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REFUGEES IN EUROPE

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RE-MIGRATION TO THEIR FATHERS' LAND? ETHNIC GERMANS FROM THE EAST IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

by Prof. Klaus J. Bade

About 15 million German expellees, refugees, residents of the former GDR and ethnic Germans from the former eastern block (*Aussiedler*) came to West Germany between the end of the second World War and 1989. Before unification, this influx of 'new citizens' (*Neubürger*) amounted to more than a quarter of the population of the Federal Republic before German unification. In addition, there were 4,8 million foreigners. Thus a third of the population of pre-unification West Germany was the result of immigration since World War II.

The New Immigration Issue in United Germany

Today, unified Germany faces an immigration issue very different from that surrounding the incorporation of German expellees up to the mid 1950s and the incorporation of the former 'guest worker' population since about that time. This new immigration issue is extremely complex in comparison and includes five overlapping problem areas.

Problem area 1. The paradox that immigration has now become an issue in a non-immigration country is a most problematic heritage of the last few decades. Most of the families originating from the former population of 'guest workers', who now span three generations, live in a contradictory situation - as 'foreign inlanders', 'domestic foreigners', or even 'Germans with foreign passports'. Their aspirations to obtain full citizenship have been frustrated and the vision of multiculturalism has been torn by ethnic and class tensions.

Problem area 2. In the 1980s, there was a marked increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers coming to the West from Eastern Europe and the Third World. This was accompanied by a growing number of illegal immigrants.

Problem area 3. Since the late 1980s, there has been a mass influx of ethnic Germans from East and South East Europe. Although, as ethnic Germans they have full civil rights, from a social, cultural and psychological point of view, their 'integration' has brought with it many of the problems which accompany the immigration of non Germans. Indeed, the ethnic Germans' religious views and attitudes

towards family and society differ from the dominant values of the receiving society. Very often there are also language barriers.

Problem area 4. Refugees and immigrants who arrived from the former German Democratic Republic in the late 1980s still experience problems of identity and integration. They emerged from the collapsing East into the supposedly 'golden' West and suffered a 'culture shock' as they realised just how large the gap between East and West had become, not only in terms of material culture and ways of life, but also in terms of attitudes and outlook.

Problem area 5. This problem area arises from the movement of borders across people, rather than from people moving across borders. There are substantial integration problems for people in the five new federal states who stayed where they were, yet became strangers in their own land as a result of the one-sided remodelling by the West of their country's economy, society and political culture. The problems created by this process reduced the population's willingness to incorporate other strangers. Indeed hostility towards strangers has increased and has led to violent attacks, which, at times, have looked like trial runs for pogroms.

Ethnic Germans in the East - Past and Present

The ancestors of the ethnic German 'returnees' (*Aussiedler*) originally emigrated to East and South East Europe in different historic periods. But many of those who are currently returning are coming not from the areas where their ancestors settled, but from widely scattered and often remote regions, where they were dispersed as a result of the events of World War II. The immigration of ethnic Germans from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe since 1988-89 is not a new phenomenon. What is new, however, is the immense scale of the influx which has been equalled only by the mass immigrations of the post-war period.

After the second World War, roughly 9 million Germans lived East of the rivers Oder and Neisse in Silesia, East-Brandenburg, Pommerania and East Prussia. A further approximately 8.6 million Germans lived in East, East Middle and South East Europe. Although estimates are disputed, the largest groups were in Czechoslovakia (3,480,000), Poland (1,150,000), Romania (750,000), Hungary (600,000), Yugoslavia (550,000) and the Soviet Union (1,500,000) but Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Memel area and the free city of Danzig also hosted ethnic Germans (a total of 603,000). In 1950, after the mass movements had ended, roughly 4 million Germans remained in Eastern Europe. They lived partly in the areas where they origi-

nally settled and partly in new and foreign regions, dispersed by forced resettlement and deportation (true of nearly all Germans in the Soviet Union since 1941). They were isolated, deprived of their rights and humiliated as 'fascists'.

Ethnic Germans continued to migrate to the West long after the expulsions had ceased. Indeed, nearly 1.6 million ethnic Germans (1,573,146) passed through the reception camps of the Federal Republic between 1951 and the end of 1988. Their arrival usually went unnoticed, except when the public was enraged over talk of giving financial aid to ensure exit permits were granted. This basically amounted to a trade in ethnic German emigrants, which in the case of Romania was worth milliards of Deutschmarks.

In the course of revolutionary change in Eastern Europe, there was a sharp increase in the number of ethnic German immigrants. The 202,673 arrivals in 1988 rose to 377,055 by the end of 1989. In addition to these were the 343,854 migrants and refugees from the former GDR (in 1988 there had been only 39,832). In 1989 alone, a total of 720,909 'new citizens' (*Neubürger*) crossed the crumbling iron curtain. Of the total of 397,073 ethnic Germans arriving in 1990, the largest group of 147,950 came from the Soviet Union (in 1989 there had been 98,134, and in 1988, 47,572). The second largest group of 133,872 was from Poland (in 1989 there had been 250,340 and in 1988, 140,226). A further 111,150 came from Romania in 1990 (in 1989 23,387 had

arrived, and in 1988, 12,902).

Despite increasing pressure to leave the East, the number of ethnic Germans actually entering West Germany declined from its peak of 397,037 in 1990 to a total of 221,995 in 1991 (out of which 147,320 came from the former Soviet Union, 40,129 from Polonia and 32,178 from Romania). This decline was a direct result of new regulations in admission procedures: since July 1990, applications have had to be submitted from outside Germany, and immigration is no longer possible before formal acceptance has been granted from the German Government. Delays caused by bureaucratic difficulties, delays in long distance postal services, and language problems thus function like an informal quota system.

Reasons for Leaving: Cultural Crisis, Last-Minute Panic and a 'Snowball' Effect

Ethnic Germans appear to have emigrated from the East for a related set of reasons (although there are individual differences). Economic factors play an important role, though these are often overrated. Comparisons have been made between the economic and social status of *Aussiedler* families and families in West Germany, and hasty conclusions drawn. But when German families' living conditions in the former Soviet Union are compared to those in their areas of original settlement, most German families were relatively well off. They achieved this prosperity despite



Source: 'The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans and Meskhetians'. Minority Rights group, Report No. 6.

their experience of deportation, imprisonment and forced labour, all of which often entailed total economic loss and severe personal sacrifice. Their main reason for attempting to leave (departure usually took years and sometimes more than a decade), was the degree of repression, restrictions of various types and the rejection of ethnic, religious or cultural minorities in the Warsaw Pact states (Hungary was an exception). The German minorities in particular were affected as they were held responsible for World War II and the crimes committed during German occupation.

The suppression of ethnic mother-tongues was a particularly severe aspect of the pressures to assimilate. Therefore, today many ethnic Germans from the East can speak only Russian, Polish, Romanian or in a German dialect. In these 'foreign' languages, they talk about their 'Germanness' (*Deutschtum*) as the reason for their persecution then and for their departure now. In Germany, they must learn standard German like a foreign language. Those born since the war in the former Soviet Union often speak an even older form of German dialect which had been handed down for generations. Their children are able to understand the dialect, yet they can only express themselves in Russian. Over a long period in Poland, the existence of a German minority was completely denied in official announcements and statistics. Here too, since the 1960s, German could not be used as a language of instruction. Even in schools which had a large German minority, German was taught as an additional foreign language. Finally, in Romania, Ceausescu's radical policy against national minorities entailed forced 'Romanisation', causing the highly respected school culture moulded by the 'German villages' to decay. German schools still exist, but suffer a near total lack of resources (including teachers), and here too, the younger generation only learns the old dialect used at home.

Since the late 1980s, there have been ongoing improvements in the situation of German minorities in the Soviet Union and Poland, and to a certain extent also in Romania. Nevertheless, the relaxation of emigration restrictions has resulted in further exodus. Many ethnic Germans had long since lost hope that there would be any fundamental change in their circumstances. The mass exodus developed its own momentum, and many who were still uncertain, were sucked along, following the others in a virtual panic. This is reminiscent of the 'migration fever' at the time of the mass emigration from Germany during the 19th century. There is, however, a major difference: the transatlantic mass exodus from 19th century Germany resulted in demographic relief at a time of crucial economic and social transition when there was a discrepancy between population growth and employment opportunities. Therefore, emigration not only improved the situation of those who left, but also of those who stayed.

The current ethnic German emigration is a very different case. Those who leave so that they can live as 'Germans

among Germans' make it all the more impossible to do so for those who remain. The emigration of ethnic Germans consequently leads not to relief, whatever its nature, in the areas of origin, but to a further dissolution of exactly this 'Germanness' the weakening of which was the main cause of departure. The movement becomes self-propelling and its effects accelerate. In Romania, for example, the threshold has already been passed after which an actual improvement in the situation of German minorities will not allow the recreation of a sense of community identity amongst those who remain as their numbers are simply too small.

Germany - A Strange Fatherland

The socio-economic status, behaviour and religious traditions of ethnic Germans are highly varied. This diversity depends on where they initially came from, their movements following forced resettlement and deportation and the degree to which their ethnicity was suppressed. Their 'Germanness' must not be confused with what is being discussed as 'German identity' in the FRG. 'Germanness' among ethnic Germans meant an intergenerational mental link which kept groups and families together. Due to their ethnicity, they were prosecuted, expelled and suppressed in numerous ways. What they interpret as their 'Germanness', in the FRG, however, often brings back memories of ethnic-nationalist aberrations in German history. These culminated in National Socialism which had a disastrous effect on the fate of ethnic Germans. Moreover, ethnic Germans, suppressed in the East for their 'Germanness' are often considered 'Poles' or 'Russians' in the FRG because of their inadequate knowledge of the language, their strong accents or 'foreign' ways of life. Having reached the land of their dreams, the 'new citizens' will therefore remain strangers for a long time. They are 'Germans among Germans', they have full civic rights, but their 'integration' is a real and highly complex issue.

Tensions between the old and the new world are further heightened by the confrontation between two fundamentally different economic and social systems. Socialist societies moulded the attitudes and behaviour of many new arrivals even though these immigrants oriented themselves around their 'Germanness'. To them, the attitudes and behaviour of the 'ruthless society' of the highly capitalised 'Wild West' appear strange. Therefore, they are often victims of unscrupulous business practices, reminiscent of the situation in 19th century American immigration harbours.

There are various explanations for the culture shock, the disorientation and identity crisis the ethnic German immigrants have faced: political immaturity and habitual acceptance of a leadership responsible for everything; lack of initiative and of experience with pluralistic thinking and different opinions; fear to ask critical questions and a general bewilderment by the possibilities for freedom and development, and of the risks presented by democracy and a market economy. In West Germany, even people

from the former GDR, who had no difficulties with the language and who supposedly know the Federal Republic from their TV programmes, came under extraordinary pressure that many could not handle: welfare offices, church services for the homeless, doctors and psychiatrists observe the problems they face.

With the arrival of the ethnic Germans, a period of forgotten or repressed German history has returned to the present. They were a forgotten people with norms of orientation and moral concepts long given up in today's Germany. They had to pay a dearer price than East and especially West Germans for the events which started half a century ago in the name of Germany. While West Germans have established themselves and have pushed away the shadows of history, ethnic Germans seem to come straight out of history, reminding everyone of what had simply been repressed.

Such problems will continue to affect these 'new citizens' who are in fact true immigrants. The experiences they face in the process of immigration, however, have already lost their sensational value for the receiving society. A view which is becoming increasingly common is that coping with the identity crisis that accompanies 'immigration' is only a matter of coming to terms with a new way of life after material problems have been solved.

This is a dangerous misunderstanding. It was mostly the older generation of ethnic Germans who wanted to emigrate to the new world of the FRG and for them this migration had a different meaning. It meant a replacement of the old world they had lost (for example on the Volga) or even a 'return' to a 'fatherland', which their ancestors left generations ago. The younger generation were born and felt at home in the new areas of settlement in West Siberia, Central Asia and Kasachstan. They gave it up as a result of pressure from their parents' and in order not to endanger family connections, which are valued among ethnic Germans to a much greater degree than among West Germans.

This intensifies the crisis caused when family links are severed under the pressures of immigration. It is akin to a tightrope walk between past and present, between the old world with its traditional orientation to 'Germanness', to a dream of 'homecoming', to the 'Reich', and the reality of the new homeland FRG, which is often experienced as 'materialistic' and 'cold'. Trauma is caused by the experience that the 'Germanness' passed on for generations no longer constitutes a common identity nor offers refuge in the 'home' country, but itself becomes foreign.

The first experience of being a stranger often accompanies newcomers' surprise at the organised friendly reception and the help in coping with their initial problems. Particularly among foreign-language ethnic Germans, estrangement is at first commonly confused with communication difficulties. Paradoxically, the lowering of language barriers

is matched by a shocking insight into the strangeness of the new environment. Family tensions, personal and group problems develop, no doubt only the tip of the iceberg of problems yet to emerge.

Moreover, mass immigration of ethnic Germans has so far occurred at a time of economic growth. But the economy is not static. What will happen if hard times come? This fear is already spreading. Despite the call for friendly attitudes towards strangers, despite the official publicity for sympathy with ethnic Germans, the new catchword 'hostility towards ethnic Germans' (Aussiedlerfeindlichkeit) very soon appeared next to the headline 'hostility towards foreigners' (Ausländerfeindlichkeit). Aggression directed at foreign workers and asylum seekers that previously appeared usually only in times of crisis, is coalescing into an attitude of rejection of 'strangers' and is targeted at all of them, Germans or not.

As the problems and tensions within the immigrant minorities as well as between the immigrant population and natives in united Germany become increasingly complex, so the danger of searching for easy solutions and simplifications grows. To cope with the complexity of the new immigration issue in united Germany, it is necessary to reconsider legal and political frameworks and overall legislative and political concepts and to examine the scope for action at a number of different levels.

The idea of revoking, after a period of transition, the legal basis for continued reception of ethnic Germans from the East, is increasingly discussed. Undoubtedly, this threat would lead to a vast increase in the number of ethnic Germans leaving their country in a last minute panic. It is argued that the right falls under the regulations concerning the effects of World War II. However, the signing of the '4+2 Contract' between the four World War Two Allies and the two Germanies, officially ended the state of war. Since then, the right to 're-migrate' to Germany after generations, or even centuries, has turned into an indirect discrimination against descendants of German emigrants in other countries. Many of them in fact, especially from Latin America, would love to 'return' to Germany.

The German Social-Democratic Party in particular has supported this revocation, but other groups might also support it for very different reasons, such as domestic affairs caused by the growing integration problems within Germany, and the increasing unrest among the German population. On the other hand, there is concern about the effects on the sending area of the emigration of ethnic Germans. These effects were already noticeable in 1987-9, when the number of ethnic Germans leaving Poland was matched by an increase in the number of Polish asylum seekers. Large scale emigration of members of a strongly represented minority may create a general 'fever' for emigration in the area of origin, especially as the emigration of ethnic Germans also severs cross-ethnic family relations

ships. Finally, West German politics, ethnic Germans in eastern Europe were not just objects of protection. Their existence also appeared to be a legitimate reason for dealing with internal problems of East European countries. After all ethnic Germans have left the East, this reasoning, too, will find its end. ●

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'Psychosocial attendance of refugees for a physician means being present in the anteroom of the aliens' registration office', Hubertus Adam, MD., University Clinics of Hamburg, Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Martinistrasse 52, 2000 Hamburg 20, Federal Republic of Germany.

This paper reviews the current legal status and social well-being of refugees in the FRG pointing out the contradiction between the refugees' acknowledged right of asylum, and the attempt to deter potential refugees by making life as hard as possible for those who actually come. Currently, approximately 5% of asylum seekers in Germany are granted refugee status.

Reception and assistance policy in the FRG involves dispersal of refugees to all districts and restrictions on their movement out of the district to which they have been allocated. They are housed in hostels separated from friends and family.

As a result of these policies, refugees are estranged and may have psychosocial problems, some of which are reviewed in the paper.

Adam argues that for a therapist to understand refugees' experiences, he needs to venture out of the clinic to see first hand the way in which refugees are treated; to 'watch two police officers with a dog arrest a refugee and lead him off handcuffed to a little cell where he has to await his deportation' at the aliens' registration office.

Copies of the paper are available from the author on request.

THE EUROPEAN MIGRATION CENTRE (ARGE)

The European Migration Centre is a cooperative body of separate institutions each concerned with issues of migration and ethnic relations. The Centre follows recent European developments in these areas. In particular, it focuses on the widening gap between developing and industrial nations, and the increasing migration from East to West, both of which demand new efforts to integrate immigrants and to counter every form of hostility to strangers. Xenophobia and racism are two issues at the heart of the Centre's work, as also are the human rights of migrants and refugees.

The Centre aims to represent the interests of migrants throughout Europe in its activities. It is in cooperation with institutions studying migration within and without the European Community, holds international conferences and undertakes joint publication ventures. Cultural projects also play a key role, such as the exhibits contained in the 'European Migration Museum'.

Political and social educational issues are also undertaken, both within and without Berlin. The Centre's activities are supported through a large Documentation Centre containing bibliographical, archival and statistical data.

The exchange and dissemination of members' knowledge on migration and ethnic relations issues is promoted through seminars, consultancy activities, the publication of books, journals and brochures, targeting both specialists and the general public.

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REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT: DENMARK AND BRITAIN COMPARED

By Ann Belinda Steen

While I was engaged in anthropological fieldwork among Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Denmark, I encountered a goldsmith from the Jaffna peninsula in Sri Lanka, a man of high social status who was one of the first Tamils to be granted political asylum in Denmark in 1984. At the end of the 17 month long 'integration' period arranged by the Danish Refugee Council in the middle-sized industrial town of Herning, he expressed the desire to take up his caste-inherited trade. Various municipal case-workers (under whose jurisdiction he now found himself) informed him, however, that this would be very difficult. When I met the goldsmith, he gave the following account:

I told them that I would rather like to work as a Goldsmith, but they did not allow it. So I accepted the job introduction centre for four months. Then the caseworker told me to take some new courses in the School for Semi-skilled Workers. I felt insecure, I did not know anything, so I did what she said. Then my wife arrived under the Family Reunion Scheme. She said to me: 'You know Goldsmith work, so why are you training in iron and metal?' After 18 months in the school, I went for one month to a special language school. After that I worked in the Rehabilitation Centre. There again I brought up the idea of carrying out my profession, but in vain. I was really confused. In Sri Lanka we cannot change our jobs so often. You have to finish whatever you are doing...

The head of the local rehabilitation centre explained that the centre dealt with the physically or psychologically disabled, and that the Tamil refugees were handicapped by their lack of the Danish language. He subsequently gave me a detailed account of the routine meetings at the centre at which a caseworker from the municipality, a social worker from the employment agency and two representatives of the centre itself discussed the situation and status of each individual refugee. 'He needs this or that, she must see a doctor, this and that has to be set right, now time has come for him to get some practical experience, let him show what he can do...' and so on.

To see what Tamil refugees actually *can* do, one must go to London. Here, their lives are much more dynamic. On arrival in Britain, they literally threw themselves into the labour market. They worked in supermarkets, bakeries, the proliferating fast food shops, but primarily in the petrol stations. During my fieldwork in 1989, there was a joke

going around that the Tamil refugee 'mafia' had taken over London's petrol stations.

Tamils distinguish between full-time jobs (40 hours a week) and part-time jobs (24-32 hours a week), and surprisingly, many hold down both. Some even combine evening or night shift work, with week-end jobs and part-time studying. Some are able to invest their surplus in automobiles, houses and/or a petrol station. And they claim jauntily: 'Just give us a year or two and we will really be moving in'. In British humanitarian organisations it is said, with some irony, that Tamil refugees are real 'Thatcher's boys'. So why the contrast?

