



CANADA'S PERIODICAL ON REFUGEES

REFUGE

Vol.4 No.3

April 1985

African Crisis

Bloated bellies. Bony fleshless limbs. Swollen hairless heads on emaciated bodies. Bulging black eyes. Our senses were assaulted by the plight of Ethiopian refugees in our newspapers and the daily television reports.

Our emotions were roused. Our pockets were emptied. And our hearts remained scarred and ached at the fading memories of those tragic visions. And the numbers! Fifty per day dead in this camp. One hundred per day in that

camp. And there was no quick end or easy solution to the tragedy.

But the crisis was not sudden. It has been building and it will continue to grow. We want to provide some understanding and background for our readers so they can put the crisis in a context of continuing Canadian and international policy.

In July of 1984, the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II) was held to focus on the plight of all Africa. This issue documents Canada's stance on Africa, the results of the conference and is highlighted by an exceptionally lucid and insightful article on the background and significance of ICARA II by D. Lance Clark and Professor Barry Stein, one of the world authorities on refugees.

We have also included a list of publications in this issue, which readers may write for and obtain free or at very nominal charge.

Our hearts must not only bleed. Our pockets must not only empty. Our heads must understand and through that understanding plan and correct the tragic situation.

H.A.

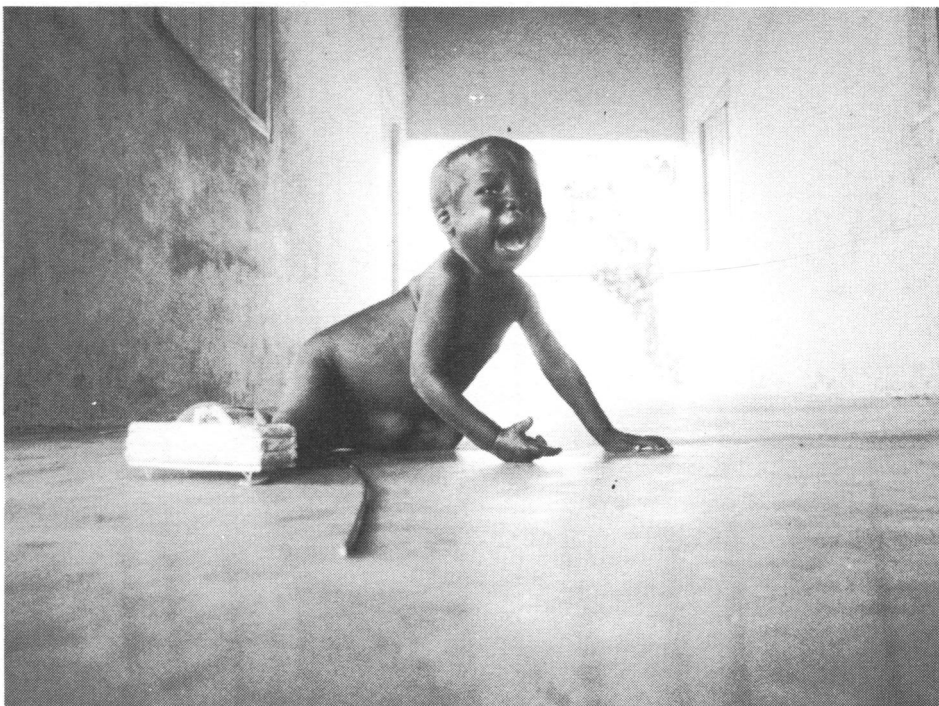


PHOTO: UNHCR/12111/Y. Müller



REFUGE

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Letter To The Editor:

The December, 1984 issue of *Refuge* provided information concerning the level of Canada's commitment to refugees in an article entitled "Canada Refugee Plans - 1985" which appeared on pages 12 and 13. While this information is of interest to individuals and groups involved in refugee issues, I regret that an error in the table which accompanied the article has perhaps diminished its value as an indicator of the federal government's participation in the refugee program for 1984.

One of the components of the table of Refugee and Humanitarian Programs is a comparison between the planned and actual 1984 intake of government sponsored refugees. The comparative figures of 10,000 planned versus 8,941 actual Government Sponsored Refugee Admissions leaves the reader believing that the federal government did not meet its 1984 refugee resettlement objective. The data printed under the heading "Actual 1984" is in fact data for the year 1983.

Final data for 1984 is not yet available, however, preliminary indications are that approximately 10,490 government sponsored refugees have entered Canada in 1984. This in fact exceeds our objectives in this area. Regional targets were met in South-east Asia, East Europe and Latin America and totals for Africa and Middle East were the largest recorded since global refugee intakes have been planned.

When all sources of refugee resettlement are considered, the 1984 intake will be in excess of 20,000 individuals assisted through refugee and humanitarian programs in Canada.

As the information in the table could lead to criticisms of underfilling of the government's planned commitment, I welcome the opportunity to bring this issue to your attention.

Yours sincerely,

R.A. Girard, Director
 Refugee Affairs

	Government Sponsored* Refugee Admissions	Announced Allocation
Eastern Europe	2595	2300
Indochina	3690	3000
Africa	854	1000
Middle East	588	800
Latin America	2595	2500
Others	168	400
Total	10490	10000

*Preliminary figures to December 31, 1984

Query To the Editor:

I am in the process of researching a thesis on the politics of the International Refugee Organization (and its evolution from U.N.R.R.A.) after World War II. Any ideas, suggestions for reading (memoirs, books, papers, etc.) would be most welcome. Any

assessments of the strengths and deficiencies of U.N.R.R.A. and its leadership would also be of great assistance.

