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Report

drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation

on the dramatic situation of the refugees, especially the children amongst them, in the Horn of Africa

Rapporteur : Mr J. MARSHALL

At its plenary sitting of 14 December 1979 the European Parliament adopted the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr VERGEER and 21 other signatories on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party with request for urgent debate, pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, on the tragic plight of refugees, particularly children, in the Horn of Africa (Doc. 1-594/79). Paragraph 9 instructed the Committee on Development and Cooperation to follow the situation in the Horn of Africa and to submit a detailed report within six months.

At its meeting on 24 January 1980 the Committee on Development and Cooperation appointed Mr MARSHALL rapporteur.

It considered the motion for a resolution at its meeting of 4 June 1980.

The Committee on Development and Cooperation unanimously approved the following motion for a resolution and the explanatory statement on 25 June 1980.

Present: Mr Poniatowski, chairman; Mr Marshall, rapporteur; Mrs Castellina, Mr Cohen, Mr Enright, Mrs Focke, Mr Lezzi, Mr Narducci, Mrs Rabbethge, Mr Sablé, Mr Simmonds, Mr Vergès, Sir Frederick Warner and Mr Wawrzik.

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A

The Committee on Development and Cooperation hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution together with explanatory statement:

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the dramatic situation of the refugees, especially the children amongst them, in the Horn of Africa

The European Parliament,

- very preoccupied by the disastrous situation of the refugees in the Horn of Africa,
- recalling its resolution of 14 December 1979 on the tragic plight of refugees, particularly children, in the Horn of Africa,
- having regard to the report of the Committee on Development and Cooperation (Doc. 1-289/80);

1. Calls for an increase of the Community's food aid programme and its exceptional aid programme based on Article 59 of the Lomé Convention especially in order to meet the increasing food needs of this region of Africa in the final half of 1980;
2. Welcomes the Community's increased aid to the UN High Commission for Refugees, and asks the Community to continue its close collaboration with this organization and the non-governmental organizations in order to meet the aid requirements in the Horn of Africa;
3. Appeals again to the Council of Ministers to take, within the framework of European political cooperation, all the necessary diplomatic initiatives to end the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia;
4. Asks the European Commission to submit half-yearly reports on the Community's aid to countries in the Horn of Africa, thus enabling its Committee on Development and Cooperation to monitor this work;
5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Foreign Ministers of the Nine meeting in political cooperation and the Secretaries-General of the United Nations, the OAU and the ACP Group.

B
EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

1. It is estimated that, of the four million refugees in Africa, around two million are in the Horn of Africa. The situation of these two million human beings is particularly alarming since they include some one million children, who are threatened with serious undernourishment. This situation deserves the special attention of the European Community, because it involves countries which are entitled under the Convention of Lomé to additional aid from the Community.

The situation of the refugees in the Horn of Africa can be described as follows:

Djibouti: 40,000 refugees of which 20,000 are in camps which are run by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and 20,000 refugees in the town. This means all in all 11% of the population. These refugees are mostly from Ethiopia.

Ethiopia: In this country there are 10,000 refugees and at least 730,000 displaced persons following the Ogaden conflict. The settlement of the displaced persons is now nearly finished and following the recent visit of the Ethiopian President to Sudan the beginnings of détente seem to have started. It looks as if Ethiopia should therefore prepare itself to receive shortly Ethiopian refugees who are presently staying in the Sudan but who might wish to return home.

Somalia: On 1 May, this country counted 614,000 refugees in camps and about the same number of persons outside the camps. The European Community gave 2,390 million units of account at the end of 1979 and afterwards another 5 million units of account for emergency aid and 7 million units of account in the form of food aid (all this through the UN High Commission for Refugees).

Sudan: This country counts 440,000 refugees mainly from Ethiopia. These people used to stay in the towns but have recently been moved to rural areas in the Sudan. The European Community helps the situation on the basis of Article 59 of the Lomé Convention and also by giving food aid. The European Community will also finance the conference on the situation of the refugees which will be held in Khartoum on 20 June next.

Numbers alone do not fully state the scale of the problem or the misery involved. Many of the refugees have lived in camps for several years and are suffering from a sense of hopelessness.

2. Of the refugees in Somalia in particular, the large majority - some reports say as many as 85 per cent - are children. Those involved are mainly refugees from the area of the Ogaden conflict. In the Ali Sabieh camp in Djibouti there were 10,571 refugees at the end of 1979, of whom 6,427 - that is, more than 60 per cent - were children under the age of fifteen. In Djibouti 3,000 children from the Ethiopian port of Asmara are waiting for a place in a school.

