

# *Elenchus*

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## About the Elenchus

Elenchus is the Socratic method, also known as method of Elenchus elenctic method, or Socratic debate, is a form of cooperative argumentative dialogue between individuals, based on asking and answering questions to stimulate critical thinking and to draw out ideas and underlying presuppositions. So we find it to be a suitable name for the periodical of Political Science Department. The periodical will be theme based. In the first volume we have decided to start with the issue of Migration and volume 2 will be on Democracy. This is our humble attempt to provide a platform to the scholars, academicians and to our students to place their views and to stimulate their thinking in order to express themselves with this being a medium. We apologise for any unwanted mistakes.

### **Editorial Board :**

Dr Archana Sarma  
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Rukumoni Das  
Monalisha Rajbongshi  
Zeenat Afrin  
Heigrujam Kebisana  
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## **Editorial Note**

Migration is a natural and global phenomena People migrate in search of better opportunities, jobs, education and better standard of living. Conflict situations, natural calamities, poverty, lack of livelihood opportunities also force people to migrate. Globalisation has provided an added impetus to migration. Host countries benefit from migration specially when skilled people migrate. On the other hand migrants are also the most vulnerable sections of the destination country Migration is a complex issue and has various manifestations. The concern about migration has greatly heightened in recent times. Its interlinkages with public policies makes it an important subject of study for students of Political Science.

Migration from neighboring countries especially Bangladesh has been a matter of grave concern for Assam. It is perceived to be a threat to Assamese identity and its implications on the social, political, economic and cultural life of the state is widely discussed and debated. The recent CAB triggered a new fear in the minds of the Assamese. It is in this context that migration is a subject which assumes great importance in this part of the country.

The first issue of our periodical has made a modest attempt to look into migration from various aspects. The articles in this volume are based on empirical study, theoretical perspective, book as well as film reviews.

Prof. Binod Khadria, who specializes in Migration studies in his paper advocates for equitable global migration policies and emphasises on bilateral and multilateral agreements between nations and makes certain insightful recommendations in this regard. Dr. Samujjal Bhattacharya in his article

extensively discussed the problem of illegal immigration in Assam and highlights serious identity crisis Assam is facing due to the problem of migration from neighbouring countries for a very long period of time. In his paper, Dr. Biswajit Choudhury has made an attempt to highlight the government's policy on Indian Diaspora and its global value. In Dr Pallavi Deka's paper she has made an attempt to analyse the human migration that is taking place from Bangladesh from a theoretical perspective. She also analyse how the issue of migration is not only economic but also political. Ananya Hazarika deals with internal migration taking place in the country for better educational opportunities. This article focuses on a perspective on migration that has been taking serious turn at very micro level. Disha Choudhury in her article she tried to observe the issue of migration through three political developments spanning over a century - The Line System, the Assam Movement, the National Register of Citizens (NRC), an attempt has been made to provide an exposition into the discursive ways of imagining political space in Assam in response to the issues of trans-national immigration. Ruchieka Dutt Sohtun made a different attempt to see the migration issue. One key takeaway of this article is that refugees have potential-and it is important to underline this aspect, because too often we tend to look only at the negative impact of refugees. It is no secret that refugees place a great burden however, refugees have considerable potential which needs to be capitalized on by the host country government. Sadia Yasmin Chowdhury in her article explains how the migration has become a global issue and how to stop migration. Monalisa Rajbongshi in her article is trying to link the issue of migration with poverty. Rest three articles are on film and book review on migration, one article in on the available books on the issue.

# **In Each Other's Shoes: Making Migration Policies Equitable Across Borders**

**Binod Khadria**

## **Executive Summary**

To celebrate multilateral and bilateral negotiations on international migration as one of what could be called "the longest-running plays" would be one thing, but the hard truth staring in our face is that actual policy making in migration has remained a one-sided game, that of the immigration country calling the shots. To talk of making global migration policy through equitable participation of countries across borders - something that I have been hoping for more than a decade to see happening, has therefore, ironically, but suddenly dawned on me as a conundrum - "a modern-day maze, a logical postulation, an intricate and difficult problem that evades easy solution". There are both recent and old burning examples of the failures of bilateral and/or multilateral frameworks, e.g., Brexit, the Scotland referendum, Bangladeshi problem in India, the European refugee crisis, the US travel ban, the Mexico wall, the Australian boat people and so on - each one contributing to the drifting away of migration rather than coming closer to becoming SOR - "safe, orderly and regular", what the Global Compact for Migration 2018 aims for alongside achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030.

These aberrations in the global scenario - either in anticipation or as a follow-up of perceived migration outcomes - have all been results of unilateral policy decisions devoid of willful, empathic or active involvement of the counterpart country or countries. This is why the dichotomy between the two complementary streams in migration - emigration and immigration - has often led to inconsistent, contradictory and paradoxical positions being taken by the same policymakers and implementing officials of a country when it comes to their immigration (including transit) and emigration policies. Little wonder then that multilateral and bilateral negotiations aimed

at facilitating user-friendly human mobility often end up being game-theoretic hide-and-seek strategies, more than even those dealing under WTO and GATS negotiations on free mobility of capital, goods and services through international trade.

Driven by divisive politics and fired by overzealous attitudes of 3S - sovereignty, security, and social cohesion through integration, immigration policy making is often shrouded in secrecy, mistrust and the "race to the bottom" among countries to outsmart each other. The outcome is what I would call "migrant-blind policies", which have in turn created turbulences in migration trends with adverse effects of macro-economic uncertainty on the otherwise stable micro-economic mobility decisions of the migrants at the individual and family levels. There is obviously no great Feel-Good-Factor (FGF) in it even for the policy makers or the officials; not to talk for the migrants.

To ameliorate this trend of adversely targeted policies, this paper offerstworerecommendations towards constructive and viablepolicy making strategies. Countries can practice them unilaterally without having to get entangled in the conundrum of equitable adversary analysis that necessarily calls for the support of the counterpart country or countries: (i) IDC or Inter-Diaspora Cooperation; and (ii) DCGC or Dual Citizenship for the Global Commons. Destination countries satisfying three preconditions would help pre-empt the conundrum of trying to step into each other's shoes for adversary analysis to make migration policies equitable across countries.

## **Introduction**

The title of my paper may sound like the solution of a conundrum I am suggesting. It is not; rather it is my late realization that it is the conundrum itself! Beginning as far back as in 2007 at a Conference on "Transnationalisation and Development(s): Towards a North-South Perspective" at the University of Bielefeld, Germany, I have often proposed what I call an Equitable Adversary Analysis (EAA) approach to multilateral and bilateral negotiations on migration policy making. I had submitted one of my early papers on this idea to the IOM Migration Research Leaders Syndicate. Over the years, it seemed to me that what I proposed as a policy tool has not been experimented with because it sounded like a utopia. Today, I think even if tried with full sincerity, it might not have worked because it

was a conundrum - "a modern-day maze, a logical postulation, an intricate and difficult problem that evades easy solution".

### **Background**

The conundrum of equitable adversary analysis is based upon the fallacy that the origin and destination countries operating on two sides of an "uneven-playing field" i.e., across the borders can and would come together. Dialogues between emigration and immigration countries (or blocks of countries) are by nature asymmetrical and unbalanced because even though emigration and immigration are two sides of the same coin, it is the latter that dictates the terms of the game. It is a myth then that they would have common goals in setting migration policy and targeting migration outcomes - safe, orderly and regular (SOR). The fact that we make no distinction between emigration and immigration countries, or for that matter *via-a-vis* transit countries, is evident in the multilateral negotiations taking place at the UN or other international bodies, where the countries are distinguished as destination and origin countries, what I have termed as the "hubs" and the "hinterlands" respectively. Ultimately it is the immigration country that calls the shots and that is the hard fact.

### **Analysis**

Why else did Brexit happen and still remains unresolved? Why Scotland referendum happened and can happen again? Why Bangladeshi problem in India is eluding a solution? Why refugee issues are persisting? Why Rohingya refugee problem is dogging Myanmar? Why travel ban got imposed in the US and went into legal juggling? Why Mexico wall is taking its toll? Why boat people are in a limbo? The most generic common factor in these different phenomena, to my mind, has been that these have all been outcomes of unilateral policy decisions without autonomous, empathic or active involvement of the counterpart country or countries. This is why the dichotomy between the two streams in migration - emigration and immigration - has often led to inconsistent, contradictory and paradoxical positions being taken by the same policymakers and implementing officials of a country when it comes to their immigration (including transit) and emigration policies. Little wonder then that multilateral and bilateral negotiations aimed at facilitating user-friendly human mobility have ended up being game-theoretic hide-and-seek strategies more than even those dealing

under WTO and GATS negotiations on free mobility of capital, goods and services through international trade. Driven by divisive politics and fired by overzealous attitudes of 3S - sovereignty, security, and social cohesion through integration, they have been seen ending up in secrecy, mistrust and the "race to the bottom" to outsmart each other. There is obviously no great Feel-Good-Factor (FGF) in it for the policy makers or the officials; certainly not for the migrants. The outcome is what I would call "migrant-blind policies", which have in turn created turbulences in migration trends with adverse effects of macro-economic uncertainty on the otherwise stable micro-economic mobility decisions of the migrants at the individual and family levels. Can this trend of adversely targeted policies be ameliorated by constructive policy making strategies, which could be practiced unilaterally without depending upon the conundrum of equitable adversary analysis that necessarily calls for the support of the counterpart country or countries?

### **Conclusions**

Consular practices, like the proverbial "holy cow", are kept out of the public gaze and public scrutiny in multilateral fora. This is a byproduct of an overhyped notion of each country's sovereignty, and a tit-for-tat approach to bilateral affairs, the migrant being at the receiving end in the middle of the storm. Often there are questionable practices applied under the garb of discretion of the "officer on the spot" manning the consulates and immigration posts, practices which deviate from stated policy of the destination country. There are no foolproof mechanisms to monitor them for feeding into the preparation of some "global norms and codes of conduct", as I have argued elsewhere. The vulnerability of the migrant that begins at the gate of the consulate prevails throughout the journey of migration. Barring a few countries, consulates by nature lack transparency and faster amenability to technology adaptation in visa regimes. The Global Compact for Migration (GCM), signed by all but a few Member-States of the United Nations at Marrakesh, Morocco in December 2018 could be an opportunity to bring visa issues out of the mist and on to the table for constructive discussion towards making migration more user-friendly than what it is.

Until then, upholding the SDG principle of "leaving no one behind", I propose two experiments to be undertaken. One, for minimizing the "incapability" of the poorer migrants that drives them to risk the "necessity"



of unsafe, disorderly and irregular migration; and two, to minimize the collective societal pain arising from the selectivity of the so-called "talent war" that leads to seemingly "choice-determined" brain drain of those in abundance of "capability" and therefore not-so-poor migrants from countries of origin. These two experiments are:

**(i) Institutionalize "Inter-Diaspora Cooperation" (IDC)**

To tap the so-called diaspora resources, countries of origin have lately been wooing their respective diasporas to invest in their ancestral homeland. This has led to an exclusive obsession with the model of "Diaspora for Homeland Development". GCM can encourage them to transcend this obsession, institutionalize what I call "Inter-Diaspora Cooperation" (IDC) and engage in South-South Cooperation for adopting a "third-country development (TCD) model", i.e., to serve another country where the need for sustainable development is much more, say for example, an Ebola-affected country. Keeping in view the SDG goal of global partnership, this could be done by one diaspora group joining hands with another diaspora group in the same country of destination where they live (see the illustration in Diagram 1 provided in the Appendix).

**ii) Promote "Dual Citizenship for Global Commons" (DCGC)**

Scarce human capital, like the STEM professionals (in science, technology, engineering and mathematics) could be declared as the "Global Commons", like air, water, outer space, Antarctica, and the internet - resources that are essential for the benefit of the entire humanity. GCM 2018 can devise ways for sharing these scarce human capital between and among countries for sustainable development that would help reduce the migration conflicts between origin and destination countries and thereby contain migration that is not safe, orderly or regular. One recommendation I have often made towards this purpose is to encourage countries to move from the concept of mono-nationality to dual citizenship. Dual citizenship would promote "temporary return" of scarce human capital to the country of origin in place of their "temporary migration" to the country of destination in the first place (I call it TR 4 TM; see illustration of "circulatory migration/temporary return" vis-à-vis "temporary migration/return migration" in Diagram 2 in the Appendix). It would do so by eliminating the fear of not being allowed re-entry into the destination country once a migrant leaves

that country temporarily to visit and contribute to the home country or a third-country. The net effect would be more or less the same as that of temporary migration policy, but with the added benefit of better management and governance of mobility towards making migration 100 percent safe, orderly and regular.