ROBERT GREENSPAN
 458 Roncesvalles Avenue
 Toronto, Ontario



Address by The Honourable Monique Vezina, Minister for External Relations, Canada to the Tenth General Assembly of The Dakar Club

Montreal, October 1, 1984

I would like first to convey a warm and sincere welcome, on behalf of the Government of Canada, to all the men and women who have come here from abroad, particularly those who are visiting our country for the first time. We are proud that the Dakar club has chosen to meet in Canada, and we are particularly honoured to welcome to Montreal such eminent persons, many of them ministers, who are contributing their knowledge, expertise and prestige to the cause of development. It is a rare privilege for me, so soon after taking up my position, to speak to such a distinguished group.

The theme of your meetings, the development of agriculture and agribusiness on the African continent, is particularly timely because in our view it is at the heart of what we commonly call the "African economic crisis", a crisis on which the United Nations General Assembly will be deliberating during its current session.

I do not have to tell you the causes of that crisis. Besides the climatic catastrophes there are the agricultural problems, indebtedness, unemployment, protectionism, some errors in orientation, and instability of prices for energy and basic products. You face those challenges every day, with the risk of losing in a few years the ground that has taken the last several decades to gain.

However, the economic aspect of this crisis does not affect only the developing countries, particularly the African continent. The industrialized countries have also been hard hit by it, and its effect is still being strongly felt today in our economies. Behind this recession, whose effects will be felt for a number

of years yet, a profound transformation in the structure of the world economy is taking place. Old structures are crumbling, and we cannot yet tell what form will be taken by those structures that are to replace them. However, one thing is certain: besides the structural changes, there has been a change in our outlook — we have given up our utopian hope for continuous and unlimited material development.

To echo Paul Valéry, not only have we had to relearn that civilizations are mortal; we are realizing once again that they are fallible, and that the path of progress is a zigzag one, which does not always follow an upward curve.

I have become Minister for External Relations at a time when Canada is slowly recovering from this crisis, the most difficult one it has experienced in half a century. The challenge facing our government is a formidable one, not only for our domestic policy, but also for our foreign policy: besides resolving problems inherited from the past, we must seek new solutions to new problems.

Thus, as you might expect, I personally attach considerable importance to the question of the role of women in development. I am certain that the progress made in Canada can also be made in Africa. The question facing us is how to achieve that goal while respecting cultural and religious contexts that are different from those obtaining in the West, and without in the process denying the traditional importance of the role played by women, for example, in the commercial life of most African countries. For that purpose CIDA has set up a special branch to ensure that each of the agency's programs will take into ac-

count the role of women in development, and I want to make certain that this concern will also prevail in our involvement in Africa.

Canada's presence in Africa is based on a number of principles that it is useful to recall here.

- The first is to project our national identity abroad. This principle is applied through the ties we have made with the French-speaking nations and the Commonwealth countries.

- Furthermore, it has always been very important to Canadians that they express internationally the concept of social justice that motivates them within their country through a development assistance program designed to achieve a more equitable sharing of the world's wealth. The amounts Canadians contribute voluntarily to organizations involved in development bear eloquent testimony to this desire.

- Canada's economic health depends to a large extent on its exports. Our country's economy has been built through the vitality of its entrepreneurs and of its people, and Canada knows that a similar vitality exists in Africa. We intend to work to increase our economic relations with the African continent, knowing also that private investments and trading exchanges have just as much development potential as cooperation projects of the classical type.

- Finally, Canada intends to help maintain peace and security by contributing to the solution of certain questions either through direct participation, as in the discussions to settle the Namibian crisis, or through the UN, for example by taking part in the peacekeeping forces sent a few years ago to the country that is now Zaire.

As the African countries gained their independence, Canada extended its network of embassies and High Commissioner's Offices. We now have these establishments in about twenty countries, where they are working to build close relations with each of the countries on the continent in accordance with the major objectives I have just outlined. Since those states have urgent needs in the area of their economic and social development, Canada's action was naturally concentrated first in that area, and we allocated to Africa approximately 40 percent of our budget for bilateral cooperation, or about \$300 million per year. This sector is important; it is probably for each of you the most visible element in our day-to-day relations.

However, it should not be forgotten that this bilateral cooperation represents only 43 percent of the budget Canada allocates to development assistance each year. Thus on the average, depending on the year, more than 40 percent of our food aid and emergency assistance is also sent to Africa. The victims of the landslide in Morocco, the victims of famine in Uganda and Ethiopia, and the refugees in Zaire or Somalia are examples of people who have received such assistance from us.

Moreover, nearly half of CIDA's budget is allocated to multilateral assistance through UN agencies, bodies like the International Monetary Fund or various regional banks, not counting the various programs for French-speaking and Commonwealth countries. Africa also receives a large part of the money Canada pays directly to such international organizations as the International Monetary Fund and various regional banks. To those must be added the large number of nongovernmental organizations that receive a major part of the funds for their projects directly from the Canadian government, not to mention those that conduct research on development questions. The International Development Research Centre works to adapt science and technology to the needs of the developing countries. Among the thousands of projects it has financed since it was founded in 1971, a large proportion has been connected with the agriculture and food sectors.

Given this range of tools and activities, and in the light of Canada's economic situation, I will not conceal from you the fact that the present government of Canada plans to review all its activities to see whether they can be made more effective.

It is with those facts in mind that I have taken up my mandate as Minister for External Relations. I assure you that it is my firm intention to do everything possible to further strengthen the ties between Canada and Africa. I and my cabinet colleagues intend to make certain that the resources we deploy for that purpose will reflect the desires of our *respective* peoples and also be the most appropriate means of achieving those objectives. I am undertaking my duties without any preconceived notions; I am certain that in the coming months I will have the opportunity to review both the design and the choice of the main tools of our foreign policy respecting Africa.

