

# Migration, Cross-border trade and Economic Development: The Case of India's North East

Shelly Barbhuiya

*M.K.Dey College, Amraghat, Cachar, Assam 788116, India*

## Abstract

*Economic development of the bordering regions, cross border trade and migration seem to be positively correlated. Migration is an omnipresent demographic phenomenon which results in population redistribution within or across the national boundaries. A migrant, who crosses the national boundaries possess some natural advantages in overcoming inadequate information about trading and investment opportunities in their domestic economies. Through greater cross border movements, peoples are also more likely to become aware of new opportunities. They can also enhance the reputation of the domestic investment climate in their host country. A reasonable migration is, therefore, likely to have a greater impact on trade and economy of the host country. What is the main concern is the question of migration that has entered illegally from across the national boundaries. Such illegal migration has become deceive political issue in the host country and it is viewed as a serious social as well as economic problem.*

**Keywords:** cross border trade; illegal migration; regional security; Resource-Industry-Trade Linkage; informal trade; unidirectional trade; border management policy; economic cooperation; Opportunities.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Economic development of the bordering regions, cross border trade and migration seem to be positively correlated. Migration is an omnipresent demographic phenomenon which results in population redistribution within or across the national boundaries. A migrant, who crosses the national boundaries possess some natural advantages in overcoming inadequate information about trading and investment opportunities in their domestic economies. Through greater cross border movements, peoples are also more likely to become aware of new opportunities. They can also enhance the reputation of the domestic investment climate in their host country. A reasonable migration is, therefore, likely to have a greater impact on trade and economy of the host country. What is the main concern is the question of migration that has entered illegally from across the national boundaries. Such illegal migration has become deceive political issue in the host country and it is viewed as a serious social as well as economic problem.

As North Eastern Region (NER) of India shares almost 98 per cent of her border with the neighbouring countries i.e., Bangladesh, Bhutan, China and Myanmar, and only 2 per cent with the mainland India, cross-border relations plays an important role in her development strategy. Cross-border markets are likely to act as more cost-effective vent for region's surplus production. Among all other neighbors since, Bangladesh shares the largest land border i.e. 1880 km with NER running through the states like Assam (263k.m.), Mizoram (318 k.m.), Meghalaya (443 k.m.), and Tripura (856k.m.) (Datta, 2001; Chittagong Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2002; Jalil, 2004; ADB, 2006; Hossain and Rahman, 2007) that's why, NER's relation with Bangladesh has a direct impact on her development strategy. As far as economic interest of NER is concerned, it is found that the resource structure of NER in general and the Hill states in particular are compatible to that of demand structure in Bangladesh, it reveals a vast potential for cross-border trade. There are many opportunities that could be exploited for the greater benefit of both the neighbors.

If the opportunities are economic, the challenges that come to mind are mostly political. Cross-border illegal migration is one such. In some pockets particularly, Assam and Tripura borders are inhabited by similar ethno-cultural peoples across the borders. Owing to linguistic and cultural resemblance, possibility of overflowing of Bangladeshi nationals has made the internal security of NER at risk. A state centric security perception tends to consider the bordering regions as vulnerable to demographic threats from Bangladesh. This perception, in turn, restrain any development actions in the bordering regions and building up a strong trade relation. Whereas, due to geographical distance from the rest of the country development interest of NER lies in greater interaction with the markets across the national boundary, hence, non-cooperation with Bangladesh would put the entire region in a suffocating situation without any hope for development. Under that circumstance, for further economic prosperity of this region it is urgently necessary

to establish a mutually beneficial trade friendly relationship with Bangladesh. The most important initiatives should include development of an environment for more people-to-people contact for extending cross border relations.

The art of conducting cross country relations has far reaching implications for regional security, it is no less important for the economic development of the bordering regions. Past experiences in this context have shown that the issue of 'migration' has become a political question, and trade and development considerations have been neglected. It is, therefore, of utmost interest to study as to how India's relations with Bangladesh affected NER's pace of development in the past forty eight years (1971-2019) years. This paper intends to focus on how the development prospect of NER lies in greater interaction with Bangladesh. It is absolutely difficult to certain of the real factors involved in inter linking migration, trade and development. Despite, this paper intends to study the extent to which migration enhances development and analyses the migration-trade-development nexus. The opportunities and challenges that lay in establishing a strong cross border relation are noted in the next section.