### **Recommendations**

The present article has built and expanded on a "migration narrative"- a hands on blueprint for operationalizing the idea into practice - towards making migration SOR -safe, orderly and regular aimed at by the proposed 2018 Global Compact for Migration - through two strategic innovations of "regular pathways", viz., "Inter-Diaspora Cooperation (IDC)" and "Dual Citizenship of the Global Commons (DCGC)".

As the thematic expert of the second informal thematic session on drivers of migration held at New York on 22-23 May 2017, I had the opportunity to flag these two policy innovations in my report as "the way forward" for the GCM. My this article written for the September workshop in Geneva and subsequent publication of the IOM for the UN GCM 2018 is aimed at proposing a roadmap for policymakers and the implementing bureaucracies to optimize the space for a balanced, healthy and constructive engagement with policy making towards operationalizing these innovations. In my opinion, there are three potential preconditions which needs to be satisfied through unilateral macro-level commitments and action by the immigration/destination states. These would be crucial to bring about a sea-change in the management and governance of migration in a sustainable way:

#### **1. User-friendly Consular Practices:**

Consulates all over the world are by legacy the slowest institutions in doing away with archaic practices. For example, there are only a few select countries that have done away with the practice of requiring hardcopy submission of documents for visa applications. Even frequent travellers have to submit same documents each time they apply for visa. I have often remarked that in an age of gigabyte and terabyte, it is ironical that our consulates have no memory. The more papers they ask for the more they contribute to destruction of forests and environment, leading to climate change and natural disasters that forces people to migrate in unsafe, disorderly and irregular way.

## **2. Stability in Visa Policy Changes:**

Visa regimes in most destination countries change at frequent but unpredictable intervals without signal. In contrast, individual and family decisions for investment in education and career choices contingent upon the demand in global labour markets are mostly long-term, once-for-all and non-reversible. This dichotomy creates vulnerability of the migrants and families when the doors of labour markets in an immigration country suddenly start closing, driving migrants to resort to unsafe, disorderly and irregular mobility. To minimize this dichotomy between visa policy changes and migration decisions, I have often recommended that states should be requested to declare an intended "best-before date" whenever visa rules are changed, and then to commit to honour that date excepting for in extremely unavoidable circumstances, like, for example, sudden onset of recession and large scale laying off that happened in 2008.

## **3. Migration Data Literacy:**

Countries can learn of the best practice in collecting and disseminating migration data from each other, like from the prime destination countries like the US and Australia. In the US, with growing security concerns, like in the post 9/11 years, a few important categories of data have ceased to become available in the public domain. Often access is prohibitively priced too. Apart from making a plea for data to be made freely available, what is also important is to conduct refresher courses in "data literacy" to root out the stereotypes, myths and fallacies that lie at the root of many a conundrum. For example, one pervasive misinterpretation I come across arises from the failure to make the basic distinction between stock and flow data on migration - often stock data are cited to make a point about flow. The remark that "migration now has reached a historically unprecedented high" would raise some eyebrows whereas the fact remains that historically cumulative figures would naturally go on increasing - a simple tautology! Little wonder then that there is this saying, "There are three kinds of lies - lies, damn lies and statistics!" There is obviously a need that GCM starts data-literacy courses for migration, both for academics/researchers and policy makers/activists, and feed that experience in the generation, compilation and dissemination of reliable time-series statistics.

**Appendix:**

Source: Khadria, B., 2009, "Adversary Analysis and the Quest for Global Development: Optimizing the Dynamic Conflict of Interest in Transnational Migration", *Social Analysis*, vol. 53, issue 3, winter, pp.106-122.

Diagram 1: Inter-Diaspora Cooperation (IDC)

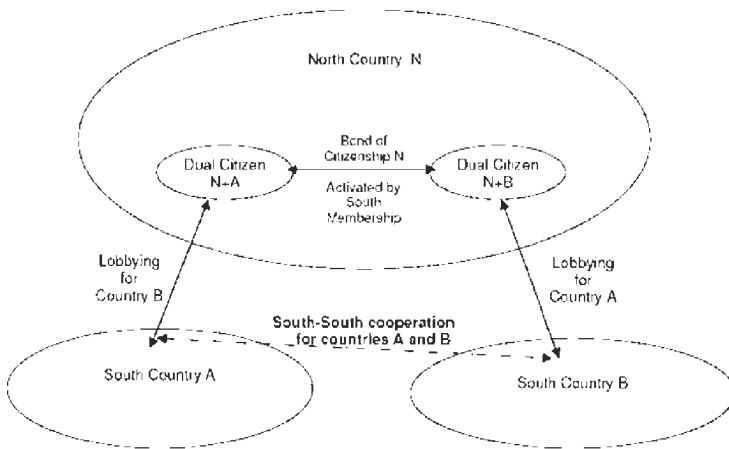
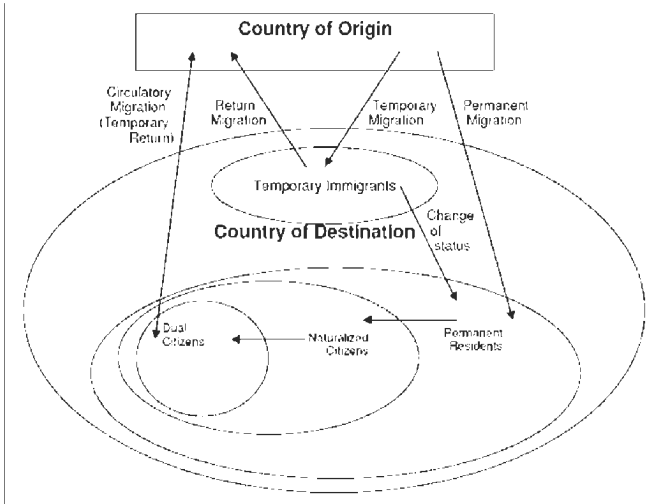


Diagram 2: Dual Citizenship for the Global Commons (DCGC)



The original version of this article was published as Khadria, B. (2017) 'In Each Other's Shoes: Making Migration Policies Equitable Across Borders', in McAuliffe, M. and M. Klein Solomon (Conveners) (2017) Ideas to Inform International Cooperation on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, IOM: Geneva. [http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/making\\_migration\\_policies\\_equitable.pdf](http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/making_migration_policies_equitable.pdf)

For other articles published by International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in this Report, see [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migration\\_research\\_leaders\\_syndicate.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migration_research_leaders_syndicate.pdf)

Khadria, B., 2009, "Adversary Analysis and the Quest for Global Development: Optimizing the Dynamic Conflict of Interest in Transnational Migration", *Social Analysis*, vol. 53, issue 3, winter, pp.106-122.

Khadria, B. (2011a), "Understanding Migration in the Asia-Pacific Region through a Model of 'Hubs and Hinterlands'", IMDS Working Paper Series, No. 37, International Migration and Diaspora Studies (IMDS) Project, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, September, pp. 1-17. [http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/pdf/imds\\_p/37-39.pdf](http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/pdf/imds_p/37-39.pdf)

Khadria, B., 2005, "Migration in South and South-West Asia, RS6, Global Commission on International Migration, Geneva, [https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy\\_and\\_research/gcim/rs/RS6.pdf](https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/rs/RS6.pdf)

Khadria, B., in UK Government's Foresight Project, Migration and Global Environmental Change, [http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/epr/Quality/Khadria-Free\\_Mobility\\_in\\_Asia-State\\_of\\_science\\_review\\_for\\_Foresight\\_Report\\_on\\_Migration\\_and\\_Global\\_Environmental\\_Change\\_2011.pdf](http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/epr/Quality/Khadria-Free_Mobility_in_Asia-State_of_science_review_for_Foresight_Report_on_Migration_and_Global_Environmental_Change_2011.pdf)

My observations as a member of the International Advisory Committee of the Civil Society Days, GFMD, Athens, Greece, 2009, incorporated in the Report of the Proceedings, page 10, accessible at [https://gfmd.org/files/documents/gfmd\\_athens09\\_report\\_of\\_the\\_proceedings\\_en.pdf](https://gfmd.org/files/documents/gfmd_athens09_report_of_the_proceedings_en.pdf)

Khadria, B., 2012, "Migration of health workers and health of international migrants: Framework for bridging some knowledge disjoints between brain drain and brawn drain", *International Journal of Public Policy*, 8, 4-6, pp. 266-280

See, Khadria, B., 2012, "Immigration and return migration to India", chapter 7 in Khadria, B., *India Migration Report 2010-2011: The Americas*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

[http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/t2\\_p3\\_binodkhadria.pdf](http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/t2_p3_binodkhadria.pdf), and

<http://webtv.un.org/search/4th-meeting-preparatory-process-for-the-intergovernmental-conference-to-adopt-a-global-compact-for-safe-orderly-and-regular-migration-general-assembly-71st-session/5445577372001?term=migration>

One freely available and most referred to source of latest data on international migration is World Migration Report, published biennially by the IOM. Its latest 2018 edition presents key data and information on migration as well as thematic chapters on highly topical migration issues. <https://www.iom.int/wmr/world-migration-report-2018>

See, Khadria, B., 2016, "Involuntary and Illegal Migration to India: The Case of Bangladesh", NORRAG News, Special Issue on Refugees, Displaced Persons and Education: New Challenges for Development and Policy, 53, May, pp. 118-119. <http://www.norrag.org/fileadmin/Full%20Versions/NN53.pdf>

## অসমৰ অবৈধ প্ৰব্ৰজনৰ সমস্যা আৰু সমাধান

ড° সমুজ্জল ভট্টাচাৰ্য

... “it is sad but by no means improbable that in another thirty years Sibsagar district will be the only part of Assam in which and Assamese will find himself at home ...” – CS Mullan, superintendent of Census Operation 1931

১৯৩১ চনত তেতিয়াৰ লোকপিয়লৰ অধীক্ষক চি. এছ. মুলানে এই মন্তব্য দিছিল। অসমলৈ অবিৰত অবৈধ প্ৰব্ৰজন চলি থাকিলে অসমৰ অৱস্থা কি হ'বগৈ সেই কথা মুলান ডাঙৰীয়াই সেই সময়তে কৈছিল। দেশে স্বাধীনতা পালে। অসমত অবৈধ প্ৰব্ৰজনৰ সমস্যা সমস্যা হৈ থাকি গ'ল। বৰ্তমান সময়ৰ দৰে পূৰ্বৰ কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰসমূহৰো অসমৰ এই সমস্যা সমাধানৰ প্ৰতি আন্তৰিকতা নাছিল। সেই সময়ৰ প্ৰধান মন্ত্ৰী জৱহৰলাল নেহেৰু আৰু গৃহ মন্ত্ৰী বাল্লভ ভাই পেটেলে অসমত শৰণাৰ্থী ৰাখিবলৈ মাটি বিচাৰিছিল। সেই সময়ৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰী গোপীনাথ বৰদলৈ, ৰাজহ মন্ত্ৰী বিষ্ণুৰাম মেধীকে ধৰি অসমৰ ৰাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্বই দিল্লীৰ হেঁচা মানি লোৱা নাছিল। ১৯৪৯ চনত সেই সময়ত প্ৰধান মন্ত্ৰী আৰু অসমৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীৰ মাজত এই বিষয়টো লৈ চিঠিৰ আদান প্ৰদান হৈছিল। গোপীনাথ বৰদলৈয়ে অসমৰ স্বাৰ্থত লোৱা বলিষ্ঠ পদক্ষেপৰ বাবে জৱাহৰলাল নেহেৰুৱে লিখিছিল— “Assam was getting a bad name for its narrow-minded policy.” “If Assam adopts an attitude of incapacity to help solve the refugee problem, then the claims of Assam for financial help obviously suffer.” গোপীনাথ বৰদলৈ আৰু অসম নেতৃত্বই দৃঢ়ভাৱে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰক জনাই দিছিল যে— অসমৰ জনজাতীয়, খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহ বান আক্ৰান্ত মানুহৰ বাবেহে মাটিৰ প্ৰয়োজন। অসমত শৰণাৰ্থীক মাটি দিব পৰা নাযাব।

সমস্যা সমস্যা হৈ ৰ'ল। অবৈধ বিদেশীয়ে নিজৰ নাম অসমৰ ভোটাৰ তালিকাত অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হ'ল। ৰাজনৈতিক নেতাসকলে এনে বিদেশীক সুৰক্ষা দিবলৈ ধৰিলে। ১৯৭৮ চনত সেই সময়ৰ ভাৰতৰ মুখ্য নিৰ্বাচনী আয়ুক্ত এছ. এল. চাকধাৰে উতকামুগুত দেশৰ সকলো ৰাজ্যৰ মুখ্য নিৰ্বাচন আয়ুক্ত সকলৰ এখন সভাত অসম সম্পৰ্কত কৈছিল— “... a stage would be reached when the state would have to reckon with the foreign nationals who may, in all probability, constitute a sizeable percentage, if not the majority of the population of the state. Another disturbing factor in this regard is the demand made by the political parties for inclusion in the electoral rolls the

names of such migrants who are not Indian citizens, without even questioning and determining their citizenship status. this is a serious state of affairs...”

