

The Impact of Bangladeshi Climate Refugees on India

Improving Foreign Aid to Bangladesh to Stabilize South Asia

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Sectarian and economic tensions, exacerbated by immigration, contribute to instability throughout India, particularly the northern state of Assam. Immigration from Bangladesh has led to conflict, which will worsen as climate change produces more natural disasters and a larger flow of refugees. The influx of Bangladeshi refugees will likely lead to unrest that may undermine India's economy, weaken its democracy, and erode its potential as a counterweight to China. To address this issue, the United States should reform its current aid practices in Bangladesh by reallocating funds unrelated to disaster preparedness, transition underutilized aid funds into a sovereign wealth fund, and work with Bangladeshi companies to build disaster mitigation infrastructure.

Introduction

Natural disasters resulting from climate change are already causing refugee crises around the world. Deteriorating environmental conditions in Bangladesh, in particular, are forcing displaced citizens to relocate to neighboring countries, with India being the most common destination. Natural disaster-induced migration from Bangladesh into northern India, however, will likely exacerbate existing tensions in the area.¹ Climate change refugees will require additional resources, putting them in direct conflict with other ethnic groups in the area.

Because of India's democratic government and large, growing economy, as well as its role as a counterweight to China, the United States has a strategic interest in maintaining stability in India. Therefore, Washington and New Delhi should work together to reform their foreign assistance strategies, so that they can help Bangladesh prepare for the natural disasters that will become more common as climate change accelerates, thereby stemming the flow of refugees to India. In so doing, Washington will be able to both reduce the potential for conflict in India and forge a stronger relationship with a key partner.

Ripe for Instability: India's Sectarian, Ethnic, and Economic Divides

India is a populous country comprised of many religious and ethnic groups. While these communities often peacefully coexist, some groups have historically vied for power, resulting in escalating tensions and conflict. From the Hindu and Muslim conflicts that led to the creation of Pakistan and disputes over Kashmir to Sikh and Hindu conflicts in Punjab, India has experienced significant bouts of ethnic and religious strife. When these tensions combine with competition for limited resources and a fear of outsiders, violence can break out, as it did in Gujarat in 2002.

Climate change and its impact on Bangladeshi refugee flows threaten to aggravate social tensions in India—in particular, in Northern Assam.²

Immigration from Bangladesh Triggering Instability in Assam

In the northern state of Assam, conflict resulting from illegal immigration has been a near constant over the last 30 years. And a sudden increase in refugees from Bangladesh to the region could pose a significant challenge to stability. Such an influx will become more likely as climate change leads to more frequent natural disasters.

Contentious Immigration

There have already been instances in which immigration has led to conflict in Assam. In 1979, the All Assam Student Union (AASU) campaigned against Bangladeshi immigrants. In 1983, the AASU protested the upcoming elections, calling for all illegal immigrants to be removed from electoral rolls and deported. When the government held the elections, riots led to 4,000 deaths. Eventually, the government's Assam Accord reduced the violence.³

However, tensions over Bangladeshi immigration remain. The Bodos, a small indigenous tribe gained control over several districts in Assam in 2003, putting them into direct conflict with illegal Bangladeshi immigrants over limited resources.⁴ Illegal immigration raised the fear among locals that these immigrants were taking over Bodo-ruled land, exacerbating sectarian tensions as well as generating a political backlash against immigration.⁵ Violence has since erupted on a smaller scale in 2008, 2012, and again in 2014.⁶

Seeking to escape poverty, Bangladeshis migrated to India to take advantage of its economic prosperity.⁷ Instead, immigrants found themselves competing for limited resources in the region.⁸ This competition for jobs and land created tension between the immigrants and the Bodos. In Assam, economic cleavages run parallel with religious differences. The majority of residents in Assam are Hindu, but most of the immigrants, as well as the native Bengali population, are Muslim.⁹ These differences, when combined with economic competition, have resulted in conflict along religious lines, with the majority of casualties being Muslim.¹⁰ More recently, politicians have emphasized religious differences to foster Hindu nationalism and gain support for upcoming elections. A senior member of parliament, for example, has argued that Bangladeshi immigrants should be allowed to stay only if they convert to Hinduism.¹¹ The use of sectarian rhetoric by political elites has further exacerbated tensions.

Climate Change Contributing to Forced Migration and Conflict

Climate change and an associated increase in natural disasters have the potential to exacerbate the problems caused by immigration from Bangladesh to Assam.¹² Recent research has found that, following natural disasters, the displaced often gravitate towards larger cities with the hope

of eventually returning to their homes, rather than leaving the country. However, with Bangladesh expected to lose 11 percent of its land by 2050, the country cannot accommodate internal migration on such a large scale.¹³ Necessity and cultural ties with Bangladeshi immigrants already in Assam will likely increase migration to northern India.

India's Current Policies on Bangladeshi Immigration to Assam

Immigration from Bangladesh is becoming a key issue in Indian politics. For example, migration received considerable attention during the debates leading up to the recent elections for prime minister.¹⁴ However, New Delhi's response to immigration and violence in Assam has been ineffective.