To that end, there are a number of premises we are already aware of that are unlikely to change in the short or medium terms.

By that I mean, for example, the fact that the Canadian people as a whole have always been, and continue to be, favourably inclined towards development assistance programs, while wanting to be certain that the assistance is truly going to those who need it and that the projects are cost-beneficial in terms of development, in the social sense of the term.

Secondly, bilateral relations always develop according to a certain cultural affinity. Our attraction for Africa is certainly based in part on the fact that we share a common trait: the same "mother countries". Our membership in the Commonwealth has certainly taught us to understand English-speaking Africa better; the French language and culture have brought us closer to francophone Africa, and have led us to play an important role in the ACCT. In addition, we feel that it is in our own interest to project Canada's bicultural character abroad.

Thirdly, along with bilateral relations, Canadians attach considerable impor-

tance to the multilateral institutions. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Clark, stated that fact again when speaking to the UN; he suggested a number of ways to make that world organization more effective. Besides the UN, the Commonwealth and the French-speaking countries I have just been talking about contribute in many ways to the strengthening and diversification of our relations with Africa. I will not take the time to list all the multilateral institutions in which we are active members, but it is a fact that Canada could not have developed without them.

Fourthly, Canada is facing a number of constraints that it must take into account to be realistic in its action. There are budget constraints, to begin with; these oblige us to concentrate our efforts both in terms of the number of countries where we can claim to be working effectively and in terms of the fields in which this activity is being carried on, which are those in which we have acquired abilities that are acknowledged worldwide. Unlike other countries that are more populous or have gained a great understanding of the Third World countries over the centuries, Canada does not yet have enough managers with the experience needed to direct projects implemented in geographical, cultural and economic contexts different from our own. That is why we want to give increasing importance to non-governmental organizations, some of which have staff members who have had the experience of spending large parts of their lives in Africa, Asia or Latin America.

Fifthly, in the last few years Canadian business people have shown a growing interest in doing business on the African continent. Of course the figures are still modest, but the trend is significant. Consider, for example, that over the five-year period from 1978 to 1982 the volume of both our exports and our imports has tripled, and that Algeria, for instance, is now one of our major trading partners on a world scale. We are hoping that this new trend will grow in the coming years.

Finally, regional peace and stability are essential conditions for economic and

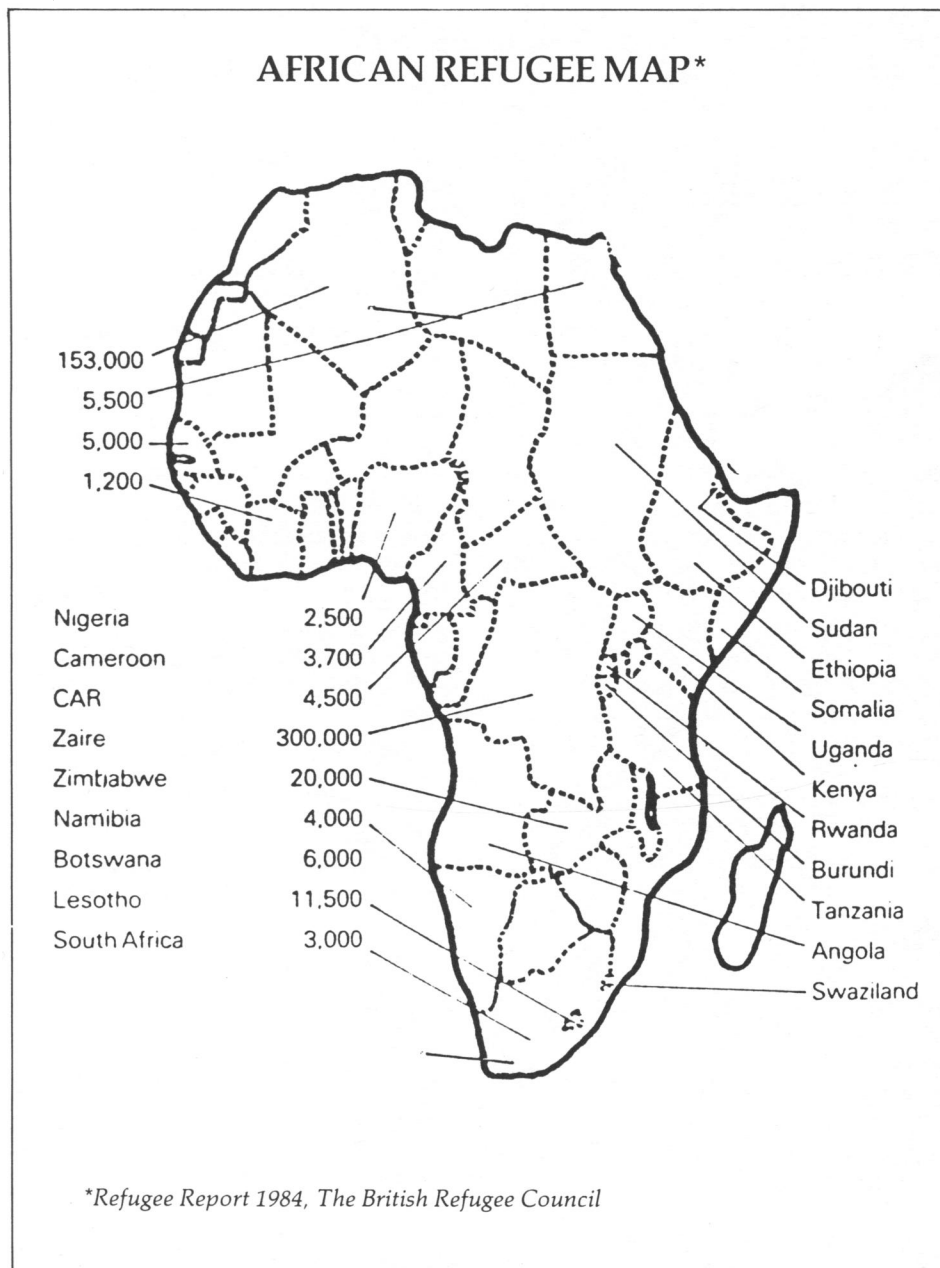
trade development. When requested, Canada will continue to assist in solving the great conflicts that arise on the continent. Similarly, the Canadian people attach considerable importance to the question of human rights, the fate of the refugees and the dignity of the person; Canadian foreign policy will necessarily be inspired by those values, whatever the location or the circumstances.