অসমৰ জলন্ত বিদেশী নাগৰিকৰ স্থায়ী সমাধানৰ বাবে ১৯৭৯ চনৰপৰা ঐতিহাসিক অসম আন্দোলন আৰম্ভ হয়। এই গণ আন্দোলনত দেশৰ স্বার্থ ৰক্ষা কৰিবলৈ আৰু এটা ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় সমস্যাৰ স্থায়ী সমাধানৰ দাবী জনাবলৈ গৈ ৮-৬০ গৰাকীয়ে প্ৰাণ দি শহীদ হ’ল, হাজাৰ হাজাৰজন গুলীবৃদ্ধ, শাৰীৰিকভাৱে পঙ্গু আৰু বিভিন্ন ধৰণে নিৰ্যাতিত হ’ল। অসমৰ জনসাধাৰণে চৰম ত্যাগ কৰিলে। ঐতিহাসিক অসম আন্দোলনৰ ফলশ্ৰুতিত ১৯৮৫ চনত অসম চুক্তি সম্পাদিত হয়।

অসমৰ চুক্তি কাৰ্যকৰী নকৰা বাবে সমস্যাটোৰ ভয়াবহতা বাঢ়িল। ৪৯টা জনজাতীয় বেণ্ট ব্লকত অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী সোমাল, কাজিৰঙাকে ধৰি বনাঞ্চলত অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী সোমাল, খেতিৰ মাটি, চৰকাৰী মাটি, সত্ৰৰ মাটি বেদখল কৰিলে, মুঠতে অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীৰ প্ৰব্ৰজনৰ ফলত অসমৰ জনবিন্যাস পৰিৱৰ্তন হ’ল।

১৯৯৮ চনৰ ৮ নৱেম্বৰত সেই সময়ৰ অসমৰ ৰাজ্যপাল এছ. কে. চিনহাই ভাৰতৰ ৰাষ্ট্ৰপতিক অসমৰ বিদেশী সমস্যাকলৈ এখন প্ৰতিবেদন দাখিল কৰিছিল। তেখেতে কৈছিল— “The dangerous consequences of large scale illegal migration from Bangladesh, both for the people of Assam and more for the Nation as a whole, need to be empathetically stressed. No misconceived and mistaken notions of secularism should be allowed to come in the way of doing so.

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 will be weakened and their employment opportunities will be undermined.”

অসমলৈ অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী কিমান আহিল আৰু ইয়াৰ পৰিণতি লৈ বিভিন্নজনে প্ৰশ্ন তোলে। প্ৰব্ৰজনে অসমত বহিঃআগ্ৰাসনৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে। আই.এম.ডি.টি. আইন বাতিল কৰি উচ্চতম ন্যায়ালয়ে ২০০৫ চনৰ ১২ জুলাইত প্ৰদান কৰা ৰায়টোত এই সম্পৰ্কত কয়— “This being the situation there can be no manner of doubt that the State of Assam is facing “external aggression and internal disturbance” on account of large scale illegal migration of Bangladeshi nationals. It, therefore, becomes the duty of Union of India to take all measures for protection of the State of Assam from such external aggression and internal disturbance as enjoined in Article 355 of the Constitution. Having regard to this constitutional mandate, the question arises whether the Union of India has taken any measures for that purpose.”

অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীয়ে অসমৰ ভোটাৰ তালিকাত নিজৰ নাম অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰিব পৰা হ’ল। অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী অসমৰ ‘কিং মেকাৰ’ হ’ল। এই ধৰণে প্ৰব্ৰজন চলি থাকিলে অসমৰ হিন্দু-মুছলমান সকলো খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহে নিজৰ মাতৃভূমিত সংখ্যালঘুত ৰূপায়িত হ’ব। এই বিষয়েও গুৱাহাটী উচ্চ ন্যায়ালয়ে ২০০৮ চনৰ ২৫ জুলাই তাৰিখে প্ৰদান কৰা এটা ৰায়ত কোৱা হয়— “Thus, the



petitioners and such other large number of Bangladeshis present in the State of Assam have a major role in electing the representatives both to the Legislative Assembly and the Parliament and consequently, in the decision making process towards building the nation. **They have become the Kingmakers.**” ...“If this phenomenon continues, the day is not far off, when the indigenous people of Assam, both Hindus and Muslims and other religious groups **will be reduced to minorities in its own land** and the Bangladeshis who are freely and merrily moving around the fertile land of Assam, will intrude upon the corridors of power.”

অসমৰ ভোটাৰ তালিকাত অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীয়ে অনায়াসে নাম ভৰ্তি কৰিব পাৰে। ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ ভিতৰত কেৱল অসম ৰাজ্যতহে এই কথা সম্ভৱপৰ। তাৰে এটা উদাহৰণ দি গুৱাহাটী উচ্চন্যায়ালয়ে এটা ৰায়ত উল্লেখ কৰিছে— “The above cases have reminded me of the case of Md. Kamaruddin reported in 2000 (2) GLT 79. In that case, the petitioner after successfully entering into Assam from Pakistan through Bangladesh not only roamed around the Indian soil, but also contested the 1996 election from No. 90 Jamunamukh Legislative Assembly Constituency. The petitioner was in possession of a passport issued by the Pakistan Government, on the strength of which he traveled to Dacca in Bangladesh from where sneaked to Assam and even contested the election. **This can happen only in Assam.**”

অসমত অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীৰ সংখ্যা লৈ বিভিন্ন জনে বিভিন্ন মত প্ৰকাশ কৰি আহিছে। কংগ্ৰেছ নেতৃত্বাধীন চৰকাৰৰ অসমৰ সেই সময়ৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰী হিতেশ্বৰ শইকীয়াই অসম বিধান সভাত অবৈধ বিদেশীৰ সংখ্যাৰ কথা উল্লেখ কৰিছিল। আজিও সেই তথ্য বিধান সভাত লিপিবদ্ধ হৈ আছে। ২০০৪ চনৰ ১৪ জুলাই তাৰিখে কংগ্ৰেছ নেতৃত্বাধীন ইউপিএৰ কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰৰ সেই সময়ৰ ৰাজ্যিক গৃহ মন্ত্ৰী শ্ৰীপ্ৰকাশ জয়চৱালে ৩১ ডিচেম্বৰ ২০০১ চনলৈ সমগ্ৰ ভাৰতবৰ্ষত এক কোটি বিশ লাখ অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী থকাৰ তথ্য সংসদত দাখিল কৰে। ৩২খন ৰাজ্যত কিমান সংখ্যক অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী আছে তাৰো তথ্য দাখিল কৰি কৈছিল যে— পশ্চিম বঙ্গত ৫৭ লাখ আৰু অসমত ৫০ লাখ অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী আছে। তাৰপিছত বিজেপি নেতৃত্বাধীন এনডিএ চৰকাৰৰ সেই সময়ৰ ৰাজ্যিক গৃহমন্ত্ৰী শ্ৰীকিৰেণ ৰিজুজুৱে সংসদত বিবৃতি দি কৈছিল— সমগ্ৰ ভাৰতবৰ্ষত ২ কোটি অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী আছে। অসমৰ সংখ্যা তাৰপৰাই অনুমেয়।

অসম চুক্তিত অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীক চিনাক্ত কৰি, ভোটাৰ তালিকাৰপৰা নাম কৰ্ত্তন কৰি, বহিষ্কাৰৰ প্ৰতিশ্ৰুতি দিয়া আছে। অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী বহিষ্কাৰ কৰিবলৈ ভাৰত চৰকাৰ আৰু বাংলাদেশ চৰকাৰৰ মাজত ইতিমধ্যেই দ্বিপাক্ষিক চুক্তি হ'ব লাগিছিল। অসম চুক্তি সম্পাদিত হোৱাৰ অতবছৰে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে এই কাম নকৰিলে। ২০১৪ চনৰ ১৭ ডিচেম্বৰত উচ্চতম ন্যায়ালয়ে প্ৰদান কৰা এটা ৰায়ত কোৱা হৈছিল— Existing Mechanism of Deportation of Declared Illegal Migrants: “While taking note of the existing mechanism/ procedure for deportation keeping in view the requirements of international protocol, we direct the Union of

India to enter into necessary discussions with the Government of Bangladesh to streamline the procedure of deportation.” এই সম্পর্কত কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে যোৱা প্ৰায় ৫ বছৰে কি ব্যৱস্থা ল’লে অসমৰ জনসাধাৰণ অৱগত নহ’ল।

অসম চুক্তিয়ে কৈছে— ১৯৭১ চনলৈকে অহা হিন্দু-মুছলমান অসমত থাকিব। কিন্তু ১৯৭১ চনৰ পিছত অহা হিন্দু-মুছলমান সকলো অবৈধ বাংলাদেশী বহিষ্কাৰ হ’ব লাগিব। কিন্তু কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে নাগৰিকত্ব (সংশোধনী) বিধেয়ক ২০১৯ৰ জৰিয়তে ১৯৭১ চনৰ পিছত অহা হিন্দু বাংলাদেশীক বক্ষণাবেক্ষণ দিবলৈ ষড়যন্ত্ৰ কৰিছিল। অসম আৰু উত্তৰ পূৰ্বাঞ্চলৰ সাতোখন ৰাজ্যৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহৰ ঐক্যবদ্ধ প্ৰৱল প্ৰতিবাদ আৰু দেশজুৰি প্ৰায়বোৰ সৰ্বভাৰতীয় ৰাজনৈতিক দলৰ উত্তৰ পূৰ্বাঞ্চলৰ জনসাধাৰণৰ এই দাবীৰ প্ৰতি আগবঢ়োৱা সমৰ্থনৰ বাবে লোকসভাত এই আইন গৃহীত হ’ল যদিও ৰাজ্যসভাত এই আইন গৃহীত নহ’ল। পুনৰ এই আইন অনাৰ ষড়যন্ত্ৰ চলিছে। অসম আৰু উত্তৰপূৰ্বাঞ্চলৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহৰ স্বাৰ্থ জলাঞ্জলি দিয়া এই আইনখন সাম্প্ৰদায়িক আৰু অ-সাংবিধানিক। অসম চুক্তিক উলংঘা কৰা এনে আইন কোনো কাৰণত, কোনো পৰিস্থিতিত খিলঞ্জীয়া জনসাধাৰণৰ বাবে গ্ৰহণ যোগ্য নহয়।

