist parties as anti-Islam. She was ultimately forced to abandon it.

If today's Karachi has emerged as safe sanctuary for Osama Bin Laden's Al-Queda or other pan-Islamic Jihadi organizations, it has been partly due to the total failure of different governments whether led by political parties or by the Army, to act against illegal migration due to fear of provoking the religious fundamentalist parties.

India is soon likely to face a similar situation if it does not act against the influx of illegal migrants, particularly from Bangladesh. While no accurate estimate of the influx is available, many reports put the influx from Bangladesh at over 20 million. This uncontrolled influx has changed the demographic composition of many districts along India's borders with Bangladesh. It may be only a matter of time before a demand for a merger with Bangladesh is made and Bangladesh would welcome this.such a move is not improbable, considering that its

leaders and intellectuals have postulated Assam and the other states of North-East as the most logical 'lebensraum' for Bangladeshis growing numbers.

The Philippines is another example of what could happen if immigration controls are lax. The failure of the government of 1980s to act effectively against large-scale movement of Jihadi Muslims from Pakistan into Southern Philippines contributed to its emergence as the hub of pan-Islamic Jihadi terrorism in the South-East Asia.

One of the important lessons learnt by the US and Western Europe after September 11 is the need for effective immigration controls, particularly over migrants from the Islamic world. Unfortunately, the Islamic countries have been in a large measure, the source of illegal migration to the rest of the world. While the majority of them had nothing to do with the spread of terrorism, this influx is exploited by pan-Islamic jihadi organizations and transnational crime groups to spread terror and crime. It is the realization that there cannot be effective internal security without effective actions against Illegal migrants, which has been responsible for the strong action taken by the John Howard government in Australia and by the Bush Administration in United States. The procedures for the compulsory registration in the US of migrants from countries of concern, all of them Muslim, including Pakistan

and Bangladesh, have been justified on grounds of national security. Despite the Bush Administration's strong backing for the regime of Pervez Musharaff in Pakistan, it has rejected its request for exempting the Pakistanis from this requirement. Its Attorney General has rightly taken the stand that where national security is concerned, no relaxation can be allowed for any reason, practical or otherwise. Large section of the political and public opinion in the United States have backed the stand of the government.

The problem posed by the large-scale illegal immigration of Bangladeshi nationals into North-East region of India, is much more serious than in any other country of the world. It is such a serious national problem, which confronts the nation as a whole. The repeated denial of the Bangladeshi government that there is not a single Bangladeshi national in India's soil has aggravated the problem. It is a paradox of modern history that such a large-scale influx continues unabated, and ironically authorities in Dhaka refuse to acknowledge this naked fact. How far this claim of the Bangladeshis is true can be clearly understood from the facts mentioned below.

The population of Bangladesh as per 1991 census was 10,74,92,140 and in 1996, the population was 11,9957,313. That there was no exaggeration in the figure is borne out from

the statistics of the electoral roll of Bangladesh as published on October 7, 1995. According to this roll, the story is different. Bangladesh had 5,60,16,178 voters which was 61,65,567 less than that of 1991 roll. In 1991, it had 6,21,81,745. Moreover the economic condition of Bangladesh has disfranchised 20,00,000 voters from the country. Their names were deleted from the electoral role of 1995. The infiltration arithmetic can be summed up as under

1. Infiltration upto 1991(based on .observation)   10million
2. Less number of voters shown in 1995 E-roll   6.1million
3. Disfranchised voters in 1995 E-roll   2.0million
4. Population growth during the 4yrs span (approx)   2.0million
5. Grand total   20.1million

In a country with a high 2.4 percent population growth, more than six million voters were found decreasing within a four year span or so. It indicates that these six million and the increased number of voters during these four years plus a disfranchised 20 lakh have infiltrated to India. In the review by the UNO, Bangladesh should have had an 118million population in 1991 but a national census report of the country showed about 108 million populations that year. Where were those 1o million Bangladeshis? Moreover in 1951,Bangladesh, erstwhile East Pakistan, had 22 percent minority population, which by now has come down to 10% in 1995. Most likely, this

population has crossed the border and entered India. The trends in illegal migration in no way improved even now.

This increasing presence of illegal migrants has posed a serious threat to the peace, stability, security and development of the region in particular and the nation in general. It becomes the greatest threat to the indigenous peoples' culture and identity. It was the fear of the indigenous people of losing their culture and identity in the hands of the outsiders that gave the rise of insurgency and social unrest in the region, especially in Assam and Tripura.One can easily understand the gravity of the problem through the observation of the highest court of the country. Expressing serious concern over the way illegal Bangladeshi migrants were pouring in, the Supreme Court on September20, 1999,said that they were eating into the economy of the country and to a large extent a threat to the security of the country. Directing the Center to take honest and serious attempts to stop this infiltration the court warned that if that was not checked the problem would go on aggravating. Would the government wake up to the threat?