As I said earlier, I am assuming my responsibilities, and in a sense the study of relations between Africa and Canada, with an open mind. However, on the basis of the facts I have just listed, a

certain outline is already evident. I can assure you that development problems will always be among our government's top priorities. My colleague Mr. Wilson confirmed at the recent Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in Toronto that Canada is maintaining its objective to allocate 0.7 percent of its Gross National Product to development programs until 1990. However, changes may prove necessary in the means our government employs to make the tools available to use more effective.

In the coming months, I intend to visit some countries to see at first hand the

effects of this economic crisis that is particularly affecting the African countries and to discuss with some governments how Canada could play a more effective role in this area, and in all areas involved in close international relations. I will find out about the work and conclusions of groups like this one, and I will not hesitate to discuss frankly what share and what responsibility each bears in building a better world. You may rest assured that in this endeavour I will devote all my energy to improving all our programs in the mutual interest of Africa and Canada.



Department of External Affairs — Special Fund for Africa

November 16, 1984

The establishment of a \$50 million Special Fund for Africa, along with specific initiatives to help Ethiopia, were announced November 16, 1984 by the Secretary for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark.

Mr. Clark also announced that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) will be contributing an additional \$3,525,000 in humanitarian relief assistance to Ethiopia through such organizations as the International Committee of the Red Cross, Development and Peace and Oxfam Canada. Furthermore, CIDA will be providing \$4 million to send 10,000 - 15,000 more tons of cereal to Ethiopia.

PUBLICATIONS

To obtain copies of the following publications, please write to the organizations concerned.

Gail M. Gerhart, *Refugee Issues*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1984, "Educational Assistance to Refugees from South Africa and Namibia", Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University.

UNHCR, *Refugees* No. 7, July 1984, "Africa's Refugees — ICARA II".

UNICEF, *News*, Issue 120, 1984, "Africa: The Land is growing old. What will the children inherit?"

Statement to the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa

by
J.S. Stanford
Head of The Canadian Delegation
Geneva, July 9, 1984

The Secretary-General placed this important meeting in the context of the many efforts being made within the UN system to help member states in Africa deal with the problems and challenges which face that continent at the present time. In his message to the conference, the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) brought home to us the importance of refugee problems and the urgent need of a number of African countries. The High Commissioner for Refugees and the Administrator of the UN Development Program outlined for us the dimensions of the humanitarian and development requirements which we are addressing at this conference, and the role which their organizations can play in responding to these requirements, provided they have the active support and effective cooperation of all governments represented here.

Canada is fully aware of the challenges facing Africa at the present time. We recognize and accept that African countries wish to, and indeed must, play the major role in dealing with the acute refugee situations which exist in Africa. The Canadian government and the Canadian people stand ready to assist in the search for practical and durable solutions.

As we look at the African scene and the multitude of refugees that have flowed across national borders in recent years, we are conscious not only of the suffering of those directly concerned — especially women and children, but also of the sacrifices imposed on host countries. It is only fitting that we recognize and commend the generous hospitality extended by so many African govern-

ments and peoples to the refugees who have found it necessary to flee across national frontiers. These people have generally been received and treated with the greatest kindness and generosity. We urge that the international instruments for the protection of refugees, of which the OAU convention is the most comprehensive, continue to be respected.

ICARA I addressed the need to provide urgent relief to a dramatically increasing number of refugees on the African continent. In keeping with its traditional practice, Canada responded to those needs. But it was clear even at ICARA I that durable solutions could not be achieved if we simply focused on humanitarian relief, which may by itself perpetuate the problem. It was clear that greater attention had to be given — by the countries directly involved as well as by outside donors — to promoting the integration of refugees in the development process, preferably through repatriation, but where that is not possible, in local settlement in the country of asylum. It is a step in the right direction that 55 percent of the UNHCR's budget for Africa is now devoted to durable solutions.

There was also general acceptance at ICARA I that solutions to refugee problems do not depend solely on the development assistance or host country investment that may be provided to help refugees integrate in the communities in which they have been established. There must also be a genuine and determined effort by the governments concerned to find political solutions to conflicts which give rise to refugees or which prevent refugees from returning

to their homes. The OAU and the UN both have disputes settlement instruments and procedures which should be drawn upon where they can contribute to a solution.

The preparations for ICARA II have deliberately underlined the importance of seeking solutions which will endure. They have also underlined that the international community as a whole should assist those countries which seek durable solutions, which are actively trying to re-establish returning refugees or which are undertaking measures to integrate and resettle refugees in their own societies and economies. One central theme which has emerged out of these preparations is the need to help refugees help themselves. The excellent work done by the steering committee, UN technical team and officials of participating African countries has indeed laid the groundwork for a well focused dialogue on these issues at this conference.

In light of these preparations and discussions, we have reviewed the list of projects presented by the technical team after consultation with African governments. It is worth noting that this list reflects a concerted effort to integrate refugees into the development process, and to better utilize their labour for their own advantage and that of host countries.