অসমৰ জলন্ত বিদেশী নাগৰিকৰ সমস্যাৰ স্থায়ী সমাধানৰ প্ৰয়োজন। অসমৰ আন্দোলনৰ ৬ বছৰ, চুক্তি সম্পাদন হোৱাৰ পাছত ৩৪ বছৰ মুঠতে ৪০ বছৰ ধৰি অসমৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহে এই সমস্যাৰ স্থায়ী সমাধান বিচাৰিছে। অসমৰ চুক্তিতে সমস্যা সমাধানৰ সকলো উপায় আছে। যোৱা ৩৪ বছৰে অবৈধ বিদেশী চিনাক্ত কৰণ নহ’ল, ভোটাৰ তালিকাৰ পৰা নাম কৰ্ত্তন নহ’ল, বহিষ্কাৰ নহ’ল। আনকি অহা বাট ভাৰত-বাংলাদেশ সীমান্তৰ অসম ৰাজ্যৰ লগত সংলগ্ন ২৮৬ কিলোমিটাৰ স্থল-জল সীমান্তও উন্মুক্ত হৈ ৰ’ল। ৩৪ বছৰে আন্তঃৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় সীমা চীল কৰিব নোৱাৰাটো কেন্দ্ৰীয়, ৰাজ্য চৰকাৰৰ এক অক্ষমণীয় অপৰাধ। তাতেই চৰকাৰে নিজেই স্বীকাৰ কৰিছে যে উন্মুক্ত সীমান্তয়েদি এতিয়া অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীৰ লগতে মৌলবাদী শক্তিবোৰে অসমত প্ৰৱেশ ঘটিছে। ই দেশৰ অখণ্ডতা আৰু সাৰ্বভৌমত্বৰ সৈতে আপোচ। ইয়াৰ লগতে চুক্তি মৰ্মে অসমৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহক সাংবিধানিক বক্ষণকৰচ, অৰ্থনৈতিক বক্ষণকৰচ প্ৰদান কৰা নহ’ল। জনজাতীয় বেলেট ব্লক, চৰকাৰী মাটি, সত্ৰৰ মাটি সুৰক্ষাৰ বাবেও চুক্তি মৰ্মে কোনো ফলপ্ৰসু ব্যৱস্থা লোৱা নহ’ল। অসমত অসমৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহৰ প্ৰভুত্ব আৰু নিয়ন্ত্ৰণ থকাকৈ আৰু অসমৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহৰ হাতত সদায়ে নিৰ্ণায়ক অধিকাৰ নিশ্চিত কৰাকৈ সমস্যাৰ সমাধান লাগিব। এনে পৰিস্থিতিত সমস্যাটোৰ স্থায়ী সমাধানৰ বাবে অসম চুক্তিৰ প্ৰতিটো দফা নিৰ্দিষ্ট সময়সীমাৰ ভিতৰত কাৰ্য্যকৰী কৰিবলৈ সময় নিৰ্দিষ্ট কৰ্মসূচী (Clause wise Time Bound Action Plan) গ্ৰহণ কৰিব লাগিব।

ইয়াৰ মাজতে এটা আশাৰ পদক্ষেপ। অসম চুক্তি মৰ্মে ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় নাগৰিকপঞ্জী উন্নীতকৰণৰ সিদ্ধান্ত হৈছিল। উচ্চতম ন্যায়ালয়ৰ নিৰ্বাচন তদাৰকত ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় নাগৰিকপঞ্জী উন্নীতকৰণৰ কাম চলি আছে। একমাত্ৰ উচ্চতম ন্যায়ালয়ৰ তদাৰকৰ বাবে এই কাম আগবাঢ়িছে। অহা ৩১ আগষ্টত অসমৰ ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় নাগৰিকপঞ্জী প্ৰকাশ পাব। উচ্চতম ন্যায়ালয়ৰ ওপৰত ৰাইজৰ বিশ্বাস আছে। উচ্চতম ন্যায়ালয়ৰ তদাৰকত এখন অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীৰ নামমুক্ত শুদ্ধ নাগৰিকপঞ্জী পাব বুলি ৰাইজে আশা কৰিছে। কাৰণ অবৈধ বাংলাদেশীৰ নামমুক্ত শুদ্ধ ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় নাগৰিকপঞ্জী অসমৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া মানুহৰ অন্যতম বক্ষণকৰচ হ’ব আৰু জলন্ত বিদেশী নাগৰিক সমস্যা সমাধানৰ দিশত এখোজ আগবাঢ়িব পৰা যাব।

## **Re-vitalising Indian Diaspora**

**Dr. Biswajit Choudhury**

A High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora was appointed by the Ministry of External Affairs in September, 2000 with the approval of the then Prime Minister to recommend a broad and flexible policy framework after reviewing the status, needs and role of the People of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). The Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. L. M. Singhvi, Member of Parliament (MP) and former High Commissioner of India to the UK.

The Committee submitted its Report to the Prime Minister of India in January 8, 2002 recommending measures to resolve the problems that faced by the NRIs and the PIOs and to evolve country specific plans for forging a mutually beneficial relationship and fore facilitating their interaction and participation in India's economic development. The High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora (HLCID) had extensively dealt with the contemporary context of Indian Diaspora in most of the countries where People of Indian Origin have their significant presence and has come out with several recommendations for the consideration of the government and their implementation.

Indeed, a three day meet was the beginning (on January 9, 2003) to mark Pravasi Bharatiya Divas or Indian Expatriates Day. January 9th was selected because Mahatma Gandhi had returned to India on this day after many years of stay in South Africa. This was the first ever event in which India officially interacted with its 20 million (now 25 million) strong Diaspora from all over the world to revitalise ethnic and cultural bonds.

Etymologically the term Diaspora is derived from Greek Word 'dia' (through) and 'speiro' (to scatter). Literally, the meaning of Diaspora is scattering or dispersion. It was originally mentioned in the context of Jews or Jewish communist scattered in exile outside Palestine. During the later

half of 20th century, it was being applied to dispersal to of any ethnic group or community outside country of their origin. Diaspora is a term that used today to describe practically any population that is considered 'deterritorialised' or 'transnational'- which has originated in a land other than in which it currently resides and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states. The Diaspora populations are growing in terms of their numbers and playing significant role in the life of the countries of their acceptance as well as their countries of their origin.

Indian emigration has been taking place for centuries but never before in history has India witnessed such massive movement of people to other parts of the world as in the 19th and 20th centuries. Demographically, Overseas Indians for the third largest Diaspora next only are the British and the Chinese. Today there are over 25 million People of Indian Origin (PIOs) including the Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) who still maintain their Indian passports settled in about 70 Countries.

The formation of Indian Diaspora is characterised by four broad patterns of overseas migration in terms of history and political economy, such as: (i) Emigration that began in 1830s to the British, French and Dutch Colonies, (ii) Emigration to the industrially developed countries during the post world war II period, (iii) Emigration to West Asia during 1970s and 1980s, and (iv) Emigration of Software Engineers and other professionals since mid 1980s towards developed countries.

The First Wave of Indian emigration comprised of mostly indentured labour to European Colonies to fill the gap created by emancipation African slaves in plantations, following the ban on the practice of slavery, indenture labour was a new concept of plantation work on contract for a period of three to five years. The system of indenture labour was a nifty invention of the British to keep their plantation economy flourishing on labour under captivity.

Indian labour emigration first started under the indenture system in 1834. Under the indenture system 1.5 million persons were migrated. On their arrival in the Colony the immigrants were assigned to the plantation in which they were 'bound' for five or more years where they had lived an isolated life. When their indentures were completed, some immigrants stayed on the plantation while others moved out into the rural communities. They combined subsistence farming with wage labour. However, most of these migrants and their descendants did not return home though the indentured system of labour was discontinued in 1917.

The Second Wave of Indian emigration began during the middle of 20th century towards the developed countries like Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Those who migrated during this phase hailed from urban middle class families and were well educated and professionally trained. They form the New Diaspora and maintain close ties with the places of their origin. This migration is also called 'migration of talent' or more familiarly called as 'Brain Drain'.

The Third Wave of emigration of the Indians to the West Asian countries is basically oriented to labour and servicing occupations on a contract basis. Following the oil boom of the mid-1970s, the Middle East has witnessed a massive induction of the South Asian workers. Here the need for skilled South Asian workers during the 1960s and early 1970s has been eclipsed by the recruitment for skilled labour since 1980s. There are more than two million Indians in West Asia. The year 1973, experienced the beginning of the rapidly increasing demand for expatriate labour in oil exporting countries of the Gulf and North-Africa.

Migration of Software Engineers to the Western Countries, the USA in particular which occurred in a significant way during the last decade of the 20th century, forms the Fourth Wave of Indian emigration. They are considered to be the cream of India, trained in her premier educational institutions such as IITs, IIMs and Universities. They are highly mobile and keep very close contact with India in terms of socio-economic and political interests.

The Government of India was lukewarm to the issues of overseas Indians until it realized the potential of the New Diaspora or NRIs who immigrated after independence to the advanced Countries. They came from the middle class elite families who are highly skilled groups of Professionals, Scientists, Doctors and Engineers. The NRIs were encouraged to invest in India through certain attractive schemes such as Resurgent Indian Bond (RIB) and they were welcomed to launch industrial enterprises along with Transfer of Technology.

The People of Indian Origin Card was launched by Ministry of Home Affairs in March 1999 to reinforce the emotional bonds of Indians who have made other countries their home but who now have a yearning to renew their ties with the land of their origin. According to this scheme the Peoples of Indian Origin upto the Fourth Generation settled anywhere in the world (except for a few specified countries) are eligible to avail themselves this facility. The foreign spouse of a citizen of India or PIO would also be covered under this scheme. This scheme entails a

host of facilities to the PIOs which were generally open to Non-Resident Indians (NRIs).

The PIO card holders get facilities for acquisition, holding, transfer and disposal of immovable properties in India, except agricultural, plantation properties, admission of children in educational institutions in India under the general category quota for NRIs, various housing schemes to life Insurance Corporation of India, state governments and other government agencies. Under the PIO card scheme there is no need for getting a Visa to visit India and for registering with the foreigner's registration office if continuous stay less not exceed 180 days. The card would also enable the journey of people of Indian origin back to their roots much simpler, easier, flexible and hassle-free. They are also allowed to acquire property, encouraged to invest on industries and have access to the educational facilities.

The Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (PBD) is an excellent occasion for organising one or more seminars and on various socio-political and cultural issues pertaining Diaspora. The ICSSR, IGNCIA, India International Centre, Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University as well as the Centre for Diaspora Studies at the University of Hyderabad and various academic institutions are associated with the preparations for the seminars. The NRI-PIO division in the Ministry of External Affairs coordinate in identifying and inviting potential participants both from within India and from abroad.

The HLCID recommended the Government of India to a scheme of awards to be known as 'Pravasi Bharatiya Samman' awards which would be reserved exclusively for the Non-Resident of Indian Citizens and Peoples of Indian Origin. Till date several eminent personalities of Indian Diaspora Community have received the 'Pravasi Bharatiya Samman' award in the previous conferences from the hands of the President of India.

Several years ago, the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India had accepted in principle the idea of 'Pravasi Bharatiya Bhavan' for the Overseas Indians. The Bhavan become a focal point for interactions between Indians and the Diaspora Community.

On December 23, 2003 Parliament of India had passed the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003. Those eligible to become the citizens of India as on January 26, 1950 could now apply for dual Indian citizenship. Rules giving effect to this were notified in March 2004. Dual citizenship allows the person to live in India indefinitely, unlike the Peoples of Indian Origin Card which permitted a single stay for a

period of six months. Dual Citizenship does not refer voting rights. As per the amended law, Persons of Indian Origin who were Indian citizens of Australia, Canada, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherland, New Zealand, Portugal, Cyprus, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the USA are eligible to apply for dual citizenship. The announcement by the then Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh extends dual citizenship to all PIOs who migrated from India after January 26, 1950. It addresses a major anomaly that restricted dual citizenship to principally developed Western Nations. The citizenship (Amendment) Act now needs to amend further because the previous list specified 16 Nations only. Taxation laws applying to dual citizens are similar to those applicable to the Non-Resident Indians. Dual taxation avoidance agreements signed by India with other countries are also applicable. However, any persons who has been at any time a citizen of Pakistan, Bangladesh or any other country that the Union Government may notify in future is not entitled to dual citizenship.

It is a path breaking initiative that the Government of India has undertaken to recognise the presence of 25 million strong Indian Diaspora and to formulate new policies for building enduring linkages between India and the Indian Diaspora. The High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora had done a monumental task in arriving at detailed recommendations.

Indian Diaspora Community has a significant role in guiding affairs and bi-lateral relations of Government of India. Due to the effective presence in the US business, space and other activities persuade healthy relation, favourable trade, defence tie ups, military and economic joint ventures. The concept of 'Na Raha Indian' has also transformed.