## **2. CROSS BORDER RESOURCE-INDUSTRY-TRADE LINKAGE: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES**

Unlike other neighboring countries like Myanmar, China, and Bhutan, NER not only borders Bangladesh on three sides i.e. from north, west and east but also share a close cultural, emotional and historical heritage and tradition. There are lots of complementarities between these two economies. Hence, it is only natural that NER's trade relations with Bangladesh will influence her economy. Whereas, as the Government of India (GOI) had adopted an "inward looking" development strategy for NER since the partition of the country, hence, the potential of this region derives from her geo-strategic location to act as the gateway not only to South East Asia but also to Central Asia had remained unexplored.

NER is basically bestowed with huge resources like minerals, forestry, agro--horticulture, plantation and others. While Bangladesh faces scarcity in this regard. Despite this resource galore, this landlocked region is distantly connected with mainland India only through a narrow Siliguri corridor. The development initiative of the GOI in this region has been aware of her security threats. The state centric security approach has kept this region isolated and underdeveloped. This had made the region unable to develop her production base along the lines of comparative advantage. Underutilization of natural resources economizes the scope of market oriented industrial development of NER. Consequently, this region becomes dependent towards the centre. In the absence of any industrialization based development strategy, majority of the products consumed here are imported from distant manufacturing centre's i.e. Kolkata, which lies at a distance varying from 1080 km to 1680 km from their nearest mainland port city of Kolkata. But the distance of those cities from Dhaka and Chittagong is much shorter than that of Kolkata (Chittagong Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2002; Hossain and Rahman, 2007). Due to undulating landscape and other difficulties, transportation cost of goods to and from this region to rest of India and within the region is exorbitantly higher than that of any strategic parts of Bangladesh (Chittagong Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2002) making internal trade a costlier process.

Due to the obvious fact and reality, the policy makers increasingly become interested to engage this region in to India's strategy to maximize the benefits of trade liberalization. Strategic geographic location coupled with supportive natural advantages and complementary resources have all the potentials to help her to accelerate development (Chittagong Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2002). What is important to us establish a strong resource-industry-trade linkage for the use of scarce resource base of NER in the Bangladeshi industries. Although it is very natural for close neighbors to have problems, intimacy is not always easy. Over the years, influx of large scale Bangladeshi nationals in NER is one such issue that stands in the way of developing a strong and vibrant trade relationship that has been discussed in a candid and pragmatic manner in the next section.

## **3. MIGRATION, CROSS BORDER TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

India in general and her NER in particular has a long and convoluted history of migrations from across its eastern border, particularly large-scale flows associated with the formation of the independent states of India and East Pakistan in 1947 and then Bangladesh in 1971 respectively. During 1930 and 1940's, a substantial number of immigrant cultivators, primarily Muslims, came into Assam from Mymensingh district of East Pakistan. The availability of large cultivable, fertile land in Assam was, no doubt, an important factor for this migration (Jamwall, 2004). The postcolonial patterns of migration from Bangladesh, thus, mimic to a certain extent the trends established in the past.

It is our utmost interest to examine the role of India in promoting economic interest of NER through her conduct of relation with Bangladesh since independence. The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country in December, 1971 through the Indian intervention and supported by local fighters under the banner of Mukti Bahini has significant bearing on the demographic security and economic development of NER. One of the abiding reasons for India to intervene into the liberation war of Bangladesh was to get rid of the Pakistan from her eastern border. Pakistan, a front runner state for USA in its cold war stratagem against USSR, used the soil of her eastern wing, to destabilize India's

NE region. Pakistan also had territorial interest in India's sparsely populated NE region which was viewed to be a natural lebensraum for the overpopulated Bengali Muslims of East Pakistan. The anti-India subversive activities got a new momentum following the Sino-India border conflict in 1962. India found an opportunity to come out of this suffocating security encirclement in the liberation war in East Pakistan and quickly took advantage of the same to get rid of Pakistan from her eastern border (Bandopadhyaya, 1991; Das, 2002). That was how the political thinkers thought at that time, but the whole issue has taken a different direction due to the adoption of a very liberal approach on the control of the borders and cross border movement of people.