- *Ineffective response to immigration.* Indian officials have relied more on deterring immigration than reducing the need for Bangladeshis to immigrate in the first place, by building large walls in an attempt to prevent refugees from crossing the border and threatening harsh deportation laws. In an extreme example, human rights organizations have reported that officially retired “shoot-to-kill” policies targeted towards illegal immigrants are still being used.¹⁵ While methods like these make it more difficult for people to cross the border, they do so at a significant humanitarian cost. Furthermore, as conditions in Bangladesh worsen, more stringent immigration laws and enforcement techniques would be needed to deter immigration, creating social conditions in Assam and Bangladesh that may contribute to the spread of radicalism.
- *Ineffective response to violence.* India's response to violent outbreaks has centered on crisis control, rather than long-term conflict mitigation. The government has emphasized methods like increased police patrols and the confiscation of weapons, but such measures are often too little, too late. Furthermore, during the 2012 conflict in Assam, the central government blocked websites and any text messages sent to more than five people throughout India, worsening the unrest. After witnessing the personal police convoys of Assam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi, one survivor critiqued the government's response to violence, stating “if we had one-third of that force in our area, the massacres could have been avoided.”¹⁶

Revenge Killings and the Potential for the Spread of Violence

Despite its small size, conflict in Assam has the potential to spread. In the 2002, for example, sectarian riots that began in Gujarat quickly spread throughout the country. Like Assam, Gujarat is a majority Hindu state with considerable and growing resentment towards the Muslim population. Riots killing hundreds of people have broken out periodically since the late 1960s, but the 2002 riots—known as the “Gujarat Pogrom”—were a turning point. Violence erupted when a train carrying Hindu passengers was attacked in a primarily Muslim part of Gujarat, prompting revenge killings across the region. After failing to respond for two days, the government imposed a curfew, enacted shoot-to-kill policies, and then allowed the military to patrol major cities, halting most of the violence.¹⁷ However, this police crackdown did not stop

small retaliations in Gujarat and other parts of India from occurring for three months after the initial, spontaneous attack.¹⁸ After the fighting was over, independent investigations put the death toll close to 2,500.¹⁹

The Gujarat example highlights the deep ethnic and religious tensions in India, which are likewise growing in Assam. An attack by either party in Assam may prompt revenge killings, which could easily spread to Gujarat and other parts of India. The resulting police crackdown could lead to more death, anger, and revenge, until India has to deal with costly riots, or, worse yet, a dangerous and lasting uprising.

The Relevance of Indian Stability to the United States

Preventing immigration-driven instability in Assam is critical to the United States' strategic interests for the following reasons.

- *India as an example of democracy.* India is the world's largest democracy and has the potential to act as an example to other countries in the region.²⁰ President Obama recognized the United States' vested interest in a democratic India when speaking at India's Republic Day Parade, stating that he was convinced that "our nations will be more secure, and the world will be a safer and more just place when our two democracies stand together."²¹ Immigration-related violence and instability threatens India's future as a democratic model.
- *India as a large vibrant economy.* India is ranked 11 in the U.S. Census Bureau's list of the top 15 trading partners.²² The recent agreement to unlock billions of dollars in nuclear trade demonstrates Washington's commitment to furthering that relationship.²³ However, immigration-related violence threatens to undermine India's economic growth.
- *India as a counterweight to China.* India acts as a counterweight to China in the region. Most of the agreements and partnerships between the United States and India are security related.²⁴ President Obama and Prime Minister Modi reinforced this relationship in the recently released *U.S.-India Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Region*. Immigration-related violence that undermines India as a symbol of a successful democracy and undermines its economic growth hinders New Delhi's ability to act as an important U.S. ally and regional counterweight.

Illegal immigration into India presents an opportunity for the United States to partner with India to ensure regional stability. After years of broad military agreements, but little actual progress, there is a general consensus that more concrete steps need to be taken, and that "defining which actions will provide meaningful gains, even on a modest scale, appears to be the central task facing U.S. and Indian policy makers in coming years."²⁵ President Obama viewed his trip to India as "an opportunity to work with Modi to make concrete progress."²⁶ By focusing efforts on

a specific domestic issue, like immigration, the United States has the potential to forge a deeper relationship with India.²⁷