The route of globalization and density of time and space, following the phenomenal advancement in the technologies of transport and communication has given rise to closer interaction between communities displaced across the world in different countries. These developments have accelerated already existing networks between the new Diaspora and their kith and kin in the places of the origin. The old Indian Diaspora, which has lost its roots, is yet to realise closer interaction with the mother land. The new policy initiative taken by the Government of India provides a new shape to establish and promote linkages between India and her Diaspora for mutual advancement.

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## **Human Migration in context of India and Bangladesh: A Theoretical Overview**

**Pallavi Deka**

In the year 1980, there was a series of publication of epoch making articles in Economic and Political Weekly revolving around the question of 'Assamese' nationalism resulting from the anti-immigration sentiments. The historic Assam Movement has now become a matter of past, but the intellectual debate that took place in the heydays of the movement did not die down. The article 'Little Nationalism turned Chauvinist' by Amalendu Guha brought much debate in the EPW special edition and that discussion still persist in terms of the continued immigration from Bangladesh. However the question still looms large in regard to whether little nationalism has turned into big communalism in the present context of national political discourse in India.

"It is the function of social science to penetrate the fog of ideology and discern the true shape and sequence of events. The recent disturbances in Assam have once again brought home this lesson to us. The agitation over the presence of so called 'foreign nationals' has grown into a massive movement, bringing out into the streets hundreds of thousands of ordinary men and women passionately committed to defending Assam from an alleged 'silent invasion' by foreigners, sowing seeds of deep suspicion and mistrust among different communities who have been living as peaceable neighbours for generations, and causing outbreaks of mob violence in which hundreds have lost their lives and thousands have been uprooted from their homes."

– Hiren Gohain

This write up is the outcome of the quest to see theoretically the migration trends and consequences from Bangladesh to Assam historically in general and the post movement era i.e. 1971 in particular. The fact that bitterness in the history of relations between the Assamese and the Bengalis



on the language issue and the predominance of the Bengalis in the administration has remained as a paranoid for the Assamese middle class. Therefore many scholars like Gohain himself call this insecurity as a hangover from the colonial past which has continued even today. The scenario has further worsened with the continued immigration which has the natural reason to continue and the failure of the 3D (detection, deletion, deportation) policy because of which the sub-nationalist sentiments strengthen by the Assam Movement seemed to transform into unconscious fascist tendencies. Hence along with the age old questions like amount of migration, why they are migrating, how they can be stopped from coming many of which have gained renewed significance due to alternative interpretations, many newer development have also brought some new thinking to this population movement so as to concern to the human side of it, to enquire to the conditions of the immigrants as well as the tendencies of communalisation of the ethnic sentiments due to the political mishandling of this sensitive issue.

Migration is a constant thread that has been running through human history: sometimes dominating, sometimes low-lying. The history of movement of people from one place to another is as old as the history of mankind. The importance of migration in the evolution of the world--- its people, society, culture, economy to the present global labour market through its historical phases of conquest, colonialism, slavery, indenture, mercantilism, industrialisation, fordism, can hardly be overstated. Thus even after the creation of modern nation state in the 18th and 19th centuries with their defined borders, people have continued to move from one country to another. Earlier it was not questioned much; the problem of integration of migrant into the host societies started only when the ethnic diversities became sharp and modern developmental processes made the possibility of social assimilation more difficult. Development logic legitimised organised human endeavours to tame the nature for unrestricted exploitation by man, which naturally made conflicts over resources more acute. In such situations making 'aliens' the scapegoats for one's economic hardship was inevitable (Ghosh: 2004). And then the problem and politics of migration, refugee, displaced and stateless etc began emerging. All these terms have different meanings and attributes. Since the focus of our study is basically related only to the issue of migration, it will be confined to understanding and theorising the pattern in the context of Bangladeshi migration into Assam, one of the states in

India which has seen a massive flow of people from East-Bengal/ East Pakistan/ Bangladesh.

Any study of movement of people from one place to another must first confront some definitional problems. These problems arise because in the modern world, both on account of technological advances as well as growing awareness of the people about their right and well being, international boundaries are difficult to enforce. In the third world, the existence of the cross border tribes and ethno linguistic groups having close cultural and emotional affinities makes the viability of international borders even less (Ghosh: 2004). Migration is defined in different ways on the basis of the nature, scope and purpose of its study. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English migration means- move from one place to go to live or work in another. S.N.Eisenstadt argues migration "as the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one" (Eisenstadt:1953). He also assumes that every migratory movement is motivated by the migrants feeling of some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in the original social setting. In fact migration may be defined as a movement of person or persons involving a permanent change of residence and migrant is generally a person who moves his residence, either "during emigration, immigration, internal migration"(Dutta:2003).

It is worthwhile to remember that moments and epochs of economic and political restructuring have always provoked, and been accompanied by, demographic movements, both within the subcontinent and across entire continents through group migration (Ascherson: 1995).there has also been a tradition of seasonal mobility across mountains and widespread swamp areas amongst communities like the Chakma, M'to or Mizo or Kuki people in the Patkai ranges on either side of the India-Myanmar- Bangladesh trijunction. Thus, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indentured labour, mostly landless and poor peasants who had already been moving from hills to plains and from one area to another in eastern and central India were shipped from Calcutta, for manning sugar and coffee plantations, railway construction sites and mines, to the Indian ocean islands, the South Pacific, the Caribbean islands, Guiana in the Amazon delta and to east and south Africa. The historian of this phenomenon, Hugh Tinker, called it a 'new kind of slavery'. Large- scale population movements across borders categorized

as movements of 'refugees, migrants and internally displaced persons' have become, thus, one of the defining characteristics of the post - Second World War global order. Mass population displacements are on the increase. The phenomenon remains seemingly unaffected by the end of the cold war, end of history, rise of regionalism, and a resurgence of nationalism. If anything, those who had predicted the final victory of liberalism backed by a benign state, economic prosperity and economic integration, are now terrified by the 'coming anarchy', which according to the people like Robert D. Kaplan, Paul Harrison, will be most signified by 'break up of nations under the tidal flow of refugees from environmental and social disaster' (Samaddar: 1999). 'Wars will be fought over scarce resources, especially water, and war itself [will become] continuous with crime, as armed bands of stateless marauders clash with the private security forces of the elites' (Kaplan: 1994). In other words, trans-border population flux is being increasingly viewed as a challenge to the neo-liberal world order - a challenge that originates from a combination of technological change, environmental degradation, ethnic unrest and demographic growth (Samaddar: 1999).

The issue of cross- border migration in South Asia, it should be clear that, involves the issue of whole range of rights. But as with regard to the other dimensions of migration, the question of rights too has to be seen in the specific context of South Asia. Since migration in South Asia is an ensemble of communal, economic, historical and environmental elements, the specific situation of the region becomes important. A study like the present one, dealing with trans-border migration from Bangladesh to Assam, therefore could not lose sight of the perspective- how nation- state boundaries have been drawn and subsequently made rigid, cutting into separate parts the erstwhile collective existence of communities in the region. Community networks, not unnaturally, have revived and expanded much in the sense as 'transplanted networks' (Yans: 1990).

### **Context of the study:**

The movement of immigrant population from east Bengal in the pre partition days was not only economic but also political. Immigration particularly of the Muslims from east Bengal into Assam began in large numbers from the beginning of the 20th century. In 1911, the zamindars of Goalpara invited some persons of Muslim community from east Bengal into Assam to settle and cultivate in their lands on better conditions than

were available in east Bengal. The Muslim population of Assam valley districts, excluding Garo hills was 355,320 in 1911. There was a rapid increase in the population and rose to 585,955 in 1921 to 943,252 in 1931 and to 1,305,902 in 1941 (Barua: 1954, 144-146). In the wake of partition equally large number of Hindus and Muslims migrated to India and Pakistan respectively. It is estimated that about 13 million people were involved in the process. During fifties another 4 million each of Hindus and Muslims migrated to India and Pakistan. In the sixties, east Pakistan witnessed frequent communal strife causing exodus of Hindus to India, particularly to the neighbouring Indian states of Assam, Tripura and West Bengal (Ghosh: 2004, 18-19). In the post independent Assam, the problem of immigrants is further complicated and made more acute by the movement of thousands of Hindu refugees. From February 7 to April 8, 1950, the total number of migrants to Assam from East Bengal was 190,350 Hindus and very negligible number of Muslims. After the Indo-Pak Agreement, from 9 April- 25 July 1950, the total number of migrants from east Bengal to Assam was 191,751 Hindus and 46,617 Muslims (Ghosh: 2004, 19). From partition till 1964, the number of such refugees were estimated to be 5.5 million (do, 18).

During Bangladesh Liberation movement, there was unprecedented repression from the Pakistani military junta causing a massive exodus of East Pakistanis to India. An estimate of 10000000 refugees arrived in India. The Census report of India 1971 says that 959826 international migrants came to Assam during the decade. It is obvious from various census reports that migrants are coming to India in various numbers from 1951 to 1971 on different grounds such that search for better living, communal strife due to partition, war related refugees etc. the 1981, census operation could not be done in the state of Assam. The 1981 census reports of the other states of the north eastern region, however, indicate that migration from Bangladesh and Nepal continued unabated. In Assam the fear of illegal migrants (resulting from unchecked flow even during the post-1971 period) outnumbering the indigenous population led to a six year prolonged movement starting from 1979. This fear is haunting the Assamese people psyche till today (Saikia, Goswami, Goswami: 2003, vii).

From 1991 onwards, the census report has shown that the amount of migration from Bangladesh to India and particularly to Assam has decreased as compared to the previous decades. If we analyse the Bangladesh development index, the projects like Gramin Bank, formation of rural self-

help groups and due to the investment of the foreign donors, a large section of Bangladesh population are engaged. The preliminary studies have shown that the districts like Sylhet, Mymensingh, Rangpur, comilla etc are historically the bases from where huge chunk of migrants are coming from. The fact that these districts are the most backward areas of Bangladesh has been the cause of this influx. Again since Brahmaputra is easily accessible to cross the river border hence the immigrants take this route to migrate to other developed cities of India and outside like Gulf, Singapore etc. additionally the social connections and linkages are playing a big role today in this connection.

The 2001 census report of Assam has shown that Cachar, Dhubri, Goalpara, Barpeta, Nagaon etc.-these districts have highest concentration of migrant populations. The task of the study would be to see the economic, social and political problems faced by these districts due to this influx of Bangladeshi immigrants. The research will also analyse the dilemma of the Assamese Muslims at a time when the immigrant Muslims have outnumbered them; their image and insecurities in the face of communalising the whole issue along with combining security dimensions along with all these developments.

Looking at the migratory pattern and background from the historical sequences, the phenomena of movement of people in the eastern side of Indian subcontinent can be explained through different perspectives and theories at different junctions. It is well known that the present north-eastern states have been the destination of various streams of migrants originating from different parts of the subcontinent even during the post independence period. To start the story from the British period, the extension of the British rule to the region necessitated the influx of population for running the administration; the expansion of the tea cultivation, exploitation of mineral and forest resources for commercial interests necessitated the importation of large number of persons from other parts of India to work as tea garden labourers, a class of landless labourers being absent in the region (Saikia, Goswami, Goswami: 2003).

Here this aspect of migration can be explained through concept of pull factors because newly emerging opportunities were coming up in Assam. Again the formulation of considering migrants as capital constant whereby search for cheap and exploitable labour force rules the present system of international division of labour, hence this Marxist understanding of movement of population can also be fitted in this era of migration to the

North East India.

The next stream of migration was that of Muslim peasants from the then East Bengal districts of Mymensingh, Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur. Driven apparently by the pressure on the soil at home, and lured by the cheap and plentiful supply of both virgin and exceptionally fertile lands in Assam with the freedom of settlement of the ryotwari system, land hungry peasants from the then East Bengal began to pour into Assam from the beginning of the 20th century. They were enumerated first in the 1911 census. In the words of 1961 census superintendent, these migrants were the advance guards of a huge army following closely. After Saadullah became the Premier of Assam in 1942, it is alleged that he attempted systematic settlement of East Bengali Muslim peasants in the pretext of Grow more Food campaign. The setting up of India and Pakistan did not prove deterrent to the Muslim settlers who continued to pour even after the partition. Apart from this a large number of Bengali Hindu refugees migrated to Assam and Tripura due to communal troubles after the partition. In the Bangladesh Liberation war of 1971, a large number of persons from erstwhile East Pakistan fled to Assam and adjoining states.