Within a month of the outbreak of liberation movement i.e. by April 1971, nearly a million refugees had entered into Indian states bordering Bangladesh. By the end of May, the average daily influx into India was estimated at over 100,000. By July, the total number of infiltration of Bangladeshi refugees into India had reached the figure of eight million. By the end of 1971, figures provided by the Indian government to the United Nations (UN's) indicated that this total had reached to 10 million (Dixit, 1999; Joseph, 2006; <http://www.gendersude.com>). Visibly reshaping and transforming the demographic, ethnic, linguistic and religious profile of some states of NER particularly of Assam and Tripura. It was this human plight of the conflict which also played a compelling role in India's intervention in the liberation war of Bangladesh. The government under Mrs. Indira Gandhi has established refugee camps along the NE-Bangladesh border (Dixit, 1999; Baruah, 2004). A large section of the refugees both Hindus and Muslims were gradually accommodated by India. The government said they were ready to review the electoral rolls and census data and deport those who cross the border illegally after 1971. There was even a resolution in the Assam Assembly accepting a quantum of refugee population in the state of Assam (Sarma, 2006). India shouldered the responsibility to feed and look after this huge politically displaced people, in spite of, the fact that this involved huge financial burden on the domestic economy. With the support of the Indian army, Bangladesh was finally liberated on December 16, 1971.

Following the emergence of independent Bangladesh, the overall security perception in the NE border had substantially improved. The realization that mere security without economic development has no meaning emerged in the minds of the policy makers. As the seven NE states became 'Bangladesh locked', a scope has emerged to re-establish NER's traditional markets and communication networks across the border that had been snapped due to partition of India, as a result, the cross border trade opportunities had enhanced as well.

Bangladesh economy, on the other hand, after two hundred years (1747-1947) of colonial exploitation and twenty four years (1947-1971) of internal colonial exploitation by Pakistan, then ravaged by the liberation war, was in a bad shape. The liberation war had left behind a shadow of destruction and economic chaos of such magnitude that the immediate problem facing the country was a massive effort needed for relief and reconstruction of the economy. All her factories and industries remain idle due to inadequate supply of industrial raw materials, thus, to meet the domestic industrial as well as manufacturing requirements, Bangladesh had to depend upon external sources. It was, therefore, only natural for Bangladesh to look up to India for necessary financial, technological as well as commodity support creating a space for Indian industries and trade in Bangladesh economy.

As far as development interest of NER is concerned, since the resource structure between Bangladesh and NER is of complementary in nature, it was expected that NER's resource-oriented products would find a vent in Bangladesh leading to a close cooperation particularly between eastern region of Bangladesh and NER. Mineral products and agro-horticultural products from Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura found their ways to Bangladeshi market through the different Land Custom Stations (LCS) located at the borders.

With the launching of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985 with Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka as its members has further brighten up the possibility of utilization of full potential of cross border trade. With the growth of cooperation among the SAARC members, it might have been possible to establish a linkage between NER's resources with that of Bangladesh's industries through trade. It was also become possible for NER to be the principal source of mineral resources to Bangladesh. This will lead to the increasing utilization of NER's mineral resources on the one hand and she could able to fulfill her rising demands for manufactured commodities from across the border comparatively at a cheaper cost.

But, the prospect designed in SAARC for NER, does not appear to turn into reality in near future. The enormous potential of border trade between NER and Bangladesh largely remained unexplored mainly because of the inadequate engagement of both the governments in this regard. Bilateral relations between India-Bangladesh in general and NER-Bangladesh in particular became cloudy following illegal influx of Bangladeshi nationals into NER. It leads to the formulation of a political doctrine of conflict rather than cooperation. As cross border trade has a direct bearing on the economic development of NER, the policymakers needs to adapt it in a far better way by adjusting all cross border challenges and threats.

