

Refugee Problem in South Asia: A Threat to Security

Saifuddin Ahmed*
Anurug Chakma**

Abstract: Migration is an age-old phenomenon of human civilization. But forced migration and displacement is new which origin dates back to the emergence of nation state. Today, there is a large and significant literature on forced migration and refugees, the products of political oppression, economic adversaries, environmental degradation, conflicts and war. The scholars have recognized refugee problem, the outcome of forced migration, as one of the major threats for regional and global peace and security in the 21st century. In this paper, we focused on the South Asian context. We tried to show how refugees are a threat for peace and security of South Asia.

Introduction:

"We live in a rapidly changing and basically violent world. We watch as millions of people are forced into exile, looking for food, for safety, for hope for the future. Refugees are everywhere, a by-product of every crisis (Loescher & Monahan, 1989).

Intellectuals, politicians and scholars have recognized the refugee problem as a global phenomenon. There are now millions of refugees especially in Africa and Asia. The countries of the South Asia, like other regions of the contemporary world, are experiencing this greatest problem which has now been recognized one of the major threats to peace and security of South Asia. The refugee issue is not merely related to human rights violation, and is not only an issue of repatriation or rehabilitation of refugees. It is directly related to numerous problems. Both the country of origin and refuge face many critical problems owing to refugees. Refugees contribute to create political instability, economic insecurity, inter-state conflict, disorder and anarchy in the host country. They are also viewed as the economic burden and they are not, therefore, welcomed by the local community of the host country. On the contrary, they are also equally threat for their country of origin. It has been observed that the refugees give shelter the so-called freedom fighters that are fighting against their country. In the context of South Asia, it is argued that the refugee problem has added a new security dimension. The

* Assistant Professor, Department of Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh;

** Lecturer, Department of Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Refugee Problem in South Asia: A Threat to Security

Saifuddin Ahmed*
Anurug Chakma**

Abstract: Migration is an age-old phenomenon of human civilization. But forced migration and displacement is new which origin dates back to the emergence of nation state. Today, there is a large and significant literature on forced migration and refugees, the products of political oppression, economic adversaries, environmental degradation, conflicts and war. The scholars have recognized refugee problem, the outcome of forced migration, as one of the major threats for regional and global peace and security in the 21st century. In this paper, we focused on the South Asian context. We tried to show how refugees are a threat for peace and security of South Asia.

Introduction:

"We live in a rapidly changing and basically violent world. We watch as millions of people are forced into exile, looking for food, for safety, for hope for the future. Refugees are everywhere, a by-product of every crisis (Loescher & Monahan, 1989).

Intellectuals, politicians and scholars have recognized the refugee problem as a global phenomenon. There are now millions of refugees especially in Africa and Asia. The countries of the South Asia, like other regions of the contemporary world, are experiencing this greatest problem which has now been recognized one of the major threats to peace and security of South Asia. The refugee issue is not merely related to human rights violation, and is not only an issue of repatriation or rehabilitation of refugees. It is directly related to numerous problems. Both the country of origin and refuge face many critical problems owing to refugees. Refugees contribute to create political instability, economic insecurity, inter-state conflict, disorder and anarchy in the host country. They are also viewed as the economic burden and they are not, therefore, welcomed by the local community of the host country. On the contrary, they are also equally threat for their country of origin. It has been observed that the refugees give shelter the so-called freedom fighters that are fighting against their country. In the context of South Asia, it is argued that the refugee problem has added a new security dimension. The

* Assistant Professor, Department of Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh;

** Lecturer, Department of Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

presence of Rohingaya refugees is posing threat for Bangladesh, the presence of Tamil, Bhutanese, Nepal, Tibetan, and Burmese refugees for India, the presence of Taliban, Somalian, Iraqi and Iranian refugees for Pakistan. According to the available refugee statistics for 1993, South Asia was fourth in ranking with its 2.14 million refugees (Baral & Monahan, 1989). Before going to discuss regarding how refugee problem is posing a threat to peace and security in case of South Asia, we should have some basic ideas as to who are refugees by international law.

Who are Refugees?