The 1981 census report of the north eastern states, other than Assam indicated that migration from Bangladesh and Nepal continued unabated. All these developments can be seen in one or the other theoretical perspective. The Push- Pull model of migration can be aptly applied to the migration process of the initial periods, when people migrated to capture the large wasteland in Assam and due to the population burden on resources on the other side. In the subsequent period when the 'initiators' already settled in the vast wastelands, they performed as facilitators of the next chains of migrators to come. Hence the theory of looking at migration as a social process which works in chain can be employed.

The structural- functional approach may also be referred to here because most of the migrants cross the border due to the structural hazards and environment in their homeland in economic and political terms. Along with the economic hurdles faced by them due to unequal development process, the migrating people were also faced with communal conflicts and many development projects like that of the Farakka canal construction also displaced many. Hence many migrated as environmental refugees in later years. The fact that migrating people keeps on moving to different more developed cities in India after entering through Assam or Tripura or Meghalaya, conforms

to the Ravenstein's Law of Migration which states that migration occurs in stages and in wave like motion.

However the concept of 'place of utility' still remains valid as many choose to settle down in Assam rather than moving ahead for more and better opportunities. In 1990s with the coming of the structural adjustment policy in the subcontinent the pattern of migration has also changed. The fact that, many villagers in different parts of Bangladesh have moved to many developed states rather than India shows the relevance of the Cost-Benefit model along with the Equilibrium model which is based on the 'perfect information' guarantee of various opportunities. Thus the above analysis is an attempt to see how migration can be analysed from different vantage points. The aim is to theorise in this research project, most empirically, the immigration pattern of Bangladeshis into Assam in the post 1971 period with special emphasis on the post Structural Adjustment era in this subcontinent. Since the Marxian approach has not been attempted much so far, so the present study is an attempt to fill this gap to certain extent. In the era of free economy and open boundary, it will be interesting to see the relevance or irrelevance of the Marxian perspective to migration and especially between the two developing countries of Asia, both of which have accepted the reformation of its economic policies.

### **The literature available on the subject is widespread and its selective review**

The study on migration though a vastly covered area, still there is scope to cover many unexplored areas. For instance, the issue of migration of Bangladeshi people to India's north-eastern states, West-Bengal and other places are not theorised enough to have practical solutions to the problem. Rather than seeing it as a law and order problem, no attempt has been made to see the peculiar human issues in this part of the globe because of which they are in a continuous movement, of course causing living problems for the inhabitants of the host places. However there are of course works which are seminal on this burning issue touching on various dimensions.

As per the requirement of this study, the work of E.S. Lee's *A Theory of Migration* deals extensively on the different theories related to human migration in a historical perspective. It has tried to explore various perspectives to look at migration and explain it in terms of Equilibrium verses structural theories, Spatio-temporal model, Gravity model, Push-Pull model,

Behavioural Economic model and Social process model etc. Though studied extensively, the issue of migration has been theoretically handled in European and American perspectives. Hence a greater need is always felt to analyse the given theories in Asian and more particularly in South-Asian context. The attempt by Partha S. Ghosh in *Unwanted and Uprooted* is a theoretical work on migration in South Asia. It is about the history of movement of people considering the definition and classifications of different migratory patterns. It takes a demographic study of the emigrational behaviour emphasising on the dynamic relationship between people's movement and politics of South Asian region. The emphasis of the book on security aspect and economic co-operation for the solution of the problem of migration would be an interesting point to look on in the present study.

In Nabi, Nurun and Krishnan's article in Mahadevan and Krishnan (ed) *Methodologies of Population studies and Development*, Mary M. Kritz (ed) *Global Trends in Migration*, Ong Jin Hui (ed) *Crossing Borders* etc have tried to deal in a theoretical way on a region specific underpinning of migration. But overall, a Bangladesh India migration theme has not been researched particularly on a theoretical basis as such. Again, the Marxist world view of the issue in particular to these two countries needs to be looked upon more specifically; which would be done on the basis of the works like *Immigrant workers and Class Struggle in Advanced capitalism* by M. Castell, *Equilibrium and historical-structural perspective on migration* by C. Wood. However since Marxian approach has not been attempted much so far in India Bangladesh context, so the present study is an attempt to fill this gap to some extent with the help of the western experience.

Apart from the theoretical formulations, the practical issue of the immigration like historical root cause in domestic and international dimensions of the issue will be looked into. Books like *India against itself* by Sanjeev Baruah, *Rites of Passage* by Sanjoy Hazarika, *Planter Raj to Swaraj* by Amalendu Guha explains in detail how and why people from East Bengal and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) moved in large numbers for many decades from the last decades of 19th century. The point that those people migrated for pure livelihood reasons in search of Lebensraum has been argued strongly by these books and this has been the continuing major cause of migration from across the border even today apart from many other factors.

The case that all these writer emphasised that migration has brought



changes and problems mainly political to the people of north-eastern India, but it has been and would remain a natural phenomenon in case of this reason due to historical and geographic reasons. This perspective would help the present work tremendously to contextualise the present pattern of migration historically. In the book *Population Growth in Assam from 1951-1991* by Anil Saikia, Homeswar Saikia and Atul Goswami, there is an estimation of the volume and trend of population growth in Assam during 1951-1991 with special focus on the migration. It seeks to put at rest the wild speculations regarding the volume of migration made by different interest groups to their convenience. The book would be of special significance to the research due to its huge pile of scientific database against many wild speculations. The research work by immigrant Assamese writer Ismail Hussain's *National life of Assam and Immigrant Assamese Muslims* basically deals with the history of migrating Muslims to Assam and their life and living after their settlement with special reference to the process of assimilation. The writer emphasised on Assamese nationality formation which he commented still continuing through the process of assimilation.

Apart from these the reaction of the indigenous people of India and different political parties as well as pressure groups also needed to be looked into. The edited book *'Nationality Question in Assam'* by Abu Nasser Syed Ahmed is a very significant attempt in this regard. The book basically deals with some of the debates that took place in 1980s revolving around the issue of rationality of the Assam Movement that occurred because of the perceived threat on Assamese nationality by the influx of thousands of illegal migrants to Assam. The articles in the book are basically covering two diametrically opposite views, one supporting the rationale, strategy and nature of the movement and the other attempted at exposing the intolerant and chauvinistic dimension of it imperilling the basic foundation of the composite society of Assam. The articles written by Amalendu Guha, Hiren Gohain, Udayan Misra, Tilottama Misra, Gail Omvedt and Sanjib Baruah provided many new dimensions of the problem of migration while critically engaging with the whole genre of the Assam Movement. Some of the articles also focus on the stand and role of many important political parties on the issue of immigration and the movement.

Honestly speaking the debates compiled in the book have given an insight to have an alternative view of the whole migration issue of Assam and to see in detail if any particular perspective could give proper understanding

of the whole scenario. However an overall and independent attempt on the position of different political parties lacks in this regard which would be attempted in this work through party manifestoes, local newspapers and interviews etc.

Another important aspect of the issue would be to attempt to provide suggestions so as to pacify the existing panic among the indigenous people of Assam due to the Bangladeshi migration as well as to make possible for the already migrated population to make a humane living possible here with special eye on if migration can be restricted in future or can they be totally legalised. In this attempt the suggestions made by Sanjoy Hazarika in *Rites to Passage* regarding identity cards for the Indian citizens, quota system, work permit for the Bangladeshis etc. and the faith of Amalendu Guha on the assimilation process of these immigrants to contribute to the growth of greater Assamese nationality would be examined in detail. The logic of mainstream writers like Udayan Misra and Sanjeeb Baruah in 'Periphery Strikes Back' and 'India Against Itself' respectively which press on the 3D policy (Detect, Delete and Deport) as a solution of the issue will also be examined from a human rights angle when government of the other side continuously deny any emigration from their country. The work of Claude-Valentine Marie 'From the Campaign against Illegal Migration to Campaign against Illegal Works' which concentrates on the prevention of the illegal employment to automatically prohibit the illegal migration and the suggestion of W.R. Bonhing in 'Helping migrants to stay at Home' would give a useful insight if the experience of the developed countries could be employed in South Asian context.

Therefore the prime concern of this work is to give a holistic picture of the issue of Indo-Bangladesh migration contextualised in Assam, ranging from a theoretical setup, historical antecedents, present problems at both ends as well as the suggestive recommendation to have a humane consideration of the problems arising out of the process without jeopardising the security aspect of nation states.

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## **Migration : Enhancing Opportunities and Potentiality**

**Ananya Hazarika**

Migration has always been an ongoing process, since men didn't even had a name to define its meaning. When you hear about "Migration", what do you think about it? Or what image comes to your mind? May be people moving from one place to the other, shifting their stuffs, moving into some other places with their animals and folks, crossing all of the Mountains and Seas.

What makes them travel? Opportunities, in terms of having a good life, a better living standards. What makes one grab those opportunities? Either you make your own way to those opportunities or you may be led by others. One seek those opportunities according to one's own abilities. Your abilities are those talents which can harness your pathways to the success.

I am currently pursuing my masters in political science; from Delhi University. What made me change my state; where I could have pursued my masters was the fact that Delhi is known as the "KNOWLEDGE HUB", where dreams are being given wings. Such platforms which are being given by the central universities for the students to perform their abilities and make them overcome their drawbacks.

I had pursue my graduation from Handique Girls' College, which is a reputed institution under Gauhati University. On subject like Political Science under this university embraces all the links of other social science branches and its scope of teaching is highly appreciable. The faculty of political science department is immensely qualified and the learning pattern is really one should look forward for.

If you ask me now why did I change my university and went to Delhi; It is because I wanted to enhance my potentiality and grab opportunities to the fullest of limits it would be offering me. So why not make a turn and give oneself a chance to set its exposure into a new environment.

Things changes when one travel from one's comfort zone to the other. But it depends upon you how you intake those defaults and make yourself use to it and enhance your potentiality.

It is your decisions, your management, and your introspections which will make the ways to your goals. Remember that one should seek to make oneself a better version of itself every day. One should take role models to inspire oneself and turn into an exemplary model for the others. So, until you are being left with all the competitions, surrounded by your rivals, you are not going to open up your competitive mood to achieve your goals.

So how migration help's? You achieve your dreams count in your choices where you head towards to work upon. Keeping your "COMFY" zone aside try to gear up the rough sides of the opposite wall which will enhances your inner potentiality and embrace your confidence to articulate your dreams. Towards and moving forward should always be one's motto. Counting on oneself and one's own abilities, one should find ways through which we are sorted out with answers to our confused minds. Whether it be a job, higher education or settling down somewhere, one should find the pros and cons of that place, as to things may not turn out as per one plan for.

For students places like Delhi, Kolkata, Banglore, Pune, Hyderabad, Puducherry, Gujarat are central focus to search for good educational centres. It is not only counted how results of these centres comes up, but also how its government creates a platform for the students to expose their potentiality and embrace their inner talents to bring out good results.

Setting targets and goals for oneself is very important for which one is crafted with a better perfection. How a place can change you, you yourself wouldn't recognize it. How you turn up is depend on your own choices and decisions. Whether you take the full advantage of the opportunities or you ignore for later and fall into the dungeon of one's own mistake.

Think before you change your place, remember why you have changed and what result you seek from your change of place. Your one step towards migrating will lead to a whole new change in your life.

## **Notion of Spaceor Imagination of Space in Migration Study**

**Disha Choudhury**

The process of migration has implications upon multiple aspects in society. Although there has been discussions about the impact of migration on culture, economy and politics yet the information is still very less. Concept of migration has affected imagination of political space. Migration is the movement of a person or a group of people, to settle in another place, often across a political or administrative boundary. Migration happens for a range of reasons. Migration can be both internal and external. Internal migration tends to be travel for education and for economic improvement or because of a natural disaster or civil disturbances. The process remains understudied, undermeasured, and misunderstood. It leads to a major force redistributing the population. While, external migration is when a person moves from one country to another. It mainly refers to those who have been found to have migrated into or out of the Demographic Surveillance Area and is distinct from internal migration of registered members remaining within the DSA. External migration can happen for many reasons just like internal based on economic, social, political and environment.