The realization of political threats arising out of persistent illegal emigration from Bangladesh is very much high even by the first decade of 21st century, and will not be restrain by barbed wire or border patrol measures (Ghosh, 2001;

Sobhan, 2002; Jamwal, 2004; Datta, 2004; Baruah, 2004; Pattinauk, 2005; Hussain, 2005; Haque, 2006; Joseph, 2006; Kumar, 2006; the Bartaman Patrika, 2008). Earlier India neither has any national population register, nor any national citizen identity card; therefore, it was difficult to prove in the court of law the citizenship of an immigrant and also to arrive at any reliable estimate of the size of the Bangladeshi immigrants into India. However, in a Group of Ministers report on national security, headed by the then home minister, Mr. Lal Krishna Advani, it was estimated that a total of 15 million illegal Bangladeshi immigrants are staying in India. Of which, 12 million are staying in different states of NE region of India (GOI, 2001). Later on, National Register of Citizens (NRC) was implemented in Assam in 2013 in order to identify and marked illegal immigrants in India. It was expected that after NRC illegal immigrants will find it tougher to regularize themselves illegally and will have to go through the proper process of seeking Indian citizenship after immigration. Unfortunately, this expectation was go in vain as the Government of India, in a written reply at the Rajya Sabha (January 2018), admitted that porous borders and unmanned borders still remain a cause of concern. The Bangladesh-India corridor emerged as the second-most frequently used corridor for illegal immigration (World Migration Report 2018). Minister of State for Home in a Rajya Sabha proceeding said that around 20 million illegal Bangladeshi migrants staying in India (<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com>).

Now it is important to point out the impact large scale influx of illegal Bangladeshis on our society as well as on our economy. On social aspect, the large scale illegal immigration mostly affected the ethnic groups. There is an identity crisis in the ethnic groups all over the NE region. Because of that the insurgency problem gets started here. When the insurgency started, it has a manifold impact on the regional economy. The development funds are being extorted to counter insurgency problem. Influx of Bangladeshi migrants illegally in huge number look likes to be a threat to the distinct ethnic character of NER (Saikia, 2007). Besides, imposing deep injury to the psyche of different ethnic groups alongside creating regional economic suffocation, migration also brought the interethnic competition between Assamese and Bengali's for political power. The Nali massacre of Assam in February 18, 1983 was the best example of it. Within a month of this incident the central government had passed the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) Act or IMDT Act. But the issue remained unresolved. In Tripura as well even three years prior to the Nali massacre various tribal groups had started anti-migrants movement. This movement turned violent and several Bengali migrants were killed in it. All these communal tension is one of the manifestations of the effects of large scale influx of Bangladeshi nationals who have slowly displaced or dispossessed the local population of NER.

Politicians encourage this large scale immigration mainly to be enabling them to win powers without any sweat against providing some right on land in addition to the right of stay and vote. This was the limit of selfishness. Without thinking for the socio economic security of this region, these people were allowed to be enrolled in the voter list in large number. This is not amplification is clear from the fact that very little has been done to stem the influx of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh or to identify and expel those who have come in.

As far as economic aspect is concerned, large scale influx of migrants increases the burden on our economy. Being the neighbor of a large and powerful economy, there is a tendency among the Bangladeshi people preferring to leave their country for a better life across the border (Karlekar, 2005). They are very cheap laborer and they can work in any adverse situation. In case of Assam and Tripura we could notice a kind of short-term cross border movements. Every day to work as daily wage labour people penetrate illegally, returning to their Bangladeshi villages near the border at the end of the day or after a short period. These kinds of infiltrators are often involved in dacoities, theft, arson and intimidation of the local cultivators. Due to intimidation, the local cultivators were being uprooted in the urban areas and became jobless adding substantially the number of unemployed people. This kind of cross border movement also plays a significant role in the informal trade of goods and commodities. A kind of syndicate or strong lobby is working behind such kind of commodity transaction. Quite often these syndicates make use of the women and children as carriers of commodities from across the border. There is no woman police available on the border check posts, as a result, of which no woman or child can be detained. This opportunity is fully exploited by the syndicate (Jamwall, 2004; Hazarika, 2006; Lakshman and Jha, not dated). The sheer magnitude of this cross-border informal trade is shocking, exceeding the value of formal trade between the two countries. In particular, foods items are mainly traded through informal channels that are vital to Bangladesh. Much of the trade is unidirectional, in that goods move from NER to Bangladesh and the balance of payments is offset through remittances by Bangladeshi immigrants living here. This kind of remittance plays a significant role for the economic development of Bangladesh at the cost of NER (Hasan, 2006; Kumar, 2006; Skeldon; 2008). The present cross border relations, with an under the shadow of economic and political threat, has not been helpful at all.