Refugee Clients in Denmark

Unfortunately, the goldsmith in Denmark was no exception. In 1988, although many Tamils in Herning had long since concluded the courses arranged by the Refugee Council, they continued to take courses organised by the municipality. Surprisingly, many spoke of these courses as if they were actual jobs, which they were not, as they were financed by the municipality, and the refugees simply continued to live on social welfare. In a few cases, a series of extra courses did lead to occupational training and then - maybe - to a job. Even in such cases, this meant that 'integration' could easily take at least four to five years.

Danish policy makers have never explicitly defined what they mean by 'integration'. The term appears to be used in order to avoid the more radical term 'assimilation' which implies the almost total loss of (Tamil) identity. In Denmark, 'integration' seems to mean that refugees are expected to adopt 'some' aspects of Danish culture (language, the routines of daily life, interaction with authority), while simultaneously preserving 'some' of their own cultural characteristics.

The administrators of the refugee programme in Herning municipality claim, justly no doubt, that it is difficult to find work for the Tamils, the town's unemployment rate having mushroomed in recent years. But they are especially indignant that the Tamils want jobs here and now, and aren't interested in higher education. 'They have no ambition', one of them once said, a view often reiterated by other caseworkers and language teachers. 'But without education they will be underpaid and exploited' she added, and went on to severely criticise a group of Tamil youths who had abandoned the scheme and found jobs in the local bacon factories or dye-works, where labour is hard and working conditions unstable.

Refugees were sent to course after course (which were rarely in higher education) and the system seemed to become self-perpetuating. People like the goldsmith, who

attempt to show some initiative and independence, were viewed as ill-suited for 'integration'. And if anyone broke away, the caseworkers themselves, indeed the whole system, seemed to come under threat. 'This looks more like caseworker culture,' I wrote in my notebook.

Part of the problem lies in the fact that humanitarian work is often thought to be 'selfless, motivated by compassion, and by its very definition suggests *good work*' (Harrell-Bond 1986). However, benefaction is not 'altruistic or unilateral, but virtually overwhelming in its creation of uncertain but felt obligations' (de Voe 1986). The often patronising rôle played by refugee caretakers must be regarded as a response to interactions that operate according to cultural stereotypes and asymmetrical power positions: '...when refugees are recipients, who stand in an unequal position in relation to their benefactors, hence are unable, under present circumstances, to repay their economic debt, they feel compelled instead to exhibit the deference of a subordinate by conforming to the values and interests of their donors' (Schein 1987).

This means that the key problem lies less in any moral or political position vis-a-vis refugees, but within the mechanisms of assistance, benefaction, or charity. So when the caseworkers said of the Tamils, 'they never want to make their own decisions', or 'they never criticise anything and never want to make their true feelings known', there was reason to believe that this had more to do with the Danish context than anything inherently Tamil. This became even more apparent when, in quiet conversation, Tamils were heard to refer to their courses as something they had to go

through while here in Denmark. 'The municipality forces me to work for economic reasons' my neighbour's worried wife said. 'It is like an open prison'. Others were more humorous: 'In Sri Lanka, our parents used to tell us that we must attend school. They explained to us that school life is something that never comes again. But here in Denmark we have a joke. We say: yes, as refugees it comes again.'

In general, the Tamils are acknowledged to be 'easy' refugees in Denmark: polite, reserved, taciturn and humble. Faced with compliant and non-demanding clients, administrators seem to gain what Schein, in her description of American caretakers, has termed 'a special vitality and an experience of identity' (1987). At one of the many Tamil cultural festivals for example, I once saw a female caseworker give a young Tamil (who could have been a former guerilla soldier) a pat on the cheek and a soft smile, and say: 'I am like a mother to him'. And one could hear this same paternalism when listening to the highly dedicated woman from the employment agency who said: 'The biggest problem here are the young men who are cut off from their families. I often have to be very strict with them. They have been lax, they have not learned Danish. They must go to school and learn to get up in the morning.'

It goes without saying that real communication problems can arise when people do not speak the same language. But there is another issue at stake: under the administrative control of caretakers and the structures of asymmetrical power relationships, there can be no real communication.

Denmark, a small country with a history untarnished by

The author (far left) and a group of Tamil refugees.

Photo: Ann Belinda Steen



colonialism, likes to be seen to be sympathetic to its fellow human beings, including the foreigners stranded on its beloved shores. Despite ever more stringent refugee legislation, refugees still constitute a humanitarian issue for us Danes. Approximately 90% of the Tamil asylum seekers arriving in Denmark, have been given refugee status, and as the Tamils themselves confirm: 'The Danish government helps the refugees and gives us rights equal to the citizens of this country. What else can we ask for?' In the Danish context, therefore, the real issue is not so much what 'integration' is, but what it *does*. In other words: the manifestation of the partly hidden and unequal power positions of refugees in relation to their caretaker hosts and the way that this generates certain forms of refugee 'culture'.

Refugee Outcasts in Britain

In contrast to Denmark, Britain has one of the harshest and most cynical hard-line policies in Europe. During the course of the 1980s, British courts and tribunals have overridden claims of genuine fears of persecution, and this has been particularly visible in Sri Lankan cases. The detention of asylum seekers (protracted detention of Tamils has been especially frequent) combined with repeated, highly controversial refoulement, has time and again prompted British defense lawyers to speak of 'mistreatment of Tamils by the UK government' (Cohen 1988).

Newspaper clippings highlight official attitudes to Tamil asylum seekers: 'Visa bar on fleeing Tamils' (*Times* 30.5.85), 'Tamils are not genuine refugees' (*Guardian* 13.5.85), 'Government stays adamant on decision to return Tamils' (*Times* 19.2.87). Almost no Tamil asylum seekers were given official refugee status. If they were allowed to enter the country at all (or rather, to leave the detention centre), it was on 'Exceptional Leave to Remain' or 'Temporary Admission'. The latter threatens expulsion from Britain at any time, and requires the applicant to sign regularly with the authorities. As Tamil refugees in London say: 'If you miss these meetings, you will be listed for removal, and not even the Prime Minister can get you back'.

However, in Britain there is a Sri Lankan community made up of migrants who left Sri Lanka in successive waves after independence in 1948, many are highly educated, well-established and ready to help refugees. 'We planned a life for them', said a representative of the established Tamil community and patron of one of the Hindu Temples. 'This was the greatest service the Temples did'. He went on to relate how friends, relatives and patrons had transformed the temples into dormitories, and had commuted between the Temples and Gatwick and Heathrow airports to pick up the young Tamils released by the immigration authorities:

And when a large number of refugees were coming in, people in our community said, let me take one chap, let another fellow take another chap. We said: No, don't take them if you cannot find them a job...because we did not want our people to lose their self-

respect and pride. We said: Go on welfare for a while if you like, but only as long as necessary. So our people were going around to the grocers and others asking them, have you got a job, have you got a job? Then and only then did we release them. In about two months we got everybody settled.....

This presence of a 'support' community in Britain, is one of the most evident differences between Denmark and Britain as host countries. One representative of these migrants explained, 'when the young Tamils see how well we have done, they take heart: Oh, they are doing very well, we also want to buy a house'. And then he added, laughing: 'The only difference is that it took us ten years, while they do it in a year or two'.

Furthermore, the newcomers had clearly been provided with the sort of employment that the Danish 'integration' system, and particularly the responsible caseworkers, were loathe to let Tamil refugees do (i.e. menial, low-status jobs for which no special skills were needed). The relative success of the refugees is also partly due to; their familiarity with the English language; and the structure of the British labour market which offers many unskilled part-time jobs. Moreover, unemployment is regarded as something highly undesirable, leading directly to a loss of self-respect and pride. Tamils I worked with - their pride intact - claimed: 'You won't find a single Tamil on the dole'.

Equally important, from a comparative point of view, however, is Britain's lack of a formal 'integration' policy. In particular, there were very few caseworkers dealing exclusively with the welfare of the refugees. Tamil refugees were, to press the point a bit, free to seek the jobs that the British did not want. Nevertheless, this does not seem to fully explain why the refugees in London were so much more self-reliant, ambitious, and determined than those I had known and lived among in Denmark.

A Note on Sri Lankan Tamil Ethnography

Short of drawing a 'cultural portrait' of the Sri Lankan Tamils, let me say that in ethnographic and historical texts about Sri Lanka, the Vellalar caste are highly visible. They are described as landowners, ranking just below the Brahmins in the local hierarchy, and are therefore a 'dominant' caste. It was primarily from the members of the Vellalar caste that the British selected persons to be placed in key positions in the colonial administration. The vast majority of Tamil refugees in Europe are of Vellalar origin.

In writing about the (Sudra) Vellalars, Dumont admits the existence of 'a shame-faced, but nonetheless present, version of the self-interested, arbitrary calculation and action associated with the bourgeois individualism of the modern West (in Pfaffenberger 1982). Pfaffenberger, the last anthropologist to work in Jaffna before the civil war erupted, has shown that there is a 'ritual rationale' behind the special enterprising nature of the Vellalars. The rituals which the Vellalars conduct in their temples in Jaffna, are



Tamil Family.

Photo: Ann Belinda Steen

believed to create an 'auspicious condition', a supernatural force in them, called the 'benefit' (*palan*) of ritual. So when the British lawyers told of Tamils who worked to the last minute before being apprehended by the authorities and put on a plane to Sri Lanka, or when the refugees themselves said of their detention: 'I could not go on like that I had to do something else' or when self-confident Tamil refugees announced how much they could earn by combining full-time and part-time jobs, and instructed me to inform my Tamil friends in Denmark about it - this was also an articulation of a 'Vellalar' ethos. As they repeatedly told me: 'At the end of the day, a man's job is to make wealth'.

Despite the harsh treatment, detention practices and removal orders, ironically enough it thus seems to be in Britain that the Tamils fare best, simply because here they can be Vellalar. However, this is NOT to say that the less one 'helps' refugees, the better. In Britain, life for exiled Tamils is constantly shrouded in uncertainty. The statuses of Exceptional Leave to Remain and Temporary Admission do not allow for family reunion, so there can be no real future. Tamils are denied access to most domains that relate to the reproduction of social and cultural life. All that is left for Tamils in Britain, therefore, is to toil.

We may conclude that the two refugee situations do not constitute opposites, they do not even differ radically. Rather, the life of Tamil refugees in Britain and Denmark represent two different forms or degrees of refugee-host

asymmetry. In both countries, Tamil refugees confront innumerable obstacles: either within the structure of 'integration' programmes, or as a consequence of the temporal and other restrictions accompanying special entry permits. The policy of authorities dealing with refugees, whether in the form of training courses or detention and deportation, thus constitutes an important framework within which refugees are defined, and 'refugee culture' created. What they illustrate is refugees in both countries are in precarious situations of *dependence*.

It is important to add, however, that the nature of Tamil culture in the two contexts should not be seen entirely as a response to different contexts - Danish or British - but also as something that *exists on its own and defines itself*. When, for example, Tamil refugees in Denmark seem compliant, quiet, or as the caseworkers say, 'easy', this also reflects special Tamil ways of expressing gratitude and rank. As the South Indian anthropologist Appadurai (1985) stresses, although Tamil language and culture are rich in forms that express great delicacies of sentiment and complexities of etiquette, it is very difficult for them to say 'thank you' in a direct way. But it is certainly not difficult to *show* one's appreciation. Such demonstrations of appreciation are frequently non-verbal. In a hierarchical society, the non-verbal expression of gratitude is very closely linked with the non-verbal etiquette of rank in general. Since in this society, Appadurai argues, '...giving is axiomatically (even if temporarily) the sign of superiority and receiving the sign of inferiority, then it is easy to see that the symbolism of gratitude and the language of hierarchy are closely connected in this situation' (1985). ●

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REFUGEE POLICY IN SCANDINAVIA

The following section summarises and comments on recent, refugee reception, policy developments in Sweden and Norway.

MUNICIPAL RECEPTION OF REFUGEES: CONFLICTS AND ROLES by Matti Simila, 1992. Part of the 'Refugee Reception Project, Refugee Integration and Ethnic Relations in Sweden'.

The Swedish system for receiving refugees was reformed in January 1985. This book describes this change and examines the different relations and conflicts between refugees and authorities in six Swedish municipalities, based on research conducted in 1987-8.

One aim of the reforms, in the light of the rising numbers of asylum-seekers, was to relieve the traditional receiving municipalities by directing new asylum seekers elsewhere. So municipalities are now categorised as 'relieving', 'relieved' and 'other' (most belonging to the latter category). The reforms have been dubbed the 'All Sweden Strategy', as all municipalities are deemed suitable for receiving refugees, given the right planning and resources.

Although power is centralised in the state immigration agency (SIV), the importance of local involvement through municipal authorities and agencies is nevertheless emphasised. The disadvantage of this new strategy is the restrictions it places on refugees' freedom to decide where to live: the municipality chooses who to receive and who not to receive. From a planners' viewpoint, however, preparation is facilitated if it is known in advance who is coming. By involving the smaller municipalities, it was anticipated that a less antagonistic relationship between agencies and refugees might develop, as staff would have more time and relations would be less formally bureaucratic. On the other hand, the smaller municipalities have less jobs on offer.

In the 'relieved' municipalities, there are already sizeable refugee communities, particularly in the large cities where new arrivals can seek out members of their own ethnic communities for support. Since 1985, there has been an increase in the inflow to traditional receiving communities despite the activities of the 'relieving' municipalities.

Of the six municipalities studied, four are 'relieving' and two 'relieved'. In-depth interviews were conducted to assess conflicts, miscommunications, and the mutual understanding of roles by Swedish authorities and refugees. Refugee coordinators and family councillors were interviewed. Some major findings were:

- * Communication between staff of refugee agencies and other state agencies is often poor.
- * A main source of conflict between refugee and agency personnel is the unequal power in the relationship, as in any situation where there are caretakers and caregivers.

* Public opinion and sometimes the attitude of caregivers is that refugees 'should be grateful'. 'Unreasonable' demands on the part of refugees can result from miscommunication, frustration, alienation, unemployment etc.

* Staff working with refugees have developed a condescending attitude.

* At times conflict may be perceived as ethnic/cultural when it results from tension due to the asymmetry in power between carer and refugee.

* Staff perceive a conflict between 'letting emotions affect work' and a detached professionalism.

* Idleness (whilst waiting for residence and work permits) is sometimes interpreted by the local community as laziness and dependency.

REFUGEE, RESIDENCE AND AGENCY by Anders Lange, 1991. Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO), Stockholm University. Part of the 'Refugee Reception Project on Refugee Integration and Ethnic Relations in Sweden'.

This book examines the experiences of Chilean, Kurdish and Polish refugee living in Sweden. It has two main parts: a lengthy theoretical discussion of culture, migration 'baggage', freedom of choice and residence; followed by an analysis of 220 in-depth interviews conducted with refugees in six municipalities about their living conditions, their hopes and aspirations.

In Sweden, where even the private sphere is influenced by state decisions, it can be a struggle to express values deviating from the 'norm'. Swedish housing policy has a strict definition of 'modern' standards (regulations even govern the maximum depth of a kitchen cupboard); there are zoning laws, landlord regulations, social restrictions and consideration toward neighbours living in close proximity and only then the individual's freedom. Even if living conditions and housing design do not differ from that which immigrants are used to, there may be a difference in the 'mental perception of living'. In addition, refugees may not know whether they will be allowed to stay, or for how long, or may wish to return home as soon as possible. In such circumstances they may put minimal investment into making the apartment/house seem like home.

Swedish housing policy has actively tried to create and ensure certain living standards for all, whilst allowing for cultural and individual differences. In the past, there have not been separate housing policies for immigrants, and a consensus exists that ethnic segregation and isolation is not desirable.

Survey results detail the extent to which refugees are satisfied with their living conditions. The conditions and experiences of flight, exile and the asylum process, are

included. Access to services and employment, and language ability are documented. In addition, the 50 respondents from each of the Chilean, Kurdish and Polish sample populations were asked a set of cultural and historical questions to assess how distanced people felt from other national groups. The data on perceived distance are used as an indicator of the level of integration of the different groups.

Jenny Dahlstein, student intern, RSP 1992

FOREIGNERS ORGANIZATION IN NORWAY: A CHANNEL FOR INTEGRATION OR SEGREGATION?

by Kwaku Obosu-Mensah. 1991. Morkved, Norway: Nordlandsforskning, 69 pp. NKR 80.00.

The main objectives of official Norwegian policy on integration are well-defined: 'Norwegians must accept the minority's right to sustain their religion, language, culture, and their idiosyncrasies.' (p. 43) A total embrace of 'Norwegiansness' (whatever that might be) is thus not expected from the foreigners - at least not in the official rhetoric. Even in the Scandinavian countries, however, renown for humanitarianism, the integration process runs still runs far from smoothly and is causing xenophobic outbursts among the general population as well as amongst politicians.

The concern to ameliorate of this situation seems genuine: a whole industry of social workers, academics, journalists, and kindred spirits thrives on money spent on looking for solutions to these problems. One example is this Report, commissioned by the municipality of Bodo to analyze how 'foreigners organizations' may contribute towards easing the integration of newcomers into Norwegian society.

The 'foreigners organizations' are meant to provide a bridge between minority cultures and Norwegian culture. The foreign population of a certain area is supposed to use the organizations for meeting, exchanging information, discussing experiences, and for giving mutual counselling on problems faced. Another important function of these organizations is to stage 'cultural events'. The philosophy behind these activities is that cordial coexistence between different cultural groups results from mutual trust and familiarity with the 'other': 'It is at these occasions that [the Norwegians] get to know foreigners and accept them as they are.' (p. 25). In other words, the importance of 'foreigners organizations' lies mainly in their ability to provide the minority populations with fora to consolidate their strength and identity; they establish spaces for the articulation of differences - or 'peculiarities' as they are referred to by the author.

Finally, the report stresses the importance of the organizational structure: since Norway is a society with a strong and well-established tradition for socialising through organizations, foreigners are believed to harvest an integrational bonus by forming their own.

Possible drawbacks of these 'foreigners organizations' are only touched upon and relate mostly to the need for minor structural and financial adjustments: whether they should comprise one or more nationalities; which arrangements should be supported by official funds, and so on. Thus, this report is not a discussion of whether 'foreigners organizations' are efficient instruments for smoother integration, but is aimed at explaining why they work so well.

Despite its well-intentioned aims, the 'Scandinavian model' of integration still leaves much to be desired. There is an imminent danger of placing foreigners in a dependent and clientized role which could be said to have very little to do with actual tolerance and respect for 'idiosyncrasies'. For the flip-side of tolerance may reveal an attitude, implicit in which is the idea that the foreigners have unfortunate traits which must be corrected in a manner little different from the way you mildly scold unruly children: 'Quite a number of the foreigners (especially the refugees) in Norway have escaped from dictators in countries which do not encourage or allow the formation of voluntary organizations. By forming organizations in Norway, such people develop or grow away from dictatorialness.' (p. 51, emphasis added)

That this attitude toward assimilation is prevalent even in official publications can be demonstrated with the help of another Norwegian example: *A Future Preserved* (Zarjevski, 1988) makes the following interpretation of an incident when a Ugandan Asian refugee in Norway abandoned his turban, and cut of the lock of hair which his religion demanded: 'He had realised that he must follow the narrow and difficult path of integration, at the end of which he would no longer be an exotic creature to be admired and pitied, but a man like all the others.' (p. 1) ●

Claus Larsen, student intern, RSP, 1992

Commentary On The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees

by Paul Weis

Foreword by Professor Sadako Ogata,
UN High Commissioner for Refugees

This book is an invaluable source of reference for specialists who need to know why the Convention took its present form, including original meanings of terms and discussions by UN representatives.

Paul Weis provides detailed coverage of the negotiating history of the Convention, article by article, which is unavailable in any of the existing texts.