The term 'refugee' is very innocent has derived from the Latin word 'refugium' meaning to shelter, security or heaven.¹ The basic concept of refugee has laid down in the 1951 UN Convention on the status of refugees. The Convention defines;

"Any person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself for the protection of that country....."²

The OAU Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa adopted on September 10, 1969 defines;

"every person, who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself for the protection of that country, or who, not having and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return it."³

The term 'refugee' has been defined in the Statue of the United Nations

¹ Cited from Anthony J. Beviacqua, "Who is a Refugee? Distinction between Economic and Political Determinants of Refugee Movements in Joseph M. Kitagawa (ed.), *American Refugee Policy: Ethical and Religious Reflections* (New York: Fund for World Relief, 1983),p. 37.

² The 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 28 July, 1958 United Nations Treaty, vol. 189, no. 2545, p. 137.

³ Collection of International Instruments and Other Legal Text Concerning Refugees and Displaced Persons, vol. 2, Published by the Division of International Protection of the Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva, 1995.

High Commissioner for Refugees as;

"any other person who is outside the country of his nationality, or if he has no nationality, the country of his former habitual residence, because he has or had well-founded fear of persecution by reason of race, religion, nationality or political opinion and is unable or, because of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of the country of his nationality, or if he has no nationality, to return to the country of his former habitual residence (Rashid, 2000)."

These three definitions do not cover a few important groups of people uprooted by forces beyond their control. The 'internally displaced persons' (IDPs) and economic and environmental refugees have been excluded in these three definitions.⁴ In addition to, a refugee can be defined in three ways; legally (as stipulated in national or international); politically (as interpreted to meet political exigencies); and sociologically (as reflecting an empirical reality (Astri, 1983; 157-162). There are three essential elements in the legal definition of the term 'refugee'; (i) the person is outside the country of his nationality, or in the case of stateless persons, outside the country of habitual residence, (ii) the person lacks natural protection, and (iii) the person for protection (Khair, 1991; 336-366).

On the basis of the definitions above, it can now be said that refugees are those who have been displaced because of being persecuted, or owing to social and economic insecurity and environmental degradation and crossed international border for seeking refuge outside the country of their origin.

Refugee problem in South Asia:

Migration is an age-old phenomenon but forced migration in this region is new which emerges particularly in post-colonial period. Partition, riots and communal violence in many parts of the sub-continent in post-colonial period led to the rise of massive population outflows. The refugee problem actually came into being when the states of this region faced the question of national integration after achieving independence from the British imperialists. The process of national integration failed and the subcontinent was divided into two parts- Pakistan for Muslims and India for non-Muslims. As a consequence, hundreds of thousands of

⁴ Cited from Ferris, Elizabeth G. "Refugee", in Encyclopedia of Government and Politics, Vol. 2, P. 1342.

Muslim migrated to Pakistan from India and Hindus to India from Pakistan. West Bengal was the largest refugee-receiving region in India. It received more than 73 percent of the refugees because of having a certain degree of cultural and physical proximity between West Bengal and East Pakistan. A month-wise break-up of refugee influx into West Bengal was provided in the following table I.

Table 1: Month-wise break-up of refugee influx into West Bengal

Month	1953	1954	1955	1956
January	5,248	4,077	156	17,011
February	5,961	5,710	22,848	42,360
March	7,507	5,821	26,503	15,167
April	6,900	6,002	15,070	18,039
May	6,032	6,656	18,190	34,657
June	4,798	6,354	21,146	24,734
July	5,026	6,208	22,957	27,442
August	4,147	8,127	13,813	-
September	3,223	10,644	9,371	-
October	4,379	10,352	13,757	-
November	3,212	11,037	11,535	-
December	4,214	22,776	18,709	-
Total	60,647	1,03,800	2,09,573	1,79,410

Source: Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced persons in West Bengal (Calcutta: home (pub:) Dept. Govt. of West Bengal, 1965) p.17.

