

# Refugee Update

A Joint Project of the Jesuit Refugee Service/Canada and the Canadian Council For Refugees.

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## "Will The Minister Say No To Drugs?"

This question, asked in the House of Commons by Dan Heap, the N.D.P.'s immigration critic, captured the sentiments of refugee advocates. It came after the startling confession that the drugging of rejected refugee claimants was government policy:

House of Commons - Ottawa  
May 7, 1990

**Mr. Dan Heap (Trinity-Spadina):** Amnesty International, with many other Canadians, has urged the minister not to deport Mohamed Ahmet Said to Kenya today, as is scheduled, because two other rejected refugee claimants deported by Canada to Kenya in recent months were imprisoned, beaten, and interrogated about other Kenyans in Canada...

(Mr. Said) signed a statement, which I sent to the minister, saying that an immigration officer warned him that if he makes a noise during removal, and I quote, "the police and doctor will know what to do". He is evidently referring to a practice of administering drugs without consent to make deportation easier.

Will the minister confirm that it is the government's policy to administer drugs without consent to make deportation easier?

**Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration):** From time to time a medical attendant is required when people are being deported. This is not simply a practice of our people. It is a practice that has to do with the safety of the person involved and the safety of

other passengers.

We certainly expect any decisions to be taken with sensitivity and that they are taken as a result of what the medical attendant views as what is required.

## Minister Alone In Defending Drugging!

Inside and outside the House of Commons, Barbara McDougall refused to admit there was anything wrong with drugging deportees against their will: "It's not a violation of anything as far as I can tell" said McDougall. (Toronto Star, May 8, 1990)

Meanwhile, individuals and groups concerned for human rights condemned the policy. Dr. Philip Berger, a founding member of the Centre For the Prevention and Investigation of Torture, pointed out that it is unethical to administer drugs for

Globe and Mail  
Wednesday, May 16th, 1990  
Letters To The Editor

### LOSING MORAL STATURE

Some time ago, Father Ian Boyd suggested that we call the new refugee legislation by its true Chestertonian title, Fugitive Slave Act. Now Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall tells us our government forcibly drugs refugees before deporting them, a practice that even slave drivers might have considered inhuman. (Canada Uses Tranquillizers To Calm Deportees - May 8).

This government is quickly depriving Canada of any moral stature it might still have in the eyes of the world. Can't we do something to stop it?

Alberto Manguel - Toronto



other than strictly medical reasons. He emphasized that physicians are bound by at least three international treaties that forbid the administration of drugs for political purposes: "I've been in this work for 13 years, and I've read widely about doctors in other countries being used to carry out the work of the state. It just would never occur to me that it would happen in this country." (Globe and Mail, May 8, 1990)

The Canadian Medical Association said drugging unco-operative deportees against their will is unethical and possibly criminal. Max Yalden, Canadian Human Rights Commission, agreed that such a practice would be unethical and possibly a violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Toronto Star, May 9, 1990).

### Drugging Policy Must be Changed

Mrs. McDougall partly defends her drugging policy because it apparently only occurred in 9 cases since Jan., 1989, some of which may have involved legitimate medical reasons. However, she misses the real point that the policy itself is unacceptable. In how many cases like Said have drugs been used as a threat to enforce deportation?

In the United States, Duke Austin of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service says, "As a matter of public policy, we do not sedate people being removed on commercial flights." Indeed, the Americans have found it enough to provide trained escorts, or when deportees are considered disruptive or potentially dangerous, placing them on chartered flights. (Toronto Star, May 10, 1990)

When will the Mrs. McDougall say no to drugs?

## Canadian Spy Agency Grills Refugees On Church Protection

A Salvadoran refugee claimant was interviewed by an agent of the Canadian Security Intelligence service (CSIS) in April, 1990, for 3 nerve-racking hours:

*He told me his job was to find out if there were terrorist groups working here inside Canada. He kept asking me questions, trying to get me to say that somebody helped me make the trip. He didn't use these exact words but he asked me whether or not I knew if there was a church here that had a network of churches organized to help refugees come step by step to the Canadian border.*

*Then he changed the subject and asked me whether or not I was working in any organization here in Canada that was financially helping the FMLN (the armed opposition in El Salvador). He asked if war were declared between the FMLN and the government of El Salvador, and if the FMLN were to send me a letter asking me to go and fight for them, would I go.*

### Links To Our Neighbours...

Los Angeles: May, 1990

In a recent press conference, Father Luis Olivares and Father Michael Kennedy of Our Lady Queen of Angels Roman Catholic Church, accused the FBI of trying to coerce a Salvadoran factory worker into spying on their church which has been a haven for hundreds of illegal migrants and Central American refugees.