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£3.00 - Europe; £5.00 elsewhere.)
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ASYLUM IN GREECE: LEGAL CHANGES AND VULNERABILITY OF REFUGEES

by Richard Black

Over the last five years, an average of 5,600 people have sought asylum in Greece each year according to official figures - a relatively small number in comparison with other European countries. Whilst elsewhere in Europe the number of asylum-seekers grew dramatically over this period, in Greece, the total fell from a peak of 7,930 in 1988 to 3,808 in 1991.

Recent changes in policy have sought to restrict still further the number of asylum seekers, and there have been procedural changes in the determination of refugee status. In part, this is in response to pressure from northern European states who are concerned that countries like Greece represent a 'soft underbelly' and make vulnerable the protective armour of the new 'Fortress Europe'. The Greek government has also been under domestic pressure to tackle illegal immigration, particularly the mass influxes from Albania since December 1990. The new foreigners law, aimed primarily at illegal immigrants, is, however, also likely to worsen conditions for asylum seekers and refugees in Greece.

Greek Refugee Policy in Context

The Greek population has perhaps more 'refugee experience' than that of any other member of the EC, considering historical flows of Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the population transfer between Greece and Turkey in 1924 and the exile of many Greeks after the country's civil war. Since 1989, tens of thousands of Pontian Greeks have arrived from the former Soviet Union; in 1990 alone, there were more than 20,000. They qualify for Greek citizenship on the basis of their Greek ethnicity and are the object of government and other aid efforts, receiving more attention than refugees.

Vis-a-vis arrivals of non Greeks, the long-standing policy goal is that Greece is not to be a country of 'permanent' settlement, but one of temporary asylum for refugees in transit. For example, in signing the Geneva Convention, Greece made a number of reservations which were designed to ensure individuals moved on as soon as possible. Refugees are given only temporary residence permits. In relation to the right to work, a reservation to Article 17 of the Convention grants only the same rights that are accorded to aliens in general: in practice, work permits (necessary for all foreigners), have rarely been granted to refugees.

Underlying this policy was an assumption that newcomers would be able to settle in third countries. The United States, Canada, and Australia operate immigration bureaux in Athens, which in 1990 resettled 2,927 people through the International Catholic Migration Commission

TABLE ONE: ASYLUM-SEEKERS IN EUROPE

Country	Asylum-Seekers 1991	National population (millions)	Asylum-seekers as % of national population
FR Germany	256,100	77.7	0.33
Sweden	27,300	8.4	0.33
Netherlands	21,600	14.6	0.15
France	46,800	55.2	0.08
Denmark	4,600	5.2	0.09
UK	44,700	56.6	0.08
Italy	31,400	57.2	0.05
Belgium	4,400	9.9	0.04
Greece	3,800	9.9	0.04
Spain	8,100	39.3	0.02

Source: USCR (1992); For Greece: UNHCR Branch Office.

(ICMC), World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Tolstoy Foundation. However, in 1991 many Eastern European nationals were excluded from resettlement programmes and the total resettled from Greece fell to just 1,208.

There is a procedure for registering refugees in Greece, but there have been problems in its operation. For example, prior to 1989, most asylum applications were not even considered by the Greek government, the major exception being refugees from Turkey. From January 1990, after pressure from UNHCR, the Ministry of Public Order (MPO) began to register and consider asylum applications from all countries. Two per cent of applicants were accepted by Greece as refugees in 1991. Still, a large number of asylum-seekers continue to be excluded from the official refugee status determination procedure.

Partly in response to asylum-seekers' lack of access to the Greek Government's refugee determination procedure, UNHCR set up a parallel procedure in Athens in 1984. A total of 33 per cent of asylum-seekers were accepted and given a Blue Card to indicate their protection under the UN Mandate in 1991. However, Blue Card refugees and other individuals 'of concern' to the UNHCR have no formal protection in Greek law: in practice, they fall into the category of 'illegal immigrants'.

Refugee Policy in Practice

In contrast with its formal policy, in practice Greece has been tolerant of refugees. Residence permits were issued for six months at a time for refugees, and were normally renewed until the refugee was granted a visa to travel to another country, or left on their own. Although refugees were not allowed to work and had no right to social services, in practice, with UNHCR assistance, most have been able to gain access to health and education services, and, for day-to-day survival, they rely on a small (and inadequate) monthly cash payment from UNHCR and/or

illegal employment to which the government generally turns a blind eye.

Recent changes both in the law and in administrative practice have significantly worsened the position of refugees: residence permits now are frequently not renewed, and instead, refugees are issued with notices to leave the country within 15 days. This has occurred even where Blue Card holders have already been accepted for resettlement by a third country, and are merely waiting for a visa to travel (a process which can take a month or more). Meanwhile, deportations of foreigners have become more frequent, as the government tries to take a tough line on illegal immigration. Deportations have primarily targeted the Albanian community: an estimated 71,000 Albanians were forcibly returned to their country during 1991.

In general, deportations have not affected those groups amongst which refugees are most heavily represented. In 1990 and 1991, for example, 80% of asylum-applicants were from the Middle East (mainly Iraq and Iran), see Table 2. Few deportations to the Middle East have occurred, although at least one Iranian with a Blue Card was deported to Tehran in April 1992. Nonetheless, even without the immediate threat of deportation, the lack of a residence permit makes life difficult, and certainly increases refugees' vulnerability to economic exploitation.

TABLE TWO: ASYLUM-SEEKERS IN GREECE, BY NATIONAL ORIGIN, 1987-1991

Region	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Eastern Europe	2,447	3,828	689	356	1,508
Middle East	2,815	2,255	2,343	4,598	1,903
Africa	1,440	1,258	971	318	213
Asia	229	589	201	221	184
TOTAL	6,931	7,930	4,215	5,502	3,808

Source: Applications to UNHCR for Blue Card, plus applications to Greek Ministry of Public Order by asylum-seekers from Turkey

There are obstacles for asylum-seekers entering Greece. Illegal entrants (who include many asylum-seekers) can be arrested and taken to court and a deportation order made without further reference to the Ministries of Public Order and Foreign Affairs, which are responsible for asylum claims. In addition, an increasing number of asylum seekers are being denied entry to the asylum determination procedure, by the Aliens Police who inform refugees that it is simply not possible for them to apply for asylum. The implementation of a new foreigners law in Greece, with specific provisions for refugees, for which administrative directives are being formulated at the time of writing, provides an important opportunity to improve the

legal conditions for refugees in Greece, bringing these more into line with other European countries. This might seem ironic, given the trend in Europe towards more restrictive asylum policies. However, the legal and practical insecurity of refugees highlighted in this article suggest that in this case a 'levelling up' is necessary. Whether this will occur, however, is another question. ●

This article is based on field work conducted by the author in Athens from March-May 1992, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (UK) grant no. ROOO 23 3199. A preliminary research report is available from the Department of Geography, King's College London, Strand, London WC2R 2LS.



REFUGEES: ASYLUM IN EUROPE? 1992

by Joly, D., Nettleton, C. and Poulton, H., published by the Minority Rights Group, UK. 176 pp.

This up-to-date new study provides a clear and thorough analysis of the historic and current factors affecting refugee flight, acceptance and settlement in eastern and western Europe. It covers international conventions and government legislation, the racist backlash against refugees and how individuals, organisations and governments can challenge these prejudices.

The book costs £8.95 (paperback) or £28.00 (hardback), plus 15% postage. It is available from:

The Minority Rights Group, 379 Brixton Road, London SW9 7DE, UK.

PATTERNS OF ETHNIC MIGRATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE LOCUS OF IDENTITY

by Efithia Voutira

This article is about ethnic identity in the Soviet Union and the process through which people are labelled as 'repatriots' or 'refugees'. These issues are discussed with reference to the Pontic Greeks, making use of the migrants' own narratives and conceptions of belonging. Issues of ethnic identity become notoriously complex when, as in this case, a group has been coercively deprived both of a common history and a common territory.

The experience of the Pontic Greek people in the Soviet Union today is unique among the ethnic groups of Asia Minor, and among Orthodox church groups. At the time of the forcible population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923, the international community prescribed movement westward to Greece. A third of the population, however, chose to flee East to the Caucasus. A lesion was created at the core of the community's collective memories as the Pontic people were split between Greece and the Soviet Union. Pontic Greeks in the Soviet Union today face another predicament, of whether to 'repatriate' to Greece. Although used by the migrants themselves and the Greek government, the term 'repatriation', is, strictly speaking, inaccurate, as the Pontians have never been to Greece, although they do share kinship and ideological ties with Greece that are currently being re-affirmed on different levels. The migrations of the Pontic Greeks take us from the Black Sea coast to the Caucasus, through the steppes of Kazakhstan to the flea-markets of Salonika and Athens. There are three ruptures in these peoples' cultural continuity, each one marking through the physical act of displacement and survival, a different cleavage in the community and a novel challenge to their tenacity and cultural resilience.

Phase I

The first displacement in the 1920s, drove the Pontic Greeks out of their historical homelands, and divided communities and kin across two borders, two states and two systems. In 1923, the new 'nation-state' of Greece solidified its fluid national borders with the outside while legitimising the cultural homogeneity of the groups on the inside. The Pontic Greek refugees who fled west by boat, donkey, or on foot, and who survived the refugee camps, malaria, typhoid and famine in Salonika, Volos or Athens, were integrated into the Modern Greek Ethnos within a generation.

The fate of the other group which followed the ideas of the Revolution and sought to negotiate its ethnic identity within another system was quite different. The Greeks in the Soviet Union structured their communities within the confines of the 3rd International: aiming to be 'nationalist in form and socialist in content'. Pontic Greek (an oral

dialect) was codified and taught in schools for the first time, and was reinforced by a booming publishing industry and cultural production. The violent collectivisation policy, however, abruptly altered the pattern of cultural development. As one Pontic remembered:

'Until 1928, we were in good shape. Then oppression started; if you refused to enter the kolhoz (collective) you were put to jail. Stalin divided the population into kulaks and poor peasants. If you had one cow and a pig you were a kulak...and you ended up in Siberia.'

The violence of collectivisation caused continuous migration from the Soviet Union to Greece through the early 1930's. By 1938, close to 150,000 Pontic Greeks had fled as asylum seekers to mainland Greece, leaving behind half a million relatives fighting for a definition of the Pontic Greek agrarian collective (*kolhoznik*).

Phase II

For the Pontic Greeks, the real period of terror started in 1938. It marked the beginning of four consecutive waves of exiles displaced by an order executed overnight and undersigned 'by decision of the USSR Government'. Whole communities were forcibly uprooted from the Caucasus, the Crimea and the Black Sea coast of Georgia and transplanted to Siberia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

'In 1938 they gathered all the Greeks from Kouban... First they took the priests then the teachers. We had many Greek communists even judges. They got everyone over 18. No one thought that they would be sent to Siberia. We thought they were to be sent to Greece since they were only Greeks. A policeman came and told them 'Leave, they will kill you.' No one believed him. I remember the day they took them, the guards on horses and the men on foot. They were taken 34 km on foot assembling people from all areas...From those who were exiled, one in a thousand came back.' (Interview with Y.P., 65 years old, from Kouban in Kazakhstan)

In 1949, the year that the 5 year development plan for Central Asia was afoot, it was time for Greeks of Abhazia and Adzaria.

'It was in June when they took us - at night the police came forcing us to leave with whatever we could carry...the kids or the blanket, we were put in trains and taken to the Pahtaral steppe. A different world, desert, cold and arid. Within a year we dug 183 graves, we were 400 in our collective farm (sovhoz). (Interview with C. Goniades)

Such accounts can be infinitely multiplied, as forcible removals were also experienced by the Crimean Tatars, the Chechens, the Ingushs, Balkars, Kalmuks, Karatchais, Volga Germans, Mehketian Turks, Bulgarians, Jews, Kurds, and Laz. This is not exceptional in the history of the Soviet Union, which has been characterised by the frequent transplantation of people from one area to another. Indeed,

until 1927, industrial development problems in the North and the Far East were resolved by recruiting labour from the South or the West.

In the 1930's, however, the character and quality of these mass movements across the union had changed radically. Tough political and economic sanctions tested against the peasants were transformed into a strategy of mass deportation which became one of many methods against the 'politically unreliable'. Those who were 'unreliable' were precisely these 'fluid ethnic groups', the people who did not, according to Orthodox Marxist theory, have a definite territory or class structure that would place them in the 'tribe to nation' evolutionary sequence. Unquestionably, the Soviet Union was, to use Raymond Aron's phrase, an authoritarian ideocracy where the self-selecting, power-monopolising party alone determined and regulated the limits of ideological distortion.

Phase III

The third phase, which marks the end of the old ideocracy, brings us to the present trend of Pontic Greek migrations this time newly accelerated from the Soviet Union to Greece. The pattern of this new 'repatriation' is varied over time and space. From Central Asia there is a stampede generated by the fear of Muslim nationalism and the breach of trust with respect to the state and/or 'market socialism'. In Kyrof (S. Uzbekistan), 3 families out of 260 remain, packing their containers for Greece. Kentay, a village in Western Kazakhstan that was called 'little Athens' because of its large Greek deportee population, has 12 families left. Displacement is permanent, sudden, and involves the breach of all ties.

As one moves westward, towards, Armenia, Georgia, and the Ukraine, there is a progressive diminution in the rate and degree of uprooting. Displacement appears to be temporary rather than final, individual rather than communal and piecemeal rather than radical. Obviously the conditions under which deliberation takes place and the final decision concerning displacement is made depend on how vulnerable people feel in the old land, how tied they are to it, and how threatened they are concerning future choices.

Another difference worth noting concerns the structure of each group's ethnic identity. The *non-deportee* Pontic Greeks migrating from Georgia, Armenia, Russia or Ukraine stand in a privileged position with respect to their past (and cultural rights); they can trace their cultural continuity in an unbroken line from Asia Minor and thus, claim their tradition on these grounds. The Central Asian deportee group, however, are unable to trace their past and establish a narrative order that would account for their cultural continuity with historic Pontos. They are, to use Aitmatov's insight into ethnic identity under socialism, people deprived of the basic right to a cultural memory (*mankyrť*). This helps us to understand the vulnerability of the group

in Central Asia.

Claims to any form of social identity involve processes common also to the activity of 'labelling'. We do not merely call people heroes, villains, rogues or vagrants; labels need a past to stick. The Pontic Greek refugees in this sense are more vulnerable because their cultural narrative has been broken and thus it can more easily be distorted.

The decision to repatriate is not simply based on the weighing up of relative wellbeing today, people speak about it in relation to their future and the aim of eradicating all previous negative historical experience.

'We are three generations of refugees,' an old woman from Kentay told me, 'We are leaving now so that our grandchildren may not need to be uprooted again.'

This is a different kind of coercion. ●

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References: Aitmatov, C. 1983, *The Day Lasts More than 100 Years*, Optima, MacDonald, UK.

RUSSIAN REFUGEES: THE VIEW FROM RUSSIA

Russians in the territories of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) outside Russia perceive their legal, social and economic situation to be extremely adverse. In part this is due to the absence of a law on refugees and migrants in Russia and the inadequate elaboration of this aspect of relations with other republics of the former USSR. Other factors have also been important, such as increasing tension between national groups, discriminative clauses in the new laws, and the infringement of economic interests of 'unindigenous' nationals in the new market economies of CIS states outside Russia. It is estimated that up to 2 million Russians have returned to Russia in the last two years. The proposed departure of units of the former Soviet Army to Russia from other territories of the CIS is may provoke an exodus of Russians and Russian speakers from those states. In absolute numbers, there are 7.5 - 15 million potential Russian refugees.

The attitude towards these refugees in the Russian community was the subject of research undertaken by the Centre for Humanitarian Studies, the Service of Public Opinion Studies of the Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences. 2,000 interviews were conducted in Moscow and in 17 regions.

Highlights from the Survey's Results

The survey results reveal that approximately half the respondents are sympathetic to Russian refugees. The most common interpretation of the causes of flight of the Russians was the negative attitude of indigenous populations and discriminative policies in the CIS (57% of interviewees gave this response). A significant proportion (25%) blamed the Government of Russia for inadequate protection of Russians in the CIS. The majority of respondents (60%) thought that Russians should struggle for their rights in the CIS states rather than migrating. A small percentage (11%) think that new nation-states for Russians should be created in areas with sizeable Russian populations. 17% of respondents think that emigration to Russia is the right alternative.

Full results of the survey and further details are available from: Sergei A. Nickolsky, Doctor of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences.

THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

In 1991, the former Yugoslavia disintegrated for the second time this century. The ideal of a single state to encompass multi-national republics and diverse and antagonistic historical experiences has collapsed into bitter conflict resulting in the displacement of 3 million people - the largest refugee flow in Europe since 1945. Europe's response to the forcible displacement of 3 million people in its midst is the theme of the following articles. In the first section, western Government and UNHCR responses to the conflict are detailed. Terence Duffy then describes the variety of ways in which local civic institutions have responded to the current conflict in Yugoslavia, focusing both on their work to resolve the many rifts which prolong the conflict, and their practical assistance to the displaced and refugees.

WESTERN GOVERNMENTS' RESPONSE

By JoAnn McGregor

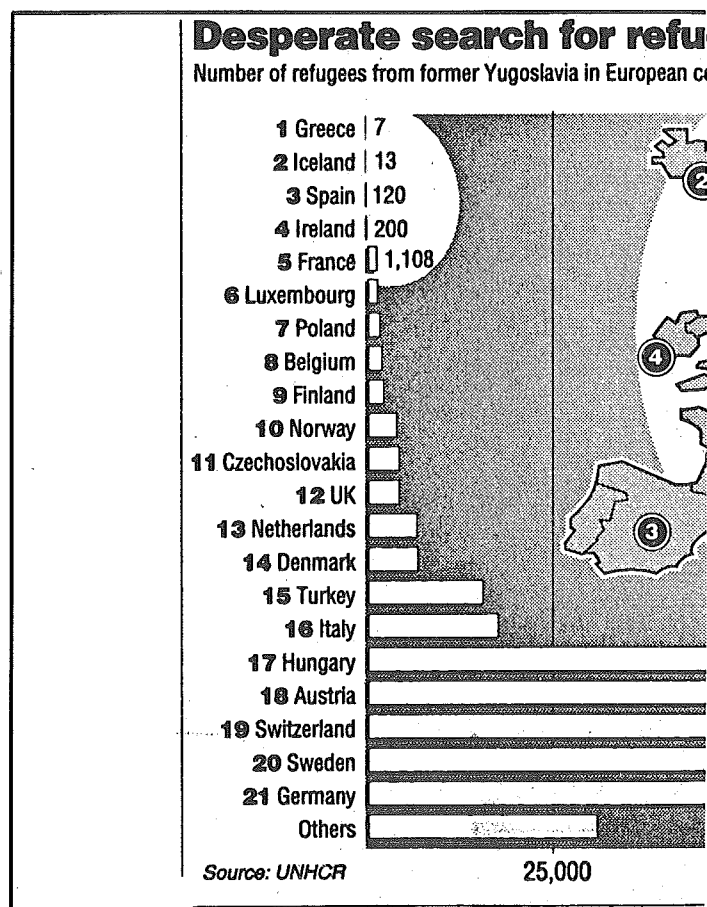
Western Europe's response to the conflict has been slow and contradictory. Interventions have always been a step behind. According to one analyst:

The West congratulated itself for brokering a ceasefire in Slovenia, just as the war shifted to Croatia. It then negotiated UN protection for Serbian enclaves in Croatia precisely when Belgrade unleashed its military might on Bosnia. Now, Europe and the US are discussing how to relieve the siege of Sarajevo while the war spreads further.

Jonathan Eyal, *The Guardian* 13.8.92.

