THE STATE OF THE WORLD'S REFUGEES 2000

Fifty years of humanitarian action



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Editorial team

Managing editor and principal author **Mark Cutts**

Editors and analysts Sean Loughna Frances Nicholson

Special advisors Jeff Crisp Irene Khan

Production editors Udo Janz Raymond Wilkinson

Statisticians Bela Hovy Tarek Abou Chabake

Cartographers Jean-Yves Bouchardy Yvon Orand

Assistants Claire Bessette Elena Bovay Maureen Gumbe

Produced by UNHCR's Division of Communication and Information, under the direction of **John Horekens**

Main contributing authors:

Joel Boutroue, Sarah Collinson, Filippo Grandi, Jane Hoverd Chanaa, Judith Kumin, Bohdan Nahajlo, Kathleen Newland, Gérard Prunier, W. Courtland Robinson, Philip Rudge, Hiram Ruiz, Sumit Sen, Hugo Slim, Patricia Weiss Fagen and Michael Williams.

Acknowledgements

The editorial team wishes to thank all those who contributed to the preparation of this book. For contributions to boxes: Erin Baines, Carol Batchelor, Jon Bennett, Jo Boyden, Walter Brill, Peter Carey, Roberta Cohen, Nicola Cozza, Bryan Deschamp, David Griffiths, Karen Jacobsen, Kris Janowski, Mahendra P. Lama, Milton Moreno, Terence Ranger, Paul Richards, Ronald Skeldon, Claudena Skran, Samia Tabari, Rick Towle, Nicholas Van Hear and Peter van der Vaart.

For other editorial assistance and support: Marilyn Achiron, Daniel Bellamy, Axel Bisschop, Emery Brusset, Gervaise Coles, Maureen Connelly, Steven Corliss, Damtew Dessalegne, Khassim Diagne, Jiddo van Drunen, Jean-François Durieux, Ragnhild Ek, Kemlin Furley, Mireille Girard, Oldrich Haselman, Otto Hieronymi, Anneliese Hollmann, Susan Hopper, Arafat Jamal, Mitch Januska, Stéphane Jaquemet, Anne Kellner, Sanda Kimbimbi, Pirkko Kourula, Wei Meng Lim-Kabaa, Marion Lindsay, Christina Linner, Serge Malé, Michael McBride, Nicholas Morris, Ilunga Ngandu, Bernadette Passade Cissé, Trudy Peterson, Françoise Peyroux, Ron Redmond, José Riera, John Ryle, Stacy Sullivan, Hans Thoolen, Volker Türk, Neill Wright, Kirsten Young and Philippa Youngman.

The editorial team also wishes to thank the members of the academic advisory group for their assistance and support, and would like to acknowledge the important role played by the late Myron Weiner in encouraging and inspiring UNHCR's research activities.

Academic advisory group

B.S. Chimni, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
Shahram Chubin, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva, Switzerland
Leonardo Franco, Lanus University, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Bill Frelick, US Committee for Refugees, Washington DC, United States
Marrack Goulding, St Antony's College, Oxford, United Kingdom
Ivor C. Jackson, UNHCR (retd.), Geneva, Switzerland
Monica Juma, Moi University, Nairobi, Kenya
Kemal Kirisci, Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey
Gil Loescher, Notre Dame University, Indiana, United States
Thandika Mkandawire, UN Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Switzerland
Yves Sandoz, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, Switzerland
Astri Suhrke, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway
Valery Tishkov, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russian Federation
Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France

Contents

		Page
	Preface by the UN Secretary-General	ix
	Foreword by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees	х
	 Introduction International approaches to refugee protection History of forced displacement 	1
1	 The early years The UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration The International Refugee Organization The establishment of UNHCR The drafting of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention The Hungarian crisis of 1956 	13
1.1	High Commissioners Nansen and McDonald	15
1.2	United Nations assistance to	00
1.3	Palestinian refugees The 1951 UN Refugee Convention	20 23
1.3	Germany's refugee compensation scheme	23 28
1.5	Chinese refugees in Hong Kong	20 33
2	 Decolonization in Africa The Algerian war of independence Decolonization south of the Sahara Rwanda and the Great Lakes region Expanding the international refugee regime 	37
2.1	Flight from Rhodesia, return to Zimbabwe	45
2.2	The 1967 Protocol to the 1951	
	UN Refugee Convention	53
2.3	The 1969 OAU Refugee Convention	55
3	Rupture in South AsiaThe birth of the state of BangladeshRepatriation and population exchanges	59