Post modern critical theories like Edward Soja have contested the apparent depoliticised nature of space. Instead, scholars like Soja has sought to look into the political characteristics of space as a geographical category. Inherently, in the idea of spaces is also the imagery of "boundary". "Space" is the territorial arena in which citizens can claim their citizenship and affect governance processes. These spaces for participation are not neutral, but are themselves moulded by power relations, which both surround and enter them. Using the idea of boundary, power is understood "as the network of social boundaries that delimit fields of possible actions". Consequently, politics shapes the various imagination related to spatiality.

What follows is a brief overview as regards the way the discourses on migration have moulded the imagination of political space in Assam. For this purpose, three political development has taken up for consideration-Line system, the Assam Movement and National Register of Citizens (NRC).

The Line System in Assam was a system introduced for the first time in 1920 under which Muslim immigrants from East Bengal, present Bangladesh were required to settle in certain areas of the Brahmaputra valley in Assam. The line system was the result of the personal initiative of a few British district officers, and not a clear cut policy of the colonial government, which used to encourage immigration for better cultivation and thus to augment agricultural revenue. But, later on some important demarcations were made exclusively for the indigenous communities. It was a mechanism to segregate the immigrant Bengali speaking Muslim population from the indigenous communities of Assam. The purpose of the line was to protect the locals against possible disturbance of demographic and social balance and eventually against social conflict. Though there was no set principle under which the line was drawn. Consequently, the line system induced a process which led to imagination of space in parallel terms through markers of communal segregation.

Basically, political space of Assam during the period of the Assam movement was seen as place that is exploited by the mainland or foreign capital for resources. Exploitation in the extractive industries of oil, tea, jute and forest products. The population growth has been unusually rapid, due to migration into Assam of tea garden labourers, herders from Nepal, Muslims from West Bengal, and migrants and refugees from Bangladesh. It is also affecting the urban areas not only in the growth of industries and the expansion of commercial activity but also the tendency of many of the immigrants- particularly those from Bangladesh- to live near towns. This leads to the loss of Assam's social structure involving the loss of the familiar, including language (especially colloquial and dialect), attitudes, values, social structures and support network. Through the process of migration Assam is having a Deculturation. The ethnic and the indigenous people or the communities of Assam is experiencing a loss of cultural identity, alienation and acculturative stress, leading to ethnocide.

Prior to the National Register of Citizens (NRC), its purpose is to identify illegal migrants residing in North eastern state and to determine the citizenship of the applicants who have applied for inclusion of their



names in the NRC thereafter making the states immigrants free. Inclusion will be a shield against harassment and a ticket to enjoying all the constitutional rights and safeguards and the benefits of government schemes. (Though the announcement of NRC has divided civil society and public opinion vertically. The members of the civil society and political opinion have pointed out that the exercise itself was faulty and the rhetoric that pushed it was divisive in nature. It has disrupted relationships and forced people and organisations to revisit old colonial debates about autonomy and social justice). And in order to be a citizen of India, one need to be a registered citizen of Assam through the process of NRC. Consequently, as Anupama Roy has pointed out NRC has introduced a notion of hyphenated citizenship. While earlier, everyone could just be Indian citizens, now that is no longer sufficient. Rather, one needs to first become an Assamese citizen by being included in the NRC before the person could make claim to be Indian. Thus, the NRC has introduced the notion of chronological space wherein first, one's ancestry needs to be traced back to an Assamese pedigree in order to be a citizen of Assam and thereafter, only if one is a part of NRC, Assam, then only the person can claim his belongingness to the larger Indian national space.

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## **Rohingiyas : Can be An Asset**

**Ruchiika Dutt Sohtun**

"Hmm. Assam. Wow, you are from Africa? That is so nice." That was the response I got from a 5 year old living in Delhi when I was asked about my native place. And I honestly do not blame the kid.

After turning a blind eye towards the North East, the mainstream media has finally awoken to acknowledge the pain of the North Eastern people. But who really cares about the flood victims and displaced people. Let us talk about the Rohingyas because clearly they are a threat to the security of the country. No lets rephrase, they are a threat to the leading party's political vote bank; the Hindutva cannot allow the minority vote bank to increase. Let's further paraphrase, they are Muslims, not Tibetians. (See the hypocrisy?)

Let us review some important facts. 1. The CBI has confirmed that there are no terror links associated with the Rohingyas. 2. The Rohingyas have been in India for a decade now, yet there are no evidences of even ONE ROHINGYA indulging in crime. 3. Mr. Arnab Goswami says, "The Nation should stand for their Assamese brothers and sisters". Were we outsiders when our state had drown? (#Assamwantstoknow)

We can help Refugees while raising our GDP, yes it's possible.

Uganda has more than 500,000 refugees, making it the third-biggest host nation in Africa. Uganda is a captivating contextual investigation that reveals insight into what is conceivable when refugees are given essential opportunities. As opposed to other Africa countries, Uganda has adopted a fundamentally unique strategy to its refugees: it permits them the privilege to work and a critical level of flexibility of development. In rustic open settlements, it gives refugees plots of land to develop for subsistence and for business farming; in urban communities, it licenses them to begin organizations and look for work. In the vicinity of 1999

and 2002, the nation formalized its approach in its Self-Reliance Strategy, setting up that all refugees ought to get access to arrive, the privilege to work and flexibility of development. This was later arranged in Uganda's 2006 Refugee Act.

However, given the privilege to work, something entrancing happened. From an underlying clear slate, a working economy started to develop. Few refugees traded maize and nourishment oil given by help offices for nearby harvests like banana and cassava, which they at that point sold in the settlement to get to fire up capital. These business people added to the advancement of an unassuming economy. Little shops were made, and a market showed up. Bit by bit, Ugandans began coming to Rwamwanja and even settled in the encompassing regions.

Rwamwanja delineates that having the privilege to work can significantly change the direction of an exile settlement, in a way that makes open doors for the two refugees and residents of the host nation.

Several changes need to be made if refugees' incomes are to go up and their dependency levels are to go down. Barriers to their participation in the economy should be reduced. Cultures of self-help and mutual support need to be encouraged. Education should be prioritized, all the way through to the university level. Economic diversification and entrepreneurship should be supported through improved access to finance and the reform of business regulations that impede or delay activity. Gender policies for refugees should include a greater focus on socio-economic opportunity. And refugees need to have better access to networks like banking services.

But for these things to happen in Assam - and around the world - will require a radical shift in how we think about and respond to refugees. Host countries need to recognize refugees potential contributors to their national development and offer opportunities for them to participate economically. This means international organizations will have to look beyond providing traditional humanitarian aid and prioritize jobs, education and economic empowerment for refugees. In turn, this will require new forms of partnerships that create incentives for host countries so they'll allow refugees greater autonomy and the right to work.

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## Select Bibliography on Migration

Rajmee Mahanta

Migration is a phenomenon which is spread out throughout the countries. Here in this section, there are few of the important books that are penned down by some erudite authors.

**1. Migration in Political Theory : The Ethics of Movement and Membership**  
**Edited by : Sarah Fine and Lea YPI**, Oxford University Press Publication, 2016

It is a seminal new work on the ethics of movement and membership. Challenging and under-researched themes on the subjects of migration are been addressed here. Moreover a debate is been presented over recognizing of Human Right to immigrates or to look into the validity of legitimacy of restricting emigration. The authors critically examines various criteria; that includes selection of would-be migrants, for acquiring citizenship, looking into the tensions between the claims of immigrants and existing residents, deal with the big questions of exploitation of migrant workers, responsibilities of refugees etc. Therefore this book puts emphasis on the use of tools of political theory in the current terms of migration debate by helping in clarifying, criticizing and challenging them.

**2. Divided by Partition : United by Resilience : 21 Inspirational Stories From 1947 : Mallika Ahluwalia.** Rupa Publication, India, 2018

The partition of 1947 was one of the most painful periods of history. Despite the heart wrenching loss of lakhs of lives, homes and livelihoods of lakhs, people looked forward for re-building their lives in the country they had migrated to. They looked for their future with renewed strength and hope.

This book captures the stories of resilience and perfect grit of people caught in the whirlpool.

It comprises stories of twenty-one individuals. They were deeply affected by partition, yet they wanted to achieve greatness in Independent India. They provide a very deep insight in their firsthand account into the devastation of families who endured the migration, the camps and the challenge to re-build their lives.

Each of these stories are inspirational. The book shows the success of human spirits over everything else.

(Manmohan Singh, L.K. Advani, Madan Lal Khurana, M.S. Kohli, Dharampal Gulati, Fakir Chand Kohli, Manoranjan Byapari, Gulzar, Hamida Habibullah, Kasturi Lal Wadhwa, Krishen Khanna, Kuldip Nayar, Ajeet Chor, Brijmohan Lall Munjal, Govind Nihalani, Anjolie Ela Menon, Milkha Singh, Ram Jethmalani, Satish Gujral, Surinder Singh Gandhi, Ved Marwah.)

**3. India Moving : A History of Migration. Chinmay Tumble : Penguin Viking, 2018**

India moving is a book that deals with the many facets of the great migrations. This book gives a very good description about how millions of people have moved to, from and within India. It shows many evidences, uses arguments and wit to show them. It brings out to the light the topics like the migration of workers, trading of slaves, travelling business communities like Marwari, Gujarati and the Chettiar. Moreover it shows the refugee crisis and the roots of contemporary migration from Bihar and Kerala covering the terrain of mangoes, dosas and pressure cookers. This book is an insight towards the scale and variety of migration. It is argued here that greater mobility is required to maintain the pluralistic traditions of India. It is the first book to map out the great migrations that have made the country and the world a more diverse place to live in.

**4. Arrival City : How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping our World. Doug Saunders : Penguin Randomhouse, 2012**

The last of the world's rural population opts for going to urban area of developing world and to the wealthy west thus signifying a third of world population in the middle of largest movement of people in human history. This book is a path breaking work by the writers who uses perfect and detailed tour of the key points in the Great Migration. He considers the actions that have turned this enormous population shift into either success or violent failure.

**5. Refugees in Extended Exile Living on the Edge (Interventions). Jennifer Hyndman, Wenona Giles :** Routledge New York, 2017

This book argues about the failure of international refugee regime and its 'temporary' humanitarian interventions. Most refugees live in 'protracted' conditions extending from years to decade without any legal status that allows them to work and built homes. They are sadly almost invisible to the people of the global north. They remain away from political lives and are fails to become important human subjects. Shifting from the so called solutions and technical fixes within the state-centric international relations, the authors recover the subjectivity lost for those who are stuck in an extended exile. The book first argues for the provision of humanitarian services to the people even after the completion of emergency phase. It then connects asylum politics of global north with the resolute extended exile in global south. Each chapter of the book shows the pattern of circulation of power through 'colonial present', Cold war legacies and the global 'war on terror'.

This book serves as a guide for migration and refugee researchers including scholars in refugee studies and human displacement, human security, globalization, immigration and human rights. This book will surely be of taste to international humanitarian agencies.

**6. The Politics of Immigration Question and Answers. Jane Guskin and David L. Wilson :** Monthly Review Press, New York, 2007

Back in the spring of 2006, a protest was held to defend their rights by millions of immigrants and supporters across cities and small towns in The United States as an opposition to the passage of a bill called HR4437 that stated punishments for the unauthorized immigrants .thousands of workers walked out of their workplaces while students mostly the US born children of immigrants staged school walkouts. A national consumer boycott was observed for a day to show the economic power of immigrants.

This book caters to the requirement of different sectors. For supporters and immigrants, it is an effective tool to confront common myths and misinformation. For teachers, it provides a useful framework on current debate. For the students, it provides opportunities to reach out and explore the interesting issues. Beliefs in stealing of jobs by immigrants, driving down of wages, straining of public services and losing of culture are been challenged in this book. Moreover those who are undecided about immigration would surely find solid data and clear reasoning to form their opinion.

**7. Beyond Walls and Cages : Prisons, Borders and Global Crisis. Edited By: Jenna M. Loyd, Matt Mitchelson and Andrew Burridge.** Athens, Georgia 2013

Beyond walls and cages offers us with scholarly and activist perspectives on the issues of the migrants who are affected due to increase of militarization of international borders places embedded within domestic policing and imprisonment and entwined with expanding prison-industrial complexes. The book explores how a future more favorable to human life can be taken as a goal by the international community. The contributors examine concrete and ideological connections among prisons, migration policing and detention, border fortification and militarization while working at various ranges of geographical locations. They challenge the idea that safety security and order is resulted from the creation of borders and prisons. They were afraid that would create forms of coercive mobility that separate loved ones, disempower communities, and increase the harms of poverty. Wealth and power inequalities, racism, gender and sexual oppression are also fortified. Beyond walls and cages develops an attitude of abolishing, no border and decolonial analysis and methods for social change. Strategies of change are essential to contain the reliance of the government on criminalization and violent measures of exclusion and containment. Various seemingly disconnected state violence somewhere shares link.