The emphasis has been on the delivery of food aid and the take over of camps by the International Red Cross. Whilst Europe has paid lip service to non-aggression, aggressors are being allowed to achieve their territorial aims. For example, having laid out criteria for the recognition of new states such as guarantees for existing frontiers, respect for human rights and minority protection, Europe recognised Croatia's independence (due mainly to German pressure) when it did not fill these criteria, whilst it rejected Macedonia (on Greek insistence) which did fill the criteria.

With respect to refugees from the former Yugoslavia, one of the most marked features of the response of western governments has been the lack of burden sharing. Countries bordering on the former Yugoslavia have taken the huge bulk of the refugee influx. Only 6 states: Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Turkey and Sweden have taken more than 10,000 refugees each. Eleven other states in western Europe (Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and the United Kingdom) have permitted the entry of only 17,000 refugees between them (USCR 1992). Greece has only seven refugees from the former Yugoslavia, accord-



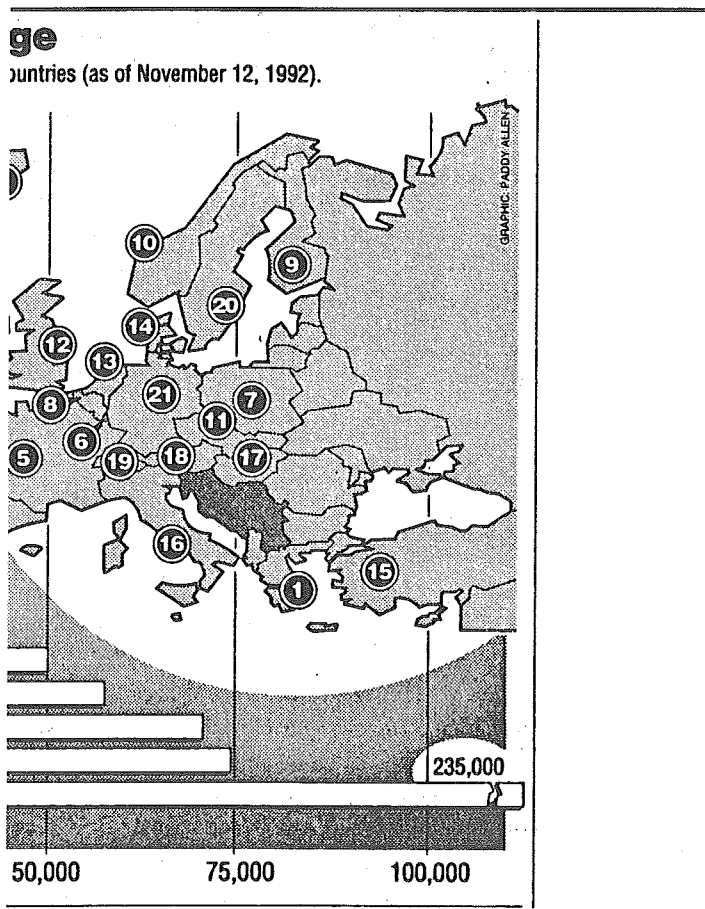
Refugees from the Former Yugoslavia in European Countries

ing to UNHCR. In October of this year, 5 states reported a decrease in the number of asylum seekers in comparison with the same period in previous years (France, Italy, Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK).

A German plan to establish quotas for other European Community (EC) countries to take some of its refugees (currently 235,000) was rejected after other countries pointed to a statement from the UNHCR that people fleeing a civil war should be accommodated as closely as possible to their original homes to allow speedy return. The recom-

recommendations of the EC ad hoc ministerial group on immigration have reinforced this argument.

Countries bordering on Yugoslavia have started closing their borders with the new states of the former Yugoslavia, whilst countries of potential asylum which are more remote are returning refugees to Yugoslavia's neighbours and transit countries. Countries to the north tried to keep refugees in the first asylum states further south, while first asylum countries attempted to push northward refugees



Source: The Guardian, November 18, 1992

who had already entered. In early 1992, Hungary and Austria have indicated that they might stop accepting refugees from Bosnia, prompting Croatia and Slovenia to stiffen their entry policies and turn away refugees at their borders (USCR 1992). In November Croatia closed its border to Bosnians. Only those with a 'letter of guarantee', essentially a financial sponsorship, are to be allowed to enter Croatia. In the letter, sponsors are required to indicate that they will provide for all of the refugees' needs while the refugees remain in Croatia.

Visas have also been used to restrict entry, and have been imposed on ex-Yugoslavs by many states, eg the UK, Finland and the Netherlands (although in the latter a new status of 'exile' introduced in July allows them to remain once they have entered). Several states have imposed different conditions on citizens of the different states of the former Republics: for example in Luxembourg, those who could not be returned to a country of first asylum received humanitarian status, but this is only renewed for persons from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Sweden Bosnians need visas whilst Slovenians and Croatians are returned to their country of origin. In France, applications are being dealt with by nationality rather than by citizenship, with applications by members of ethnic minorities, mixed couples or deserters/draft evaders being left pending.

It is the states of the former Yugoslavia which have taken the brunt of the burden. Slovenia (one of the least affected) has raised funds for refugee assistance from two days pay from its employed population, a special refugee tax, and voluntary donations (Kozul 1992). When the first group of 17,000 Croatian refugees arrived in Slovenia in September 1991, there was no legal framework for and no experience of financing and organising the settlement of refugees in Slovenia. The only refugee office in the former Yugoslavia (which operated at federal level) was in Belgrade, Serbia. The policy now being promoted by the new Slovenian Office for Immigration and Refugees is to build centres to house Bosnians within Bosnia and to restrict entry to Slovenia. In Croatia, the problems of dealing with the 700,000 refugees have been immense. In Serbia and Macedonia it is feared that the hardships imposed by economic sanctions may affect hospitality to refugees as the economy is increasingly stretched to cater for the hosts' needs. The approaching winter bodes ill for those refugees (approximately half) sheltering in public buildings rather than in private homes. ●

THE RECENT CONCEPT AND POLICY OF PREVENTIVE PROTECTION

By Gilbert Jaeger

The traditional approach of the High Commissioner and her Office (UNHCR) to refugee situations has been, in accordance with the Statute of the Office, to 'provide international protection' and to 'seek permanent solutions for the problem of refugees' ie to facilitate voluntary repatriation, integration in the country of first asylum or resettlement in a country of durable asylum. The duty of international protection has been first and foremost the promotion of the granting of asylum by States.

As a matter of course, UNHCR has been traditionally concerned with refugees, ie persons who have left (or have remained outside) their country for fear of being persecuted, and with persons in a refugee-like situation, particularly displaced persons, also outside their country.

Very recently, UNHCR has acted in at least two situations in a manner very different from - if not contrary to - this traditional approach. The development of this 'new approach' or 'new strategy' results from a convergence of events: the end of the Cold War, the United Nations action against the Iraqi regime in the Gulf area, the UN action linked with the internecine war in the former Yugoslavia, and the election in December 1990 of a new High Commissioner with considerable experience in the field of human rights, Mrs Sadako Ogata. The new strategy has been conceptualized by an internal UNHCR Working Group on International Protection and presented to governments in the 'Note on International Protection' submitted by the High Commissioner to her Executive Committee at its forty-third session, early in October 1992.

The Note is a rather concise paper and cannot be easily summed up without distorting its substance. Nevertheless, a few striking phrases and concepts may be singled out to illustrate the new thinking:

The competence of UNHCR would extend not only to war refugees and other externally displaced persons but also to 'persons displaced within their own country for refugee-like reasons' and even to 'other needy groups ... mixed inextricably with ... persons within the Office's competence'.

Concerning asylum, the new concept is called 'temporary protection'. This is obviously a pragmatic step. Confronted with the negative attitude of States towards the granting of durable asylum, UNHCR is looking for compromise solutions. However, the promotion of temporary protection weakens the principle of durable asylum.

The thrust of the new approach is 'UNHCR's role in the country of origin: Prevention', which consists of 'indirect prevention' and 'direct prevention'. Indirect prevention includes early-warning activities, 'supporting the peace-making and peace-keeping activities of the United Nations

Secretary-General', 'preventive measures in the areas of human rights promotion which could usefully be undertaken by the High Commissioner in the country of origin' as well as 'ongoing activities within the inter-agency framework to enhance understanding of the relationship between migration, refugee flows and development and environmental issues'.

Direct prevention includes 'the undertaking of specific activities inside countries of origin so that people do not feel compelled to cross borders in search of protection'. 'Such in-country protection might involve international monitoring of basic human rights and the physical safety of internally displaced persons, with follow-up action as appropriate.'

This is in sharp contrast to the statement made by the then High Commissioner at the *Consultations on the Arrivals of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Europe* held from 28 to 31 May 1985 in Geneva: 'This matter (examining root causes of refugee flows) is, however, one falling outside the High Commissioner's competence due to the purely humanitarian and non-political nature of his mandate.'

As regards solutions to refugee problems, the emphasis is on voluntary repatriation. While UNHCR reaffirms the classical positions and principles, it is also stated that 'Criteria for promotion and organization of large-scale repatriation must balance the protection needs of refugees against the political imperative towards resolving refugee problems' and 'Where return is part of a 'package', certain considerations additional to, or somewhat different from, those relating to voluntary repatriation might have to be considered. In particular, the relative weights of voluntariness of return and guarantees of safety upon return may need to be measured one against the other'. Also here, the compromise between principles and *Realpolitik* is perceptible and disquieting.

Preventive protection requires the consent of the government concerned or, in exceptional circumstances, the possibility to interfere legitimately under the authority of the Secretary-General of the Security Council. It is likely that when the High Commissioner considers it necessary and possible, she will try and overcome the resistance of States to consent to in-country protection, and will do so within the framework of the new policy of co-operation with the Secretary-General, the Security Council and in particular with the Commission on Human Rights. As mentioned, the present High Commissioner has close ties with the human rights activities of the United Nations.

Obviously, not all (potential) refugee situations lend themselves to the new strategy. UNHCR will pursue its traditional approach in many countries, particularly where individual asylum seekers or small groups are concerned. However, as the asylum principle is being eroded and the

door opened for 'temporary protection', developments should be watched very carefully by all those who are interested in the protection of asylum seekers and refugees.

Preventing displacement is an ambitious endeavour and a desirable target. However, can the presence of a small UNHCR team - admittedly together with the presence of UN protection forces - contribute to restraining armed conflict? Can it stop ethnic cleansing or will UNHCR and the UN protection force continue to be blackmailed into moving victims of ethnic cleansing?

If applied in a developing country, in-country protection may entail the reduction of economic and social disparities, obvious causes of low human rights standards and root causes of refugee flows. This is very clearly being referred to in the Note.

Preventive protection will require both staff and money. Material resources can be found, although the immediate limit of the new strategy will be the readiness of States to provide very substantial additional funds to UNHCR and associated agencies. The approval of the new strategy by the Member States of the Executive Committee is an important personal and diplomatic success for Mrs Ogata but not a guarantee that funds will be forthcoming.

An equally important and more difficult aspect is the availability of human resources. The staff of UNHCR has not been trained for in-country protection and the same may be said of other UN agencies or of NGOs.

Whatever the case may be, a border has been crossed. Refugee protection will not be the same as heretofore. ●

From a lecture by Gilbert Jaeger, former Director of Protection, UNHCR, at an international refugee law seminar, Refugee Studies Programme, November 1992. The 'Note on International Protection' (document A/AC.96/799) is available from UNHCR.

Recent Publications: On the Responses to Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia

- * Cviic, C. 1991. *Remaking the Balkans*, 1991 Royal Institute for International Affairs, Pinter Publishers, London.
- * ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights, August 1992, 'Report on the Situation of Human Rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia'.
- * ECRE, October 1992. 'Country Reports on Refugee and Asylum Policy in European States, European Consultation on Refugees and Exiles'.
- * Kozul, B. K. 1992. 'Report on Refugee Issues in Slovenia'. Refugee Studies Programme, October 1992.
- * United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Programme

of Action and Appeal for Former Yugoslavia, September 1992.

* UNHCR, August 1992. 'Inter-Agency Assessment Mission to Former Yugoslavia'.

* USCR, October 1992. *Croatia's Crucible: Providing Asylum for Refugees from Bosnia and Hercegovina*, US Committee for Refugees. Report of a fact-finding mission to Croatia. Available from: USCR, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW, Suite 920, Washington, DC 20005.

* USCR, February 1992. *Yugoslavia Torn Asunder: Lessons for Protecting Refugees from Civil War*, US Committee for Refugees.



Source: TBC/Mladina magazine, Slovenia, September, 1992

NEWS GROUP ON FORCED MIGRATION

The Refugee Studies Programme is proposing to create a news group on forced migration. This new unmoderated news group aims to encourage greater exchange of information and to promote discussion on the problems of refugees and victims of forced migration/involuntary settlement, including those displaced by development projects which lead to their forcible uprooting.

This network (USENET or NETNEWS) is available to all E-mail users worldwide and is free of charge to users affiliated to academic institutions.

For further information, please contact:- the Librarian, Documentation Centre, Refugee Studies Programme, 21 St. Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA.

E-mail: Hbond@UK.AC.OXFORD.VAX

INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE PEACE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. CONFRONTING A 'HATE CULTURE'.

By Terence Duffy

Fighting continues to rage in the embattled enclaves of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The international response to the war has received widespread coverage, yet a host of largely unreported initiatives are also being undertaken at local level. Outside the immediate war zone, there is a will among refugee and host communities to resolve the conflict. Attempts are being made to create a climate conducive to peacemaking and by this means to prepare for the process of reconstruction and the creation of civil society. Measures such as these which aim to encourage a 'reconciliation culture' in the war-torn communities of former Yugoslavia are important in that they constitute at least a partial antidote to the 'hate culture' which currently prevails. They also work towards tolerance at the local level, which is important also in a broader regional context.

Local Reconciliation Ventures

In the past year a number of local 'reconciliation ventures' have been initiated in response to growing enmity in Croatia and Slovenia. In October 1991 the second **Symposium on 'Non-Violent Conflict Resolution in Yugoslavia'** was held in Ljubljana (Slovenia) to analyse the ethnic conflict between Croats, Serbs and Montenegrins. The Symposium was held under the aegis of the Peace Institute which is directed by Marko Hren. Papers from the Conference are included in *Yugoslavia War*, edited by Tonci Kuzmanic and Arno Truger, published by the Austrian Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution and Peace Institute, Slovenia, Ljubljana, 1992. In the past two years a Consortium which includes the **Peace Institute in Ljubljana** and the **Institute for European Studies in Belgrade** has been exploring the dynamics of social and political upheaval (the work of the Consortium is discussed in *Yugoslavia War*).

These conferences have demonstrated the wide platform on which reconciliation efforts rest. Indeed peace groups have proliferated. To facilitate coordination between these groups, a network was formed in Ljubljana, associated with the **Movement for the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence**. The activities of this peace network have been documented in *The Intruder*, mouthpiece of peace efforts in Slovenia.

At the same time in Croatia, various groups have been promoting understanding between refugees and hosts. These include local contacts of War Resisters International, as well as the Anti-war Centre in Zagreb, and the Peace Centre in Subotica.

Efforts have also been made in Bosnia-Herzegovina which until recently possessed an active **Centre for Peace** and an **Association of Free Thought**, both in Sarajevo. There was also a **Centre for Human Rights and Peace** at Banja Luka. Some of the groundwork to tackle the deepening 'culture of hate', had therefore already been done.

Conflict Resolution Workshops

One of most ambitious conflict resolution initiatives launched to date was a series of three workshops held in Subotica, Ljubljana and Zagreb between March 21-29, 1992. The local facilitators included prominent peace activists in these cities. Sessions were facilitated by the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, an affiliate of Harvard Medical School. The participants included peace activists, psychologists and volunteers working on long-term assignments with Croatian refugees, a good number of whom came from conflict zones such as Osijek in eastern Croatia. There was no expectation that such workshops would alleviate the sense of hate and ethnic bitterness which accompany a protracted conflict. The emphasis instead was on assisting the participants to better understand the positions of those they regarded as 'the enemy' and to begin to move beyond the stereotypes that feed the conflict. There are now hopes to establish a trainers network. The resulting potential for the rapid dissemination of skills in conflict resolution is considerable.

The Response to Refugees in Slovenia

The new Slovenian Government has drafted a national refugee law in line with UNHCR recommendations, and US\$ 145,600 have been received in international aid. However, Government estimates of the cost of shelter and other assistance for refugees from Croatia amounted to US\$ 4 million alone. Shortage of funding is one of the main restrictions on activities, and the work of international agencies depends on Government and local authority support.

The **Slovenian Red Cross** has a network of 63 local branches throughout Slovenia which were quickly and effectively activated. However, Red Cross principles are not widely known, and there was little respect for the Red Cross emblem when short-lived violence came to Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Refugee/Host Relations and Mediation

Among the most innovative of the locally based organisations, is the work of **MOST**, the former Voluntary Service Slovenia (which can be contacted through the Peace Institute, Mestni trg 13, 61000 Ljubljana, Slovenia). **MOST**, a non-governmental organisation, does not attempt to espouse an overall solution to the conflict but rather organises voluntary groups to assist in the Croatian refugee camps in Ljubljana and promotes workshops which try to tackle the sectarianism which prevails among the population. It has planned non-violent conflict resolution training and works to raise awareness to counter media propaganda in Croatia and Serbia.

MOST is currently tackling the problem of accommodating rising numbers of Croatian refugees and the friction their presence has created among the local host population. As

the war escalated in Croatia, Slovenia was seen as a place of refuge because of its proximity and similarity of language. Tensions have arisen near the reception centres in Ljubljana: the Slovenian population are angry that Croatian refugees are provided (at Slovenian expense) with what they perceive as 'good living standards without having to work'. The Croats on the other hand feel discriminated against because they are unable to find employment. By probing the roots of historic prejudice, MOST hopes that through its work, violence can be discouraged.

UNHCR Slovenia has a series of volunteer-assisted discussion groups working with refugee women. The aim of this work is to try to help refugees deal with the psycho-social and physical problems they experience as refugees. They endeavour to offer comfort and hope to shattered communities whose re-constitution as neighbourhoods is a far-off dream. This will also encourage the necessary evaluation of historical experience when the immediate problems accompanying refugee life become less pressing. This means tackling the issues which sustain bitterness and hate among both hosts and the displaced. When humanitarian pressures abate it is hoped that the fundamentals of a reconciliation culture will survive. ●

Terence Duffy is Senior Course Tutor for Peace Studies, University of Ulster, Magee College, Londonderry BT48 7JL, Northern Ireland.

RESEARCH TO DEVELOP AND ENHANCE REFUGEE SERVICES IN SLOVENIA

This research aims to strengthen local institutions in Slovenia, forming a basis for developing curricula and teaching resources within the School for Social Work, at the University of Ljubljana, and benefitting NGOs providing services to refugees.

The study will address the needs of refugees (including their psycho-social needs), the experiences of other countries in trying to meet these needs and the present context of refugee assistance in Slovenia.

For further information, please contact:-
**Ms Gordana Flaker, Ms Radmilla Parlic and
Ms Susan Grove at the Refugee Studies Programme:
Queen Elizabeth House,
21 St. Giles,
Oxford OX1 3LA
Tel: (0865) 270722**

ORGANISATIONS AND INITIATIVES

Association of Preventive and Voluntary Work (APVW)

APVW was formed in 1991 overnight, when Croatian refugees arrived in Slovenia. It is a civic organisation which coordinates refugee relief. They started with an initial 60 students, but the response to their request for volunteers was massive. Unemployed people are also recruited and receive pocket money. The organisation was not initially welcomed by the government although some financial support is now received from the state. They provide social, educational and cultural activities in refugee community centres and a propose to set up a centre for refugee counselling and a network for refugees.