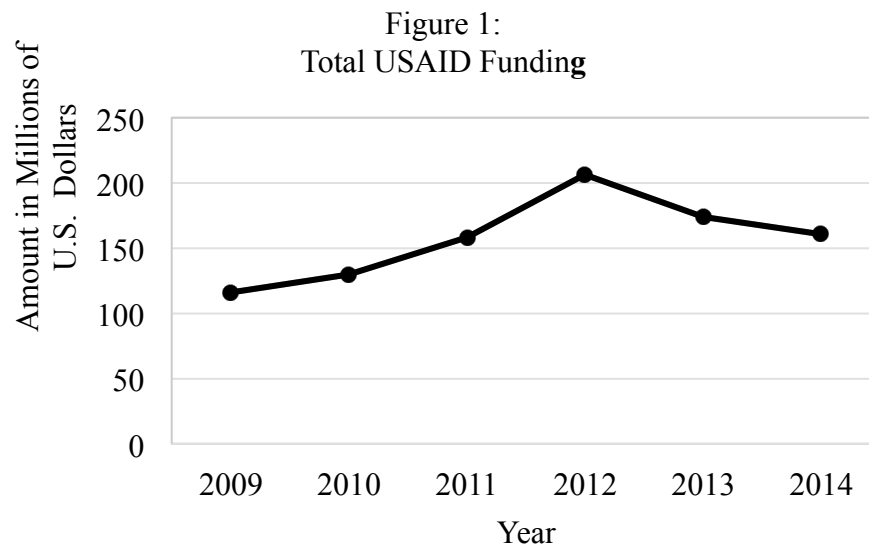
Addressing Instability in India through Foreign Assistance to Bangladesh

In order to reduce conflict and strengthen ties between the United States and India, Washington and New Delhi should use their foreign aid to help Bangladesh cope with climate change, thereby reducing immigration from Bangladesh and the likelihood of immigration-related violence.

India is one of the fastest growing donors in the world and has demonstrated its commitment to foreign aid by increasing its global funding significantly since 2009.²⁸ And while India is tough on immigration from Bangladesh, Dhaka is one of India's largest foreign assistance recipients, with approximately \$56 million given from 2014 to 2015.²⁹ The United States and India, therefore, should coordinate their efforts to allocate foreign assistance more effectively in Bangladesh.

Current U.S. Foreign Assistance Policy in Bangladesh

The United States has been increasing foreign assistance to Bangladesh. USAID has obligated funds at a gradually increasing rate, from \$115.8 million in 2009 to \$206.3 million in 2012. Since then, obligations have fallen to \$160.9 million in 2014, but are still larger than any committed prior to 2012. A growing level of funding for Bangladesh is important for the country's development, but the priorities of foreign assistance spending do not adequately address the threat of climate change.

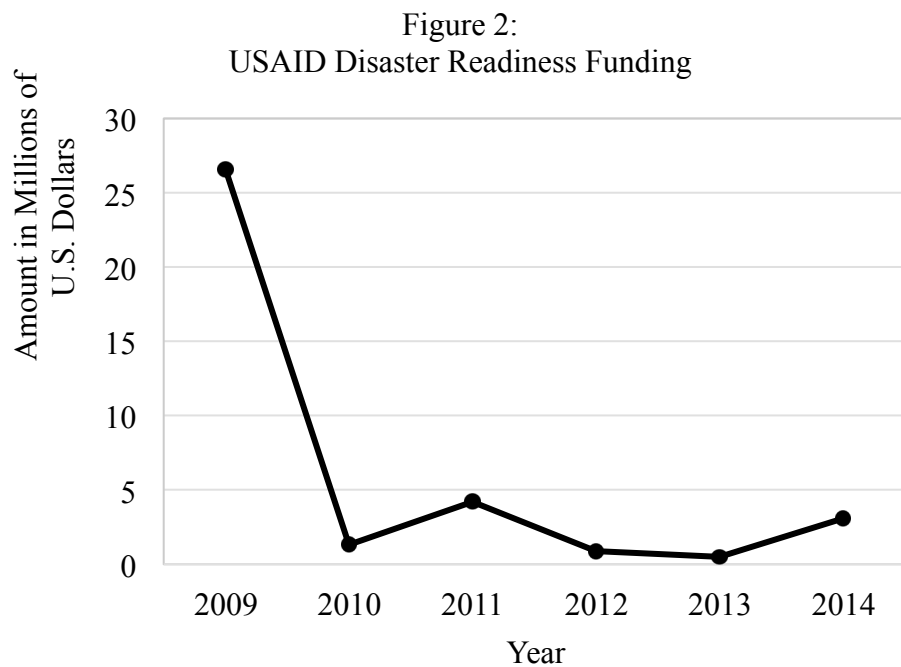


Criticism of U.S. Foreign Assistance Policy in Bangladesh

The United States has done much to help Bangladesh prepare for disasters, but it tends to fund reactively instead of proactively, and it overfunds technical solutions, such as embankments. Furthermore, due to the inability of Dhaka to absorb and manage the influx of funds, much of the foreign assistance is not spent in a timely manner.

- *Funds are reactive instead of proactive.* While Washington allocates significant funds towards disaster preparedness, it generally does so only immediately after a disaster occurs. Figure 2 shows that, after the 2009 spike in funding due to Cyclone Aila, USAID cut disaster readiness by \$20 million (Figure 2). This graph does not include disaster relief funding, which would inevitably rise after a disaster, but consists solely of funds meant to prepare for the next disaster.

While natural disaster readiness funding has fallen, other areas of funding that are unrelated to climate change have risen dramatically. Health funding, for example, has made up the majority of the increase in aid over the years.³⁰ While health aid is important for development in Bangladesh, it would lose effectiveness if natural disasters force a mass exodus from the country.