•UNHCR's expanding role in Asia

		Page
3.1 3.2	The Tibetan refugee community in India The expulsion of South Asians from	63
	Uganda	69
3.3	The plight of the Rohingyas	75
4	Flight from Indochina • War and exodus from Viet Nam • Cambodian refugees in Thailand • Laotian refugees in Thailand • Indochina as a turning point	79
4.1	International conferences on	
	Indochinese refugees	84
4.2	Piracy in the South China Sea	87
4.3	Vietnamese refugees in the United States	90
4.4	Indochina's unaccompanied minors	94
5	Proxy wars in Africa, Asia and	105
	Central AmericaWar and famine in the Horn of Africa	105
	 Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran 	
	 Mass displacement in Central America 	
	 Conflict resolution and repatriation 	
5.1	Refugee camps and settlements	108
5.2	Mozambican refugees in Malawi	112
5.3	The 1984 Cartagena Declaration	123
5.4	Chile under General Pinochet	126
6	Repatriation and peacebuilding	
Č	in the early 1990s	133
	• The Namibian repatriation	
	Repatriation in Central America	
	• The Cambodian repatriation	
	•The Mozambican repatriation	
	•Changing approaches to repatriation	
	and reintegration	
6.1	Protecting refugee children	138
6.2	Linking relief and development	142
6.3	Human rights and refugees	150
7	Asylum in the	

Asylum in the industrialized world • The evolution of asylum policy 155 in Europe

		Page
	 Resettlement and asylum 	0
	in North America	
	• Asylum policies in Australia,	
	New Zealand and JapanPreserving the right to seek asylum	
7.1	European Union asylum policy	159
7.2	Non-state agents of persecution	163
7.3	Funding trends	166
7.4	Haitian asylum seekers	176
8	Displacement in the former	
Ŭ	Soviet region	185
	• The Soviet legacy	
	• Conflicts in the South Caucasus and Tajikistan	
	• New challenges in CIS countries	
	• Conflict in the North Caucasus	
	• The challenges ahead	100
8.1	Statelessness and disputed citizenship	189
8.2 8.3	Non-governmental organizations Armed attacks on humanitarian	194
0.5	personnel	206
	r	
9	War and humanitarian action:	
	Iraq and the Balkans	211
	The Kurdish crisis in northern IraqWar in Croatia and in Bosnia	
	and Herzegovina	
	• The Kosovo crisis	
	•Limits of humanitarian action	
	in times of war	
9.1	Internally displaced persons	214
9.2	East Timor: the cost of independence	236
9.3	International criminal justice	240
10	The Rwandan genocide	
	and its aftermath	245
	• The mass exodus from Rwanda	
	• Flight from the refugee camps	
	• Searching for lost refugees in Zaire	
10.1	• A new phase in the Congolese war The problem of militarized refugee camps	248
10.1	Refugees and the AIDS pandemic	253
	Somalia: from exodus to diaspora	256
	War and displacement in West Africa	260
	Western Sahara: refugees in the desert	266
11	The changing dynamics of	
••	displacement	275
	Fuductor	900
	Endnotes	288

		Page
	Annexes	0
	Technical notes	
	on statistical information	301
1	States party to the 1951 UN	
	Refugee Convention, the 1967	
	Protocol, the 1969 OAU Refugee	
	Convention and members of UNHCR's	
	Executive Committee (EXCOM),	
	as on 31 December 1999	302
2	Number of refugees and others of	
	concern to UNHCR,	
	31 December 1999	306
3	Estimated number of refugees by	
	region, 1950–99	310
4	Refugee populations by main	
	country of asylum, 1980–99	311
5	Largest refugee populations by	
	origin, 1980–99	314
6	Refugee populations by origin	
	and country/territory of asylum,	
	31 December 1999	316
7	Refugees per 1,000 inhabitants:	
	top 40 countries as on	
	31 December 1999	319
8	Number of refugees in the Great	
	Lakes region of África, 1960–99	320
9	Asylum applications and refugee	
	admissions to selected industrialized	
	states, 1990–99	321
10	Main country/territory of origin of	
	asylum seekers in Western Europe,	~~~~
	1990–99	325
11	UN High Commissioners	000
	for Refugees, 1951–2000	326
	Further reading	328
	Index	334