For further information, contact: Ms Gorana Flaker, APVW, 61000 Ljubljana, Linhartova 13, Slovenia

Special Parliamentary Working Groups on Refugee Issues

Started on individual rather than government initiative, this group plays the role of a parliamentary 'watchdog' on refugee issues. The group formed because the government did not have a refugee policy. They work directly with government, issues of refugee living conditions and border crossing have been a particular focus of their activities. Project: strategies for supporting national cross cultural tolerance, public opinion and information distribution methods.

For further information, contact: Metka Mencin, MP, 61001 Ljubljana, Subiceva 4, Slovenia

The Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (HCA) is a standing conference of individuals and citizens' groups from the 35 nations of the Helsinki process on security and cooperation in Europe. Its founding conference, held in October 1990, was opened by Vaclav Havel, former President of Czechoslovakia, and attended by 700 delegates from international civil and political society. The Helsinki Citizens' Assembly sees civil society as a tool for the democratic integration of Europe and for the peaceful and constructive resolution of conflict. It has 6 permanent working Commissions: on peace and demilitarisation, the economy and ecology, human rights, nationalism and federalism, European institutions and women's issues. The HCA has an International Coordinating Committee composed of delegates from all participating countries, convenors of the 6 Commissions and representatives of international organisations. The HCA is a network of politicians, academics, and activists working for the democratic integration of Europe. The HCA has a quarterly newsletter.

For further information, please contact: HCA Secretariat, Panska 7, Prague 1, 11669 CSFR

ICVA Task Force on Yugoslavia

This task force exists to provide a focal point for NGO activity in the former Yugoslavia. Since July, a clearing house of information on NGO members' activities relating to former Yugoslavia has been developed to promote information sharing and in the interests of coordination. The Coordinator has represented ICVA at the UNHCR convened International Meeting on former Yugoslavia in July and at subsequent follow up committee meetings and at the special session of the UN Commission on Human Rights on the situation in former Yugoslavia in August, presenting ICVA statements. An electronic bulletin board will shortly come into operation.

For further information, contact: ICVA, Case Postale 216, Geneva 21, Switzerland.

UNHCR/UNICEF JOINT STATEMENT ON THE EVACUATION OF CHILDREN FROM FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Well meaning efforts to evacuate children from conflict areas continue to be made by Governments and non-governmental organisations, particularly from the town of Sarajevo. These actions can, however, be detrimental to the child's welfare. When any action affecting children is being contemplated, all parties must be guided by concern for 'the best interest of the child', in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Art 3 para 1). To this end, UNHCR and UNICEF present the following key considerations in contemplating the evacuation of children (13th August, 1992).

Numbers Involved: There are more than 60,000 children under six years of age in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 281,000 of whom are in besieged cities, including 80,000 in Sarajevo. Given these numbers, it is clear that all children cannot be evacuated. Any evacuation which selects some children over others should not be done in such a way as to exacerbate ethnic tensions and conflict, and should be based on clear criteria.

Evacuation from Sarajevo by Airlift: The primary mission of the airlift is to bring desperately needed food and relief into Sarajevo for the besieged population. Furthermore, the journey between the city and the airport is insecure. In light of the security situation and in an effort to maintain the fragile airlift operation, UNPROFOR and UNHCR have delineated a policy stating that: only those persons whose medical situation is life-threatening and who cannot be treated with the facilities available in Sarajevo should be considered for evacuation by the airlift. Procedural guidelines for evacuation by airlift of such medical referral cases, including children, have been developed in consultation with WHO, UNICEF and ICRC.

Evacuation in General: Several factors indicate that evacuation is not the most appropriate solution. In fact, evaluations of past evacuations have shown that evacuation is often more harmful than helpful to the children involved. These are some of the reasons:

* The trauma of being separated from the family is often greater than the trauma of remaining with the family in an area affected by hostilities and conflict.

* Initiatives for evacuation frequently come from evacuation organisers rather than from parents, as the parent's emotional stress may result in decisions which might not otherwise have been taken otherwise.

* Evacuation of children is commonly conceived primarily as a logistical operation and may not necessarily be carried out by groups that have a proven record in child welfare.

* There is great risk that the situation of the child will not be adequately documented and monitored, particularly where large numbers are involved and resources are lacking. Children may become 'lost' without the possibility of eventual return to their families.

* The length of separation is usually much longer than expected and may cause family members to be estranged, or ethnic and cultural identity to be lost.

* Where displacement and ethnic relocation are goals of the hostilities, there may be pressure to evacuate children for this purpose.

* Unexpected political complications may prejudice the outcome of evacuations. Whether the children are invited into a country, and when and if they return may become political issues, particularly where proper groundwork has not been done.

Guiding Considerations

Family Unity: No child should be moved without his/her primary caretaker. Respect for family unity is a guiding principle, clearly stated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Every effort must be made to ensure that the family unit remains intact and the child is not separated from the family.

Unaccompanied Children: Every effort should be made to trace the parents or other close relatives of unaccompanied minors before evacuation is considered. Unaccompanied minors are children who are separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult who has responsibility to do so.

Adoption: Adoption should be carried out in accordance with Article 21 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Adoption should not be considered if a) there is hope of successfully tracing the parents, or evidence that the parents are still alive, b) it is against the expressed wishes of the child or the parent, or c) unless a reasonable time (at least two years) has passed to allow for tracing information to be gathered. It is better for children to stay with relatives in extended family units than for them to be uprooted completely.

Orphans: Special attention should be given to children occupying orphanages before the outbreak of hostilities and who can be clearly documented as orphans. Thorough assessment of the status of these children is very important and very difficult. Recent incidents have shown that children believed to be orphans turned out to have parents. Many unaccompanied children have living parents or close relatives with whom they may one day be reunited. If the status of a child who may be an orphan cannot be clearly documented, there is a risk of creating further problems of family reunification and tracing across country borders after hostilities have ended.

To be Clarified Before any Evacuation of a Child

a) Conditions of release and custody placement (identity of the child, documentation, family history, issuance and preservation of records)

b) Conditions of admission and care in the receiving country, including all financial and legal responsibilities.

c) Measures to ensure/preserve relationships and communication with a child's original family or caretaker.

d) Provisions for family reunion in the context of resettlement or repatriation.

Conclusion: Unless the above factors are carefully considered and implemented, UNHCR and UNICEF can not endorse evacuations and cannot request or advise governments or NGOs to evacuate children. UNHCR/UNICEF with the other humanitarian agencies on the ground, will continue to do everything possible to improve medical and social conditions locally, so that the safety and integrity of the child is preserved within his or her family and community.

RELIEF PACKAGES IN YUGOSLAVIA AND MALAWI

November 1992

YUGOSLAVIA

UNHCR Food Parcel

A food parcel for 1 person per month consists of:

* Wheat flour	2.7 kgs
* Rice	0.2 kg
* Whole milk powder	0.2 kg
* Oil	0.8 kg
* Canned Beef	0.6 kg
* Canned fish	0.4 kg
* Cheese	0.2 kg
* Sugar	0.4 kg
* Soap	0.2 kg
* Detergent	0.6 kg

The Red Cross family food parcel includes basic food stuffs listed above and tea, jam and dried beans or peas.

Red Cross family hygiene parcels include washing powder, soap, toothpaste, toothbrushes, shaving foam, razors, shampoo, condoms, tampons, tissues and toilet paper.

Red Cross baby parcel includes washable diapers, detergent, baby shampoo, baby bath soap, and baby cream.

MALAWI

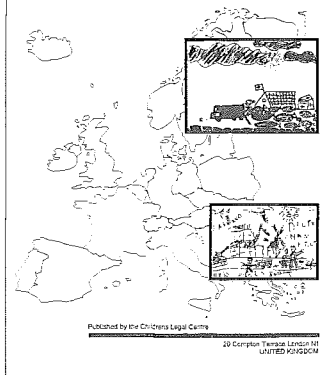
SCF rations per person per month are:

- * 12.0 kg maize flour
- * 1.2 kg pulses
- * 0.6 kg groundnuts
- * 0.6 kg sugar
- * 0.45 kg oil
- * 0.15 kg salt

The Red Cross rations per person per month include the same package of maize, pulses, groundnuts, sugar and salt.

Children or Refugees?

A survey of West European policies on unaccompanied refugee children.



This publication details the results of a survey on politics related to unaccompanied children in 14 European countries. The main focus is on the asylum procedure and child protection measures during this procedure. The publication also examines the effects on unaccompanied children of

international and EC developments on asylum on. The report draws attention to the diversity of policies within the EC and western Europe as a whole and points to examples of positive policy as well as to areas where the rights and needs of unaccompanied refugee children are inadequately met or under threat.

The 72-page report is available from: The Children's Legal Centre, 20 Compton Terrace, London N12UN.

This new Child-to-Child publication is designed as a handbook for people working with children living in refugee camps or camps for displaced people.

Child-to-Child and children living in camps



A Child-to-Child Publication



edited by Clare Hanbury

There are three sections:

***section 1** is an introduction to the Child-to-Child approach to health education.

***section 2** contains information and activities on ten different health topics such as hygiene, malaria and immunisation.

***section 3** looks at 'special needs' such as helping children who have experienced war, disaster or conflict.

It is available from:

Teaching Aids At Low Cost (TALC),
Box 49, St Albans, Herts, AL1 4AX, UK
and from:

Child-to-Child Trust, Institute of Education,
20 Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL, UK
Tel: (071) 612 6647 / Fax: (071) 612 6645

THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

DEPORTATIONS FROM THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP

By Ali Naouq

In 1967, 16,000 Palestinians were deported from the Occupied Territories, half from Gaza to Egypt and the other half from the West Bank to Jordan. Since then, Israel has continued this practice: more than 419 Palestinian civilians have been deported from Gaza Strip and 1,140 from the West Bank from December 1992. On the 16th December 1992 a group of 415 were dumped in Israel's 'security zone' in South Lebanon. The basis for these deportations, according to Israel, is the Defence (Emergency) Regulation enacted by the British Mandatory authorities in Palestine in 1945. According to Article 112 (A) of this Regulation, 'The General Military Commander has the right to issue a command signed by him to oblige any person to leave Palestine and to stay outside Palestine'.

This regulation, however, should no longer be binding and, in addition, the deportations are in breach of international law. With respect to the first point, two current laws abrogate the Emergency Regulation of 1945. Article 112 of the Defence (Emergency) Regulation was abrogated in 1955 by the Egyptian authorities, during their rule of the Gaza Strip from 1948-1967. Law number 255 of 1955, entitled, 'The Basic Law for Gaza Strip' guarantees freedom of residence and movement in Article 3. The temporary constitution issued by the Egyptian authorities in March 1962 makes similar guarantees in Article 10. In the West Bank, where resident Palestinians hold Jordanian nationality, the situation is the same. Jordanian authorities made effective the abrogation of the 1945 Emergency Regulation by the Jordanian Constitution, Article 9 of which proclaims clearly 'it is not permitted to deport any Jordanians from the lands of the Kingdom'.

International Law

International law forbids the deportation of civilians from occupied territories. Article 49 of the Geneva Convention of 1949, relating to protection of civilian persons in time of war, forbids deportations. It reads: 'Individual or mass forcible transfers as well as deportation of protected persons from the Occupied Territory to the territory of the occupying power or to that of any other country occupied or not, are prohibited regardless of their motive'. Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says, 'No one shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile'. The United Nations Security Council has condemned the

Israeli practice of deporting Palestinians. At the beginning of the Intifada in 1988 when Israel deported civilians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the security council adopted Resolution number 607 on January 5th, calls on Israel to stop deportations:

'Recalling its resolution 605 (1987), of 22nd December 1987, expressing grave concern over the situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; having been apprised of the decision of Israel, the occupied power, to continue the deportation of Palestinian civilians in the Occupied Territories; recalling the Geneva Convention to the protection of civilian people in the time of war of 12 August 1949 and in particular article 47 and 49 of the same; (1) reaffirms once again that the Geneva Convention in time of war of 12 August 1949 is applicable to Palestinians and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967 including Jerusalem; (2) calls upon Israel to refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilians from the Occupied Territories; (3) Strongly requests Israel, the occupying power, to abide by its obligations arising from the Convention; (4) Decides to keep the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review.'

Despite these resolutions, Israel has continued deportations in the last three years.

Practical Implementation

With the exception of the last deportation, the procedure is as follows:

1. The authorities send the deportee an order signed by the Regional Commander, stating that the deportation is necessary to safeguard public security and safety, and that the Regional Commander orders the deportation by his own authority and under Article 112 (1) of the 1945 Defence Regulation (Emergency).
2. The deportee has the right to appeal against this command within 48 hours to a military committee (the committee is appointed by the commander himself). After hearing the appeal the committee gives its recommendation to the commander. Its conclusions are only advisory.
3. The committee consists of three judges. One of them, the president, must be a legal judge. All three judges must be officers of the Israeli Defence Force.
4. Two types of evidence are considered at the Appeal Hearing - one is announced and the second is secret. The hearing begins by the committee handing the deportee or his/her lawyer a written sheet (the 'announced material') which contains general allegations, for example, about the deportee's involvement in hostile action. This material is not detailed, it contains no names of witnesses and no mention of any specific incident. Secondly the secret evidence is passed to the committee *in camera*. It is submitted in the absence of the deportee and his/her lawyer,

because the public announcement of such material could reveal a security forces source. The deportee and his/her lawyer cannot see this material under any circumstances.

5. The deportee can call witnesses on their behalf, but such a request is usually refused by the committee.

6. After the hearing, the committee produces its recommendation to the Regional Commander. The military committee usually approves the Commander's decision.

7. If the committee approves the command, the deportee has the right to appeal to the Supreme Court of Justice within 48 hours of the announcement, submitting the committee recommendation.

8. When the Supreme Court approves the recommendation of the military committee the authorities proceed with the deportation - usually to South Lebanon because no other state is ready to receive the deportees. ●

Ali Naouq, Advocate, Gaza Strip

This article was written before the latest mass deportation of refugees in December 1992. These differ from the previous incidents described above both in their scale, and in Israel's attempt to avoid the procedure for appeal to a military review board in the first instance, and later, to the High Court. In addition, Lebanon has been unwilling to allow the deportees to enter.

Research Reports

SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF PALESTINIAN AGRICULTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF REFUGEES AND CAMP POPULATIONS

is a report prepared by the Refugee Studies Programme for the Society for Austro-Arab relations in August 1992.

This 60 page study examines the role of Palestinian (including women) refugees and camp populations in agriculture in the West Bank and Gaza, and their participation in the agricultural labour force in Israel, in relation to property rights and priorities for land use, especially in Gaza. The overall aim of the studies with which this report is associated was to examine the potential for absorbing landless, unemployed refugees into an expanded agricultural sector. (*Available from RSP, address on page 2*).

THE SCHOOL CLOSURE IMPACT ON PALESTINIAN CHILDREN by Yousef Abu-Samra, Assistant Professor, Birzeit University, Box 14, Occupied West Bank, Palestine, 1992.

This 4-page report details the impact of the closure of schools and universities in the Occupied Territories, and the disruption of other educational initiatives such as take-home packages prepared by teachers and other informal schools in mosques, homes and churches.

EVALUATION OF WOMEN'S INCOME-GENERATING PROJECTS IN THE GAZA STRIP

Sponsored by Save the Children and Shu'un il Mar'a, Gaza, July 1992

The last ten years have seen a dramatic increase in the number of women's income-generating projects (IGPs) in the Occupied Territories, particularly those which take the form of collective businesses run by women's groups and committees. The intifada and growing unemployment resulting from restrictions on Palestinians working in Israel have provided a stimulus for these projects. Also important have been the need for women to take over family businesses after the arrest or killing of their husbands and the boycott of Israeli products.

These IGPs face a wide range of problems and up to 80% fail altogether shortly after their initiation. Whilst some problems in the Gaza strip lie outside the control of project participants, many others could be solved. To this end a team of 13 women involved in women-run businesses undertook a two-week evaluation of women's IGPs in Gaza, organized jointly by Shu'un il Mar'a and Save the Children (SCF). The aim was to facilitate problem recognition, to discuss and begin to solve the problems identified. Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) methods were used and participants with different experiences and educational backgrounds took part in all aspects of the evaluation, from the design of the research plan, to the collection and analysis of the information, to making recommendations. Here RPN presents some of their findings, most of which have broader relevance to projects outside Gaza.

Findings

1. Conflicting objectives

Individuals and groups involved in women's income generating projects tend to have different, and sometimes conflicting objectives. The evaluation team assumed that IGPs, almost by definition must be financially sustainable to succeed. Interestingly this view was not shared by all. *Managers and supervisors* commonly held that the social dimension of women's productive projects should take priority over economic success. *Committee supervisors* on the other hand, emphasised social and political achieve-

ments such as increasing the number of members or promoting the political aims of the committee. Supervisors often work on committee activities in addition to the IGP and usually receive a fixed salary unrelated to the IGP and its profitability. In sharp contrast was the view of the *workers*, for whom obtaining an income was the priority, especially in view of conflicting domestic duties. *Donors'* objectives were varied: to create jobs for women, and to improve their income and social status; to provide the committee with a source of income which allows it to become more self-sustaining; to cover running costs of other charitable activities; and to promote innovative products.

These different objectives lead to misunderstanding and conflict, especially when they are not expressed or discussed openly. Strategic planning sessions would help ensure the development of a more coherent set of objectives and common vision.

If a group decides to focus on the social and political rather than the economic dimensions of a project, workers would have to be volunteers or subsidies would be needed to cover salaries. Further financial support would have to be raised for materials and transportation, and responsibility for any financial losses incurred would need to be clarified. If the committee's objective is to create jobs, non-productive projects such as preschools and training centres are an alternative to IGPs. However, such projects are less attractive to donors and offer less opportunity to advertise committee activities than do productive projects.

2. Planning and Administration

Productive women's group projects are generally too complex and employ too many workers given the level of investment and the planning and administrative skills of those who operate them. While those we interviewed had a great deal of commitment, intelligence and education, few of the women had experience of managing a private business. Management was usually hierarchical, with the women at the top having little knowledge of the production process while making all the decisions related to product development, marketing and fundraising.

3. Production Process

Although few problems were found in individual stages of the production process, weaknesses were apparent between the steps of the cycle, as there was rarely someone in charge who had enough time to coordinate the whole process. Marketing is consistently identified as the major problem for IGPs and this is also true for those in Gaza. During the evaluation it became obvious that marketing problems stemmed less from the problems of a small and inaccessible market, but rather from other managerial problems such as the lack of a marketing strategy based on accepted marketing principles. Marketing was usually done on an ad hoc basis. Feasibility studies of profitability (including a projected profit-and-loss account, cash flow, breakdown analysis and market study) had often not been carried out.

The goal of increasing women's employment has led women's organizations to focus on productive, rather than commercial, projects. Yet the marketing analysis for these projects concentrates on the final customer rather than the 'middle people' who would actually purchase the products.

4. Supervision and Monitoring

Poor monitoring and supervision also limit the progress of IGPs. Women chosen to supervise projects rarely had the required skills in management, finance, marketing and advertising and had sometimes been appointed for political reasons or for convenience. Organizational support through clear and consistent policies and procedures was largely lacking. Few of the projects had an organizational chart, job descriptions or written contracts, so there was no clear way of anticipating or identifying problems. Workers and supervisors rarely solved problems as a team.

None of the projects evaluated had complete and accurate financial information. All projects kept some records, but these were inadequate for the easy construction of a profit-and-loss account or balance sheet. Neither workers nor supervisory staff had the skills to construct these basic financial records

5. Financial Issues and Profitability

Low priority was given to financial matters. Workers' wages were considered to be a fixed project cost rather than a variable cost related to production. Despite this, most projects had failed to provide the workers with a stable and reliable source of income. Before funding any women's income-generating projects, donors should ascertain whether the women have the necessary skills (technical and managerial) to run the project successfully. If this is not the case, donors should consider providing training or fund non-productive projects instead, which are also easier to manage.