- *Overfunding technical solutions.* Experts emphasize that when providing foreign aid, the United States often forgets to take into account the adaptive capacities of the people who live in regions, like Bangladesh, which are prone to frequent natural disasters—that is, the ability of individuals to respond successfully to a changing environment, generally by temporarily evacuating, stockpiling supplies, or developing new farming practices.³¹

Instead, donors focus on technical solutions that, in some cases, can actually hurt the environment and residents, such as building dams that stop minor and beneficial seasonal flooding. While the ability of the public to cope with natural disasters will likely decline as disasters become more frequent, attempts to adapt will still likely be the first response. The United States should first focus its efforts on increasing citizens' adaptive capacity, such as helping them map particularly dangerous locations, providing educational services on emergency protocol, and informing people about shelters and disaster response groups in their area.

- *Funding is not being spent.* Bangladesh lacks the capacity to make full use of the foreign aid it receives. According to the Economic Relations Division, the “foreign assistance pipeline” in Bangladesh totaled \$19.46 billion in global funds at the end of the 2013-2014 fiscal years.³² This means that poor implementation of foreign aid projects has prevented Bangladesh from spending all of the funds allocated for a given fiscal year. Funds essentially become “backed up” in the pipeline, sometimes taking decades to spend. Much of the money, therefore, sits idle in Bangladeshi government bank accounts. A generally increasing level of funding for Bangladesh is important for the country's development, but is of little use if the funds are not being spent.

New Strategies for United States Foreign Assistance to Bangladesh

The United States should adopt a strategy that addresses the three problems with its current approach discussed above if it hopes to improve the disaster readiness of Bangladesh and reduce illegal immigration to Assam. First, the United States should reorder its foreign assistance priorities in Bangladesh by increasing disaster preparedness aid. Second, it should put the pipeline of aid not being spent to good use by creating a sovereign wealth fund to manage backed-up funds. By working with India to create a fund of unused aid, the United States can gain interest on investments, which can be used to pay for property damage in Bangladesh. Finally, Washington should invest in public-private partnerships to distribute foreign assistance so that the country can better absorb funds. In a private-public partnership, the United States would work with existing companies in Bangladesh to address more technical solutions to national disaster planning, such as building dams, emergency shelters, and embankments. In combination, these policy proposals have the potential to improve conditions in Bangladesh, reduce contentious refugee flows to Assam, and ultimately produce closer ties between Washington and New Delhi.

Reallocating Funding

“We are here for a shift in thinking—from disaster response to risk reduction. From reaction to prevention. And from dealing with millions of dollars lost following a disaster

to thinking about how we can effectively use our resources now to prevent such massive loss.”

-- Maria Otero, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs³³

The United States can have an immediate impact on the potential for Bangladeshi migration to India by reallocating funding streams to target disaster preparedness.

- *Increased funding for disaster readiness.* The United States should allocate more aid to disaster readiness in Bangladesh. While experts have already noted the importance of disaster preparedness funding, they also argue that one of the primary gaps in preparing for natural disasters is that the international community has been reactive, rather than proactive.³⁴ Washington should therefore focus its foreign assistance on capacity building, with an emphasis on improving disaster preparedness at the community level. In the Philippines, for example, the United States funded education programs on disaster readiness.³⁵
- *Disaster preparedness over technical solutions.* Recognizing that the public will most likely attempt to adapt to natural disasters before they flee the country, U.S. foreign assistance should focus on building networks of awareness at the local level to increase the ability of individuals to cope with a disaster, such as educating people on the nearest shelters and disaster relief response groups.³⁶ In particular, Washington should focus on preparing the humanitarian response to disasters, rather than technical solutions, like building dams and embankments. Focusing on preparing people, rather than trying to build infrastructure to mitigate the effects of natural disaster without proper local knowledge, will help empower the Bangladeshis to become self-reliant.³⁷

For example, the United States can fund education programs on how families can prepare for disasters and perform local mapping exercises to disseminate information on vulnerable areas. The United States also could fund sponsorship programs where officials from countries that have made advances in preparing for climate change, like the Philippines, can travel to Bangladesh to pass on lessons learned. Such actions also would increase public confidence in the Bangladeshi government's ability to deal with future crises. According to the Bangladesh Disaster Preparedness Centre, this confidence is essential to reduce panic within communities during natural disasters and likely decrease immigration.³⁸

- *Open dialogue with India.* While the United States cannot direct India's foreign assistance policies in Bangladesh, Washington can encourage New Delhi to also shift its aid priorities. For example, Washington could publish its data on foreign assistance to Bangladesh with complete transparency. The United States also could host meetings with Indian officials, advocating a shift towards capacity building, and suggest examples of future aid projects. While this solution is mainly a domestic strategy for the United States, there would still be opportunities to increase dialogue and cooperate with India.