While we look to the countries directly involved to exert their best efforts to remove the social and political causes, which have led refugees to flee their homes, we readily acknowledge that poverty and underdevelopment are factors which have contributed to refugee situations in some instances and which

have inhibited their solution in others. The challenge of ICARA II is to determine how the international community can work with the countries of Africa to integrate refugees in the development process — to help host countries or countries of return deal with the difficult refugee situations facing them. Such measures and such assistance will lighten the burden on the host country and will strengthen the country's social and economic infrastructure.

The lack of adequate resources and infrastructure, which may in some cases have contributed to an exodus, or which could render integration impossible, can be addressed through appropriate development inputs. In examining the ways to proceed with this assistance, Canada has been guided by the following basic principles:

- First, assistance measures can be useful only if they are consistent with the long-term development programmes of the country concerned. They must also be the subject of a continuing commitment by the host government to ensure that recurrent costs can be covered.
- Second, there must be tangible evidence that both the refugees and local communities will benefit mutually from external assistance.
- Third, the assistance should offer concrete possibilities for the integration of refugees into the national development effort.
- Fourth, appropriate income generating activities must be developed if they are not already in place. Employment in economically productive activities is the most important motor for integration and development.

ICARA II offers the opportunity to build on existing bilateral, multilateral and nongovernmental assistance in various ways. First, the conference will sensitize world opinion to the needs of refugees in development as well as in relief. Secondly, it will further the process of examining the best ways in which humanitarian and development activities can be pursued together, in order to achieve lasting solutions for refugees while providing the assistance needed

by host governments to maintain their development efforts. Thirdly, it will give encouragement to those who are already involved in contributing to this effort.

In preparing for ICARA II, Canada has consulted with various Canadian nongovernmental organizations. While they have expressed their intention to continue to support refugees and displaced people in Africa, they rightly stressed that this is an activity in which they have been engaged for some time. The NGOs and International Agencies play a very significant role for which they should be warmly thanked.

A world should be said at this point about more immediate assistance for refugees. Recognizing the need for additional humanitarian assistance, Canada wishes to reiterate its commitment to supporting the UNHCR's programme in Africa this year, at a level at least equal to that of the previous year. The UNHCR and its implementing partners can continue to rely on Canada for its sustained efforts, particularly in the pursuit of durable solutions. On behalf of the government of Canada I wish to take this opportunity to thank the High Commissioner for Refugees, his personnel and all the office's implementing partners for their dedication and perseverance in pursuing durable solutions.

I would now like to turn to Canada's response to the needs for continuing and additional assistance to refugees as set out in Resolution 37/197. With respect to projects submitted under paragraph 5(B) of this Resolution, my delegation is pleased to indicate an interest in funding five additional projects in Zaire in the fields of agriculture, health, nonformal training for women, cooperatives and education. These projects will amount to \$US 1.2 million.

As I mentioned earlier, Mr. President, Canada attaches a great deal of importance to integrating refugees in the national development process. We fully support the rationale that underlies the submissions presented under paragraph 5(C) of the Resolution. Indeed, it is evident that infrastructural improvements are necessary to give refugee integration

a chance of success. These improvements represent a large cost for the host country to sustain on its own. We believe that the international community has a role to play in helping to share the burden with host countries. Canada accepts this obligation, particularly in those countries where we have an established bilateral development assistance relationship.

After carefully examining the list of 5(C) projects in the context of our bilateral assistance programmes, we have identified ten projects, worth \$US 10.54 million, which we are interested in discussing with government officials in Zambia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Botswana, Sudan and Zaire. These projects are in sectors such as agriculture, fisheries, health service, cooperatives and water supply. This does not, of course, preclude discussion of other refugee-related projects during the course of normal bilateral consultations.

In the months following this conference, we will begin bilateral discussion to further define the projects we have identified and to address any problems which may arise, such as potential duplication of interest by the donor community. A measure of flexibility will be required to sort out difficulties and to come to final agreements on the implementation of ICARA II projects. We believe that arrangements can best be reached to the satisfaction of all interested parties through direct consultations among them. A continued dialogue between interested governments, rather than the creation of temporary bodies, will lead to the timely and effective implementation of the projects.

It is Canada's firm belief that the problems addressed at ICARA II are soluble. This conference can succeed in creating a spirit of cooperation that will bear fruit over the next few years. Through ICARA II we are beginning an essential dialogue between those responsible for development and those providing more traditional refugee assistance. If we resolve that this dialogue, involving as it does both donor countries and the countries of asylum of Africa, will lead to concrete action, then the "time for solutions" is indeed at hand.

Documentary

The Relationship between ICA and Develop

by D. Lance Clark and Bai

Presented at the Seventh Annual Third World Conference
"The Impact of Refugees in the Third World"
The University of Nebraska
18-19 October, 1981

Over the past five years there have been two separate sets of meetings dealing with assistance to refugees in developing countries. One was a series of meetings on Refugee Aid and Development convened by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the other set of meetings was the two International Conferences on assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA I and ICARA II) convened by the United Nations (UN). In 1984 these separate tracks of meetings have converged resulting in a new international consensus on principles for refugee assistance in developing countries. These new principles were necessitated by fundamental changes in developing country refugee problems which meant that the traditional approaches to refugee assistance no longer seemed adequate to deal with the problems.

Overview of Refugee Assistance in Developing Countries

As a result of this process of change, in the past decade, many people have "felt the need to define more clearly the relationship between aid to refugees and development assistance" (Goodwillie, 1983). The heart of the problem of refugee assistance in developing countries, which has emerged since the mid-1970s, is "the massive arrivals of refugees in low-income countries where often no durable solutions are at hand" (Hartling, 1983). The three key elements — massive arrivals; low-income countries; no durable solutions — all the above phrases deserve elaborations. Massive arrivals refers to influxes of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of refugees.