The priests said that on Oct. 5, an FBI agent approached Albert Palacios, a 53-year-old Salvadoran refugee who fled his country in 1985 after imprisonment for union activities. According to Palacios, the agent interrogated him for nearly two hours and informed him that he was under investigation apparently in connection with a plan that Palacios had devised to raise money for Salvadoran children wounded in the country's 10-year-old civil war.

Then, Palacios says, the agent told him that "things would go better" for Palacios if he cooperated with Federal agents by naming the most politically active organizers at the church. Palacios said the agent gave him six months to come up with some information, during which time the Salvadoran struggled to decide whether to seek help. (Alliance of Sanctuary Communities Newsletter, May 1990)

*He asked me what relationship the government of Canada has with the government of el Salvador. And he asked me what I thought of what Karen Ridd had done in El Salvador.*

*I said that I was worried about this kind of question because I have family in El Salvador and the information that I might give could endanger them. He told me not to worry because the organization he belonged to was not like the CIA in the United States.*

## CSIS Interrogation of Refugees Not New

Also in April, 1990 a number of Bulgarian refugee claimants were grilled in St John's, Newfoundland. The interview covered issues like military service, individuals in Bulgaria and other claimants in the province. (The Evening Telegram, April 18, 1990)

One of the refugee claimants said he felt he had to talk to the CSIS official who approached him, or he might jeopardize his chances of gaining refugee status. The government committee which oversees CSIS confirmed that individuals do not have to agree to interviews. But they also admit it is often difficult for individuals from other countries to understand they are not obliged to speak to CSIS

In 1987, CSIS tried to bar a Chilean refugee couple from citizenship (Globe and Mail, January 23, 1988). The couple were declared security risks because of their continued involvement in organizations and protest opposing the regime of General Augusto Pinochet.

The couple recounted their horror that after their arrests, interrogation and imprisonment in Chile, they continued to be questioned, wiretapped, and shadowed in the land where they sought refuge:

*Imagine how terrifying it is for my wife to be here alone at night and to have a six-foot-tall policeman knocking on the door at night, holding the door open with his foot and saying he just wanted to come in and have a friendly chat.*

Fortunately, the decision to deny citizenship was overturned.

## We're Not Alone...

CSIS has recently come under attack by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. The Association has applied for a court injunction

preventing CSIS from conducting "intrusive surveillance" against Canadians (Toronto Star, May 10th, 1990).

The Association's lawyer, Edward Belobaba, says that the law creating CSIS allows its agents to go way, way beyond what anti-terrorism or counter-espionage is all about:

"It may authorize techniques of intrusive surveillance to be used against Canadian citizens who...send financial help to rebels in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Namibia or Afghanistan."

## You Can Help!

The extent of CSIS activities respecting refugees and church protection work are not yet clear. We need to remember that Mr. Benoit Bouchard, the previous Minister of Employment and Immigration, testified before a Parliamentary Subcommittee that the proposed sections of the new law making it an offense for a person to "aid and abet" others coming to Canada without visas would never be used against church workers protecting refugees. We want to hold the government to that promise! If you have any information connected to CSIS questioning of refugees, please contact Refugee Update.

## Update on Said Case

Mohamed Ahmet Said remains in detention at the Metro West Detention Centre.

He and others were photographed participating in demonstrations in front of the Kenyan embassy in Ottawa. Kenyan president Moi recalled his ambassador and demanded an apology from Canada for allowing the demonstrations, adding that the demonstrators would pay a price if returned to Kenya.

Following the arrest and beating of two refugee claimants deported back to Kenya by Canada, the government finally suspended deportations. However, it soon struck a deal with Mr. Moi and resumed deportations. Kenyans in Canada say the deal will not protect them.

Please write, call or POM:  
The Honourable Barbara McDougall  
Minister of Employment and Immigration  
House of Commons, Ottawa  
K1A 0A6 (613) 994-2482

## ON TRIAL WITHOUT CHARGES

We hid behind bushes,  
laboured with birth pangs inside trenches -  
stretched a meal for husband and children,  
and filled our empty bellies with water.

We gathered our family  
under one roof - a tree.  
We witnessed loss of life and property  
and shuddered and suffered daily.

Some decided to brave the seas,  
some the relentless desert lands.  
Separation - the price of survival  
Traditions were broken to stay alive