Three districts-Parganas, Calcutta, and Nadia together accounted for around two-thirds of displaced persons. According to the Rehabilitation Minister, 2,509 Pakistani Muslims crossed the borders and entered into the West Bengal who had no valid protection of entry in 1955 alone. From the West Bengal a large flow of refugees generated in the post-colonial period. Refugees from West Pakistan, only 24 lakh settled themselves in East Panjab while 40 lakh fled to Pakistan for seeking refuge. The table 2 indicates the number of refugee camps, and population for period of 1953-55.

Table 2: Number of Camps and Population

District	No. of camps	Population	Per camp average
Nadia	8	62,068	7,758.80
24 -Parganas	55	54,059	982.89
Burdwan	31	51,802	1,671.03
Hoogly	15	25,421	1694.73
Howrah	6	9,844	1644.66
Bakura	7	15,373	2196.14
Birbhum	17	27,188	1599.29
Murshidabad	40	16,282	1628.20
Midnapore	9	13,962	1551.33
W.Dinajpur	1	1,297	1297
Coach Bihar	1	1,528	1528
Calcutta	1	6,185	6185
Total	161	2,85,009	-

Source: *ibid.* PJ.8.

During British period, a good number of Indians entered Burma in search for jobs, and business opportunities. After independence, the authority of Burma took some deliberate policy i.e., Emergency Act-1947, Citizenship Act-1948, and Land Nationalization Act-1948 etc. have led to the rise of exodus of Indian settlers from Burma throughout 1950s and picked up after 1962 military coup. Many tribesmen who lived in the Chin Hills, the Arakan Pradesh and the Kachin state took refuge in India. Some 3,24,000 Indians entered India only in the year of 1928. Among these people who came back from India, more than 90 percent are Tamil origin took refuge especially in the North-east Indian states. The following table 3 points out year-wise of Burmese refugees and who have been given UNHCR status.¹¹

Table 3: Burmese Refugees in India

Year	Burmese Refugees Entering India (as per Government of India Records)	Burmese Granted UNUCR Refugee Status in India
1988	904	Nil
1989	1103	1
1990	613	16
1991	271	27
1992	514	73
1993	426	68
1994	313	103
1995	293	74
1996	313	157
1997	372	122
1998	389	153
1999	149	149
2000	323	172
2001	295	130

Source: UNHCR and Ministry of Home Affairs

According to the report of the US Committee for Refugees, there were some 1, 57,000 displaced persons in north-east India. The Norwegian Refugee Council reports that the number of IDPs in the state of Assam in the period of 2000-2001 varied from 87,000 to more than 200,000 persons; Reangs from Mizoram were between about 31,000 and 41,000; 80,000 Bengalis took refuge in Tripura since 1993; 180,000 Kukis, Piles, and Nagas from Manipur; 3,000 Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh Buruah, 2003; 44-65).

The Genocide of 1971 committed by the Pakistani military forces produced a large flow of refugees who took refuge in the bordering Indian states of West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, and Meghalaya towards the end of March, 1971 (Saha, 2003; 211-245). The East Pakistan had population of 75 million in 1971. About 10 million took shelter in India as refugees. The trends of influx of refugees during 1971 have been provided in the table 4 below:

Table 4: Trends of Influx of Refugees

Month (for the year!971)	Daily Average (in thousands)	Monthly Average (in thousands)
April (1th to 10th April)	57	1,221
May	102	3,158
June	68	2,056
July	26	797
August	34	1,055
September	27	804
October	14	425
November	8	217
Backlog	-	16
Total	-	9,899

Source: Bangladesh war of Independence Documents, op. cit, p. 82

The Chittagong Hill Tracts, south-eastern part of Bangladesh with an area of 14,200 square kilometers including river and reserve forest areas, has borders with the Indian states of Tripura and Mizoram and the Arakan state of Burma. The people of the CHT were uprooted from their ancestral land twice- first in 1960s when the Pakistan government made the Kaptai Dam on the river Karnafuli and later in the 1980ss when the Bangladesh government started to persecute (Chowdhury, 2003). In 1964, some 1, 00,000 people were uprooted and displaced from their ancestral land. Around 40,000 uprooted people entered India for seeking refuge, especially in Tripura, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh. In Bangladesh period, a series of massacres committed by Bangladesh Security Forces in hundreds of villages in Panchari, Matiranga, Lakshmichari, Khagrachari, Dighinala in 1986 and the massacres in Bagaichari in 1988 and in Longudu in May in 1989 produced a large flow of some 70,000 Jumma refugees who took shelter in six camps established in Takumbari, Pancharampara, Karbook, Lebachara, Shilachari, and Kathalchari of Tripura by the Indian government in the 1980s decade.⁵