Participants in the evaluation were: *Amal Abu Daqqa, Amal El-Sabawi, Amna El-Jayyar, Heather M. Grady, Husun Sakalla, latimad Muhanna, Jamalal El-Kafarna, Joachim Theis, Maysoon Louzon, Muna Sarraf, Nuha Beheisi, Rida Khalafalla, Sabah Abu Irmana, Sakwa El-Tibi, Susan Abu Daqqa*

A full report is available from: SCF, P.O.Box 20243, East Jerusalem via Israel. £2.00.

Gender in Crisis.

Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement
by Peteet, J. 1991. Columbia University Press, New York. \$43.50.

Shatila camp on the southwestern fringes of Beirut, was the principal site for this ethnography of Palestinian women exiles in Lebanon since 1948. Research for this book was carried out in the early 1980s, when the Palestinian population in Lebanon was one of the largest and most politically influential communities living outside historic Palestine.

The book sketches a portrait of 'ordinary' camp women (workers, students and housewives), and politically active Palestinian women in Lebanon: the emergence of their political consciousness and its relation to feminist consciousness, how and what political activism implies for concepts of gender and gender relations.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL ISSUES IN COMMUNITY WORK: PRACTITIONERS' NETWORK

RECENT INITIATIVES & PUBLICATIONS

DISASTER RESEARCH UNIT (DRU)

The University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Mb, R3T 2N2

The Disaster Research Unit at the University of Manitoba, was established in May, 1990. Its aim is to address the need to respond more effectively to disasters and emergencies. Rather than examine the causes of disasters, (whether geophysical, geomorphic or climatological processes or conflict induced events), DRU has chosen instead to focus upon the human and socio-economic impacts that are manifest in the wake of disasters and emergencies. Specifically, DRU is concerned with monitoring and defining the needs that materialize as post-disaster responses progress from the initial emergency 'care and maintenance' phase to the longer term 'reconstruction, rehabilitation and development' phases.

DRU draws upon colleagues representing the following disciplines: Anthropology, Agricultural Economics, Botany, City Planning, Community Health Sciences, Economics, Foods and Nutrition, Geography, Psychology, Public Administration and Sociology. Several associates of DRU have been working together since the mid-1980's, when they undertook and IDRC-funded collaborative research and training program in Bangladesh which focussed upon the problem of severe population displacement caused by floods and river bank erosion. Others have conducted research on the impacts of hurricanes in the Caribbean, the nutritional dimensions of famines in Africa, the AIDS epidemic in East Africa, the resettlement and rehousing of disaster displaced populations, and the many human and socio-economic problems associated with conflict-induced disasters generating massive refugee and displaced persons flows in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. This is of practical as

well as academic value to UNDP's Emergency Operation in Sudan and Iraq, UNICEF in Ethiopia, UNHCR in Thailand, UNHCS in Kenya, as well as to CIDA.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING OF REFUGEE CHILDREN. RESEARCH, PRACTICE AND POLICY ISSUES by Margaret McCallin (ed), International Catholic Child Bureau, 1992, 350 pp. This edited collection of papers is based upon a seminar convened by the International Catholic Child Bureau in September 1991. The focus is on refugee children in countries of first asylum, particularly with reference to the experience of prolonged stay in refugee camps and settlements. Much of the book is taken up with strategies to understand and address the psychological needs of refugees living in this condition. The book falls into three sections: the first addresses the context of intervention, the second deals with strategies of intervention and the third analyses the response of the international community. The recommendations of the seminar are also reproduced.

The book is available from the International Catholic Child Bureau, General Secretariat, 65 Rue de Lausanne, CH - 1202 Geneva, Switzerland.

ADDRESSING THE HUMAN RESPONSE TO WAR AND ATROCITY: THE LIMITATIONS OF WESTERN PSYCHIATRIC MODELS AND AN OVERVIEW OF WIDER APPROACHES by Derek Summerfield, Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, 96 Grafton Road, London, NW5 3EJ.

The full paper is available from the Medical Foundation on request. It was presented at the World Conference of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies, Amsterdam, 06/1992

MEMBERS' NEWS

New Members

Raghda Ibrahim Saba
Clinical Psychologist
Gaza Community Mental
Health Programme
P.O. Box 1049
Gaza, Via Israel
Tel: 07 86 3684
Fax: 07 86 4408

Dr. Jane Mocellin
Assistant Professor Disaster
Psychologist
Dept. of Psychology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg 6
MB, Canada R3T 2N2
Tel: 204-474-6652
Fax: 204-255-3599

Lyn Rhona Montebon
Training Coordinator
Children's Rehabilitation
Centre,
5B Escalier St., Loyola Apts
Queron City
1108 Phillipines
Tel: 961312 / 967623
Fax: 632 922-06-23

Concerns

Concerned with the psychological state of children in refugee camps. Objectives of the programme are: medical, therapeutic and research oriented.

Interested in reducing stress on women and children in disasters. Has materials to share. Report for UN Development Programme:
The Needs of Women and Children in Disasters and Emergencies. Contact Dr. Mocellin.

Interested in providing social help for children and their families affected by war and political violence. Visual and audio-visual aids available and a newsletter - open for subscription.
Write for details.

J. Dam & Y. Van
Zonneveld
Tugelaweg 15
1091 VX Amsterdam
The Netherlands

Joe Thomas
CFSI
1602 Jubilee Comm.
Building
44 Gloucester Rd
Wanchai, Hong Kong
Tel: 852-528 9331
Fax: 852-527 6149

Change of address

Jesper Jorgensen, P.O. Box 306, DK-2730, Herlev, Denmark

For more information and membership details, please write to:
Ancil Adrian Paul
c/o The Refugee Studies Programme
Queen Elizabeth House
21 St. Giles
Oxford OX1 3LA

Preparing fieldwork on psychological problems of refugees. Seek information on existing research. Please write.

Works with Vietnamese asylum seekers in Hong Kong. His interests are: community work models/strategies; psycho-social changes among asylees; legal/psycho-social aspects of detention and research methodology and theory on refugees.

EMERGENCY AND DISASTER RELIEF REGISTER

The UK's first *Emergency and Disaster Relief Register* for health professionals has been established by the charity International Health Exchange (IHE). Members of the Emergency and Disaster Relief (EDR) Register are experienced health and management professionals who are available at short notice to relief agencies in the event that outside assistance is required for emergencies overseas.

The EDR Register has been set up in consultation with agencies experienced in relief work, such as: Save the Children Fund and Medecins Sans Frontieres (Holland). The British Government's Overseas Development Administration has asked IHE to be the key provider of health personnel for their Disaster Response Action Plan announced by the Minister of Overseas Development, Lynda Chalker, in August 1991. The Register is available to all agencies requiring personnel for emergency relief.

In order to ensure a high standard - and to help health workers ascertain if they have the right skills - minimum entry requirements have been established. Details are available on request.

Knowledge of areas such as public health, nutrition, mother and child health, immunisation and feeding and/or rehydration are required, as is the ability to work well in a team.

The EDR Register draws on the main Register of International Health Exchange. IHE provides information about vacancies for health workers in developing countries through the health development magazine *The Health Exchange*, and a training programme including courses on Primary Health Care and Refugee Community Health Care.

For further details, please contact:

International Health Exchange
Africa Centre
38 King Street
London
WC2E 8JT

Tel: (071) 836 5833

UNITED

racism
facism
nationalism

THE DIRECTORY OF INTERNATIONALISM

The Directory of Internationalism has been published by United for Intercultural Action, a network against nationalism, racism, facism and in support of migrants and refugees. The Directory is a first step towards joint international action against uprising racism and advancing nationalism. It contains the addresses of all major organisations active in these areas and aims to facilitate networking, and achieve a better flow of information at both national and international levels in the organisation of anti-racist campaigns.

The Directory is available for the cost of DM 10, from:

United for Intercultural Action
Postbus 413
NL 1000 AK Amsterdam
The Netherlands

THE EXTREME RIGHT IN EUROPE AND THE USA

Edited by Paul Hainsworth

University of Ulster at Jordanstown.

From the 1920's to the 1940's Europe experienced, in varying degrees, the rise of facism and authoritarian movements. The horrors of World War II and the Holocaust tended to de-legitimise Nazism, facism and fellow travellers. Nevertheless, post-war Europe and the USA have witnessed the sporadic and uneven growth of extreme right forms. This book brings together acknowledged experts to examine the nature and prevalence of the post-war extreme right in a comparative framework.

Contents

1. Introduction. Post-war Western Europe and the USA.
2. The extreme right in post-war France: Front national.
3. A future for right extremism in Germany?
4. The Netherlands: Irritants on the body politic.
5. Belgium: Flemish legions on the march.
6. The extreme right in Italy.
7. Why has the extreme right failed in Britain?
8. Denmark: The Progress Party.
9. The extreme right in Spain: Blas Piñar
10. Portugal: The marginalization of the extreme right.
11. Greece: The virtual absence of an extreme right.
12. After Stalinism: Russia, East Germany & E. Europe
13. Beyond the fringe: The extreme right in the USA.

**July 1992 / 336 pages / Hardback / 0 86187 790 X
£45.00**

THE RSP VISITORS PROGRAMME

The Visitors Programme brings together students, practitioners and senior academic researchers, some of whom are also refugees, from different regions and different disciplines. Study Fellows follow a supervised course of study. Research Fellows use RSP's resources for independent study, the development of course materials for teaching in their own universities, or undertake supervised study. Visitors may obtain access to the many specialised libraries found throughout the University and are also actively encouraged to involve themselves in student activities in Oxford.

RSP is part of Queen Elizabeth House, the University of Oxford's International Development Centre, and all applications for attachment are reviewed by the QEH Affiliations Committee. On the basis of their *curriculum vitae* and references, successful applicants may be designated Visiting Research Fellows or Visiting Study Fellows. The latter undertake the 9 modules of RSP's multi-disciplinary Foundation courses (see ad, page 39 for further details about the Foundation Course programme).

Application forms are available from:

The Director
Refugee Studies Programme
Queen Elizabeth House
21 St Giles
Oxford OX1 3LA
UK

Fax: +44-865-270721

Please indicate a preferred beginning and ending date for your proposed attachment, your study/research objectives and your planned funding sources. More specific information concerning fees, application procedures, requirements and facilities will be forwarded to interested applicants.

ANNOUNCEMENT

4TH INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND ADVISORY PANEL CONFERENCE

5-9 January 1994
Somerville College, Oxford

The Refugee Studies Programme will convene the fourth meeting of the International Research and Advisory Panel conference on forced migration in Oxford from 5-9 January 1994.

The conference provides an inter-disciplinary forum to facilitate intellectual exchange and communication between researchers and practitioners. A keynote address by a distinguished academic will be followed by a number of specially commissioned 'state of the art' review papers which will provide a critical examination of research literature in refugee studies, organized by geographical region. These will include studies both of contemporary refugee flows, and of the lesser known and almost forgotten forced migration movements in the pre- and post-war period. In addition, it is planned to establish an independent professional association of refugee studies. Finally, plenary and workshop sessions will focus on themes identified as key issues for the 1990s, as well as new directions in research on forced migration.

Papers are sought for workshop sessions on the following themes:

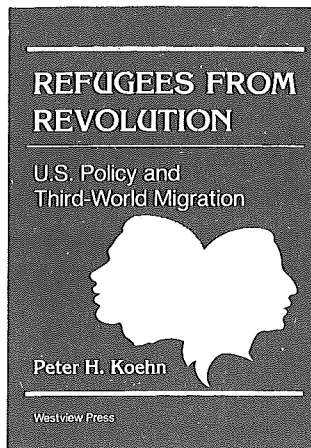
- (1) Changing political contexts of violence and flight**
- (2) The meaning of return and home in the decade of repatriation.**
- (3) Host responses to forced migration**
- (4) Migration and environmental change**
- (5) Violence and its psycho-social impact**

Abstracts (100 words) are invited from academics, policy makers, practitioners and refugees on any of the above themes. The deadline for receipt of abstracts is 28 February 1993. They should be sent to:

Dr Richard Black
IRAP 1994 Planning Committee
Refugee Studies Programme
Queen Elizabeth House
21 St Giles, Oxford, OX1 3LA
United Kingdom

The deadline for receipt of submitted papers is 15 October 1993, to allow time for precirculation to discussants and participants.

REFUGEES FROM REVOLUTION: US POLICY AND THIRD WORLD MIGRATION
by Peter Koehn. 1991. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 463 pp.



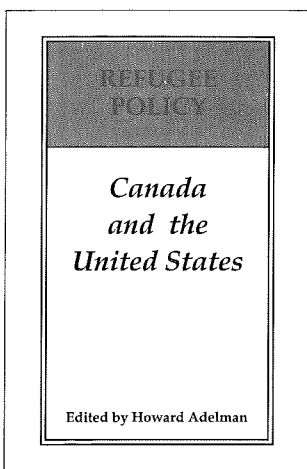
Mass population movements are a prominent feature of the post-Cold War era and increasingly figure in the practice of international relations. *Refugees from Revolution* examines both the significance of South-North movements during this period and the inter-relationship of the foreign, refugee and immigration policies of the United States. This is an important book because it not only analyzes the asylum refugee problem in the US, but also many of the underlying causes of refugee and migration movements in the Third World. It is one of the few studies that gives full recognition to the global interconnectedness of refugee and migration problems.

This study focuses on four national groups fleeing revolution: Cubans, Indochinese, Iranians and Ethiopians. Using a wide range of research methods and levels of analysis from the individual, to the state, to the international community, the author analyses both the causes and consequences of South-North movements during the Cold War era, when huge numbers of people fled revolutions that had domestic origins but were greatly exacerbated by super-power intervention, especially by the United States. *Refugees from Revolution* analyses each phase of the refugee-migrant cycle - from the genesis, to the search for safe asylum, to resettlement and adaptation in a new society, and finally to repatriation - and defines the considerations necessary for more coherent policy-making in the future.

The concluding chapters of this book present a range of policy alternatives for the United States and the international community which, if adopted, would go a long way towards resolving the refugee problem. As the author notes; the industrialised democracies need to develop a multi-faceted long term strategy that includes curbing arms sales programmes and military intervention in the Third World, together with active support for regional peace systems and increased trade and aid. The developing states, on the other hand, have a responsibility for their own citizens, especially in terms of accommodating their ethnic and religious minorities and refraining from persecution. This is a tall order and will require considerable patience and intelligence from all parties concerned and unprecedented cooperation between North and South. *Refugees from Revolution* points policymakers in the right direction.

Gil Loescher

REFUGEE POLICY: CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES by Howard Adelman (ed.).
1991. York Lanes Press, Toronto, 455 pp.



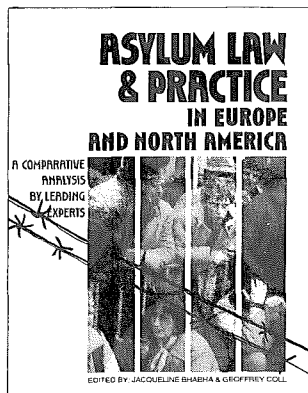
This book, a collection of papers presented at a conference at York University in 1990, compares the refugee policies of Canada and the United States. It includes contributions by many of the leading North American researchers in refugee studies and has chapters on the normative and political aspects of refugee policy, root causes, refugee relief and development assistance, refugee law and practice, and resettlement policies. This volume makes a special contribution to the literature because it is both one of the first comprehensive analyses of refugee policies and one of the most comprehensive studies of Canadian-US refugee policies to appear in the field.

The volume opens with overviews of government perspectives in which the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees is held as a model for future inter-governmental cooperation on the refugee issue. The need to address the appropriate balance between compassion and control of admissions is discussed, and the credibility and resources of UNHCR to deal with refugee movements is questioned. A theoretical section examines the role of the state both in creating and responding to refugee flows. The role of overseas refugee relief assistance is then examined, and criticisms are directed at the priority in funding given to resettlement over international refugee assistance and to emergency aid over long-term development assistance. Several chapters on refugee law and policy note the shifts in admissions and asylum policies in Canada and the US during the 1980s, the use of detention to deter the entry of asylum seekers, the politicisation of asylum decision-making

in the US, and the debate over the use of the term 'persecution' in US refugee law. Finally, several contributors focus on resettlement and accompanying issues.

Anyone writing about refugee policy today runs the risk of being outdated almost as soon as the manuscript is sent to the publisher. Because of this, it probably would have been useful to have had a section looking forward to future developments. Similarly, the contributors do not take sufficient account of the fact that North American decisions about refugee and asylum policies are increasingly affected by inter-governmental discussions and agreements occurring across the Atlantic. The way in which Western Europe resolves its asylum problem will undoubtedly affect the asylum and refugee policies of the rest of the industrialized world. This is a comprehensive book with a comparative focus, and most readers will find at least some of the chapters very useful in their work or research.

Gil Loescher



ASYLUM LAW AND PRACTICE IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS by Jacquelin Bhabha and Geoffrey Coll (eds.). 1992. Federal Publications Inc. Washington, D.C.

This compilation includes essays by many of the most experienced and thoughtful persons in the field. The book contains three overview chapters on comparative asylum jurisprudence, the use of refugee treaties, and the challenge of the asylum crisis. In the following chapters, comparisons are made between Europe and North America of the meaning of well-founded fear of persecution and social group membership, of country of first asylum issues, and detention. There is also a chapter on the Dublin Convention. Every chapter includes extensive references to case law and the secondary literature. The book is useful for legal practitioners, as teaching material, and for anyone who has a serious interest in asylum.

Andrew Shacknove

REFUGEES AND THE ASYLUM DILEMMA IN THE WEST by Gil Loescher (ed). August 1992. Pennsylvania State University Press, Suite C, Barbara Building, University Park, PA 16802-1003, USA.

This thought-provoking collection of essays explores the meaning of the 'new world order' for refugees and asylum-seekers. It analyses both past experience and current issues in a way which highlights their implications for policy-making for the future.

The fortress currently being constructed to limit refugees' entry is considered in the context of past restrictions and the forging of the 'international refugee regime' by Western democracies in the Cold War era. Authors question the ability of international institutions to deal with the refugee issues of today, accustomed as they are to resettling small numbers of dissidents from Eastern Europe and carrying out refugee relief in the Third World. The striking similarities between old and new world orders are pointed out: it is a near certainty that nations will continue to resort to violence, that deaths will continue and that there will be further displacement. The persistence of conflicts initially created in the Cold War without consideration of their migration implications is a further continuity.

US and Canadian policy towards asylum-seekers and refugees is also considered. The systematic 'collective deterrence' efforts in Europe intended to minimise protection and limit asylum rights through the implementation of the Shengen and Dublin Conventions will undoubtedly increase refugee arrivals in the US and Canada. This may well adversely affect Canadian policy and undermine what are generally accepted to be 'the fairest and most open policies in the West'. Europe's renunciation of its responsibilities puts Canada under increasing pressure to join the protectionist club.

The overarching 'lesson' of the book as stated by Gil Loescher in the introduction, 'is that building walls is no answer against those who feel compelled to move. The only effective way of dealing with the problem is to address the conditions that create refugees and migrants'. Failure to address these issues will have profound implications for foreign policy and for international stability. This valuable collection is a must for informed policy-making.