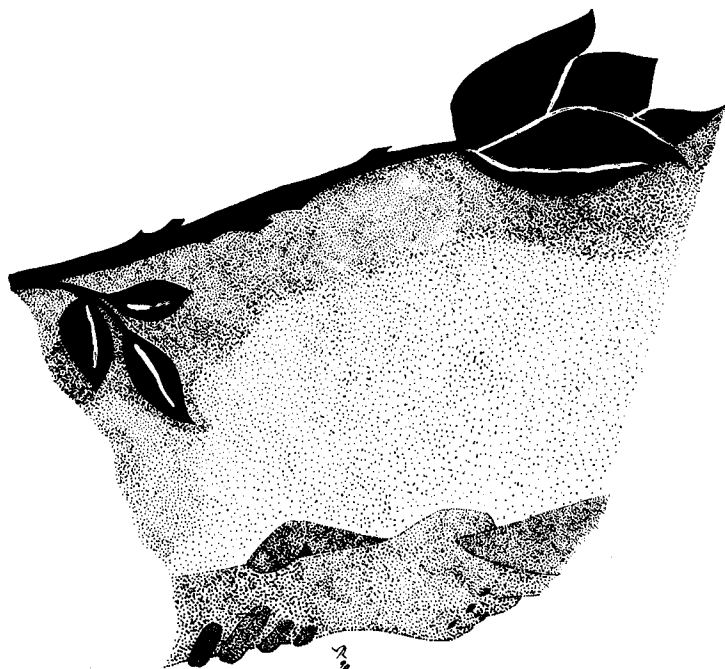
When at borders, Ports and Camps  
our hosts surveyed us with doubts and disbelief,  
and sought proof of our pain and loss,  
we suffered and shrunk a little more.

Our journeys are not over yet  
in asylum we are in exile.  
In resettlement we are on trial  
our charges are not clear to us.

Is it a crime to want to stay alive  
to raise our family without war and fear.  
Is it a crime to cross borders  
and seek refuge in a neighbour's house?

January 1990

*Sudha Coomarasamy*



## Sponsoring Groups Hit With Travel Loan Cuts

by *Ellen Turley*

A small United Church congregation about to sponsor a woman and child referred by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has to review its decision because of the recent cutback in government support for privately sponsored refugees...

A Roman Catholic parish, in response to a government plea to assist Salvadorans, declares itself willing to sponsor a large Salvadoran family. That church now faces extra, unanticipated costs due to the government's cutback...

What is the cutback? On April 16th, 1990 the government decided to change its policy on transportation loans for privately sponsored refugees. The implications of this decision are slowly being felt by groups of individuals and organizations across the country as they struggle to muster the resources to keep protecting refugees.

## What Happened To The Partnership?

Since 1980, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and concerned Canadians have helped the Canadian government fulfil its international obligations to refugees by sponsoring the resettlement of many thousands of refugees here in Canada. Also, these same individuals and organizations have allowed Canada to accept refugees who needed special attention and care. These sorts of private sponsorships were carried out under Master Agreements in which the government committed itself to provide travel loans to refugees whose resettlement it had approved.

After three months in Canada, the government would send a letter to the refugees requesting repayment of the loan. The repayment schedule was usually reasonable and the loan was interest-free. The loans themselves were financed through a revolving capital fund.

The decision of the federal government effectively has changed the rules regulating the allocation of the transportation fund. According to the new rules government-sponsored refugees and members of various designated classes now have first claim on the transportation fund. Second priority has been given to people with family class relations here in Canada. Coming in third and last are refugees who are being sponsored

privately. However, in these cases loans will be made only on an individual case basis, and after a specific request to the national headquarters of Canada Immigration. Given the amount of money in the pool, the practical effect of this change will be to deny privately sponsored refugees access to the transportation fund.

This change in government policy risks having a devastating impact on private sponsorships. The great tragedy of this cutback is that many private sponsorship agencies and groups choose to help the most needy and vulnerable refugees, including women with children, the handicapped, the elderly and refugees with large families. They respond to requests for sponsorship of individual cases referred to them by well-known international organizations, such as Amnesty International and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). They have also responded to requests for sponsorship from Canada Immigration. The reduced availability of transportation loans will only increase the obstacles sponsoring groups will have to overcome in order bring refugees to Canada.

### **Response of the Refugee Support Community**

Leaders of sponsorship organizations have sharply criticized the government's move and have contacted various government officials to protest this change in policy. Leaders of the ten main-line churches have written to Prime Minister Mulroney expressing their regret and concern over the government's decision as well as the way it was made:

We protest the irregular manner in which the government chose to make this change, without advance notice, ignoring the provisions of the Master Agreements and making transition procedures impossible.

The Inter-Church Committee on Refugees has sent letters of protest to Mr. Mulroney and the Minister of Employment and Immigration, Barbara McDougall. This shift in government policy which affects private sponsorships presently in the system is, they claim, a shameful and unconscionable blow against highly vulnerable refugees in the world, and against refugee organizations that work hard to preserve the integrity of Canada's refugee system.

Refugee and immigration selection has been criticized for favouring the most affluent

rather than the most needy or most in danger. Those with money will always find their way to Canada. The urgent task is maintain a system which will permit those most at risk, those least able to defend themselves to come to Canada with the least amount of delay.