There is also another category of refugees in Bangladesh who have become uprooted owing to environmental insecurity and entered India. The table.5 indicates the high percentage of environmental refugees.¹⁶

⁵ Life is not ours: Land and Human Rights in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh, Report of the CHT Commission, the Netherlands, 1991, and its update2, 1994.

Table 5. Reasons for Leaving Bangladesh.

Response lack of Environmental Security	Khulna Sathkhira	Rajshahi	Dinajpur	Nilphamari	Total
Poverty	19	29	12	33	23.25
For Better Accommodation	16	23	15	19	18.25
Ecological	7	8	4	5	6.0
Livelihood	42	10	2	24	19.5
Insecurity of the MINORITIES	0	11	19	0	7.5
Social Reasons (property related violence; marriage; prostitution etc.)	16	11	16	14	14.25
FOR SMUGGLING	0	8	0	0	2.0
FOR BETTER EDUCATION	0	0	8	5	3.25
FOR RELATIVES	0	0	24	0	6.0

Source: Imtiaz Ahmed, the Plight of the Environmental Refugees: Time for Reinventing Bangladesh Security (Dhaka: Grameen Trust).

Bangladesh is a state of refugee-receiving as well as refugee producing state. It is experiencing the Rohingya and Bihari refugee problems as a refugee-receiving country. According to the local NGOs, more than 500,000 Rohingyas are living in the border area. The UN estimates that 300,000 Rohingyas are living outside the camps.⁶ There are approximately 160,000-200,000 Urdu speaking people in 66 camps in 13 regions across the country. In May, 2008, Bangladesh High Court confirmed the citizenship of Biharis who had been stateless since Bangladesh's independence in 1971.⁷

⁶ See the website: http://www.kaladenpress.org/v3/index.php?Option=com_content&view=article&id=2033:rohingya_issue_remains_unresolved_bangladesh_home_minister.

⁷ See the website: http://www.refugeesinternational.org/where_we_work/asia/Bangladesh

Migration of Indians to Nepal started long time ago. The flow of migration was limited until the Muslim rulers invaded in India. A significant number of Indians migrated to Nepal from Rajasthan because of being persecuted by the invaders (Upriti, 1999). The new phase of movement of people across Indo-Nepal border achieved new form in post-colonial period. There has been an agreement in the name of India-Nepal Treaty in 1950. The Treaty has entitled Nepalese to have freely access to residence, property, trade and commerce in India just an Indian can do in Nepal. Today, Indian immigrants constituted majority people in the Tarai region of Nepal (Baruah, cited opt.; 44-65).

Sri Lanka, one of the states of South Asia, is viewed as one of the principal source of producing refugees in South Asia. It has been characterized as 'an island of refugees' by the US Committee for Refugees.⁸ The prolonged conflict between Tamil people and Sinhalese since 1983 has resulted in displacement of Tamil people within and outside the country. These displaced people fled from Sri Lanka and entered especially in Tamil Nadu, an Indian state which is considered as the safe haven for Tamil refugees. The Tamil refugees came to Tamil Nadu in three waves. The first refugee flow began on 24 July, 1983; second in 1990; and third flow in April, 2002. Today about 800,000 people are living as IDPs in Sri Lanka, while several hundreds of thousands as refugees and migrants outside the island (Brun, 2003).