Sovereign Wealth Fund

A sovereign wealth fund is a state-owned fund that invests in foreign currency denominated assets, including government bonds, corporate bonds, and equities. They are usually created from a balance of payment surplus, often due to a nation's abundance in a particular resource, such as oil. The largest funds are located in Norway and the UAE, but individual U.S. states, including Alaska and Texas, also have sovereign wealth funds.³⁹ In the case of Bangladesh, the existing pipeline of foreign assistance could be used as the basis for a new sovereign wealth fund. The fund would then be used to invest in companies around the world, allowing Bangladesh to collect interest, which could then be used to pay for property damage in the case of a natural disaster.

- *Working with Bangladesh.* Bangladesh has expressed an interest in new programs to prepare the state for climate change. According to Sheikh Hasina, the current prime minister of Bangladesh, "We see no evidence of direct and easy access to funds and technology...Partners should provide us with new and additional support, beyond development assistance to meet additional costs faced by us due to climate change."⁴⁰ These types of sentiments, combined with a more recent focus within the United States on climate change should make all parties amenable to creating a fund using unspent foreign assistance. The United States has already shown interest in using foreign aid to countries like the Philippines to address climate change.
- *Investment strategy.* Once a fund is set up, Washington, New Delhi, and Dhaka could invest in the funds, using the interest to pay both for disaster preparedness programs and property damage following a natural disaster. Added security for the people of Bangladesh would further instill confidence in the population that their homes would be repaired, discouraging migration to India. Furthermore, if all allocated foreign aid is spent, Bangladesh could draw additional revenue from the sovereign wealth fund.
- *Management of the sovereign wealth fund.* Because Bangladesh has struggled to manage current aid flows, one might question whether they would be successful in managing a sovereign wealth fund. For this reason, India and the United States should jointly create the fund and its board should include representatives from all three governments.⁴¹ The long-term goal should be to transfer control of the sovereign wealth fund to the Bangladeshi government.⁴²

Because this strategy involves granting the United States and India influence over the use of already obligated foreign assistance, Bangladesh might be hesitant to participate in the fund. But as long as the sovereign wealth fund is framed as a jointly managed and more efficient use of already promised funding—and Bangladesh is assured that it will gain full control over the fund in the future—Dhaka is likely to cooperate.

Public-Private Partnerships

In addition to reallocating U.S. aid and creating a sovereign wealth fund, Washington should develop a strategy that will prevent foreign aid pipeline backlogs in the future.⁴³ One way to

increase Dhaka's capacity to make full use of foreign assistance would be to fund Bangladeshi companies directly through public-private partnerships.⁴⁴

- *Investing in public-private partnerships.* Bangladesh already has a legal framework for public-private partnerships. The government has used these partnerships for important infrastructure projects.⁴⁵ In the current model, the government proposes a project, and then registered companies in Bangladesh bid to win the contract. The winning company is incentivized with tax breaks and works with the government to complete the project. The United States could become more involved with this process by offering foreign assistance to pay for projects—specifically those that will improve the country's disaster preparedness.
- *Examples of Disaster Mitigation.* While traditional foreign assistance would address disaster preparedness at the community level through educational programs, public-private partnerships also can work on more technical projects. The United States could partner with construction companies in Bangladesh to build elevated homes, improved roads, or dams in areas that are particularly vulnerable. The United States could also fund companies that will build refugee camps in Bangladesh's cities and construct cyclone shelters in areas likely to be affected by storms. Projects like these would help to prepare Bangladesh for future disasters, increase the security of citizens, stimulate the economy, and provide employment for workers.
- *Working with India.* While the United States and India could jointly create a sovereign wealth fund, the shift towards public-private partnerships would mainly be accomplished within Bangladesh. However, Washington could encourage India to also fund companies that partner with Dhaka to improve disaster preparedness. In so doing, the United States ensures that Bangladeshi companies are involved in the completion of these projects and that they receive funding from multiple sources.

Conclusion

The economic, sectarian, and political tensions in northern India have resulted in the deaths of thousands of people and have the potential to destabilize India. While the United States cannot, and should not, interfere in India's domestic politics, it can lessen the likelihood of violence in the region. Reallocating current funds to disaster preparedness, creating a jointly managed sovereign wealth fund, and building public-private partnerships in Bangladesh will better prepare Dhaka for climate change related-challenges and lessen destabilizing illegal immigration into India. Working with New Delhi to implement these policies will also improve the United States' relationship with India. Thus, the tense situation between India and Bangladesh creates a unique opportunity for the United States to address both its humanitarian goals and its security concerns.

¹ Lisa Friedman, "Climate Change Makes Refugees in Bangladesh." *Scientific American*, March 3, 2009. Accessed January 30, 2015. <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/climate-change-refugees-bangladesh/>.

² Varshney and Ashutosh. "Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in India," *Cultural Survival*, 1983, accessed January 30, 2015. <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/ethnic-and-religious-conflicts-india>.

³The Assam Accord divided immigrants into different groups based on when they immigrated to India, and promised to identify and deport anyone who arrived after 1971.

"Assam Accord (1985)", *Center for Development and Peace Studies* (2008), accessed January 25, 2015, http://cdpsindia.org/assam_accord.asp.