JoAnn McGregor

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Children, War and Persecution is the preliminary title of a Congress which will take place in Hamburg, Germany from 26-29 September 1993. It is a follow-up to a congress on the same topic held in Jerusalem 1990. The three main themes will be: (1) persecution of children and adolescents during the Nazi-dictatorship (Holocaust); (2) persecution of children in the 'Third World', in situations of wars, political repression and other forms of organised violence; (3) psycho-social problems of refugee children and children of refugees in Germany. Protection, prevention and therapy will all be addressed. For more information, contact:

University Clinics of Hamburg
Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
Martinistrasse 52
2000 Hamburg 20, Germany
Tel: +49-40-47172230; Fax: +49-40-47175169

A Conference on **Gender Issues and Refugees: Development Implications** will be held from 9-11 May 1993 at York University, Toronto, Canada, co-sponsored by the Centre for Refugee Studies and the York Centre for Feminist Research. The conference will look at the female refugee experience internationally, and will embody a North/South feminist perspective on refugee issues. A principal purpose of the conference is to establish a deeper understanding of current research being undertaken in the field of gender and refugee studies. A planned publication, of relevant papers, and a bibliography from the conference, will contribute to this area of feminist inquiry. Papers may be written and presented in either English or French, and may incorporate case studies. Abstracts (100 words) are invited from academics, service providers, policy makers, and, particularly, former refugees. Some travel funding will be available for participants from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean. The Deadline for the receipt of abstracts is 1 December 1992. For more information on the conference, contact:

Farhana Mather, Conference Coordinator
Centre for Refugee Studies
York Lanes, York University
4500 Keele Street, North York
Ontario, Canada M3J 1P3

The Problems of the New Europe: The Outlook for Society and International Relations Beyond the Turn of the Century is an international summer school to be held at Gorizia (Italy) and Brioni (Croatia) September 14-26 1992. The summer school is being organised by the Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia. Amongst other themes, the conference will consider ethnic groups and borders in Europe. For further information contact:

Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia
Via Mazzini
13-34170 Gorizia
Italy

The Fourth European Assises on the Right of Asylum will be held from 22-23 January 1993 in Rome, Italy. The aim of the meeting is to discuss actions underway in European countries for the defense of the right of asylum and of democratic rights. For further information, contact: Ms Nadia Ciccolini and Mr Bruno Izzi
Secretariat for the Fourth Assises
c/o CGIL
12 Via Buonaroti
I-00185 Rome
Italy

CONFERENCE REPORTS

A report is available from the **Refugee and Displaced Workshop**, held on 2 May 1992, at the American University in Cairo, Egypt. To obtain a report, contact: Albino Ajuac Deng
Workshop Coordinator
Office of African Studies
Department of Economic and Political Science
The American University in Cairo
PO Box 2511, Egypt

A report is available from the working meeting **Conflict and International Relief in Contemporary African Famines**. The meeting was convened by Save the Children Fund (UK) and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and took place in March this year. The meeting brought together individuals from a range of backgrounds to discuss conflict, humanitarian relief and the role of the international community. Southern Sudan, Ethiopia and Mozambique are taken as case studies, with additional sections on the legislative framework and the implications from policy and programming. Copies of the report are available for £2 plus postage and are available from: Celia Petty
Save the Children Fund
Mary Datchelor House
17 Grove Lane
Camberwell
London SE5 8RD

An international **Colloquium on the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) for Vietnamese Refugees** was organised by the Jesuit Refugee Service in Manila in October 1992. It was co-sponsored by a number of other organisations including the Refugee Studies Programme. The participants represented countries of first asylum in the region, countries of resettlement, universities, international legal groups, asylum seekers, UNHCR and NGOs. Papers were presented on: the history of the CPA; roots and rights; the screening process in each country; asylum and interests of State. Key note speeches were delivered by James Hathaway and Arthur Helton. In the final session it was agreed that:

* The Comprehensive Plan of Action had reversed the general presumption which had applied before that all

The Symposium on

Social and Economic Aspects of Mass Voluntary Return Movements of Refugees from One African Country to Another

organised by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia September 15-17. Two similar conferences had been held earlier in Chad and Zimbabwe.

These three symposia have been based on the UNRISD-sponsored research on returning refugees, economic and social processes in the area of return, and on the content and impact of official policies and programmes adopted by African governments and international governmental and non-governmental organisations.

Some of the key outcomes of the symposium included the following:

- * A call for close examination of the implementation of the 'cross mandate approach' adopted by the UN agencies and other organisations as a means of coping with the complex process of reconstruction in war-weary regions.
- * Re-examination of the preference for a 'development' rather than 'aid' approach to refugee/returnee assistance as development itself has proved so elusive in practice.
- * Reconsideration of the notion of 'home', in recognition of the fact that human history has been characterised by migration (forced or otherwise), which the modern state system has unsuccessfully tried to check.
- * Recognition of the dangers of labelling those repatriating as 'returnees' and according them favoured treatment in a situation of generalised human suffering.
- * Respect for the voluntary nature of repatriation.
- * Development of relevant approaches to deal with the psycho-social problems of returnees.

The symposium's outcomes and papers are to be published in book form by UNRISD. Details are available from:

UNRISD, Palais des Nations,
CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland

asylum-seekers were actually refugees.

* The Special Procedures for unaccompanied children and other vulnerable people should rapidly be implemented, to prevent further damage to individuals caused by long stays in detention centres.

* Closer cooperation should be developed between NGOs working inside Vietnam, assisting in repatriation, and NGOs working with Vietnamese asylum-seekers.

* Mandatory repatriation of certain groups in the camps can be accepted or tolerated - such as unaccompanied children whose 'best interest' is to return to Vietnam; and many family groups who would prefer to be 'sent' back rather than to return voluntarily.

* There is need for balanced information about the current state of Vietnam (no incidents of harassment of returnees has been reported during 1992).

* Dialogue should continue between the UNHCR and NGOs working with asylum seekers.

A paperback book is to be published by Law Asia on the issues raised and debated at the colloquium, and the major papers will be published in 1993 by the *International Journal of Refugee Law*. For further information contact:

Alan Nichols
Jesuit Refugee Service
88/1 Soi Luecha 1 Phaholyothin Road
Bangkok 10400
Thailand.

Proceedings from the Symposium **Going Home: The Prospect of Repatriation for Refugee Women and Children** are now available from the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, c/o International Rescue Committee, 386 Park Avenue South, 10th Floor, New York NY 10016. This 72-page report of the symposium held in June contains summaries of the main presentations and discussions, and specific recommendations. Speakers included refugee, senior United Nations officials, members of United States Congress, senior State Department officials, and a Minister from Namibia. The report covers issues such as protection against human rights abuses, involvement of refugee women in planning and implementation of repatriation programmes and programme priorities upon repatriation.

PUBLICATIONS

The Ethnic Communities Oral History Project has produced a 30 minute audio-tape, **True Voices of Women Coming to Britain** (£2.50 inc. p&tp).

Contact their NEW address:

Shepherds Bush Library
7 Uxbridge Road
London W12 8LJ
UK
Tel: +44-081-749 0982

Refugees in the Classroom is a 14-page leaflet produced in 1991 as a joint British/Danish project and funded by the Commission of the European Community. It describes some of the ways that teachers and educationalists can help school-age refugee students. It makes a number of specific recommendations for both education policy formation at a local level, as well as providing classroom suggestions for teachers. To obtain a copy of this leaflet, contact:

The Refugee Council
3 Bondway
London SW8 1SJ, UK

Ban Vinai: The Refugee Camp Experience, by Lynellyn D. Long is a book forthcoming from Columbia University Press in November 1992. Long documents the reality of daily life in Ban Vinai, a Hmong and Lao refugee camp in northeast Thailand. Long explores the effects of long-term residence in the camp. The author is a Senior Social Scientist in the Office of Women in Development at the Agency for International Development and an Adjunct Professor at the American University. 288 pages, 22 photos, 15 tables and figures, price US\$16.50, paper, US\$45.00 cloth. Contact:

Columbia University Press
562 West 113th Street
New York, New York 10025, USA
Tel: +1-212-316-7100; Fax: +1-212-316-7169

Two recent publications of the **Zentrale Dokumentationsstelle der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege für Flüchtlinge (ZWDF)** (Central Documentation for Independent Welfare Work for Refugees) concern minority rights and refugee protection.

1. 'Christliche Minderheiten in der Türkei. Ein Überblick', by Gabriele Yonan, June 1992. *ZWDF Schriftenreihe Nr 50*. Price: DM 10.

This overview entitled 'Christian Minorities in Turkey' documents the current and historical situation of the Armenian, Greek, Assyrian and Arab minorities in current Turkey. The Christian minorities today total less than 100,000. In less than two decades their numbers have shrunk by more than a half due to emigration.

2. 'Rechtsprechungsübersicht zur Anerkennungspraxis in Asylverfahren unter Berücksichtigung der Entscheidungen des Bundesamtes für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge für das Jahr 1991', by Ilse Bueren, Theresia Wolff, June 1992. *ZWDF Schriftenreihe Nr 49*. Price: DM 20.

This 'Review of the Practice of the Administration of Justice in Asylum Cases in the Light of the Decisions of the Government Office for the Recognition of Refugees for the Year 1991' looks in particular at developments surrounding new procedures in protection against refoulement and 'family asylum'. In addition to commenting on the interpretation of legislation, the report details arrivals and acceptance by country of origin.

If you are not already a member of RPN and would like to join, please fill in the tear-off form below and return it to RPN

YES, I WOULD LIKE TO JOIN THE REFUGEE PARTICIPATION NETWORK !

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Geographical area of interest _____

Type of organisation (eg. NGO, international agency, refugee-based, individual, etc.) _____

Please return to: **Refugee Participation Network, Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St Giles, OXFORD, OX1 3LA, UK**

These German language publications are available from:
Zentrale Dokumentationsstelle der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege
für Flüchtlinge e.V. (ZDWF)
Hans-Böckler-Strasse 3
Postfach 30 1654
5300 Bonn 3
Germany.

Humanitarianism and War: Learning the Lessons from Recent Armed Conflicts by Minear, L., Weiss, T., and Campbell, K. 1991. 72 pp. Published by The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Box 1970, 2 Stimson Avenue, Providence, RI 02912. This booklet contains essays on strengthening the humanitarian system for the post cold war era, on military humanitarianism, and a report from a consultation of experts hosted by the World Hunger Programme of Brown University. It draws on case studies of intervention in conflicts in three main regions (the Gulf, the Horn of Africa and Central America).

The International Journal of Nonviolence will be launched in 1993. The Journal will concentrate on: nonviolent power and resistance such as civilian-based security; ethnic, cultural and gender diversity in conflict systems management; unarmed peacekeeping in conflict zones; struggle for human rights and human needs; organisational strategies for maintaining peace; economic conversion. The journal will be published in English, but articles submitted in any international language are welcomed. For further information, please write to:

Nonviolence International
PO Box 39127
Friendship Station NW
Washington DC 20016
USA

NGO Perspectives on Refugees and Displaced Persons is one of the first four titles in the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) Humanitarian Affairs Series. It contains the Statement made by ICVA to the 43rd Session of the Executive Committee of the UNHCR. The booklet covers general concerns, as well as assistance and protection issues by region and administration and management issues such as support to NGO coordination, principles for coordinating humanitarian response and public information strategies, women and children. Titles in the first set of four issues in the Sustainable Development Series are: 'Women as Partners in Development', 'Consumption Patterns', 'Food Security', and 'Gender Issues in Sustainable Development'. For further or copies of the publications (at \$15 for a set of four), please contact:

ICVA
CP216
1211 Geneva 21
Switzerland.

The Vietnamese Experience in America by James Rutledge, 1992. Indiana University Press, 601 N. Morton Street, Bloomington, Indiana 47404-3797, USA. Price \$10.95 (hardback). 192 pp. This concise interpretation of the Vietnamese experience in America begins with the fall of Saigon in 1975, when enormous waves of refugees fled Vietnam. It graphically details their flight to asylum countries in Asia and then to the United States. Based in part on firsthand interviews the book recounts vivid stories of the horror of getting out of Vietnam and the difficulties of starting life in a new country. It emphasizes the resettlement process in the United States, from the policies of the US government to aspects of community acceptance and conflict, and describes Vietnamese culture and the changes it has undergone in the process of becoming a new Vietnamese-American culture.

Border Needs Assessment Report by Francis Samsotia and Mariam Khambaty is produced by Cambodian New Generation Inc. Based on a survey of 1,000 refugees, this 23-page report contains information on the problems, needs and aspirations of refugees and displaced people as they describe them. It contains information on the skills returnees possess, their ability to adjust, and the assistance they request from the international community.

The report is available from:
Cambodia New Generation Inc
2619 Broadway, Suite 206
Oakland, CA 94612
USA

NEWSLETTERS

The Regional Asian Secretariat for Rehabilitation of Survivors of Organized Violence (RAS) produces a quarterly newsletter which was established as a result of the Regional Asian Conference for Rehabilitation of Torture Victims, held in Islamabad, Pakistan in October 1991. For more information, contact:

RAS
PO Box 2428
Islamabad, Pakistan
Tel: +92-51-256882; Fax: +92-51-856763

The Women's Education for Advancement and Empowerment (WEAVE) is a Thailand-based women's development organization working to empower women and to strengthen global ties between regional and international women's groups. It was founded as a direct result of involvement with displaced Karen women and children on the Thai-Burma border. A newsletter was started in February 1992. Contact:

Ms Marti Patel (Director)
WEAVE
P.O. Box 58
Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai 50002
Thailand

The World Organization Against Torture (OMCT) publishes a regular newsletter, OMCT-News, compiling all the appeals sent out over a two-three month period. Contact: World Organization Against Torture
Case postale 119
37-39 rue de Vermont
CH-1211 Geneva 20 CIC
Switzerland
Tel: +41-22-733 31 40; Fax: +41-22-733 1051

Kav La'Oved - Workers' Hotline for the Protection of Workers' Rights was founded three years ago in order to fill a vacuum in work relations in Israel: to supply information and counselling on workers' rights, and to supply legal aid to those Palestinian workers not registered with the Labour Exchange. By Autumn 1990 those 'illegal' workers constituted about 30% of all Palestinians employed in Israel. They are subject to severe infringements on their rights, without having any outlet for complaints. For more information, contact:
Kav La'Oved - Workers' Hotline
78 Allenby St.
Tel Aviv
POB 2319 Zip 61022
Israel

SASPOST is a newsletter of opportunities and information for Southern African Students in North America. It seeks to strengthen the existing network among South Africans and Namibians in North America, to address concerns of the southern African community, and to provide access to resources and information not readily available. It is published by the Southern African Training Programme of the African American Institute in consultation with other organisations serving the southern African community. Advisers to SASPOST come from academic, international and church organisations and from the southern African community.

Contact:
SASPOST
833 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA

The Horn of Africa Bulletin is published every second month by the Life and Peace Institute, Uppsala, and is distributed free of charge to individuals. It is an international media review, compiling and recording news and comments on the Horn of Africa.

Available from:
Life and Peace Institute
Box 297
S-751-05 Uppsala
Sweden

FORD FOUNDATION GRANT FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEE PRACTITIONERS

The Refugee Studies Programme has received a grant of US\$ 50,000 from the Ford Foundation to support the participation of Southeast Asian refugee practitioners.

Grant funds will be available over a three-year period beginning July 1, 1992.

Southeast Asian government officials or senior practitioners who are interested in writing up their experiences or conducting research using RSP's documentation centre and resources, and who are willing to teach in-service courses and/or seminars with RSP, are invited to apply for periods of not less than one month.

Interested applicants should write, with c.v., to:
Dr. Barbara Harrell-Bond, Director
Refugee Studies Programme
Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St Giles, Oxford, OX1 3LA, U.K.
Fax: +44-865-270721

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REFUGEE SERVICES (EDUCATION)

The Refugee Education and Training Advisory Service (RETAS) is run by the World University Service (WUS) UK. The advice centre is aimed at refugees, asylum-seekers and people with exceptional leave to remain, and provides advice, information and financial assistance for education training. In addition RETAS also provides information to staff members in educational institutions, training schemes and advice centres and helps the development of appropriate provision and policy in the field of refugee education and training.

The following publications about refugees in the UK can be obtained from the Publications Officer at WUS: *Women in Mind: Educational needs of women refugees in the UK*; *The Invisible Students: Refugees and further education*; *Refugee Education Handbook* (new, revised edition forthcoming). For more information, contact:
Refugee Education and Training Advisory Service
World University Service (UK)
20 Compton Terrace
London N1 2UN, UK
Tel: +44-(0)71-226 6747

The Oxfordshire Refugee Council operates a Saturday School for Refugee Children, called 'Children in Flight'. Its main objective is to provide a safe environment in which the children's culture is valued, while bridging the cultural gap by building on each child's existing abilities and enthusiasm. Professionals from different disciplines are involved in trying to meet these children's needs, including psychologists, artists, musicians and EFL teachers, as well as teachers of other subjects. Their work is built upon continual consultation with both parents and children. The emphasis is on a holistic, participatory approach that involves the entire family.

For more information, contact:
Renata Meuter
School Coordinator
Children in Flight
The Oxfordshire Refugee Council
95 St. Clements
Oxford, OX4 1AR, UK
Tel: +44-(0)865-59246

The National Advice Centre for Postgraduate Medical Education (NACPME) is an information and advice service for overseas-qualified doctors who wish to undertake medical training in the UK. While NACPME cannot obtain posts or attachments for doctors, nor lobby the GMS or other authorities on behalf of doctors, it can provide career advice. Doctors who are overseas should contact the British Council in their own country; overseas doctors in the UK and overseas doctors who do not have a British Council office in their own country should contact:
Medical Information Assistant
NACPME/LIBID, 3rd Floor

British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR, UK
Tel: +44-(0)71-389 4383; Fax: +44-(0)61-957 7111;
Telex: 8952201 BRICONG

INSTITUTIONS

The Family Rehabilitation Centre in Sri Lanka works with victims and their families of the Northern and Eastern violence who are in refugee camps in and around Colombo. Recently the Centre has been working with families of the disappeared in the vicinity of Colombo and in the Gampaha area, and with detainees who are being rehabilitated prior to release, refugee children and very small number of ex-detainees.

Copies of the newsletter are available on request from:
The Information Officer
Family Rehabilitation Centre 14, Siridhamma Mawatha
Colombo 10, Sri Lanka

The Ottawa-Carleton Somali Community Centre in Ottawa, Canada, is a non-profit organisation which has been serving Somali immigrants and refugees since 1988. There are an estimated 3,700 Somali families in the region and about 80% are refugee claimants. Services and activities include: resettlement and orientation services; individual and family counselling, referrals and escorting; women's programmes; education; job finding orientations; social meeting advocacy and community networking; cross-cultural education; translation and interpretation; legal and advocacy support.

For more information, contact:
Dr Bishara H. Ali
Ottawa-Carleton Somali Community Centre
Box 944, Station B
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5P9, Canada
Tel: +1-613-738 0993; Fax: +1-613-737 3324

The Somali Relief and Development (SOMRED) Inc. is a Somali-Canadian non-governmental aid and relief organization formed in 1991, in response to the conditions in Somalia for the purpose of obtaining humanitarian relief such as food and medical aid, as well as the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Somalia in light of the current political instability and violence.

SOMRED's mandate is to organise and implement non-governmental aid to Somalia by designing and funding self-help programs and community relief programs through Canadian and Somali partnerships. In addition, SOMRED is working with Sa'id Voluntary Organisation in Mogadishu and running an open-air kitchen to feed some of the starving Somalians there on a daily basis.

SOMRED would like to cooperate and work with other organisations in the international community. For more information, contact:
Dr Bishara H. Ali

Somali Relief and Development (Somred) Inc.
Box 944 Station 'B'
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5P9, Canada
Tel: +1-613-738 0993

The **United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS)** is one of the main links between development NGOs and the multilateral system. Established in 1975 to facilitate dialogue between United Nations organizations and the NGO community on North-South issues, its role is to support NGO work in the areas of development education, public advocacy and analysis of the policies and negotiating processes which influence relations between North and South countries. In addition to conferences and consultations, the work of NGLS includes an extensive publications programme. For more information, contact:

United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service
Palais des Nations
1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland
Tel: +41-22-734 6011; Fax: +41-22-733 6542

The **Cambodia Trust's Limb Project** is raising money to provide artificial limbs for some of the estimated 30,000 Cambodian amputees who have been maimed by mines and other weapons during the 13-year civil war. Cambodia is believed to have the highest number of people with disabilities in the world. Although the civil war recently ended, so many mines still litter the countryside that about 300 Cambodians lose limbs each month. With an estimated 300,000 Cambodian refugees returning from the camps on the Thai-Cambodian border to resettlement areas in central and eastern Cambodia, the numbers will no doubt increase, as the journey will be dangerous. Less than 2,500 artificial limbs are produced each year in all of Cambodia.