Fazena Hossain in his article "Bhutan's Ethnic Problem: A Case of a Fragile Ethnic Mosaic in South Asia" argues that new ethnic tensions also emerged because of migration of ethnic groups that has continued for decades, from one territory to another in search of better economic opportunities. The process of accommodation and assimilation of the migrants with the local people is most often very complex and leads to various tensions. We can see this common scenario in case of Bhutan. After 1988 population census, the Bhutanese government began to view the increased number of Nepali immigrants as a threat to their survival and felt that the 'Sikkimese syndrome' may once again be repeated. In the year of 1993, several thousands of immigrant Nepali people crossed into Indian states of West Bengal and Assam because of being persecuted by the Bhutanese authorities (Hossain, 1993; 13-47). On the other hand, the

⁸ US Committee for Refugees, Sri Lanka; Island of Refugees, Washington, 1991.

number of refugees in Jhapa and Morang Districts of Nepal reached 85,000.⁹

For more than two decades, Pakistan hosted the largest single refugee population in the world. It was anticipated that 1.1 million refugees remained in refugee camps at the start of 2003 after more than 1.5 million repatriated in the previous year. In addition to, there are Somalis, Iraqis, and Iranian refugees.¹⁰

From the analysis and information provided before, it is very clear that the countries of South Asia are experiencing the refugee problem especially since 1947. Most of the states of this region are receiving as well as producing refugees. In the next section, we provided explanation regarding the threats produced by refugees for South Asia.

Refugee Problem: A threat to South Asia

South Asia is composed of eight developing countries- Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka each of which has a lot of internal problems i. e., population illiteracy, malnutrition, lack of good governance, lack of democratic institution and culture, food insecurity, environmental degradation, and ethnic conflicts etc. This region is also one of the poorest regions in the world. Most of the people of this region are living under poverty line whose income is very poor and who have no access to basic needs. Briefly speaking, establishing peace in this region is nothing but a far cry. The refugee problem has made this critical situation more complex and added a new security dimension. Forced migration and refugees are, of course, the question of human rights, peace and security. Therefore, the issue of refugee problem has drawn the attention of scholars and world leaders. As most of the developing countries of Asia and Africa are witnessing this problem. The refugees are contributing to create numerous internal problems in all the countries of South Asia. It has been observed that the refugee issue has security implications. They are the threats for internal security of both the home as well as host country-Susan, F. Martin one of the prominent scholars, has discussed the relationship between forced migration and human security. According to him, forced migration can threaten human security in five broad categories of situation.

⁹ Cited from Baral, Lok Raj, "Bilateralism under the Shadow: the Problems of Refugees in Nepal-Bhutan Relations", in Verinder Grover (ed.) *Encyclopedia of SAARC Nations*, vol. 6, DEEP and DEEP Publications, F-159, Rajioure Garden, New Delhi-110027.

¹⁰ Visit the following website: <http://un.org.pk/unhcr/about.htm>

'First, when forced migrants stand against the government of their home country. Second, when forced migrants are conceived as a political threat or security risks by the government of the host country. Third, when forced migrants are perceived as a threat for local culture of the host country. Fourth, when forced migrants are social and economic problem for the host country. Fifth, when the host country uses forced migrants as an instrument of threat against the home country.'"¹¹

In the view of John K. Akokpari regarding the security implication of refugees, refugees are often perceived as a threat by the host country if they use their sanctuary as a base for attacks on their home government. Military adventurism by refugees against their home government can produce two negative consequences;

"First, it strains relations between the host and home country. Second, rebel military attacks on the home government encourage the involvement of foreign mercenaries who have added new complexities to local conflicts in recent years (Akokpari, 1998)."

Many prominent scholars have studied the refugee problem of South Asia and identified the security implications of refugees. Lok Raj Boral and S. D. Muni in their classical work (ed.)

'Refugees and Regional Security in South Asia' have focused on the security implications of refugees in the context of South Asia. According to them, the security implications of the refugees in the host country are far-reaching and multi-dimensional. The implications are as follows;

- Refugees are considered as a threat for the internal security of the host country. The presence of large number of refugees contributes to destabilize and disrupt the political, economic and social systems of the host country. For instance, the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, during their peak phase, needed more than US \$ 1 million even at the rate of 30 percent per capita which was an economic burden for Pakistan.
- Refugees also deteriorate law and order situation of the host country in many ways. As the armed militant refugee groups engage in fight with each other with an eye to establish their respective dominance and leadership of the struggle back home.