Low-income countries bear the main refugee burden. Of 34 countries listed as low-income (less than \$400 per capita GNP) in the 1983 *World Development Report* (World Bank, 1983b), 27 are or recently have been involved in refugee or refugee-like situations as sources, sanctuaries or both. Developing-country refugees are primarily rural, approximately 90 percent fleeing from areas at home to rural areas of the country of asylum.

"Often no durable solutions are at hand" because the first asylum countries will only let the refugees stay temporarily in their territories.

Into the mid-1970s most Third World

refugee movements resulted from independence struggles against colonial extra-continental domination. Host countries maintained a high degree of solidarity with refugees from independence struggles and there was the expectation of ultimate victory, independence and repatriation.

Since the mid-1970s the situation has changed. There has been a large increase in the number of refugees from independent states. Voluntary repatriation has become significantly more difficult to achieve, and even if it will eventually occur, it may be more delayed and incomplete than in the past.

In today's changed circumstances humanitarian assistance that is rooted in the emergency phase and depends on care and maintenance while awaiting repatriation can be very lengthy and expensive. Durable solutions for developing country refugees — integration into the sanctuary or reintegration in the homeland — require more than humanitarian assistance.

Particularly since 1979, a new view of refugee assistance in developing countries has been advanced and increasingly been accepted. The new approach emphasizes linking humanitarian refugee assistance to development assistance.

For solutions to last, assistance to refugees and returnees must aim at their participation, productivity and durable self-reliance; it should be development-oriented as soon as possible and, in least developed countries, it should take into account the needs of the local people as well (ICARA II Declaration) (UN, 1984c).

Review of ICARA and of Refugee Aid and Development

In May 1979 the Pan African Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa was held in Arusha, Tanzania. One subject that received a great deal of attention was the issue of spontaneously settled refugees.

The African host countries were made aware that they were not receiving international assistance for 60 percent of their refugee burden. Many had probably suspected or known it all along, but the Arusha findings and recommendations confirmed feelings that they were not getting an equitable share of international assistance.

Since the Arusha Conference, a new expanded principle of burden-sharing has been advanced, calling for the international community to assist with social and economic infrastructural costs associated with refugees.

The Sudan, which has been a leading proponent of both ICARA conferences, in "the first initiative of its kind taken by a Third World Government" (Sudan, 1980) convened in June 1980 an International Conference on Refugees in The Sudan to request additional assistance from the international community.

Shortly after the conference in the Sudan the UN began preparatory work for ICARA I, and in November 1980 the General Assembly (Resolution 35/42) called for a meeting to be held the following April. The key objective of ICARA I was:

to assist countries of asylum adversely affected by the large-scale presence of refugees to obtain inter-



mentary Note: en ICARA II and Refugee Aid Development

by Clark and Barry N. Stein

from the Annual Third World Studies Conference
of Refugees in the Third World"
University of Nebraska at Omaha
18-19 October, 1984

national assistance for projects aimed at strengthening the ability of those countries to carry the extra burden placed on their services and facilities.

ICARA I "fell short of the expectations of the African countries" (Perez de Cuellar, 1983a). The donor community was not ready to accept the new notion of burden-sharing advanced by the African states. The donors felt that the African countries had unrealistic expectations. The proposals they submitted to ICARA I were technically weak. (The conference was rushed from call to convening in just four months, greatly limiting the time for preparatory work.)

The disappointing results of ICARA I did not lead to the dropping of expanded burden-sharing by means of infrastructural assistance but rather to the calling of a second conference. ICARA II in July 1984 benefited from a much longer preparation period — 18 months in contrast to ICARA I's four plus months — which was used to prepare more technically sound proposals and to engage both donors, concerned governments (hosts or sources), and international agencies in a fuller discussion of the new ideas and issues.

It is too early to tell if ICARA II has been successful in gathering more resources to offset the refugee burden on low-income countries. However, one can view it as a success in terms of the principles embodied in its final Declaration and in the new policies announced by many countries and several international organizations:

As a result of the adverse impact on

the national economies... of the least developed countries, there is need to provide these countries with the required assistance to strengthen their social and economic infrastructure so as to enable them to cope with the burden... of refugees and returnees. This assistance... should be additional to, and not at the expense of, concerned countries' other development programs (UN 1984c).

The other parallel track of international discussions, on Refugee Aid and Development, has its recent roots in the July 1979 UN Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in Southeast Asia. At that meeting then American Vice-President Mondale presented a United States proposal for a UNHCR Fund for Durable Solutions. Burden-sharing and spontaneously settled refugees were not the main concern of the fund proposal. Rather, the focus was on promoting durable solutions - leading to integration and self-sufficiency of refugees in developing countries.

There is a direct connection between expanded burden-sharing and durable solutions. Donors do not necessarily reject the concept of expanded burden sharing but they are concerned that burden sharing without an emphasis on durable solutions could lead to open ended costly refugee situations. With international burden-sharing host governments might have a reduced sense of responsibility for the refugees, thus impeding efforts to find durable solutions.

The discussions about the fund raised another issue that has been a mainstay of the refugee and development dis-

course, namely the role of UNHCR in development activities relating to refugees and the need for new institutional arrangements to bring refugee aid and development aid together. There is a longstanding concern that UNHCR not act as a development agency but rather as a catalyst, cooperating and coordinating work and projects with the development arms of the UN system.