In Sudan, 130,000 of the 400,000 refugees are in the cities, 35,000 of them in Khartoum. These refugees receive aid, mainly under the supervision of the High Commission for Refugees in Geneva. Many other aid organizations, among them the World Food Programme and the Red Cross, as well as numerous private aid organizations, such as "médecins sans frontières", Caritas Germany and "Sudanaid", cooperation in this effort.

3. In its food aid programme for 1980, which was approved by the European Parliament on 18 April 1980 (see Michel report Doc. 1-105/80), the Community proposed the following for the countries concerned:

CEREALS FOOD AID PROGRAMME FOR 1980¹

| Country | Quantity requested | Use ² | GNP/1978 value in \$ | Cereal import needs (FAO) | Amended rice import re-quirements x2 | Direct aid 1979 | Proposal 1980 | Method of delivery | Remarks |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Djibouti | 5 ⁵ | V+DG | (200) | 21 | 31 | 3 ⁵ | 2 | CIF | Storage problems |
| Ethiopia | 50 | DG | 120 | 340 | 340 | 15 | 15 | CIF | - |
| Sudan | 50 | V | 320 | 216 | 222 | 4 | 5 | FOB | Needs covered but problem of refugees |
| Somalia | 27 | DG | 130 | 225 | 275 | 15 | 15 | CIF | Problem of refugees |

MILK FOOD AID PROGRAMME FOR 1980

| Country | Quantity requested | Use | GNP/1978 value in \$ | Protein index | Net requirements (in tonnes) | Direct aid 1979 | Proposal 1980 | Method of delivery | Remarks |
|----------|--------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|---|
| Ethiopia | 9.000 | DG: 1.000.000 pers. | 120 | 111 | 9.000 | - | 2.700 | CIF | 0 in 1979 because of large stocks |
| Sudan | 5.000 | VIL:1.500 T. DG:254.630 pers. | 320 | 106 | 5.000 | - | - | FOB | |
| Somalia | 3.500 | DG:360.000 pers. | 130 | 104 | 7.000 | - | 2.200 | CIF | 0 in 1979 because of large stocks; 4,325 tonnes still to be delivered |

¹ See Doc. 1-5/80, Ann. I, II and III resp. (cereals, milk and butteroil).

² V: Sold at market price
VCF: Sold direct to consumer
VIL: Sold to dairy industry

BUTTER OIL FOOD AID PROGRAMME FOR 1980

| Country | Quantity requested | Use | GNP/1978 value in \$ | Calorie index | Net requirements in tonnes | Direct aid 1979 | Proposal 1980 | Method of delivery | Remarks |
|----------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Ethiopia | 7.500 | DG:500.000 pers. | 120 | 88 | 5.400 | - | 1.000 | CIF | |
| Sudan | 1.000 | VIL:300T VCF:700T | 320 | 88 | 1.000 | 500 | 200 | FOB | Reception difficulties |
| Somalia | 3.300 | DG:304.500 | 130 | 83 | 6.600 | 300 | 600 | CIF | More refugees |

A further proportion of this aid was donated directly to aid organizations or held in reserve. The actual aid was made available under the auspices of the World Food Programme or the International Committee of the Red Cross.

4. In addition, the Commission recently decided to grant extraordinary aid to Somalia in the form of a donation of 5 m EUA, as a contribution to the refugee programme of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. This money was intended both as food aid and for the purchase of tents, drugs, trucks, etc. It is estimated that the aid requirement in 1980 will be around 88 m EUA, taking account of the fact that the number of Ethiopian refugees rose from 330,000 in September 1979 to more than 600,000 in March 1980. It is estimated that the average number of refugees in 1980 will be 750,000. With the above amount of money it would be possible for the refugees to receive 2,000 calories a day. This new contribution by the European Community is in addition to the initial donation of 2.4 m EUA decided in December 1979. It is anticipated that the European Community will provide food aid to the value of more than 7 million EUA, bringing the Community's total contribution in 1980 to more than 14.4 million EUA.

This amount represents one-fifth of Somalia's needs in 1980. In addition, certain Member States and international organizations have decided or are contemplating whether to provide substantial contributions under their bilateral programmes: amounts expressed in millions of dollars - Germany 2.25, Netherlands 0.75, Islamic League 0.4, UNHCR 3.5, WFP 4.6, US aid 30.