¹¹ Cited in Myron weiner, " the global Migration Crisis; challenges to States and to Human Rights, Chapter. 6, Harper Collins College Publishers, 1995.

- Refugees are also involved in many types of petty crimes. The poorer section of South Asian refugees including the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and the southern Bhutanese in Nepal and India, are contributing in the trade of trafficking in arms and drug.
- Refugees also introduce 'gun culture' in the host country as we can see this scenario in the Pakistan society. The Afghan refugees have proliferated large quantities of sophisticated arms in Pakistan Society which has a significant contribution to rise of militancy in Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan.
- Refugees may destabilize the host country. It has been observed that refugees sometimes involve in conflict with the local community on common property as we can see this scenario in terms of Pakistan society where the Afghan refugees have taken the control on the transport network of Peshawar.
- Refugees also politicize ethnic groups which may result in destabilizing the host country. In Assam, there has been instability because of presence of the people of Bangladesh and Nepali origin.
- Refugees are a threat for the host country themselves. They can stand against the host country when there is a sharp conflict of jobs, economic opportunity, and ethnic identity between the local people and refugees. For instance, LITE is suspected behind the assassination of Rajib Ghandi.
- Refugees are generally live in the border areas. Their movement creates border tension which may lead to inter-state conflict. The refugee factor has played a significant role behind major bilateral conflicts took place in South Asia (Baral & Muni; 1993).

Refugees significantly, according to Druba Kumar, contribute to deteriorate the relationship between the home and host country. In addition to, for a country which is overpopulated, and which has a high incidence of unemployment and extremely limited resources, the increasing number of refugees could become socially and economically destabilizing. In Nepal, the presence of Tibetan and Bhutanese refugees really matter¹² In the opinion of David T. Graham about the impacts of forced migration on the security, "People move because of some threats

¹² Kumar, Dhruba, "Thinking through Nepal's Bhutan Problem" in Verinder Grover (ed.) Encyclopedia of SAARC Nations, vol. 6, DEEP and DEEP Publications, F-159, Rajioure Garden, New Delhi-110027.

to their security or to improve their security. In doing so, they are often seen as a threat to the security of the destination country, especially if the movement is large and not managed.¹³

Ramkant B. C. Upriti has studied, like other scholars, the security implications of migration in the Himalayan region and produced a rich article in the name of "Inter-state Migration, Ethno-Politics and Security in the Himalayas." In this article, he argued that the migration and ethno-politics can result in disrupting law and order situation and weakening the social foundation of peace and harmony in the society. It can also lead to generate inter-state conflict. He has discussed how refugees can be a threat.

"The immigrants capture economy and job fields that createtensions among the local people. As a consequence, the local people demand the repatriation of the immigrants. Even they stand against the grant of any privileges to the immigrants entrepreneurs. This reality can be seen in the Southern Bhutan or Tarai region of Nepal. The large flow of migration can create threat to culture of the host country. Because migration involves not only a shift of population from one place to another but also involves transformation of new values, ideology, and culture and so on. For instance, the immigrants of Nepal! origin in Bhutan are posing threat to Drukpa Culture, the traditional culture of Bhutanese People. Because the immigrants are Hindus and practice Nepali culture while the Bhutan is mainly a Buddhist country and practices Drukpa culture. It is also worth mentioning that Indian immigrants are posing threat to local culture of Tarai region of Nepal. Migration has also long-term security implications. Since immigrants contribute to rise of social tensions. They disrupt social harmony as we can see this critical reality in Southern Bhutan and Tarai region of Nepal. Besides, migrants are not welcomed by the host country because they create the problems of population pressure, society of resources, lack of employment opportunity, environmental degradation and so on (Upriti, 1999)."

Why and how are refugees a threat to peace and security?