Since the shelving of the fund proposal, the refugee assistance-development assistance linkage has been discussed and analyzed in many forums and nine UNHCR meetings: the October 1982 Executive Committee (Ex Comm); a February 1983 informal Ex Comm; the August 1983 Meeting of Experts on Refugee Aid and Development (which produced a report, UNHCR, 1983b, which was the focus of discussion at the subsequent meetings); the October 1983 Ex Comm; a November 1983 Meeting of Nongovernmental Organizations on the Report of Experts on Refugee Aid and Development; a December 1983 Meeting of Intergovernmental Organizations on the Report of Experts on Refugee Aid and Development; Informal Ex Comms in January and June 1984; and finally the October 1984 Ex Comm where a set of "Principles for Action in Developing Countries", which pulls together elements from the many meetings was accepted as representing the new international consensus (UNHCR, 1984d).

Review of Principles

As a result of all these meetings the refugees and development discussion has achieved consensus on most of the important principles and issues. The main line of reasoning is as follows:

1. Refugee problems demand durable solutions because failure to act early means prolonged suffering, dependence and higher costs to hosts and the international community.
2. From the outset there is a need to avoid dependence and promote refugee productivity through self-help activities, engagement in food or other agricultural production, employment and other economically productive activities.
3. However, often no durable solutions are at hand, because in low-income countries sufficient jobs or readily cul-

tivable land are not available. Therefore, the only alternative to permanent dependence on relief is to create income-generating opportunities on a large scale.

Several things flow from this conclusion. First, creating income-generating opportunities is another way of saying development projects. In other words, under current conditions in the low-income countries, durable solutions can only be achieved through development-oriented assistance from the outset. Secondly, "for social, psychological and political reasons, this can hardly be done for refugees alone" (UNHCR, 1983c). Both the refugees and the local population must be included. This means that the system has moved from humanitarian assistance to refugees, to creating income-generating opportunities for refugees, to development-oriented assistance, from the outset, "for the whole area where the refugees live".

This large leap leads to the other central focus of the refugees and development discussions, the need for new institutional arrangements to carry forth such double-target projects. "No single international organization has the mandate, the expertise and the funds required" (UNHCR, 1983c).

Finally there is the issue of "additionality". This is a major issue that has appeared in both set of discussions and is closely connected to the question of infrastructural burden-sharing. Low-income host countries want refugee assistance of all types, but particularly development-oriented assistance, to be over and above, additional to, the normal development assistance they would receive if there were no refugee situation. Donor governments, on the other hand, point to limited availability of funds and the impossibility of expanding the assistance purse. While the donors recognize that it is not equitable for the asylum countries to have to share their resources with refugees, the donors indicate that refugees incorporated within development projects should be "potential contributors" to the development of an area. "It is reasonable, therefore, for host countries to accept that a share of the (development) assistance...should also apply to the refugee areas" (UNHCR, 1984a). In other words, partial rather than full additionality.

Finally, some brief comments on the seven key issues and principles that have emerged from this process.

1. Equitable Burden-Sharing. For low-income countries the presence of refugees places a burden on many sectors of their economy and society. The ICARA II Declaration "recognizes that the condition of refugees is a global responsibility...and emphasizes the need for equitable burden-sharing" and that:

As a result of the adverse impact on the national economies of the...least developed countries, there is need to provide these countries with the required assistance to strengthen their social and economic infrastructure.

2. Spontaneously Settled Refugees mixed among the local population are a main reason why an expanded concept of burden-sharing was developed and also are central to requests for new forms of refugee assistance. Traditional UNHCR assistance designed essentially to benefit refugees has great difficulties reaching refugees who are not in discrete units. The burden thus falls on the host country.

3. Aid to Both Refugees and Locals. As a response to the difficulties of aiding spontaneously settled refugees the principle has emerged that:

In low-income areas, the needs of the local people should also be taken into account, in such areas developmental initiatives may therefore be needed which would permit both refugees and local people to engage in economically productive activities to ensure them a decent livelihood (UNHCR, 1984d).

The need for development initiatives and the inclusion of the local people moves this aid beyond UNHCR's competence and thus will be a difficult principle to implement.

4. Additionality. With regard to the question of total or partial additionality no agreement on principle has been achieved, only a statement that can be read either way: "such projects should normally be additional to, and not at the expense of, the country's other development programs (UNHCR, 1984d).

5. Development-Oriented Assistance. The ICARA II Declaration states that:

For solutions to last, assistance to refugees and returnees must aid at

their participation, productivity and durable self-reliance; it should be development-oriented as soon as possible.

This principle represents an important and fundamental reorientation of traditional refugee assistance. It represents an attempt to view refugee assistance as a comprehensive integrated solution-oriented process rather than as a series of ad hoc reactions to problems.

6. Durable Solutions. "Refugee problems demand durable solutions" (UNHCR, 1984d) but in fact no such demand is made and this principle is greatly weakened by the political realities that give many refugees only temporary settlement at best. In some ways the heart of the new approach is "temporary measures pending a durable solution" and the need to make the best of a long-term temporary situation by promoting refugee productivity and self-reliance while waiting for solutions.

7. New Institutional Arrangements will be needed to put these new principles into action. A major achievement of the process of discussion thus far has been the alerting of the development community, in the hosts, donors and the UN system, to these issues and problems. In particular the United Nations Development Program has stated that it "stands ready" to continue active participation, and the World Bank, the International Labour Office and the World Food Program have also become more active in this field.

The refugee assistance system has for the most part successfully cleared a crucial hurdle in its efforts to alter the ways in which refugee assistance is provided in developing countries. The results thus far are impressive and are an indication of the responsiveness and adaptability of the refugee assistance system when it is faced with fundamental changes in conditions. The 35th session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program effectively closed the first phase of response by approving a set of "Principles for Action in Developing Countries" that have been drawn from the ICARA meetings and from UNHCR's meetings on Refugee Aid and Development. The second phase will involve putting these principles into operation in Africa, as a follow-up to ICARA II, and globally.