Page

Maps

	Maps	
1.1	States party to the 1951 UN Refugee	
	Convention and/or the 1967 Protocol,	
	30 June 2000	25
2.1	Colonial rule and independence in Africa	46
3.1	Location of main refugee camps in India,	10
0.1	November 1971	61
3.2	UNHCR airlift operation in South Asia,	01
0.2	1973–74	70
4.1	Exodus from Indochina, 1975–95	80
4.1	UNHCR-assisted Cambodian, Laotian and	80
4.2		
	Vietnamese refugee camps in Thailand, 1980s and 1990s	100
5.1		100
5.1	Main refugee flows in northeast Africa	107
۲ 0	during the 1980s	107
5.2 5.3	Main Afghan refugee flows, 1979–90	117
5.5	Main refugee flows within	100
0.1	Central America during the 1980s	122
6.1	Repatriation to Mozambique, 1992–94	149
7.1	Political map of Europe, 1999	172
8.1	The Commonwealth of Independent	100
0.0	States and neighbouring countries, 1999	190
8.2	Main population displacements in the	004
0.1	Caucasus region during the 1990s	204
9.1	Areas of control in Croatia and Bosnia	
0.0	and Herzegovina, April 1995	223
9.2	Main displaced populations from the	
	former Yugoslavia, December 1995	229
9.3	The 1995 Dayton Agreement for	
~ .	Bosnia and Herzegovina	232
9.4	Displaced populations from Kosovo in	
	neighbouring countries/territories,	
	mid-June 1999	235
9.5	East Timor and region, 1999	237
10.1	Populations of refugees and internally	
	displaced persons in West Africa, 1994	261
	Western Sahara, 1999	267
10.3	Rwandan and Burundian refugee	
	movements, 1994–99	270
11.1	Major refugee populations	
	worldwide, 1999	278
. ·	Figures	
0.1	Total population of concern to UNHCR,	

0.1	Iotal population of concern to UNHCR,	
	31 December 1999	10
2.1	Number of refugees in the	
	Great Lakes region, 1960–2000	51
3.1	Bangladeshi refugees in India as on	
	1 December 1971	65
4.1	Indochina: resettlement and repatriation,	
	1975–97	85

		Page
4.2	Arrivals of Vietnamese boat people by	0
	country or territory of first asylum,	
	1975–95	89
4.3	Indochinese arrivals by country or	
	territory of first asylum, 1975–95	98
4.4	Resettlement of Indochinese refugees	00
F 1	by destination, 1975–95	99
5.1	Refugee populations in Ethiopia, Kenya,	100
50	Somalia and Sudan, 1982–99	106
5.2	Afghan refugee population by country	110
5.3	of asylum, 1979–99 Main registered refuses populations in	119
5.5	Main registered refugee populations in Central America and Mexico, 1980–99	124
5.4	Refugees by main region of asylum,	164
5.4	1975–2000	125
6.1	Estimated annual refugee returns	120
0.1	worldwide, 1975–99	151
7.1	Asylum applications submitted in	
	Europe, North America, Australia and	
	New Zealand 1980–2000	157
7.2	Main country/territory of origin of asy-	
	lum seekers in Western Europe, 1990–99	160
7.3	Central European asylum applications,	
	1990–99	164
7.4	Annual number of asylum seekers	
	granted asylum in Europe, 1990–99	165
7.5	Contributions to UNHCR as a percentage	
~ ^	of GDP by major donors, 1999	166
7.6	Top 15 contributors to UNHCR, 1980–99	166
7.7	UNHCR expenditure, 1950–2000	167
7.8	UNHCR expenditure by region, 1990–2000	167
7.9		167
7.9	Asylum applications submitted in main receiving industrialized states, 1980–99	170
7 10	Number of asylum applications per	170
7.10	1,000 inhabitants submitted in main	
	receiving industrialized states, 1999	171
7.11	Proportion of asylum seekers recognized	1,1
	as refugees or granted humanitarian	
	status, 1990–2000	175
7.12	Refugees resettled in industrialized states,	
	1981–99	181
8.1	Soviet mass deportations of the 1940s	187
8.2	'Forced migrants' registered in the Russian	
	Federation by previous place of residence,	
	1993–98	199
8.3	Refugees and IDPs in the Commonwealth	
o .	of Independent States, 1999	208
9.1	Largest IDP populations, 1999	215
10.1	Rwandan and Burundian refugee	050
10.0	populations, 1993–99	250
10.2	Rwandan refugees in the Great Lakes	051
	region, end-August 1994	251

Preface

by the United Nations Secretary-General

The problem of forced displacement has been one of the most pressing issues facing the United Nations throughout its history. Among the most vulnerable groups of people in the world are those who are displaced, whether as a result of conflict, persecution or other human rights violations. In the 50 years since its creation, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been at the forefront of efforts to protect these people.

UNHCR began as a small organization, with a three-year mandate to help resettle European refugees who were still homeless in the aftermath of the Second World War. Since that time, the organization has continually expanded to meet the growing needs of refugees and other displaced people. Today it assists some 22 million people in every corner of the world.