Peace in the past refers to absence of war. Where there is no war, there is peace. But today peace has been redefined which involves equality, equity, social justice, ecological balance, human rights and human dignity

¹³ Cited in Haque, Md. Shahidul , " International Migration and Human Security: Exploring the Nexus" , PP. 423-453, vol. 26, no. 3, Biiss Journal, Asiatic Society, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

which obviously covers the issue of refugee problem. And the term 'security' used in our daily lives means the absence of external attack in narrow sense. But in broader sense, it refers to such a condition in which everybody can enjoy his or her basic rights and freedom in a healthy environment. In the post-colonial period, security of any state is not being threatened, except some cases, by the external factors. Rather it is being threatened by internal factors. In the context of the South Asia, the security of the states is being threatened by internal factors among which refugee problem has captured an important place. Because, refugees are creating a lot of problems that are threatening the regional security in various ways. The problems are- creation of gun culture and widespread violence, disorder and anarchy, political instability, economic insecurity, underdevelopment, increase in ethnic conflict and insurgency, trafficking in arms, drugs, and women and children. It can also destabilize the region by increasing the probability of inter-state armed conflict. The literature of refugee involves that refugee problem in the South Asia is really a major obstacle for ensuring peace and security of this region.

Conclusion:

The issue of refugee problem in South Asia demands for resolution for the greatest interest of regional peace and security. It is true that we the people of this region cannot think of a peaceful and secured South Asia until we can address the refugee problem. Therefore, we should proceed all together towards this goal. We have to recognize that South Asia can come out from this critical and worse situation if all the states of the region act from their own position. Since the problem is not merely for Bangladesh, India or Pakistan, it is for all.

We can be hopeful that making a joint adventure for the great purpose of resolution of refugee problem can be possible because regional cooperation is presence under the SAARC. We can establish a specialized organ on the refugee problem under the SAARC which will be designed to address this problem. Let us resolve this problem and ensure peace, development and security in South Asia.

Reference:

- Ahmed, Imtiaz (1999), " Travails of Refugees across Bangladesh-India Border" in Nancy Jetly (ed.) Regional Security in South Asia, the University Press Limited, Dhaka Bangladesh.
- Akokpari, John K. (1998)," The State, Refugees and Migration in Sub-Saharan African", vol.36(2),Quarterly Review of International Migration
- Anthony J. Beviacqua, "Who is a Refugee? Distinction between Economic and Political Determinants of Refugee Movements in Joseph M. Kitagawa (ed.), American Refugee Policy: Ethical and Religious Reflections (New York: Fund for World Relief, 1983),p. 37.
- Astri, Suhurke (1983) " Global Refugees Movement and Strategies of Response" in M.Kritz (ed.) US Immigration and Refugee Policy: Global and Domestic Issues, pp.157-162.
- Baral, Lok Raj, "Bilateralism under the Shadow: the Problems of Refugees in Nepal-Bhutan Relations", in Verinder Grover (ed.) Encyclopedia of SAARC Nations, vol. 6, DEEP and DEEP Publications, F-159, Rajioure Garden, New Delhi-110027.
- Baruah, Sanjib (2003), " Citizens and Denizens: Ethnicity, Homelands, and the Crisis of Displacement in North-east India", pp. 44-65,vol. 16, no. 1, Journal of Refugee Studies, Oxford University Press.
- Baruah, Sanjib (2003), "Citizens and Denizens: Ethnicity, Homelands, and the Crisis of Displacement in North-east India", pp. 44-65,vol. 16, no. 1, Journal of Refugee Studies, Oxford University Press. ,
- Boral, Lok Raj & Muni, S. D. (1993) "Refugee and Regional Security in South Asia", Delhi Konak Publishers.
- Brun, Catherine (2003)" Local Citizens or Internally Displaced Persons? Dillemmas of Long Term Displacement in Sri", pp. 376-395, vol. 16, no. 4, Journal of Refugees Studies, Oxford University Press.
- Chaudhury, Sabyasachi Basu Ray (2003) " Uprooted Twice: Refugees from the Chitagong Hill Tracts", in Ranabir Sammaddar (ed.), Refugee and the State: Practice of Asylum and Care in India, 1947-2000, Sage Publications Ltd., 6 Bonhill Street, London.