⁴ The Bodos only make up about 5 percent of the area's total population, but in 2003 were granted autonomous districts that they had the right to govern, even though 2/3rds of the population in those districts were not Bodos. This puts them in direct conflict over resources with immigrants from Bangladesh. Many Bengali speaking Muslims settled in Assam legally before 1947 when Bangladesh was under Indian rule, or during Bangladesh's war for Independence from West Pakistan in 1971, making it difficult to distinguish the illegal immigrants from the native Bengali speaking population and legal refugees. Estimates range from 1.4 million in the past decade to only about 50 Bangladeshis immigrating daily (about 182,500 immigrants in a decade). The uncertainty of the actual number contributes to exaggerated fears.

⁵ Arpita Bhattacharyya and Michael Werz, "Climate Change, Migration, and Conflict in South Asia," *Center for American Progress*, December 3, 2012, accessed January 30, 2015,

<http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/report/2012/12/03/46382/climate-change-migration-and-conflict-in-south-asia/>. Arpita Bhattacharyya, "Understanding the Historical Conflicts Behind Violence in Assam, and How Climate Change Could Make it Worse", *ThinkProgress*, August 30, 2012, accessed January 25, 2015, <http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/08/30/773911/understanding-the-historical-conflicts-behind-violence-in-assam-and-how-climate-change-could-make-it-worse/>. "Ethnic Fissures in Assam", *The Economist*, August 24, 2012, accessed January 25, 2015, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2012/08/ethnic-fissures-assam>.

⁶ Bhattacharyya, "Historical Conflicts."

⁷ According to the United Nations, 29 percent of the population of Bangladesh live under the national poverty line of \$2 a day. Some estimates, however, range as high as 49 percent. Furthermore, there is a large urban/rural divide, with 36 percent of the rural population in poverty and 28 percent of the urban population. India, on the other hand, grew quickly in the 2000s, averaging about 9 percent annual growth. Since then, growth has slowed rather steadily, to just 4.4 percent growth in 2012, but has shown signs of recovery, to 4.7 percent in 2014, and predicted to be 5.6 percent in 2015. One Bangladeshi immigrant expressed his motivation to immigrate to India, by stating "I miss my birthplace and my brother, but this is the sacrifice we have to make so that our next generation has a better future. My son is studying to be a doctor. Do you think this would have been possible in Bangladesh?"; "Investing in Rural People in Bangladesh," *International Fund for Agricultural Development*, June 2014, accessed February 25, 2015, <http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pi/factsheets/bd.pdf>; Palash Ghosh, "India's 'Mexican' Problem: Illegal Immigration from Bangladesh", *International Business Times*, February 26, 2012, accessed February 20, 2015, <http://www.ibtimes.com/indias-mexican-problem-illegal-immigration-bangladesh-213993>

⁸ In 2013, 31.98 percent of Assam's population was under the poverty line, and this has been increasing.

"31.98 percent People in State Below Poverty Line," *The Assam Tribune*, July 26, 2013, accessed February 25, 2015, <http://www.assamtribune.com/scripts/detailsnew.asp?id=jul2713/at07>.

⁹ Sanjib Baruah, "Immigration, Ethnic Conflict and Political Turmoil -- Assam, 1979-1985", *Asian Survey* 26, No.11 (1986), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2644315.pdf?acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

¹⁰ Biswajyoti Das, "Twenty-two Muslims Killed in Sectarian Attacks in Assam", *Reuters*, May 2, 2014, accessed January 25, 2015, <http://in.reuters.com/article/2014/05/02/india-violence-assam-idINKBN0DI07C20140502>.

¹¹ Samudra Kashyap, "Assam Accord 'Outdated', Requires Amendments, says Subramanian Swamy", *Indian Express*, November 23, 2014, accessed January 23, 2015,

<http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/assam-accord-outdated-requires-amendments-subramaniam-swamy/>; "Hindu Migrants from Bangladesh Must Be Accommodated: Narendra Modi", *NDTV*, February 22, 2014, accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/hindu-migrants-from-bangladesh-must-be-accommodated-narendra-modi-486779>.

¹² Anwar Ali, "Climate Change Impacts and Adaptation Assessment in Bangladesh," *Climate Research* 12 (1999), http://ngof.org/wdb_new/sites/default/files/c012p109.pdf.

Jon Barnett, "Security and Climate Change," *Tyndall Center for Climate Change Research*, October 2001, <http://www.tyndall.ac.uk/sites/default/files/wp7.pdf>.

Rafael Reuveny, "Climate Change-Induced Migration and Violent Conflict," *Political Geography* 26 (2007), <http://www.csun.edu/~dtf46560/630/Misc/Reuveny-ClimateChangeMigration-2007.pdf>.

¹³ Manish Vaid and Tridivesh Singh Maini, "The Changing Climate of Bangladeshi Migration to India," *East-Asia Forum*, March 23, 2013, accessed January 25, 2015, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2013/03/23/the-changing-climate-of-bangladeshi-migration-to-india/>.