Please contact your local M.P., the government and

Ms. Anne Michley

Refugee Settlement, Department of Immigration  
Phase IV

Place du Portage

140 Promenade du Portage

Hull, Quebec P1A 0J9

### **Urgent...Action...ANC**

Mahmood Hassan Randeree was born in South Africa on August 22, 1956. At age 10 he and his mother fled to Zambia to join his father, already in exile for his political activities. At 13, he was issued an Indian passport (his grandfather was born in India) to attend school in England.

He was later granted a scholarship by the African National Congress to study in Germany. In 1986 he moved to an ANC camp in Tanzania where he ran an ANC farm.

In 1989 Mahmood came to Canada as a visitor and then claimed refugee status. On April 26th, 1990 he was rejected at his screening hearing on the basis that he is a "national" of India! The decision was made despite evidence from South African lawyers that Mahmood is a South African.

Mahmood's lawyer, David Matas, has appealed the decision to the Federal Court.

Please contact Barbara McDougall. For more information, contact the Manitoba Coalition of Organizations Against Apartheid (204) 783-6591.

### **More from David Matas...**

David has written 3 recent papers on Canada's overseas process: **The Indo-Chinese Designated Class; The Self-Exiled Class; Procedural Safeguards Overseas.**

Available from JRS/Canada.



## When The Going Gets Tough...

Remember the battle against Bill C-55, the new refugee legislation? Refugee rights activists gave particular resistance to the safe third country clause. In that provision we saw the cornerstone of the government's efforts to keep refugee claimants out of Canada.

In the end, Bill C-55 became the law of the land. Yet the government backed off implementing the safe third country clause, in part because of the outcry led by refugee rights activists. Moreover, refugees have continued to come, and for those whose claims have been heard a high percentage have been accepted.

However, all is certainly not well in the world of Canadian support for refugees. Quietly but surely the federal government is responding to the plight of refugees with what can only be characterized as brutal neglect.

### The System Is Failing...

Consider the following: The new claimant system is already backlogged with 20,000 cases.

#### New Law Statistics - At A Glance

(January 1, 1990 to March 31, 1990)

Refugee Claims (1)	11,250
Claims Heard	5,987
Withdrawn	110
Pending	3,140
Completed	2,737
Accepted	2,082
Denied Hearing	193
Rejected	462
Acceptance %	73%
New Law Backlog (2)	20,808

Note (1): Based on this statistic, immigration officials are predicting 40,000 refugee claims for 1990.

Note (2): Refugee Update estimates that 11,400 claimants are awaiting their inquiry and another 9,400 have cases pending before the Refugee Board for a total backlog of 20,808.

The "old" Backlog is limping along at a snail's pace. Processing overseas applications continues to take years; refusals have skyrocketed. And most recently, the government has taken a swipe at sponsoring agencies by unilaterally cutting off travel loans to privately sponsored refugees.

Refugee workers are alarmed at the impact of these measures on refugees. Thousands suffer separation from their families with no sign from the government on when their loved ones can come. For families who are together, the delays of the system, and the resulting uncertainty and fear are having a terrible impact on the health and well-being of family members. Refugees are being punished for having sought protection in Canada and are being made to feel that they are the problem.

### Backlog Shows Meanness Of Spirit

Nothing shows the meanness of spirit in Ottawa like the Backlog and the system put in place to clear it up. Up to 120,000 people are caught in the Backlog. Trapped in limbo, they have become scapegoats in a drama over which they have had no control. As the old claimant system bogged down through the 1980's, immigration mandarins

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in Canada...*

began planning a new strategy to regain control. With the new system (Bill C-55) in mind, they labelled claimants arriving in Canada "abusers" and began to lobby for "their" new system. The rest is history, except for those caught in the backlog who await a decision on their claim. For reasons that defy justice and economy, the federal government is spending millions of dollars (600 million according to a

Commons committee) on the Backlog system to make these people grovel once more for acceptance into Canada.

As these millions go down the drain, the department of immigration routinely claims that "resource allocation" is the key to current difficulties in processing claims under the new system. They claim there are insufficient resources to run the new system, and that they are solving the difficulties by reallocating existing resources. The waste of personal and financial resources on the Backlog system reveals, however, the hypocrisy of the resource argument.

### Refugee Board Failing...

And then there is Gordon Fairweather and the Refugee and Immigration Board (RIB). Mr. Fairweather has not received a great deal of criticism despite constant rumours of inefficiency at the Board. One current concern is the amount of time for the Board to reach a decision once it has heard a claim. There is a long delay after the hearing.

But the most serious problem at the RIB concerns the quality of decisions by Board members. To date, lawyers have been reluctant to publicize this issue, for they must work with the Board every day. Already one member from the Quebec section has been let go, and the Board's own statistics show that the Quebec section rejects disproportionately more claims than other regions.