Collection of International Instruments and Other Legal Text Concerning Refugees and Displaced Persons, vol. 2, Published by the Division of International Protection of the Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva, 1995.

Das, Samir Kumar (2003) "State Response to the Refugee Crisis", in Ranabir Sammaddar (ed.), *Refugee and the State: Practice of Asylum and Care in India, 1947-2000*, pp. 106-147, Sage Publications Ltd., 6 Bonhill Street, London.

Ferris, Elizabeth G. "Refugee", in *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, Vol. 2, P. 1342.

Haque, Md. Shahidul, "International Migration and Human Security: Exploring the Nexus", PP. 423-453, vol. 26, no. 3, *Biiss Journal*, Asiatic Society, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Hossain, Farzana (1993), "Bhutan's Ethnic Problem: A Case of a Fragile Ethnic Mosaic in South Asia", pp. 17-43, vol. 14, no. 1, *BUSS Journal*, Asiatic Press, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

<http://un.org.pk/unhcr/about.htm>

[http://www.refugeesinternational.org/where we work/asia/Bangladesh](http://www.refugeesinternational.org/where%20we%20work/asia/Bangladesh)

[http://www.kaladenpress.org/v3/index.php?option=com_content&view=a
r
t
i
c
l
e
&
i
d
=
2033:rohingya_issue_remains_unresolved_bangladesh_home_minis
ter.](http://www.kaladenpress.org/v3/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2033:rohingya_issue_remains_unresolved_bangladesh_home_minister)

Kumar, Dhruva, "Thinking through Nepal's Bhutan Problem" in Verinder Grover (ed.) *Encyclopedia of SAARC Nations*, vol. 6, DEEP and DEEP Publications, F-159, Rajioure Garden, New Delhi-110027.

Life is not Ours: Land and Human Rights in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh, Report of the CHT Commission, the Netherlands, 1991, and its update2,1994.

Loescher, Gil & Monahan, Laila (ed.) "Refugees and International Relations", 1989, Oxford University Press.

Lok, Raj Baral & Muni, S. D. (1993), "Refugees and Regional Security in South Asia", Konak Publishers, Delhi.

- Myron weiner, " the global Migration Crisis; challenges to States and to Human Rights, Chapter. 6, Harper Collins College Publishers, 1995.
- Rashid, Harun-ur (2000), " Refugee Law", AI-Yakub Press, Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh.
- Saha, K. C. (2003), " The Genocide of 1971 and the Refugee Influx in the East" in Ranabir Samaddar (ed.), Refugee and the State: Practice of Asylum and Care in India, 1947-2000, pp. 211-145, Sage Publications Ltd., 6 Bonhill Street, London.
- Subir, Bhumi, (2003)" The Refugees: Migration from Bhutan" in Ranabir Samaddar (ed.), Refugee and the State: Practice of Asylum and Care in India, 1947-2000, Sage Publications Ltd., 6 Bonhill Street, London.
- Sumaiya, Khair (1991) " Refugees in Armed Conflicts and Internal Disturbances; Protection and Assistance" pp. 336-366, vol. 12, no. 3, BUSS Journal, Asiatic Press, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- Suryanarayan, V. (2003) " Sheltering Civilians and Warriors: entanglements in South Asia" in Ranabir Samaddar (ed.), Refugee and the State: Practice of Asylum and Care in India, 1947-2000, pp. 321-351, Sage Publications Ltd., 6 Bonhill Street, London.
- The 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 28 July, 1958 United Nations Treaty, vol. 189, no. 2545, p. 137.
- Upreti, Ramakant B. C., " Inter-state Migration, Ethno-Politics and Security in the Himalayas" in Nancy Jetly (ed.) Regional Security in South Asia, the University Press Limited, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- Upreti, Ramkant B. C. (1999), " Inter-state Migration, Ethno-Politics and Security in the Himalayas" in Nancy Jetly (ed.) Regional Security in South Asia, the University Press Limited, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- US Committee for Refugees, Sri Lanka; Island of Refugees, Washington, 1991.