

**Table 1**  
**Types of Threats and Likely Causes**

Type of Threat to Refugee Site/Camp	Likely Causes	Examples/Case Studies
<b>I. Direct Armed Attacks</b>		
a) bombing or shelling of camps	to force or prevent repatriation; presence of combatants or "subversives" among refugees (militarization)	militarized Goma camps shelled by RPF; Thai-Cambodian border: UNBRO-assisted camps had to be moved frequently because of shelling; Zambia (late 1970s): Rhodesian Air Force bombed refugee camps, northern Iraq: Turkish air force bombed Kurdish camps
b) raids by rebel groups	to obtain resources or hostages; forced conscription; reprimination	northwest Uganda-Sudan RPA; northeast Kenya: Somali bandits prey on RPA
c) 'hot pursuit' by regular security forces	presence of combatants or "subversives" among refugees (militarization and/or "hot pursuit");	Tanzania-Burundi border: incursions by Burundian forces in search of combatants; Thai-Burmese border: cross-border raids on camps by Myanmar forces or allied ethnic Karen; Guinea-Liberian border: Vahun camp looted by Liberian? soldiers; Honduras-El Salvador border: Honduran soldiers raided camp looking for subversives; Mozambican and Tanzanian camps for ANC raided by S.African army in 1970s
<b>II. Non-Military Threats</b>		
a) violent crime or conflict between refugees or between refugees and locals	poor organization or management of camps; ineffective policing by host authorities; dissatisfaction or resentment by refugees and/or locals about camp policies or conditions;	nw Kenya, Kakuma camp subject to ethnic clashes and demonstrations by refugees; nw Tanzania (Burundian refugees)
b) abuse or intimidation by camp authorities or refugee leaders	to prevent or encourage repatriation; as a means of maintaining power in the camp and control over resources	Goma camps (east. Zaire) Ngara camps (Tanzania) Kosovo Albanian camps in Albania; Hong Kong camps

**D. Explanations for Threats, and Solutions.**

**1) Militarization of camps and absence of neutrality of humanitarian operations**

The most widely accepted explanation for attacks is the militarization of camps, when large numbers of combatants are present in and often in control of refugee camps. Under such circumstances, there is an increased likelihood of attack by antagonistic forces, either in the country of origin or in the host country, because camps are perceived to be giving assistance and protection to their enemies.

The solution to the problem of militarization is widely seen to lie in the screening of refugees so as to exclude combatants, the elimination of weapons, and the maintenance of camp neutrality, all of which will ensure the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee operations and camps. As a corollary, it is