Illegal immigration of Bangladeshi nationals is really a threat to the nation's security. This problem should be tackled in an organized and segmented manner to contain it immediately, prevent it, as far as possible, for the future, and

rectify with due and legal action the social and demographic adverse impact of the illegal migrants who are already in the country. In this regard the following measures can be done:

Firstly, the border along Bangladesh should be looked at as a region and that region should be regarded as a special zone. Within such a zone administrative framework, development schemes, security measures appropriate to the conditions and requirements of the zone should be taken.

Secondly, IM (DT) Act should be repealed without further delay and the Foreigner's Act, 1946 should be made applicable to Assam. The issue of the repeal of the act should be brought before the joint session of Parliament as an act of faith towards the people of Assam and the country as a whole.

Thirdly, border-fencing work should be speed-up and if possible patrolling and lighting should be improved.

Fourthly, multi-purpose identity cards to the citizens should be issued

Fifthly, government can think of giving work permit to the Bangladeshi labourers and they should be excluded from any type of political rights, etc.

However, these measures mentioned above, cannot provide a permanent solution to the problem. As long as there are population explosion and poverty no amount of deportation or border fencing can solve it. So, one of the long term solution could be that the development strategies of India

and Bangladesh are coordinated. India can and should give economic aid to Bangladesh for its economic development. India must work with Bangladesh to improve her infrastructure and employment capacities. This must be done with international assistance so that potential migrants can get employment in their own country. Bangladesh also should help India in controlling the illegal outflow from her soil. Otherwise, expected result on controlling migration cannot be achieved properly. Do we have the political will to initiate measures along these lines?

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1   Government has all along been most anxious to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of foreigners in Assam. The All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parished (AAGSP) have also expressed their keenness to find such a solution.

2   The AASU through their Memorandum dated 2nd February 1980 presented to the late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, conveyed their profound sense of apprehensions regarding the continuing influx of foreign nationals into Assam and the fear about adverse effects upon the political, social, culture and economic life of the State.

3   Being fully alive to the genuine apprehensions of the people of Assam, the then Prime Minister initiated the dialogue with the AASU/AAGSP. Subsequently, talks were held at the Prime Minister's and Home Minister's level during the period 1980-83. Several rounds of informal talks were held during 1984. Formal discussions were resumed in March, 1985.

4   Keeping all aspects of the problem including constitutional and legal

provisions, international agreements, national commitments and humanitarian considerations, it has been decided to proceed as follows:

Foreigners Issue

5.1 For purposes of detection and deletion of foreigners, 1.1.1966 shall be the base data and year.

5.2 All persons who come to Assam prior to 1.1.1966, including those amongst them whose names appeared on the electoral rolls used in 1967 elections shall be regularised.

5.3 Foreigners who came to Assam after 1.1.1966 (inclusive) and upto 24th March, 1971 shall be detected in accordance with the provisions of the Foreigners Act, 1946 and the Foreigners (Tribunals) Order 1964.

5.4 Names of foreigners so detected will be deleted from the electoral rolls in force. Such persons will be required to register themselves before the Registration Officers of the respective districts in accordance with the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 and the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939.

5.5 For this purpose, Government of India will undertake suitable strengthening of the government machinery.

5.6 On the expiry of a period of ten years following the date of detection, the

names of all such persons which have been deleted from the electoral rools shall be restored.

5.7 All persons who were expelled earlier, but have since reentered illegally into Assam shall be expelled.

5.8 Foreigners who came to Assam on or after March 25, 1971 shall continue to be detected, deleted and practical steps shall be taken to expel such foreigners.

5.9 The Government will give due consideration to certain difficulties expressed by the AASU/AAGSP regarding the implementation of the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983.

Safeguards and economic development

6   Constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards, as may be appropriate shall be provided to protect, preserve and promote the culture, social, linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people.

7   The Government takes this opportunity to renew their commitment for the speedy all round economic development of Assam, so as to improve the standard of living of the people. Special emphasis will be placed on education and science and technology through establishment of national institutions.

Other Issues

8.1 The Government will arrange for the issue of citizenship certificates in future only by the authorities of the Central Government.

8.2 Specific complaints that may be made by the AASU/AAGSP about irregular issuance of Indian Citizenship Certificates (ICC) will be looked into.