5. The situation in the Horn of Africa is very complex and can be summarised as follows:

Ethiopia is fighting the liberation movements in Eritrea and the state of Somalia because these parts of the Ethiopian state wish to break away. Eritrea is waging war against Ethiopia because it is striving for independence and considers itself a colonized country. Somalia was at war with Ethiopia because, according to the government in Mogadishu, the Somali people were being colonized by Ethiopia in the Ogaden province and the government wants to unite the whole Somali nation under the Somali flag. Kenya has taken sides with Ethiopia because Somalia is making claims on parts of Kenya's territory where it wants to "liberate" 250,000 Somalis. Cuba supports Ethiopia because it believes that the Ethiopian revolution is the only true revolution in Africa and therefore deserves full solidarity. However, the Cubans now seem to be having doubts. Russia is striving primarily for power in and access to the Red Sea area and is helping Ethiopia despite having to break its ties with Somalia as a result. Saudi Arabia is behind Somalia because they are brothers in Islam, because it wants to keep the Russians out

of the Red Sea area and is against a revolutionary Ethiopia. Egypt supports Somalia because Libya is supporting Ethiopia, and it also wants to push the Russians out of the Red Sea area. Libya supports Ethiopia because it wants to form a common front with the Russians and because Egypt is supporting Somalia

The Democratic People's Republic of Yemen supports Ethiopia because it wants to form a common front with the Russians and is behind the revolution. Sudan is no great friend of Ethiopia because the Russians are exerting their influence there, but there are indications that it is again seeking a rapprochement. China is keeping in the background, believing that the problem will be solved in the long term by allowing the Russians to "dig their own grave" in this part of the Third World. The United States would like to clarify the situation, but are not sure how to. Somalia was promised support if Ethiopia were to invade it. It is well known that high US government circles acknowledge that the Russians and Cubans in the Ogaden had a "cast-iron" case for being there: asked by the legitimate government of the country to help liberate the country from an aggressive invasion by Somalia. During and after the war, US and NATO weapons have nevertheless ended up with the Somalis via Saudi Arabia and Iran. The arms concerned were French AMX tanks, West German tanks, British anti-tank rockets and, most surprising of all, through an international operation, Hungarian guns, grenades and grenade-launchers.

East Germany, as a Russian ally, supports Ethiopia, where the government also receives arms from Czechoslovakia. Finally, Israel has never denied its involvement in the training of the Fifth Ethiopian (Flame) Division, which has been primarily engaged in fighting the urban guerrillas.

Apart from the problems created by the large number of refugees, North East Africa is suffering from natural disasters. Thus in Kenya, which is immune from the political problems of neighbouring countries, agricultural output has fallen by 40%. In Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Djibouti similar problems prevail.

6. For its part, the European Community, whose aid is "neutral" and whose foreign policy can best be described as "sporadic", can alleviate the situation for the suffering areas in these parts of Africa, above all by the efficient provision of aid.

The combination of drought and millions of refugees has complicated an already difficult situation. Because of the problems of local agriculture, the whole region faces a massive famine. The problem threatens to be much greater than the exodus of the Boat People, yet aid may be too little - and too late - to save lives. Although our aid may originally have seemed adequate, it is clear that in the second half of 1980 there will be a dramatic shortfall and there could be mass starvation. We would therefore urge the Commission to increase substantially food aid to this area.

7. Looking to the future there are two quite different areas of action - the one political, the other physical.

Until peace reigns again indigenous agriculture will fail to meet the needs of the region. Even then assistance will probably still be necessary, at least in the short-term. Food aid should be distributed by non-governmental agencies. Although the European Community has played a noble part in providing aid for the refugees, it would be wise for the Development Committee to monitor this work by reports every six months. Meanwhile we would suggest that maximum use be made of non-governmental organizations in distributing Community aid, as they are more efficient distributors.

However, aid merely deals with the symptoms of the disease. What is necessary is to eliminate, or at least moderate, the problem itself. The eventual objective must be an end to the fighting and the resettlement of the refugees. We would ask the Council to make a major diplomatic initiative as a prelude to calling an International Conference on the situation in this part of Africa.

8. But the situation in the Horn of Africa is only part of a wider problem - political persecution and war have combined to lead to a massive increase in the number of refugees in the world. If this problem is ever to be solved, we in the West will have to play a major rôle by agreeing to the resettlement of some refugees. The world often seems oblivious to the plight of refugees. We should seek to awaken the world to the human tragedy created by the growth in the number of refugees. We might ask the United Nations to sponsor an International Refugee Year with three limited objectives: to publicise the plight of refugees; to secure a reduction in the number of refugees by encouraging,

where practical, resettlements; to ensure that adequate aid is given to those refugees who are not resettled. But we must not seek merely to assuage our consciences by agreeing to more aid; the major objective must be to reduce the number of refugees as every refugee is denied political and economic rights.