The threat perceptions along NER-Bangladesh border, as discussed above, compel the GOI to refer to the entire border as a troubled entity that needs to be strictly sealed to control illegal cross-border movement. In the era of globalization, migration is a normal and natural phenomenon and can not be stopped. One cannot remain sealed off from the rest of humanity. It is very much necessary to regulate the flow within and across the interactional boundary for political as well as economic interest. The present paper, therefore, argues that the issue of illegal immigration needs to be

harmoniously resolved. The need, today, is to evolve ways to legalize cross border movements... sealing the border can not serve anybody's purpose rather it creates hesitations in the minds of trades and investors. But how are the three terms 'migration', 'trade' and 'development' to be defined, exactly? What is clear is that migration is a significant phenomenon that appears to grow as host economies develop. In a way, migration impact initiative for development policies. In this way, migration is not seen as being separate from development. To attain the development aspiration the central question is not only to protect the border so as to stop migration rather to evolve a comprehensive border management policy to achieve some development objectives defining the groups of people that are welcome, and those that are not. Moreover, consumer benefit is assumed to be better served by competitive trade of commodities by borderless free movement of trades and investors (Bezbaruah, 2006). In this way, a greater coherence between migration, trade and development policies is more likely to be achieved. The procedure of border management is discussed in the next section.

#### **4. MIGRATION, CROSS BORDER TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

A rapidly changing global trade environment suggests that border management is not simply a matter of protecting the border rather managing the borders in such a way to get access in the market across the border ensuring the socio-economic development of the bordering regions. The extent, to which migration can enhance economic development through trade flows, investments and so on, is likely to be liable to the policy makers (Farrant, MacDonald et al, 2006). To that in mind the border management policy should include a comprehensive package which involves the setting up of an effective mechanism to manage the cross border movement of people, effective supervision, a harmonized intelligence apparatus, the involvement of border populations and a greater role for the local administration and law enforcement agencies as mentioned below.

1. In order to control illegal immigration, some agencies like political leadership and administrative, diplomatic, intelligence, legal, regulatory and economic agencies needs to involved in addition to the Border Security Forces (BSF). These agencies should play an active role in strengthening the basic infrastructure on the borders such as police outposts, communications, roads, legalizing border trade as per local traditions, providing employment to the local youth, simplification of legal procedures, strengthening the local authorized bodies etc.
2. It is also equally important to strengthen and intensify border security arrangements to counter the phenomenon of illegal migration.
3. Detection of illegal migrants by the BSF should also be upgraded through computerization and fingerprinting.
4. The Central Election Commission should take an active program to provide multipurpose photo identity card to all Indian citizens, particularly those living in the border regions, which is hoped to be a check against illegal migrants entering voters' list and later claiming that as a reason for their citizenship.
5. It would be in the interest of both the nations to rationalize and institutionalize the movement of people by evolving a scheme for granting cross border work permits that would legitimate the temporary migration on the basis of mechanism agreed by upon by the both the governments. Such migrants should go back after the expiry of the time. Responsible agencies employing such labour should also remain accountable for movement of labour so employed.
6. A less cumbersome and practical system of arranging for both visa and work permit to stop illegal border crossing has to be worked out.
7. Registration of births and deaths of has to be properly maintained.
8. The ongoing NRC updating should be completed without delay and proper arrangement for the transportation of illegal migrants should be done.
9. Revision of electoral rolls should urgently come in to effect. Names of those voters of doubtful origin should be deleted from the voters list.
10. To check inflow of illegal migrants and informal trade, the completion of border fencing should be expedited.
11. Land purchased by the illegal migrants must be stopped by enacting legalization and also by declaring all such purchases as illegal.
12. Cross border migration of women is not only grater in number but also economically motivated. Adequate measures should explicitly take gender in to account and regard it as a basic dimension of migration research.
13. Since, borders are with neighbours and neighbours are people, we have to take into consideration the people and the state when we talk about borders and its management. Border management on is not just one of securing the borders but of doing so without causing harm to the economic interest of the people, long dependent on cross border trade and various other forms of interdependence.