¹⁴ Celia Dugger, "16 Indian Soldiers Are Victims in Bangladesh Border Skirmish," *New York Times*, April 25, 2001, accessed March 11, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/26/world/16-indian-soldiers-are-victims-in-bangladesh-border-skirmish.html>; Harinder Baweja and Shishir Gupta, "Bordering Turth," *India Today*, May 7, 2001, accessed March 11, 2015, <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/barbaric-killing-of-bsf-jawans-puts-india-bangladesh-relations-under-severe-strain/1/233646.html>.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1284789.stm

¹⁵ Brad Adams, "India's Shoot-To-Kill Policy on the Bangladesh," *Human Rights Watch*, January 23, 2011, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/01/23/indias-shoot-kill-policy-bangladesh-border>. "Bangladesh: Border Killings Mount Despite No-Shooting Decree," *IRINNews*, December 6, 2011, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/94399/bangladesh-border-killings-mount-despite-no-shooting-decree>; "Felani's Last Steps," *Economist*, February 3, 2015, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.economist.com/node/18073333>; Sunil Garodia, "Illegal Immigration From Bangladesh is Alive, Kicking, and Hurting Inida," *India Republic*, May 5, 2013, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.theindianrepublic.com/tbp/illegal-immigration-bangladesh-alive-kicking-hurting-india-100034836.html>. Saibal Gupta, "India to Fence Over Water to Stop Immigration from Bangladesh," *Times of India*, August 24, 2014, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-to-fence-over-water-to-stop-immigration-from-Bangladesh/articleshow/40859429.cms>.

¹⁶ "Beneath the Conflict," *Global Journalist*, August 29, 2012, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://globaljournalist.org/2012/08/beneath-the-conflict/>; "Centre Asks Assam to Check Violence, Seize Illegal Weapons," *Times of India*, Augst 12, 2014, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Centre-asks-Assam-to-check-violence-seize-illegal-weapons/articleshow/40109792.cms>; Eben Kaplan and Jayshree Bajoria, "Counterterrorism in India," *Council on Foreign Relations*, November 27, 2008, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.cfr.org/india/counterterrorism-india/p11170>.

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²⁰ "India--Population (Live)," *Worldometers*, accessed March 4, 2015, <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/india-population/>.

²¹ Barack Obama, "Remarks in Address to the People of India." Speech, White House, January 27, 2015, accessed February 22, 2015, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/01/27/remarks-president-obama-address-people-india>.

²² "Top Trading Partners - December 2014," *U.S. Census Bureau*, December 2014, accessed February 10, 2015, <http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/statistics/highlights/toppartners.html>.

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²⁴ Some of these agreements include reviving the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, an informal alliance between Australia, the United States, India, and Japan that allows for dialogue and joint military exercises and committing to helping India build their first aircraft carrier. This announcement that was quickly followed by China's announcement that it plans to build three more.

K. Alan Kronstadt and Sonia Pinto, "US-India Security Relations- Strategic Issues," *Congressional Research Service*, January 24, 2013, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42948.pdf>

²⁵ In the past the United States has not been directly involved in domestic issues in India. Instead, Washington has taken a more general approach, pursuing a strategic partnership with India since 2004. Thus far, this partnership has entailed a series of bilateral agreements that do not actually ensure India's domestic stability. Instead, these agreements are often seen as lacking purpose and focus, seeking long-term gains through short-term means. The agreements are based in the military, focusing on sharing technology and strategies, rather than improving the relationship between the two countries. Michael Martin, Shayerah Akhtar, K. Kronstadt, Samir Kumar, and Alison Siskin, "India-US Economic Relations: In Brief," *Congressional Research Service*, September 26, 2014, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43741.pdf>.

²⁶ "India, US True Global Partners: Barack Obama," *Zee News*, January 23, 2015, accessed February 5, 2015, http://zeenews.india.com/news/india/india-us-true-global-partners-barack-obama_1535028.html.

²⁷ Nicholas Burns, "America's Strategic Opportunity With India," *Foreign Affairs*, November, 2007, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63016/nicholas-burns/americas-strategic-opportunity-with-india>

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²⁹ Lorenzo Piccio, "In Latest Indian Budget, Aid Spending Dwarfs Aid Receipts," *Devex*, February 24, 2014, accessed January 25, 2015, <https://www.devex.com/news/in-latest-indian-budget-aid-spending-dwarfs-aid-receipts-82915>.

³⁰ "Bangladesh Obligated Stage: Fiscal Year 2014," *US Agency for International Development*, accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.foreignassistance.gov/web/OU.aspx?OUID=192&FY=2014&AgencyID=3&budTab=tab_Bud_Obligate&tabID=tab_sct_Peace_Obs.

³¹ Kallin et al., "ATHA Podcast."

³² In the 2013 Fiscal Year, the World Bank led aid spending in Bangladesh with \$675 million; Japan followed with \$435 million, the UK with \$350 million, and only then the US. "Gross Disbursements of Official Development Assistance in 2013," *OECD*, accessed February 27, 2015, <http://www.compareyourcountry.org/aid-statistics?cr=666&lg=en&page=21>.