**8. The Economic Sociology of Immigration : Essays on Networks, Ethnicity and entrepreneurship. Editor : Alejandro Portes.** Sage Publication 1995

It forges a dynamic link between theoretical innovations of economic sociology and latest empirical findings of immigration research. Increasing problems of ethnic poverty and inequality has become a concern in this area. A framework for six thoughtful and wide ranging investigations related to ethnic and immigrant labor networks and social resources, entrepreneurship and cultural assimilation are provided by Alejandro Portes's' lucid approach to economic phenomenon. These investigations included the works of Mark Granovetter, Bryan R. Roberts, Ivan Lights and Carolyn Rosenstein, Saskia Sassen and M. Patricia Fernandez Kelly. The difference between attitudes of American-born youths and the recent immigrants are shown by Alejandro Porte along with the effects on the success of immigrant children due to this.



**9. The Marginal Nation : Transborder Migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. Ranabir Samaddar. Sage Publication 1999**

Although the towering questions of illegal immigration and those of national security has been coming out more towards the light across the vast stretch of South Asia, yet migration studies have remained confined to the domains of economy and demography. This book analyses these issues in the light of transborder migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal, accommodating historical, cultural and geographical dimensions along with economic and demographic. The book challenges the validity of the concept of nation-state in the context of post-colonial South Asia. The book is based on the hitherto unused data, reports, and travels along the borders and to the shelters of the migrants. The author challenges the approach that privileges the nation above the community. He argues for accommodating the logic of historical continuity and rights of the people that are on the process of migration. This volume will be a great guide for students and scholar in political science, sociology, history, human rights, demography and ethnic study.

**10. World in Motion : The Inside Story of Italia'90: The Tournament that changed Football : Simon Hart : deCoubertin Books Publications 1999**

Italia '90 was considered as both the best and worst among the World Cups. Positively, it made a global star of England's inspirational Paul Gascoigne and refreshed the confidence of English Football. Yet, unfortunately, this was the lowest-scoring of all the World Cups. It was where the back-pass ban was made which transformed the sport.

World in motion travels from Africa to south America via Europe and the middle east to take accounts from the protagonists of Italia '90 and to find out the reasons for which it is still regarded as a special transforming moment not only in English eyes but also in the eyes of other countries stretched far and wide. It speaks to players and coaches, referees and administrators, reporters and fans to measure the full impact of dramatic Italian summer for football. It includes the meeting with footballers like Roger Milla and Toto Schillaci.

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## **Migration : A Global Issue**

**Sadia Yesmin Chowdhury**

Migration can be defined as "a process of moving , either across a international border or within a state and includes any kind of movement of people , it includes refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants". Migration is certainly not a recent phenomenon; on the contrary it has been part of he human history since very beggining, people have migrated from one continent to other, from country to country, or internally inside the same country. According to International Organisation Of Migration there are about one billion migrants around the world. This number includes 214 million international migrants and 740 million internally displaced persons. In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, with improved means of transportation and communication international migration has been growing in not only magnitude but also scope, complexity and impact.

Here i am going to take an example of migration in assam, situated in the heart of the northeast india, Assam is a land of fertile valleys, dense greenery and mighty rivers. Assam shares its boundaries with bangladesh and bhutan while it serves as a gateway to the south east asian markets. The migration in assam was started since colonial period Migration can bring a range of benefits to society. Migrants fill gaps in labour market and help counteract the damaging effects of an ageing population; they stimulate creativity and dynamism in economic and cultural life and make a major contribution to global economic development through remittances to their home countries Migrants come from many backgrounds with very different aspirations and expectations.

But now a days it become a burning issue in the context of assam The uncontrolled migration illegal migration has a very serious negative impact in assam Such as culture change, overcrowd ing pressure on welfare services

community tensions, depressing wage levels etc and etc faces by the people and government of assam. Illegal migration from bangladesh translates to a reduced share of an already limited cake. This has occasionally caused alienation of tribal land by bangladeshis At times this has led to ethnic conflict and in 1983 at a quite little town called Nellie in assam's Morigaon district tribals dispossed of their lands slaughtered between 1200 to 1753 migrants from bangladesh. Since immigration from bangladesh is an unending phenomenon their numbers in assam and other states are continually rise. There is widespread apprehension in assam and the other states of the region that in the near future political power will be taken from the original inhabitants by the migrants the immigrant population is slowly but surely playing an increasing important factor in state politics and in one such meeting held in assam, Mr L.K Advani commented that, " there will be a day when the chief minister of assam will be a bangladeshi". (2006)

There has been foreigners acts taken by the state government as well as by the central government of india. for example , the act of 1983 IMDT that is in force for detection of illegal migrants under the act an illegal migrants is who

"(1) has entered into india on or after the 25th day of march, 1971 is a foreigner.

(2) has entered into india without being in possession of a valid passport or other travel document or any other lawful authority in that behalf' (IMDT,1983)".

Under the act detection and deportation of illegals would take place under the supervision of tribunals set up by the central government.

Even years after it was passed its failure in serving the purpose for which it was enacted notwithstanding, successive parliaments governed by political compulsions, never considered ammending, modifying or scrapping it all together. Yet due to lack of political will and the growing clout of bangladeshi migrants votes in assam as well as in New Delhi, the act continues to remain in force. Many attempts have been made to scrap act through rallies and MP from assam, Sarbananda sonowal tried a lot to scrap IMDT. Finally after a long protest, supreme court scrapped the act. But many differences have not take place. The final decision of Apex court scrapping the IMDT act is a matter of some satisfaction, but yet to become a boon. In over a decade and a half barely a few thousand illegal were identified, inspite of four million illegals residing in the state.

Therefore there are a few things people must do. Difficult things if we want to survive in the land of our birth with self respect and 100% political power.

1) Refuse to sell land to the bangladeshi or any foreign national no matter what price is being offered or what threats are being issued.

2) Awareness should be promoted about illegal migration into Assam being not only a threat to the identity of the assamese people but what is more, being a grave threat to our national security.

3) To launch a program of gradual and total boycott of the migrants even if it means great suffering and grater cost.

4) We must learn to use our own hands to do all the manual work at home an employ indigenouns day labourers.

5) Ask the elected representatives to report on a monthly basis what progress has been made towards the detection disfranchisement and deportation of foreign nationals.

Illegal migration from bangladesh is no longer a regional problem which can be pushed under the carpet. How to deal with millions of this illegal migrants is question to which there are no easy answers, particularly if political parties in India consider protection of bangladeshi migrants for their vote banks. Unfortunately state policy reamains lethargic in taking the problem and bangladeshi immigrants continue to pour in. Knowledgeable observers of the scene have expressed fears that it would not be surprising if the future cheif minister is one of illegal migrants.

"STOP MIGRATION, SAVE NATIONALITY"

## **Film Review of Bride and Prejudice**

**Heigrujam Kebisana**

A 2004 movie directed by Gurinder Chadha, "Bride and Prejudice" is less of a romantic drama film but more of a collision of cultural and traditional differences of the West and East. It portrays the importance of love and respect for different people belonging to different places and cultures. The movie is an adaptation of "Pride and Prejudice" by Jane Austen in Bollywood-style.

The idea of the movie is somewhat different from that of the original movie "Pride and Prejudice" which portrays only the class differences. But this movie particularly focuses on cultural tolerance and respect that is shown by both the families belonging to the West (American) and the East (Indian).

Based on Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, the film is centered around Lalita Bakshi (Aishwarya Rai), the protagonist of the story, who plays the role of a young and intelligent woman living in Amritsar, India with her family which consisted of her father Mr. Bakshi (Anupam Kher), her mother Mrs. Bakshi (Nadira Babbar), her elder sister Jaya (Namrata Shirodkar) and her two younger sisters, Lakhi (Peeya Rai) and Maya (Meghna Kothari). Mrs. Bakshi was determined to get her daughters married to wealthy and reputed families for which she could do anything.

Psychological analysis: All the four daughters were so different from each other. Also Mr. and Mrs. Bakshi were different in every aspect.

The Bakshi family was an Indian middle class family and perhaps Mrs. Bakshi was opting for a shortcut to get equalized with the richer section of the society and that was by getting her daughters married to wealthy and reputed families. Jaya the eldest daughter was into a wealthy guy named Balraj (Naveen Andrews), he was a British-Indian barrister, they met on a friend's wedding and instantly fell in love.

Mr. Will Darcy (Martin Henderson) was a handsome and wealthy American who was a good friend of Balraj. Mr. Darcy was against the idea of Balraj getting married to Jaya, since he felt that their class didn't match and also he felt that Mrs. Bakshi was quite selfish in her motives.

Such instances shows the artificial barrier that is made by the people of the West upon the East. They looked at the East as backward and ignorant.

Cultural analysis: The movie included two sets of culture, one of the Indian culture and the other of the Western American culture.

The Bakshi family adored and had respect for the Western group of people who visited India i.e Mr. Will Darcy, his family and his friend Balraj, which shows the democratic nature of the Indian people. But on the other hand Mr. Darcy saw the Bakshi family as not being a match for their standards. But in course of time he fell in love with Lalita, because she was unlike her naive mother. Lalita was smart and intelligent beyond his imagination. So that completely changed his perception about India and it's people.

### **Differences and Similarities:**

The major difference that is shown in the movie is that of the standard of living between the West and the East. But nevertheless the ending portrayed a positive side by reflecting a major similarity in the minds of the people that where there is love there is no place for differences such as upper class or lower class, rich or poor.

This movie thus provides a positive moral for all the people across the world.

## Book Review

**Zeenat Afrin**

Strangers No More  
Sanjoy Hazarika  
Aleph Book Company  
First Publication: 2018  
Page : 472  
Price: 799

In this book one can find how the draconian law AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Power Act) has affected the lives of the ordinary people of northeast India in a devastating way. Mr. Hazarika provides us an insider account of his experiences at the Justice Reddy Committee to review AFSPA1958, where he was a member. This book also nicely illustrates Delhi's "own" way in managing the turmoil in the northeast through the past decades. This book gives a detailed account of how the states of northeast India got their statehood and other major issues of the states.

This book clearly shows the anger of the author against the injustices meted out by the central government on the common people of this region under the banner of AFSPA for national integrity and security. This book is not just emotion but emotions with hard to digest cruel facts. It tells us the stories of the lady Thangjam Manorama ; Irom Sharmila; Leika Yumnam; Laldenga; Sangliana, son of Brigadier Sailo etc to name a few. Even the Armed forces who carry out the orders of implementing AFSPA wants a more humane alternative. It shows that because of AFSPA the public vulnerability is and the accountability of the security forces is low. While narrating the untold stories of the people of this region the author gives a sprinkle of his own opinion. In one point he questions:

"How can acts of rape, molestation, torture, damage to homes and theft in any way be seen as being conducted in the line of duty?"

Here one can see the complexities and multilayers of Naga nationalism. The author once had a meeting with NSCN(I-M)'S Isak and Muivah in Bangkok of which he gives a detailed account in this book . He also discusses how people were driven like cattles in the Protected and Progressive Village in Mizoram.

This book can be seen as a collection of nerve wrecking and spine shivering anecdotes and confessions made by people holding various positions in the governmental machinery. The author tells little known stories, drawn from personal experiences and knowledge, of the way the insurgents operate, of the reality of the border towns in the region and the pain of victims. He travels across borders and mountains, listening to tales of the people living in the region. He challenges the stereotype of 'North eastern', critiques the categorization of the Bangladeshi deals with the issues of race discrimination and suggests ways of dealing with these issues.

While it may be argued that the geographical and socio-political heritage may be responsible for some issues and plague the region but it is also true that most of the political scenarios have been forced upon the region.

Since there aren't many books that deal with such issues in the market, this book is worth it.

This book can be seen as the sequel of his book "Strangers of the Mist".