The Minister herself, Barbara McDougall, is a bit of an enigma. Until recently, many would have said that Ms. McDougall has been no better nor worse than her predecessors. She had come into the post with orders to get refugee policy out

of the headlines and she has succeeded. To her credit she has resisted pressure to implement the safe country clause, and she has intervened in dozens of cases which groups like Vigil and Amnesty International have brought to her attention. Her motives for doing so have been well shrouded behind her dead-pan delivery. As long as her decisions remained positive, there was little need to scrutinize her motives.

Now, however, indications are that Ms. McDougall is planning to get tough with claimants. Whereas Ms. McDougall's intervention in Vigil's first case (Mohammed Hussein), in

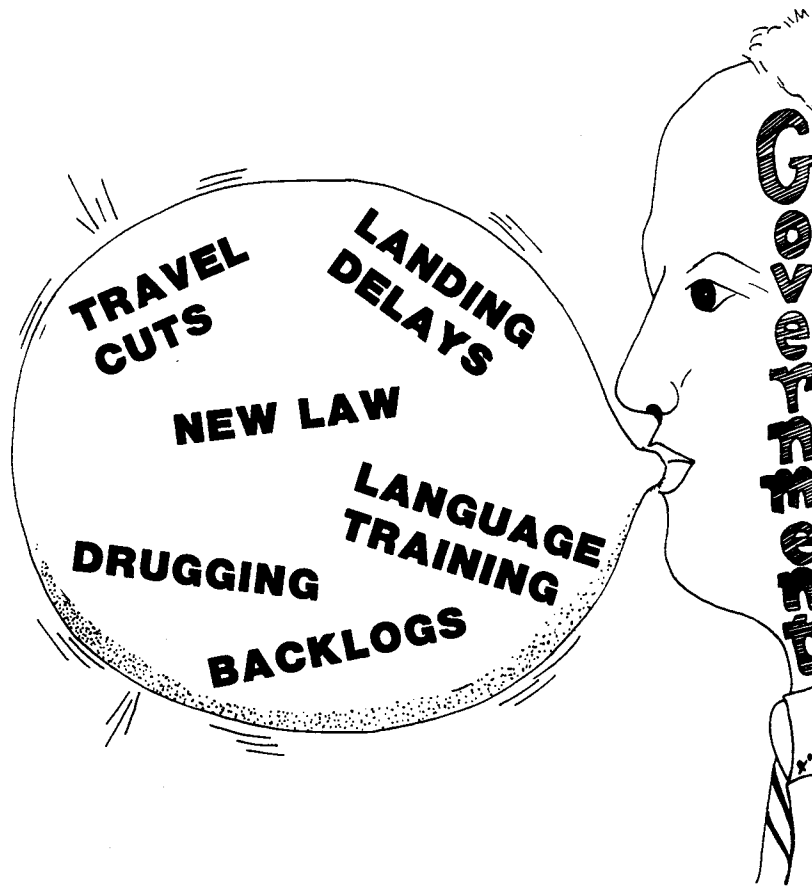
January 1989, signalled her soft pedalling the new law in its first year, her cold defence of the immigration department's drugging practices is a sign of the lengths she is prepared to go to get rid of refugee claimants.

### The Gathering Storm

The months ahead could see the government take draconian measures to ward off or at least distract public attention from a complete collapse of the system.

Some of these measures would include a fortification of existing policy options: increased efforts overseas to deter claimants from getting to Canada, more negative publicity, increased deportations etc.

Provincial governments are already protesting the strain that claimants are putting on welfare, education, and legal aid budgets. If the federal government pulls work permits from claimants until after they have their hearing, as it did in 1987, the strain on provincial welfare budgets could worsen. With a recession looming and provinces cutting their social service programmes,



the summer and fall months could easily see anti-refugee sentiment increase as low-income Canadians are forced to compete for scarce resources.

### ...The Tough Get Going!

Refugees seeking protection in Canada are in critical need of active support. Unjust