³³ Maria Otero, "Mainstreaming Disaster Risk Reduction in Asia," *U.S. Department of State*, April 15, 2011, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.state.gov/j/160959.htm>

³⁴ Walter Kallin et al., "ATHA Humanitarian Assistance Podcast," *Harvard University*, accessed January 29, 2015, <https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/atha-podcast/id504974646?mt=2>.

³⁵ In order to fund this, Washington must reallocate funding from other areas. For example, Washington could reduce Health funding that is unrelated to climate change and instead fund disaster preparedness. While it may mean fundamental changes in earmarks and initiatives, reallocating funds would allow the United States to better address Bangladesh's priorities. If reductions in Health funding remain politically impossible, cuts from other areas including Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance could also be made. The United States is already providing funding for many successful projects in Bangladesh, but a greater emphasis on providing the funds before the disaster actually occurs is necessary. Without adequate preparedness funding, many other successful projects in Bangladesh will be less effective.

³⁶ Katrina Allen, "Community Based Disaster Preparedness and Climate Adaptation: Local Capacity Building in the Philippines," *Disasters* 30, No.1 (2006).

³⁷ "Bangladesh Natural Dams to Hold Back Sea," *IRINNews*, October 8, 2010, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/90699/bangladesh-natural-dams-to-hold-back-sea>

"Empowered Lives. Resilient Bangladesh.," *United Nations Development Programme*, 2012, accessed January 30, 2015, [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/brussels/docs/Reports/Empowered percent20Lives percent20Resilient percent20Bangladesh percent20- percent20FINAL percent20PDF percent20kopia.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/brussels/docs/Reports/Empowered%20Lives%20Resilient%20Bangladesh%20-%20FINAL%20PDF%20kopia.pdf)

³⁸ “Mission, Vision and Values,” The Bangladesh Disaster Preparedness Center, accessed January 25, 2015, <http://www.bdpc.org.bd/index.php/homepage/mission-vision-and-values>.

³⁹ Stephen Jen, “Sovereign Wealth Funds: What They Are and What’s Happening,” *World Economics* 8, No. 4 (2007), [http://www.afi.es/EO/SOVEREIGN percent20WEALTH percent20FUNDS percent20STEPHEN percent20JEN.pdf](http://www.afi.es/EO/SOVEREIGN%20WEALTH%20FUNDS%20STEPHEN%20JEN.pdf).

⁴⁰ Farid Ahmed, “U.N. Chief Urges Global Leaders to Launch Green Climate Fund,” *CNN*, November 29, 2014, accessed March 19, 2015, <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/11/14/world/asia/climate-fund/index.html>.

⁴¹ In order to avoid the corrupt practices of Sovereign Wealth Funds, like in the Middle East, the United States and India need to mimic Norway’s organization. Like Norway, a U.S.-India managed Sovereign Wealth Fund would be accountable to the government and publicly transparent in its practices, without preventing experts from doing their jobs. The fund should therefore be a joint venture between the United States and India’s central banks, where the banks provide provisions for the funds creation, rather than delegating it to an outside source. This way the fund can be held accountable to wishes of both governments, and therefore their citizens. But to prevent uninformed public sentiment from interfering with wise investment choices, it should have a board of directors made up of experts, rather than political appointees or elected officials. This would ensure that investment experts would always make the calls, while being accountable to the managing governments, and open to the public.

⁴² Again, the United States and India should look to Norway as an example of a transparent Sovereign Wealth Fund. While Norway’s public practices may not result in as great of returns as countries like UAE, there is something to be said for open practices - especially in the case of Bangladesh, where efficient management is as important as returns. Norway’s fund has a clear ethical mandate, as well as a Council on Ethics that is able to build a case against companies that participate in practices that may harm the long-term goals of Norway. Companies that manufacture weapons and companies with unfair labor practices, for example, have been excluded from investment. Simon Chesterman, “The Turn to Ethics: Disinvestment from Multinational Corporations for Human Rights Violations - The Case of Norway’s Sovereign Wealth Fund,” *American University International Law Review*,” January 8, 2008, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1082685.

⁴³ “Sovereign Wealth Fund Rankings,” *Sovereign Wealth Fund Institute*, February 2015, accessed February 10, 2015, <http://www.swfinstitute.org/fund-rankings/>.

⁴⁴ Thus far, Public-Private Partnerships in terms of United States foreign assistance has consisted of groups like USAID partnering with large, multinational corporations to institute projects in recipient countries.[#] The model has the potential to change, however, if the United States began funding Bangladesh based companies to prepare for natural disasters. Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse, “Public-Private Partnerships: Effective and Legitimate Tools of International Governance?,” *Institute for Social Studies*, October 15, 2002, accessed January 20, 2015, http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~atasp/texte/021015_ppp_risse_boerzel.pdf.

⁴⁵ “Promoting Public-Private Partnership in Bangladesh,” *The Asia Foundation*, October 2010, accessed March 12, 2015, <http://asiafoundation.org/publications/pdf/847>.