

government's response to Burundian and Rwandan refugees differed in part because of its security concerns and geopolitical considerations with respect to Burundi and Rwanda.

Can security concerns be overridden by other interests? In some cases, even where host countries have been subject to significant security threats as a result of hosting refugees, they have continued to do so, for example, as did Uganda for the Banyarwanda refugees during the 1980s,¹⁵ and the frontline states for the South African ANC during the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁶ One reason why host states take such risks is because of their political interests in or sympathies towards the refugees. This sometimes means that the host government will require certain commitments from the refugees, such as that they belong to particular political movements. In the 1980s, Pakistani refugee policy required that Aghan refugees belong to an Aghan resistance political party,¹⁷ and Tanzania required that South African refugees belong to the ANC. Such political biases can result in problems for refugees who choose not to belong to these parties or are ousted from them.

When host governments are not sympathetic towards refugees, and are positively inclined toward the sending government, refugees' security can be more directly jeopardized. For example, in the early 1980s, the Honduran government sympathized with the Salvadoran government and was politically antagonistic towards and suspicious of the Salvadoran refugees, who were housed in a large camp, Colomoncagua, near the border of El Salvador. The main security problem there was from Honduran military forces, who conducted brutal raids on the camp in search of suspected guerrillas. The Honduran Government also tried to relocate the refugees at Colomoncagua, consisting largely of women, children and old people, at a greater distance from the border. They were suspected of being families and supporters of guerrillas who would visit them from across the border in El Salvador. These refugees were strongly opposed to relocation.¹⁸

3) *Relief operations, and relations (past and present) between the host government and UNHCR and other relief organizations.*

¹⁵ Watson, C. "Exile from Rwanda: Background to an Invasion." Washington (DC) : US Committee for Refugees, 1991/02

¹⁶ The problem of asylum and host government policy towards refugees in the context of security threats from the sending country was illustrated in southern African during the early 1980s, when the front-line states (Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania and others) struggled to strike a satisfactory balance between their wish and international obligation to grant asylum to the South African refugees and the resulting security threats from the South African armed forces. Pretoria's regional policy sought to proscribe the right of the front-line states to grant asylum by pressuring them through military or commando raids on targets in Gaborone and other localities. The raids were principally aimed at members of the South African refugee community, but they included other local and foreign victims. The period of 'Pax Pretoriana' and the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique witnessed the development of the so-called doctrine of caveat refugee (let the refugee beware). Maluwa, T. "The Concept of asylum and the protection of refugees in Botswana: Some legal and political aspects," *International Journal of Refugee Law*, v. 2(4). 1990. pp. 587-610.

¹⁷ "By all parties to the conflict : Violations of the laws of war in Afghanistan," Helsinki Watch Committee (United States); Asia Watch Committee. - New York, NY, 1988/03.

¹⁸ See Canadian Church Task Force on Salvadorian and Indigenous Nicaraguan Refugees in Honduras, August 29th to September 5th 1985: Report / Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America. - Toronto (Canada): Inter-Church Committee on Refugees, 1985. The task force agreed with the refugees, as it found the proposed new site far inadequate in living facilities and considered that there was no hard evidence that these people were guerrillas.