*Unjust*

*deportations*

*cannot be allowed*

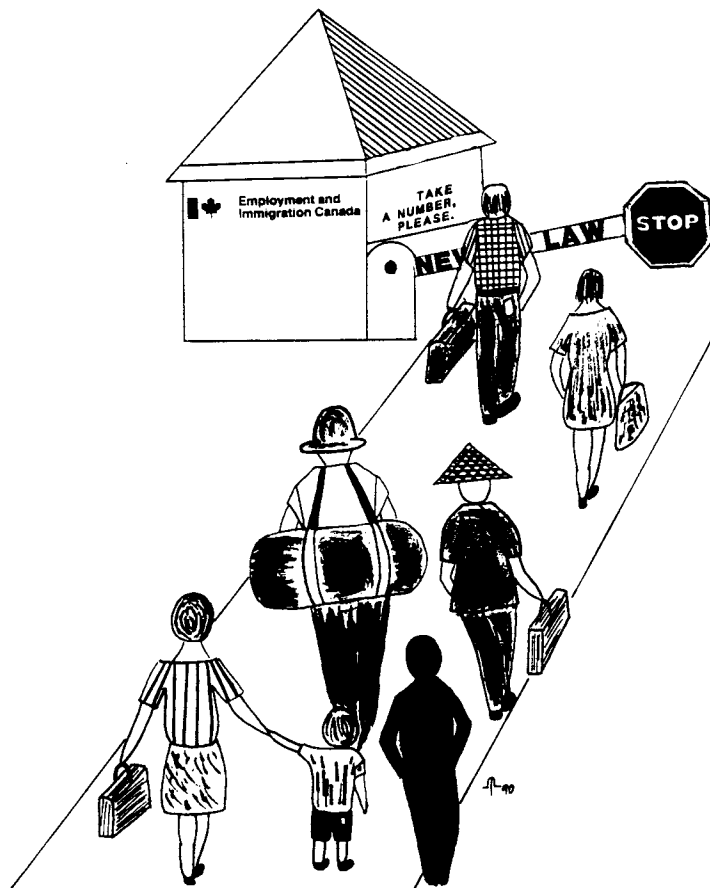
*to occur*

*without challenge.*

deportations can not be allowed to occur without challenge. Canadians have a right to protect refugees and unfair government policies toward refugees demand criticism. Over the past few years, refugee rights advocates have been ready to do what had to be done when the heat was turned up against refugees. If current signs are an indication of things to come, its time once again to "get going"!

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to be done when the heat was turned up against refugees. If current signs are an indication of things to come, its time once again to "get going"!



## The Coles' Proposals: Cop-Out or Challenge?

by David Petrasek

There has been quite a stir recently over a document written by Gervase Coles, the Senior Legal Research Officer in the UNHCR's Refugee Law and Doctrine Division in Geneva. The paper, entitled **Solutions to the Problems of Refugees and the Protection of Refugees**, maintains that the current framework of refugee law has an "exilic basis", focusing almost exclusively on protection abroad. Within this framework the "solution" to the refugee problem is generally viewed as securing resettlement abroad.

Coles proposes that before defining a solution one must define the problem, and for him the refugee problem is:

- (i) the denial of freedom of movement to the individual as a result of conditions in the country of nationality which compel departure from that country or stay abroad; and
- (ii) the inability or unwillingness of that individual to avail himself of the protection of the country of nationality.

In other words, the problem is not restrictive determination procedures, visa controls, or refugees-in-orbit, but the fact that the refugee's freedom of movement has been denied - the absence of a right of return to the country from which she fled. Conditions outside the country of origin, (like Canada's credible basis test), are consequential problems arising from the absence of freedom of movement. For Coles, the "problem" is in the country of origin. Thus

the problem is  
not restrictive  
determination  
procedures, visa  
controls, or  
refugees-in-orbit ...

"solution" is defined simply as:  
...either the prevention of conditions arising within the country of nationality that compel a national to depart or to remain outside the country of nationality so that the national is without national protection or the remedying of such conditions having that effect.



## Attacking Root Causes Not New

Even accepting Coles' proposals at face value, numerous objections can be raised. Firstly, haven't we always known that return to the country of origin is the preferred solution but, accepting its unlikelihood, focused our attention on securing protection abroad? More importantly, Coles' strategy of preventing or remedying conditions in the country of origin requires precisely the kind of endeavour that development and human rights organizations have been involved in for years. Will refugee advocates succeed where they have failed?

Most troubling is the possibility that Coles, however well-intentioned, has provided the increasingly restrictionist Western countries with an academically-clothed, (and thus less assailable?) justification for diverting attention from their retreat from humanitarianism. His "solution" swings the spotlight on to the refugee-producing countries of the developing world, and allows for a very intrusive supervisory role (played by Western countries) in securing the conditions which would either prevent exodus or allow for return. Not only is this role intrusive, but one cannot but question it's authenticity given the West's complicity in causing refugee flows. Arms exports, the West's geostrategic interests, and the structural inequalities favouring the North built in to the North-South relationship, all play no small part in creating refugee flows, and, arguably, point to the masked hypocrisy of such a "solution".

## Part of the Solution

On the other hand, Coles has made a point and laid down a challenge that cannot be lightly dismissed. If one starts with the interests of the refugee, then surely exile is not a tolerable solution. Nor, it must be conceded, is the redistribution of the world's population the answer to development problems.

Some would also question whether advocating here in Canada on behalf of a particular refugee does much to rectify the

conditions which led to her flight. This is not to say that we are not aware of the need to agitate for human rights and economic justice in countries like El Salvador, (indeed, many refugee advocates do a fair bit of such agitation); however, it is to accept that sometimes the forest is overlooked for the trees.