9 The international border shall be made secure against future infiltration by erection of physical barriers like walls, barbed wire fencing and other obstacles at appropriate places. Patrolling by security forces on land and rivering routes all along the international border shall be adequately intensified. In order to further strengthen the security arrangements, to prevent effectively future infiltration, an adequate number of check posts shall be set up.

9.2 Besides the arrangements mentioned above and keeping in view security considerations, a road all along the international border shall be constructed as to facilitate patrolling by security forces. Land between border and the road would be kept free of human habitation, wherever possible. Riverine patrolling along the international border would be intensified. All effective measures would be adopted to prevent infiltrators crossing or attempting to

cross the international border.

10 It will be ensured that relevant laws for prevention of encroachment of government lands in tribal belts and blocks are strictly enforced, and unauthorized encroachers evicted as laid down under such laws.

11 It will be ensured that the relevant law restricting acquisition of immovable property by foreigners in Assam is strictly enforced.

12 It will be ensured that Birth and Death Registers are duly maintained.

Restoration of Normalcy

13 The All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the all Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) call off the agitation, assure full co-operation and dedicate themselves towards the development of the country.

14 The Central and the State Government have agreed to:

  a. a. review with sympathy and withdraw cases of disciplinary action taken against employees in the context of the agitation and to ensure that there is no victimization;

  b. frame a scheme for ex-gratia payment to next of kin of those who were killed in the course of the agitation;

  c. give sympathetic consideration to proposal for relaxation of upper age

limit for employment in public services in Assam, having regard to exceptional situation that prevailed in holding of academic and competitive examinations, etc., in the context of agitation in Assam;

d. undertake review of detention cases, if any, as well as cases against persons charged with criminal offences in connection with the agitation, except those charged with commission of heinous offences;

e. consider withdrawal of the prohibitory orders/ notifications in force, if any.

15 The Ministry of Home Affairs will be the nodal Ministry for the implementation of the above.

Signed/-

(P.K.Mahanta)

President

All Assam Students Union

Signed/-

(B.K.Phukan)

GeneralSecretary

All Assam Students Union

Signed/-

(R.D.Pradhan)

HomeSecretary

Govt. of India

Signed/-

(P.P.Trivedi)

ChiefSecretary

Govt. of Assam

Signed/-

(BirajSharma)

Convenor   ·

All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad

In the presence of

Signed/-

(RajivGandhi)

Prime Minister of India

Date   :   15th   August,   1985

Place: New Delhi

1. Election Commission will be requested to ensure preparation of fair electoral rolls.

2. Time for submission of claims and objections will be extended by 30 days, subject to this being consistent with the Election rules.

3. The Election Commission will be requested to send Central Observers.

Signed/-

Home Secretary

1. Oil refinery will be established in Assam.

2. Central Government will render full assistance to the State Government in their efforts to re-open:

    i. Ashok Paper Mill.

    ii. Jute Mills

3. I.I.T. will be set-up in Assam.

Table 1. **Demographic Profiles of the Northeastern States and India**

Sl.	State	% Increase in Population		Total Population (Million)	Density of Population per sq.km.		Per cent of Population 1981		% Literate to estd. Population (above 7 yr.)		% Share of SCs in Total Population	% Share of STs in Total Population	% Share of SCs & STs in Total Population
		1971-81	1981-91	1991	1981	1991	Rural	Urban	1981	1991	1981	1981	1981
1.	INDIA	24.7	23.5	846.2	216	267	76.7	23.3	43.6	52.1	15.3	7.5	22.8
2.	ARUNACHAL PRADESH	35.2	35.9	0.9	8	10	93.4	6.6	25.5	45.1	0.0	69.5	69.5
3.	ASSAM*	23.4	23.6	24.6	230	284	-	-	-	53.4			
4.	MANIPUR	32.5	28.6	1.8	64	82	73.6	26.4	49.6	61.0	1.5	27.3	28.7
5.	MEGHALAYA	32.0	31.8	1.8	60	78	81.9	18.1	42.0	48.3	0.8	80.8	81.6
6.	MIZORAM	48.6	39.0	0.7	23	33	75.3	24.7	74.3	81.2	0.0	93.1	93.1
7.	NAGALAND	50.1	56.9	1.2	47	73	84.5	15.5	50.2	61.3		83.9	83.9
8.	TRIPURA	31.9	33.7	2.7	196	262	89.0	11.0	50.1	60.4	15.3	28.4	43.7

*:Based on the 1971 Census provisional results. The population of Assam for 1981 has been interpolated.