The State of the World's Refugees 2000 is a timely and important book. It provides a detailed history of half a century of international humanitarian action on behalf of refugees and other displaced people, covering all the major refugee emergencies of the last 50 years. It examines the way in which each succeeding crisis has helped shape an expanding body of refugee law, and it analyses the international community's changing response to the problem of forced migration. Above all, it places humanitarian action in the broader political context and examines the fundamental link between displacement and international peace and security.

As a former UNHCR staff member myself, I have personally witnessed the desperate plight of uprooted people in many situations. This book is a tribute both to the courage demonstrated by millions of displaced people and to the dedication and commitment of all those who have worked to protect and assist them over the last half century.

Kofi Annan

Foreword

by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

It takes only a glance at some of the chapter titles of this book to understand why UNHCR's 50th anniversary is not a cause for celebration. Decade by decade, the book provides a stark chronicle of the major upheavals of the past half century—a seemingly unending string of conflicts and crises that have resulted in the displacement of tens of millions of people.

As we enter the new millennium, the fact that the world still finds a need for UNHCR should serve as a sobering reminder of the international community's continuing failure to prevent prejudice, persecution, poverty and other root causes of conflict and displacement. With over a million people forced to flee their homes in Kosovo, East Timor and Chechnya in the last year of the 20th century alone, it is clear that the problem of forced displacement has not gone away, and is likely to remain a major concern of the international community in the 21st century.

But if the longevity of UNHCR as an organization is nothing to celebrate, the courage of the tens of millions of refugees and displaced people who have survived over the past 50 years certainly is. Often losing everything but hope, they are amongst the great survivors of the 20th century and they deserve our respect. That is why in this anniversary year, UNHCR is honouring them for their countless individual and collective accomplishments.

As the number of people of concern to UNHCR has grown, so has the complexity of the problem of forced displacement. Today, policy is set against a backdrop of radical geopolitical shifts; the enormous growth in numbers of the internally displaced; the prevalence of humanitarian emergencies in conflict situations where civilians are the main targets and where humanitarian workers often come under fire; the process of globalization which simultaneously offers opportunities to some but denies them to others; the rise in human trafficking; declining opportunities for asylum; and open criticism of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention which lies at the heart of UNHCR's work.

States have often shown great hospitality and generosity in hosting refugees and other displaced people. Likewise, UNHCR—together with its partners—has on many occasions played an important role in protecting and assisting these people, and in helping them to restart their lives. But, as the chapters of this book illustrate all too clearly, humanitarian action is of limited value if it does not form part of a wider strategic and political framework aimed at addressing the root causes of conflict. Experience has shown time and time again that humanitarian action alone cannot solve problems which are fundamentally political in nature. Yet all too often, humanitarian organizations like UNHCR have found themselves isolated and alone in dangerous and difficult situations, where they have had to operate without adequate financial and political support. Unfortunately, the kind of international political commitment that states have shown in dealing with human displacement in some regions has been absent in other regions considered to be of lesser strategic importance. Although the international community has responded quickly to some of the major refugee emergencies in Africa, such as the Rwandan refugee crisis which began in 1994, donors have been slow to provide support in other situations. In 1999, for example, donors were quick to provide funds and resources for those displaced by the conflict in Kosovo. But little attention was paid to the situation in West Africa, where hundreds of thousands of people were uprooted by crises in Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau.

States have also often demonstrated a lack of political commitment to solving refugee problems during the post-conflict phase, when the spotlight of the international media has moved away. Refugees and other displaced people often return to places where a fragile peace needs to be consolidated through reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Unfortunately, political uncertainty often discourages the involvement of development organizations and investment by financial institutions, with the result that the gap between emergency humanitarian assistance and longerterm development aid remains largely unaddressed.

This book provides a critical analysis of many of these important issues. It attempts to offer an objective account of the difficult situations in which displaced people have found themselves, and of the changing international political environment in which UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations have operated. The aim of the book is not to be judgemental, nor is it to provide an official history of UNHCR and the refugee problem. Rather, it is to present a historical overview of the many dilemmas which have been faced by governments, humanitarian organizations and other actors in dealing with the problem of human displacement.

I have had the privilege of leading UNHCR and its dedicated staff throughout most of the 1990s. During my time as High Commissioner, I have repeatedly attempted to highlight the link between human displacement and international peace and security. It is vital that the international community continue to seek lasting solutions to problems of human displacement. Those who would ignore them do so at their peril. History has shown that displacement is not only a consequence of conflicts; it can also cause conflict. Without human security, there can be no peace and stability.

Sadeko Ogeta

Sadako Ogata