The Limb Project will fit 2,000 Cambodian amputees with prostheses each year free of charge. Cambodians are being trained to take over and run the Project within five years. The UK's Overseas Development Administration has given the Trust a major grant to run the Project for the first three years but this is on the condition that the Trust receives matching funds from the public. It costs £19.00 to provide one Cambodian with an artificial limb. For more information, contact:

The Cambodia Trust
PO Box 14
Woodstock
Oxon OX20 1SH, UK
Tel: +44-0993 811674; Fax: +44-0993 813244

European Dialogue aims to create a forum where the new Europe can be discussed, argued over and encouraged. It aims to bring together groups and individuals from across the continent, to provide a platform for informed debate, and to create a new European consciousness among political parties, the media and the general public. In doing this they hope to nurture a revitalised civil society, a 'Europe

from below', in which democratic participation extends beyond the confines of formal politics into the daily lives of European citizens.

Activities include: research, meetings, conferences, publications, networking, education. European Dialogue seeks affiliation from organisations which share its aims, from as wide a cross-section of society as possible. For further information, please contact:

Jeanette Buirski
European Dialogue
11 Goodwin Street
London N4 3HQ

The **Institute for Applied Social Research**, at the University of Zagreb was founded in November 1991 to meet the need for research on current social processes in the Republic of Croatia. Subjects studied include: warfare, democratic change, demographic trends, as well as cultural and ecological topics. All research has a practical orientation. In addition to research, the centre also has a teaching and publications programme and a documentation service. During the course of 1992 much activity has been directed toward the study of the consequences of the war, for example through topics such as 'children in war', 'war against Croatia: war crimes, refugees and victims of war', 'social reintegration of Croatian soldiers and their families'. The Institute publishes its own journal entitled *Social Research*.

For further information write to:
The Institute for Applied Social Research
Marulicev trg 19/1
41000 Zagreb, Croatia
Tel: 041 417-048, 448-556.

**THE DIRECTORY OF CURRENT RESEARCH
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3rd EDITION

Due to be published January 1993

The Refugee Studies Programme is offering the Directory at a special pre-publication price of £10.00 + post and packing.

LETTERS

RPN welcomes responses to the personal viewpoints expressed in these letters.

FLOODING AND POPULATION DISPLACEMENT IN PAKISTAN

Nature was unkind to Pakistan this year. Torrential rain and flooding in Sindh killed approximately 200 people in May and June. A further 200 people and 60,000 animals (mostly buffalos and cows) were killed when the rains struck again in the following two months. 50,000 people were forced to leave their flooded villages and seek refuge on drier road sides, canal banks and in government buildings. The rains later spread to the northern regions of the country (Punjab, North West Frontier Province [NWFP] and Kashmir), causing 1,000 deaths from the rain and landslides which also destroyed bridges, roads and paths.

Flooding and Irrigation Technology

Water accumulating in the Mangala dam suddenly overflowed the dam wall (according to the opposition, the dam gates were opened without warning), destroying villages, and killing residents while they slept. When flood waters in the rivers Jehlum, Chenab and Ravi threatened to overwhelm headworks designed to control flow at the point where the rivers meet, the government decided to breach the river banks upstream of the barrages. This was done so suddenly that many people were caught in the surging flood waters. Helicopters were used to save lives whilst property and livestock sank under the water. This same water found its way into the river Indus and inundated the riverine areas of Sindh. Neglect of drains in Sindh was a major cause of crop damage, as drains overflowed onto fields. The Irrigation Department are also blamed for failing to close or reduce water flow in canals and sub-canals, causing local flooding after the initial rains and landslides were over.

Economic Losses Incurred

The landless *havis*, small land owners and daily wage earners, are those hardest hit. Apart from the personal losses incurred by rain damage to crops and property, the Sindh people have to find the funds to rebuild the bridges, roads and public buildings, and overcome the diseases for which the flood waters provide an ideal breeding ground. These hardships must be set in the context of the current government spending cuts and employment restrictions.

It is difficult to calculate losses and government figures are much disputed by independent sources. However, the disparity

between incoming relief money and the cost of the damage is vast: federal and provincial governments are hardly capable of providing relief aid of RS.1 billion, against losses of RS.32 billion.

Unfortunately for the Sindhi people, every societal issue, whether economic, administrative or educational, becomes politicised. Non-partisan support from government and opposition parties is needed if the Province is to recover from the losses caused by the recent torrential rains.

Sadly little is being done. It is projected that it will take at least three years for the Province to recover from the effects of the rains. Human and economic losses could have been greatly reduced if the government had employed disaster management technologies and had acted more promptly.

Mustaz Mirani, Associate Professor, Meheran University, Hyderabad

THE NEW ASYLUM BILL IN THE UK

The UK Government's proposed Asylum Bill will affect not only the rights of persons seeking asylum at the point of entry, but also the rights to housing of those who have been given admission into Britain. Until the Bill is passed, an asylum seeker has the same rights to housing as other people in Britain: if a homeless individual applies to a Local Authority for housing, and if they are not intentionally homeless, they have a legal right to be housed only if they are in 'priority need' as defined by the Housing Act 1985, Art. 3. To be labelled 'priority need', an individual must have dependent children, be a pregnant woman, or must be 'vulnerable' (due to age, mental or physical disability, or other special reason). It is rare for asylum-seekers to be considered 'vulnerable' or in 'priority need' even though they have endured the stress and trauma of being forced to flee their homes and seek refuge in a different country and culture. For this reason most single asylum-seekers or couples without children are unable to get access to secure accommodation through the Local Authority. However, at present, pregnant women and those with children do have legal rights to housing.

The Asylum Bill seeks to take away these rights. Under the new legislation, asylum-

seekers will have no right to be housed if they have access to *any* other accommodation or shelter, however temporary. The Local Authority will have no duty to provide permanent accommodation until one year after an asylum-seeker's status has been confirmed. Consequently, some of the most vulnerable groups are going to be left in the most unstable, insecure, poor quality accommodation.

The rationale behind the proposed legislation is to stop queue jumping by asylum-seekers in a country which is already unable to meet its housing need. However, as most housing professionals note, there is no longer a queue for housing - only those in 'priority need' are being rehoused by statutory authorities.

Local authorities will have a new legal duty imposed upon them - to check an applicant's asylum status before meeting housing need. As asylum-seekers have nowhere to move on to, temporary housing will be occupied on a more long term basis, emergency shelters will fill up and street homelessness will increase at the same time as the government's £97 million Rough Sleepers Initiative is coming to an end.

Rebecca Pritchard

REFUGEE CHILDREN IN BICOL REGION, PHILIPPINES

The Children's Rehabilitation Centre (CRC) gives psycho-social aid to children caught in armed conflict in the Philippines. The war in Bicol, unlike elsewhere, causes people to evacuate their homes for short (2 to 4 week) periods at a time when there is a military operation in the area. The CRC staff try to visit the communities affected immediately, but this is often not possible because of the security risk. A creative process therapist has been appointed to assist staff to upgrade therapy skills, laying special emphasis on the use of creative activities, such as visual arts, music, and theatre. In undertaking work in war zones, we frequently find that instead of helping children process their past experiences, we are preparing them for the next military operation.

Hans Buwalda, c/o Voluntary Service Overseas, PO Box 10251, Broadway, New Manila, Quezon City, The Philippines.

LETTER FROM BOSNIA

It is an incredibly slow yet implacable process. It is slow in the beginning and as you learn, it gathers pace. I am talking of this process of getting used to something. When a war breaks out, a minute is like a century. There you are thinking - gosh, however, am I going to survive it? And then an hour passes. You are still alive. You hear rifles, pistols, you hear occasional mortar shells, you feel - it must be a dream. But it is not.

And all the time you are learning. Learning which side of the street they have been unable to hit so far, learning how to run from one building to another, where to hide while supposedly Yugoslav Army tanks are levelling your town with practically no opposition from the side you feel you must support because they are the attacked ones, they are defending their lives, their town and you yourself. And before you know it, you are a refugee at heart. There is no real fear. You simply know you have to move because you are on some maniac's death list, or that yet another sniper has missed you while you were going, running rather, to your place of work, in my case the Radio and Television building.

From feeling a refugee to actually becoming one takes just one small step, but a huge leap for one simple individual. And then various authorities get at you and measure you up - whether your case is this or that, whether your reasons were these or those ... And only you know what it is like. Those first minutes of fighting that were longer than centuries.

By Mrs Mebrura Toplovac

BOSNIA DIARY

Excerpts from a diary written by a TV Sarajevo journalist/broadcaster who refused to work for the new "Serbian Television" in his native Pale, a town about 10 miles from Sarajevo, Bosnia.

Thursday, 9th April, 1992

Serb TV, comes to see me and says he has always been "threatened and unable to work". I had told him ages ago that only the lazy and the stupid were threatened, but this could never penetrate his thick head. The new Serb authorities are paying

these journalists like top class call girls. Having refused to work for them, I am now awaiting their sentence. I wonder if they can understand that I am not a national but a professional journalist and these two are incompatible.

In the evening I'm watching the main news bulletin from Belgrade TV and am once again convinced that some journalists are murderers and war criminals, even worse than those people on the nearby hills who have been destroying Sarajevo and killing civilians. To a darkened and blinded brain, their words are the only road signs.

Pale, Saturday, 18th April, 1992.

My Paljani (inhabitants of Pale) are razing Sarajevo! While walking in the destroyed Dubrovnik, I was wondering what these same people wanted to show or prove, whether their being was made up from this instinct to destroy!

To these people, their faith or nation are simple expedients they will throw away like paper kerchiefs once they feel they have no further use for them. In the name of their selfish interests they are trying to destroy all that is indestructible.

Tuesday, 21st April, 1992.

"War crimes have no statutory time limit." - I tell myself. When the trials begin, I will be a witness. If I survive, I will definitely leave Pale, not for fear of being killed, but out of a deepest sense of shame because here I have lived surrounded by murderers and thieves.

Thursday, 23rd April, 1992

A great Orthodox holiday, Good Friday, two days before the rising of Christ. Normal, ordinary, working, people know this well, but the Serbian Radio in Pale has to explain what it is. Not long ago, the communists used to explain to their populace that there was no God. In Pale, the same people have done both.

Majo Toplovac

REFUGEE STUDIES PROGRAMME

ACADEMIC COURSE OF STUDY 1992-1993

Multi-disciplinary Foundation Course

- * Refugees in the Contemporary World: An Introduction
- * International Refugee Law
- * Refugees and Psycho-Social Issues
- * Refugees and International Relations
- * Understanding Nutritional Issues
- * Field Methods in Social Research
- * Refugee Livelihood and Economy
- * Refugee Identity: Nationalism, Regionalism and Ethnicity

This multi-disciplinary foundation course of study is open to members of the University, Visiting Fellows and by arrangement to students, researchers, and practitioners from other institutions.

For further information please contact:

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JOYCE PEARCE MEMORIAL LECTURE

Refugee Law: Protection for the Minority was the title of the Joyce Pearce Memorial Lecture for 1992. It was delivered on October 21st by HRH Crown Prince el Hassan bin Talal of Jordan in celebration of RSP's tenth anniversary. Extracts from the wide-ranging and thought provoking speech delivered by His Royal Highness are reproduced below.

Every new political or economic upheaval causes the displacement of innocent people; yet despite the good will of the international community, enlightened and workable solutions are no closer than ever. I would like to suggest today that the problems - and the possible remedies - lie in the deep conceptual framework within which issues of mass migration have traditionally been viewed.

The main legal reference point on these issues remains the 1951 UN Convention. The circumstances under which the Convention was drafted are of great significance, as they are directly reflected in its text and orientation. The context, of course, was the ideological battle of the Cold War. The Convention was formulated primarily for the benefit and encouragement of refugees from the East to the West. It was conceptualised in terms of individual rather than mass movements, and lay the onus of responsibility for refugees - defined as victims of persecution - upon the asylum states.

The realities of today are very different. Refugee movements are characterised by mass rather than individual movement. Persecution in the Cold War sense is no longer the prime motive for migration. Furthermore, the emphasis on the asylum state does not correspond with modern realities. For example, countries receiving involuntary migrants may be poorer than sending countries; they are easily overburdened, endangering their internal public order and, in our increasingly interdependent world, the peace and security of the international community at large.

Burden sharing should not be a question of charity. It should be the concern and responsibility of the international community as a whole. Countries that happen to be located near areas of continuous conflict should not be obliged to bear the brunt of mass displacement, merely by dint of their location. Other criteria, such as capacity of absorption, and economic and environmental resources, should be adopted. Alternatively, adequate compensation to the host country should be made available. In addition, the right of return, which is the foremost obligation in this context, should under no circumstances be abrogated.

Two measures immediately spring to mind to help balance the situation. Firstly, in addition to 'black' lists of countries with poor human rights records, should we not consider the compilation of a 'white' list, to aid countries with long-standing humanitarian traditions, and to encourage other countries to emulate their example? I would also suggest that an international or regional quota system for burden-sharing be adopted, helping to re-distribute the costs and consequences of transnational humanitarian disasters in a more equitable manner.

But the defects inherent in the present refugee regime go deeper than this. An estimated 24 million distressed and displaced people currently fall outside the refugee regime net. The figure soars higher still if one includes those who are internally displaced. The Gulf Crisis provided a powerful illustration of the plight of displaced persons who do not fit the 1951 definition of a refugee: migrant workers, so-called returnees, expellees, internally displaced persons, de facto refugees, economic migrants - the list is long but not exhaustive.

In practical terms, instead of assigning names and misnomers, proper international responsibility should be assigned for each situation. A safety net mechanism, such as the International Labour Compensatory Facility that was proposed in the 1970's is urgently needed in this regard; for nowhere more than in the case of economic migrants is the need for reform clearer.

The key to reform lies in the basic rationale behind giving international protection to the displaced. It is my belief that the issue of mass population movement needs to be taken beyond the sphere of immigration control, or political exigency, and grounded solidly in human rights, as articulated in the Universal Declaration. That vital document places the individual firmly at the centre of all endeavour, a perspective for which I have long argued. Refugees, in the widest sense of the word, can be no exception.

At present, refugee law and human rights are considered as separate areas. This artificial segregation has had adverse consequences for the development of refugee law. For, as a product of a particular time,

place and set of political circumstances, it has become static, irrelevant and even obsolete.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees each individual's right to life, liberty and security in the broadest sense. It is possible to enumerate a host of specific areas in which the current refugee regime would be improved by a firm foundation in human rights - the rights to employment, education, health, compensation, freedom from hunger and so on.

The issue of human displacement must be approached in a more balanced manner. By tackling its causes and prevention, as well as the emergency humanitarian response, within a recognised international legal context, a disproportionate burden could be lifted from asylum countries. Furthermore, causes and consequences of human displacement need to be addressed across the full spectrum of human need: political, legal, cultural, socio-economic, psychological and physiological.

In the near future, I will be convening a meeting of a Group of Wise Persons to discuss the issues involved in human displacement. Among the items of particular concern at this stage is the issue of 'categorisation'. This does not mean the creation of further static definitions, but rather a practical way of defining and reaching out to those who need help. If the 1951 definition of refugees is not to be widened, then those involuntary migrants who fall outside the refugee net can at least be categorised according to their situation, and receive help according to their needs. A firm base in human rights can make this concept viable; and can introduce greater flexibility in response to human disasters, by allowing continuous recommendations and adjustments to the regime.

We should not wait to see another Iraq, another Bosnia, another Burma, another Somalia, before we finally and truly commit ourselves to reaching out to those in need. Re-centring refugee law around human rights law involves a change in attitude and in moral obligations. What we require now, apart from all else, is in the words of Erskine Childers, 'operation moral storm'!

NEWS FROM RSP

Sponsorship

RPN gratefully acknowledges the Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children and the Commission of European Communities for generous funding support.

Staff Research

Dr Andrew Shacknove, Joyce Pearce Fellow at the RSP for the last three years has recently been appointed to a University lectureship in Law - Director of Legal Studies at the Department of Continuing Education at Oxford. He will continue to teach and undertake research on refugee and human rights issues. **Dr Nick Van Hear** (HRH Crown Prince el Hassan bin Talal of Jordan Researcher) has been successful in gaining ESRC funding in support of a comparative study of mass expulsions of migrant workers and alien communities in the Middle East and Africa. **Dr Ken Wilson** has recently returned from northern Mozambique where he has been investigating means of assistance for the hundreds of thousands of people now returning unaided to their homes following the recent peace agreement. He is also undertaking a study of the impact of structural adjustment and drought on livelihood and welfare in a semi-arid area of Zimbabwe. These reports are available on request from RSP at a cost of £2 each. **Dr Chaloka Beyani**, Wolfson College, has been appointed HRH Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan Researcher with the Refugee Studies Programme for three years, starting in January 1993. Dr Beyani, who was a lecturer at the School of Law, University of Zambia, from 1982-88, and consultant to the Ford Foundation in 1991-92, obtained his D.Phil from Oxford in 1992. Dr Beyani's areas of research include international law and human rights; humanitarian law and armed conflict; constitutional order, reform, democracy and human rights; and administrative law and governance.

A research report entitled 'Governments, NGOs and Humanitarian Assistance for Refugees in Southern Africa' is now available on request from the RSP. This research was undertaken by the RSP, the School of Social Work (University of Zimbabwe), Chancellor College (University of Malawi), and the Department of Political and Administrative Studies (University of Botswana). The research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, the Pew Charitable Trusts with Georgetown University, Washington DC. Research examined the humanitarian assistance programme for Mozambican refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe, and its impacts on refugees' survival.

Link with Moi University, Kenya

In February/March of 1993, there will be a one week training course for district officers and immigration officials in Africa.

For further information, contact: Professor John Okumu, Centre for Refugee Studies, Moi University PO Box 3900, Eldoret, Kenya.

SHORT COURSES AT RSP

RECEPTION AND ASSISTANCE FOR ASYLUM SEEKERS IN EUROPE

22-26 March 1993

Designed to be of particular value to practitioners who have been or are about to be involved in programmes for refugees in Europe, this course will deal with political, legal and cultural issues, with special emphasis on the situation of the many refugees seeking asylum in Europe from other parts of the world. Speakers will include experts on the organisation of reception countries, income generation, and the impact of xenophobia.

Registration Fee: £500 (incl. bed and breakfast accommodation)

RESPONDING TO THE CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Day Workshop - Saturday, 27 March 1993

This Workshop is free of charge to those attending the course 'Reception and Assistance for Asylum Seekers in Europe'.

THE LAW OF REFUGEE STATUS by Professor James Hathaway

Saturday 15 and Sunday 16 May 1993

This comprehensive workshop on the scope of the refugee definition, gives participants the opportunity, through a mix of lecture and working group exercises, to grapple with difficult issues of application of the legal norms in the context of factual scenarios based on actual refugee claims.

Registration Fee: £75 (not including accommodation)

Advance enrolment: Limited places available.

PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC INTERVENTIONS WITH VICTIMS OF ORGANISED VIOLENCE

9-14 August 1993

In a joint initiative with the Psychosocial Centre for Refugees of the University of Oslo, RSP offers a 6-day course allowing mental health practitioners the opportunity to review the body of scientific and clinical knowledge accumulated to date.

Course Fee: £600 (including bed and breakfast accommodation)

Interested participants: Please apply no later than 1 April 1993.

For full particulars please contact:

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