Being on the extreme corner of the country, the bordering regions remained underdeveloped and economically and politically ignored for a long time. The negligence by the mainland forced the people of the bordering regions to indulge in and depend on the traditional systems for their survival and this gave rise to cross-border informal trade that carried out through cross border movements of people. In order to integrate the bordering region with the mainland

India and remove the feeling of neglect, economic development of the border areas must be done. A mechanism is set to open and liberalize the border trade, it would be better for the economic development of the bordering regions. Encouragement of border trade leads to better opportunities for the surplus people and hence helped in reducing illegal migration (Saikia, 2007). Now the question arise weather illegal migration decline if the cross border movement of peoples made easier? An interested logic is that the 'opening up' of the border and the provision of identity cards to those who wish to enter into NE part of India in order to work here or for trading purpose would not necessarily end illegal migration but it would somehow curtail the flow of the migrants.

## **5. CONCLUSION**

Long isolation from mainland India had created an "identity consciousnesses" in the minds of NER's people. They feel economically, socially and politically threatened by large scale Bangladeshi migration. Despite such challenges, one cannot deny the importance of Bangladesh for the regional economic development, with simultaneous effects on Bangladesh side. Both the neighbors would benefit from open trade especially by establishing a strong cross border resources-industry linkage. Economic development could mitigate the problem of illegal migration. Development of NER requires a new strategy of recognizing a higher degree of economic cooperation with Bangladesh and countries beyond that. It also hoped that Bangladesh should be developed. If she cannot develop internally than it is the duty as an old friend to help to build its economy. Enhancing of Cross border trade is an important effort that could help in improving economies of both the regions, especially in creating more opportunities in Bangladesh. That could ultimately help in stemming the illegal flow of migration, which is almost entirely in search of better economic prospect.

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## **AUTHOR**



**Shelly Barbhuiya** received B.A. and M.A. degrees in Economics from Assam University, India on 2002 and 2004, respectively. She completed PhD degree from National Institute of Technology Silchar, India on 2012. Her research interests are on Development Economics and International Trade etc.

**Notes**

<sup>1</sup>Table 1 N: Distance of NEI state capitals from Kolkata as well as important cities of Bangladesh

<b>Distance from cities in km</b>				
Capital cities of NEI	Kolkata (nearest port city from NEI) K.M.	Dhaka (Capital of Bangladesh) K.M.	Chittagong (Seaport of Bangladesh) K.M.	Sylhet (an important divisional cities of Bangladesh) K.M.
Agartala (Capital of Tripura)	1680	186	248	238
Aizawl (capital of Mizoram)	1550	555	655 (but if reverine route of Karnaphuli is used it will be less than 250)	255
Guwahati (capital of Assam)	1080	580	675	236
Imphal (capital of Manipur)	1565	635	735	335
Shillong (capital of Meghalaya)	1180	480	575	136
Kohima (capital of Nagaland)	1420	780	880	480

Source: Chittagong Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2002

<sup>2</sup> Some of the Muslim countries gave Pakistan direct military aid. Saudi Arabia lent Pakistan 75 fighter plains, Libya another 60. Even the late king of Jordon with connivance of the US supplied Pakistan with 10 American F-104 aircraft ( Dixit, 1999; Enayet , 2004; Hussain , 2006)

<sup>3</sup>The population of Bangladesh at the outbreak of the genocide was about 75 million (<http://www.gendersude.com>)

<sup>4</sup> Between 1947, India's independence, and 1971, over 600,000 immigrants moved into little Tripura (Joseph, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> India's Finance Minister has made two additional provisions of nearly 330 crores of rupees, or approximately \$500 million, in annual budget for the year 1971-72, which ends on 31 March 1972 (Joseph, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> L.K. Advani climes that there are 20 million Bangladeshis living in India without legal status (Choudhury, 2004)

<sup>7</sup> At present, there are 15 million Bangladeshis, 2.2 million Nepalese, 70,000 Sri-Lankan Tamils and about one lakh Tibetan migrants living in India (GOI, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> A region situated outside the Guwahati city, capital of Assam, where Bengali Muslim Bangladeshi immigrants had settled. Official records said 1753 were killed in that brutal night. The immediate provocation was said to be the rumors of abduction and rape of four young Tiwa women by Bengali speaking Muslims immigrants (Joseph, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Tripura Upajati Jamatia Samaj and Tripura National Volunteer Force etc. (Joseph, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> In Mandai Bazar, one such massacre site, over 350 were killed in one attack by tribals on Bengalis (Joseph, 2006).