Then, there is the enormous costs of refugee determination procedures, (in Canada alone amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars), that might be better spent on development assistance. And finally, we must squarely face the possibility that if our system becomes overloaded there is no guarantee that the government will not place further restrictions on access, or scrap it altogether.

## More Than A Semantic Somersault

So it can be argued that in proposing a new definition of "solution" Coles has done much more than perform a semantic somersault. He has conceptually coupled the solution of the refugee problem to the solution of human rights violations and economic injustice in refugee-producing countries, and in so doing charted a new and holistic approach to solution. This approach is worth pursuing because, if the protection obligation can be recast in terms of a right of return, it may force the countries of the north to

accept more than a token responsibility for conditions in other countries.

But there are pitfalls. There is no doubt that the West will welcome the focus on country of origin, and then attempt to shirk any responsibility for preventative or remedial measures. However, even accepting that danger it is a path worth pursuing if only because the alternatives may be worse. Refugees will continue to flee persecution in increasing numbers and another round of door-slaming cannot be far off.

The fight must now be twofold:

(i) to maintain the existing level of protection abroad; and (ii) to convince governments, as Coles suggests we do, that their obligations to refugees extend to alleviating the conditions that cause flight.

*...the West will welcome the focus on country of origin, and then attempt to shirk any responsibility for preventative or remedial measures.*

# 1989 IN REVIEW: CHARTING THE NUMBERS

by Bill Heffernan

Roger P. Winter, director of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, recently made the following bleak assessment:

*The 1980's ended with a bang. The iron curtain was thrown open and the cold war began to thaw. But for many of the cold war's innocent victims - the world's 15 million refugees and even larger numbers of people displaced within their homelands as a result of the conflicts*

*fuelled and fed by the cold war - the future is looking increasingly grim, even deadly.*

**Table 1  
Principal Sources Of The  
World's Refugees**

AFGHANISTAN	5,934,500
PALESTINIANS	2,340,500
MOZAMBIQUE	1,354,000
ETHIOPIA	1,085,900
IRAQ	508,000
ANGOLA	438,000
SUDAN	435,100
SOMALIA	388,600
CAMBODIA	334,166
IRAN	270,100
OTHER	1,995,034
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15,093,900</b>

The refugee population of the world has increased by 50% in the past five years from 10 million to 15 million. At the same time the budget for

the U.N.H.C.R. has increased by only 25%.

## Poor Countries Shoulder The Burden

Consider that 2,700 people per day are forced to leave their homelands. Primarily they go to the countries least able to economically sustain them.

Also consider that 9 of the countries with the highest ratio of refugees to the general population have a per capita income of under \$1,000. Swaziland has a ratio of 1 to 11 with a GNP of \$700. Somalia is 1 to 23 and \$290; Pakistan is 1 to 31 and \$350; Sudan 1 to 35 and \$330; Zimbabwe 1 to 54 and \$590; Burundi 1 to 61 and \$240; Zambia 1 to 62 and \$240; and Ethiopia 1 to 67 and \$120.

Canada, with a per capita GNP of \$15,000, is estimated to have admitted 26,000 refugees in 1989, half of whom were privately sponsored.

**TABLE 2  
WHERE ARE THE WORLD'S REFUGEES NOW**

MIDDLE EAST/SOUTH ASIA	9,141,600
AFRICA	4,524,800
NORTH AMERICA/EUROPE	700,600
EAST ASIA/PACIFIC	574,100
LATIN AMERICA/CARIB.	152,800
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15,093,900</b>

Our ratio is approximately one to every 1,000.

Where refugees go has a direct bearing on the quality of their life in regard to basic human needs such as housing, food, self determination, education, human rights and the right to live in peace. Children, who make up 60% of the world refugee population, are particularly at risk.

When hundreds of thousands fled Somalia in Mid 1988 they arrived in Ethiopia in good health. They were not famine victims, they were fleeing political persecution and war. Within 6 months, however, acute malnutrition was evident among 25% of the refugee children. Food deliveries were insufficient in 1988 and by early 1989 death rates as high as 3,000 per month were being recorded.

## Not All Are Counted As Refugees

In addition to the 15 million who are technically considered refugees, there are another 15 million who are either living in refugee like situations



**TABLE 3  
POPULATIONS IN REFUGEE  
LIKE SITUATIONS**

CENTRAL AMERICANS	2,860,000
PALESTINIANS	1,596,000
HAITIANS	1,570,000

abroad or who are internally displaced. The former, who may indeed be refugees, are undocumented, unregistered or otherwise fall outside of legal protection mechanisms. The latter are internally displaced, usually because of war or repression, afraid to return to their homes, and unable to qualify for any aid in their new unwanted surroundings.

Many Central Americans for instance have not applied for asylum due to inadequate refugee determination procedures or low asylum approval rates in the countries they flee to. There are somewhere between 800,000 - 1,900,000 Central Americans in the U.S.A. alone in this category and another 1 million in Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Belize.

Half a million Haitians in the U.S. and upwards of one million in the Dominican Republic are viewed as economic migrants and rarely are they accorded refugee status. Smaller, yet significant numbers of Haitians are also in Canada, France and the Caribbean.

### The Displaced

Still large numbers of other people have been displaced within their own countries as a result of human conflict. These people share many common characteristics with refugees who

cross international borders, yet they are generally not eligible for international refugee assistance.

### Government Assistance Needed

It is obvious that major infusions of monetary aid

**TABLE 4  
INTERNALLY DISPLACED**

SOUTH AFRICA	3,570,000
SUDAN	3,000,000
ETHIOPIA	1,500,000
ANGOLA	1,178,000
IRAQ	1,000,000
LEBANON	1,000,000
GUATEMALA	500,000
SRI LANKA	500,000
USSR	500,000
IRAN	500,000
PHILIPPINES	450,000
SOMALIA	400,000
EL SALVADOR	397,000

are needed just to meet the basic living essentials for most of the world's millions of refugees. Currently Canada is the seventh highest per capita contributor in the world to refugee aid agencies at \$1.35. Interestingly the top 4 countries are all from Scandinavia ranging from \$6.35 to \$4.10 per capita.

However, the real solution exists not in the rich countries providing more space and money for refugees (which they clearly ought to do) but in a re-examination of the military industrial complex upon which their economies and foreign policies are built. Refugees are sadly the direct result, and a necessary dividend of the commitment to these economic and military policies. The only hope for refugees in the thawing of the cold war and the reduction of the numbers of wars is that they be the direct beneficiaries of the potential monetary windfall that the easing of tensions should produce. As Roger P. Winter states: "One would think that the cold war, having cost uncountable billions to wage, would in its waning yield a substantial peace dividend for refugees who have been direct victims of the last decade's violence."

Any recognition of improved relations among the superpowers or improving possibilities for peace accords and demobilization of forces in countries with civil strife, that does not first and foremost recognize and support the very victims that were created by these tensions in the first place, is a facade and hollow. The real dismantling of the Berlin Wall and all that it symbolizes will not occur until we have rehabilitated and repatriated each of its more than 30 million innocent victims currently living as refugees or in refugee like situations.

### World Refugee Survey: 1989 in Review

Statistics for this article are from the U.S. Committee For Refugees' **World Refugee Survey: 1989 in Review** (note: in some cases original sources for statistics vary and **Refugee Update** used maximum numbers).

The **Review** is available for \$8.00 a single copy or \$6.00 each for orders of 10 or more from the:

U.S. Committee for Refugees  
1025 Vermont Ave, N.W.  
Suite 920  
Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 347-3507

## CCR Refugee Rights Day Campaign

This past April 4th, 1990, Refugee Rights Day in Canada, the CCR launched **The Backlog: A Call To Action**. The campaign resulted in a wave of Public Opinion Messages (15 word POMs) to Brian Mulroney. As promised, here is a sample:

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"Refugees in backlog are suffering due to cruel and unnecessary delays in processing"

"Let us end the abuse! Recognize abused refugee women as victims of persecution from homeland"

"Canadian government mismanagement is causing human suffering. End refugee backlog quickly. Grant amnesty now"

"Backlog processing cruelly imposes prolonged family separation. End the despair. Implement special humanitarian measures immediately"

"Refugee backlog is ultimate cruelty. Your two year promise is a lie. Be humanitarian now!"

"In the names of humanity and justice, end the refugee backlog by granting amnesty now."

"Refugees have already suffered enough back home. End the torturous waiting of the backlog now."

"This separation from my family means despair, emptiness and loneliness in this life. Please we want responses. Thank you..." added to this message "I came in 1987. Almost three years without my wife and son."

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The CCR executive is meeting with Barbara McDougall, Minister of Employment and Immigration, on May 30th. Results at...

### CCR Spring Consultation

May 31st to June 2nd in Toronto  
**Keynote Speaker: Rabbi Gunther Plaut**  
**Special Guest Speaker: Roger Winter: U.S. Committee for Refugees**

### Backlog Statistics (as of April 12, 1990)

Total Backlog		113,063
Front "H and C"		25,957
<i>Accepted</i>	1,478	
<i>Rejected</i>	24,479	
Panel Hearings		7,171
<i>Accepted</i>	6844	
<i>Rejected</i>	327	
Back "H and C"		35
<i>Accepted</i>	4	
<i>Rejected</i>	31	
Landings		50
Removals		65
Voluntary Departs		1,964
Cases Not Yet Begun		87,106

(Source: Compiled by Refugee Update from Canada Immigration Statistics)



### Refugee Update

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