United Nations General Assembly

Declaration and Programme of Action of The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa

July 10, 1984

DECLARATION

A. Global responsibility

1. The task of caring for refugees and finding solutions to their problems is a matter of international concern in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments, in particular the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol. The conference recognizes that the condition of refugees is a global responsibility of the international community and emphasizes the need for equitable burden-sharing by all its members, taking into consideration particularly the case of the least developed countries.

B. Continental responsibility

2. In dealing with the refugee situation in Africa, special account must be taken of the regional situation and of the regionally relevant legal instruments, such as the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), conventions as well as principles mentioned in resolutions adopted under the auspices of OAU.

C. 1969 OAU Convention

3. The 1969 OAU Convention on the Specific Aspects of the Refugee Problems in Africa constitutes a basic instrument for the plight of refugees in that continent; according to Article VIII, paragraph 2, the OAU Convention shall be the effective regional complement in Africa of the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees. Accession to the OAU Convention by African States that have not yet done so, respect for the principles contained therein the most rigorous care in their daily implementation must remain the foundation for protecting and assisting refugees in Africa. The principle enshrined in the 1969 Convention that "the granting of asylum is a peaceful and humanitarian act and shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act by

any member state" must continue to guide the approach of states to the refugee problem in Africa.

D. Arusha Conference

4. The recommendations of the 1979 Arusha Conference on the African Refugee Problem, endorsed by the OAU Council of Ministers through its resolution CM/Res.727 (XXXIII) and reaffirmed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolutions 34/61 and 35/41, remain fundamental for action on behalf of refugees in Africa. The recommendations deal with the causes for asylum seeking in Africa and the situation of rural and urban refugees, their employment, education and training, and arrangements for refugee counselling services.

5. The Arusha Conference also adopted a number of recommendations relating to the legal situation of refugees, notably as regards asylum, the definition of the refugee concept and the determination of refugee status, illegal entry and expulsion, rights and obligations of refugees and voluntary repatriation. The standards defined in these recommendations, together with those figuring in the 1969 OAU Convention, represents an important component for the protection of and assistance to refugees on the African continent. The Organization of African Unity and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are urged, in accordance with a decision of the conference, to continue monitoring the implementation of the relevant recommendations and report thereon through the appropriate channels.

E. Meeting between the OAU secretariat and voluntary agencies

6. The 92 recommendations adopted in March 1983 at the meeting between the OAU secretariat and voluntary agencies dealt with the following issues: International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa II, protection, voluntary

repatriation, awareness building and public information, cooperation in refugee assistance at the national, regional and international levels, root causes of refugee situations, education, counselling, settlement and resettlement, and the role of voluntary agencies during emergencies, which should constitute a realistic approach to the refugee problem in Africa.

F. OAU Charter on Human and People's Rights

7. Respect for human and people's rights, and benefit from economic and social progress and development in conformity with Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations must be a cornerstone in the protection of and assistance to refugees. The conference takes full note of the adoption by the OAU heads of state and government of the Charter on Human and People's Rights, the entry into force of which will constitute a positive contribution in reducing the number of refugees in Africa.

G. Approaches to solutions

8. International cooperation to avert new flows of refugees must be strengthened. Everything possible must be done to prevent the causes of refugee flows and to reduce and resolve the problem of refugees in Africa. States must refrain from taking measures that would create or aggravate refugee problems. Essential conditions should be established to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of refugees, which has been recognized as the best means of promoting permanent and durable solutions. This could be done by the promulgation of amnesty laws and respect for the principle of *nonrefoulement*. Where voluntary return is not immediately feasible or possible, conditions should be created within the country of asylum for a temporary settlement or the integration of refugees into the community and their full participation in its social and economic life. For solutions to last, assis-



tance to refugees and returnees must aim at their participation, productivity and durable self-reliance; it should be development-oriented as soon as possible and, in least developed countries, it should take into account the needs of the local people as well.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

A. Voluntary repatriation

1. Voluntary repatriation remains, when conditions allow, the ideal solution to a refugee problem. Governments are responsible for creating the necessary legal and practical conditions conducive to the return of refugees. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is, by its mandate, required to facilitate the return of refugees and safeguard its voluntary nature; it should take all measures deemed appropriate and feasible to promote such voluntary return. Whenever appropriate, tripartite commissions composed of representatives of the country of origin, the country of asylum and UNHCR should be established; in this process, care must be taken to respect the voluntary nature of the repatriation process and the entirely nonpolitical character of the work of UNHCR.

2. For the ultimate aim of successful reintegration of returnees into their society, rehabilitation assistance will often be required well beyond the initial period during which UNHCR can provide it. In such cases, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other relevant development organizations and nongovernmental organizations should be involved as soon as possible in the planning and implementation of further rehabilitation assistance which may benefit not only returnees but also their compatriots in the areas concerned.

B. Local settlement

3. Where voluntary repatriation is not immediately feasible or possible, conditions should be created within the country of asylum so that the refugees can temporarily settle or integrate into the community, i.e., participate on an equal footing in its social and economic life and contribute to its development. For this purpose, settlement program-

mes should be development-oriented and, wherever possible, be linked to existing or planned economic and social development schemes for the area or region.

4. When large numbers of refugees need land or other work opportunities, there is a need for development-oriented projects which would generate work opportunities and where local integration of the refugees is feasible long-term livelihoods for refugees and local people in a comparable situation, through activities which create assets of a continuing economic value with a good rate of return, so that they contribute to the overall development of the area.

C. Infrastructural assistance

5. As a result of the adverse impact on the national economies of the African countries concerned, most of which belong to the group of the least developed countries, there is need to provide these countries with the required assistance to strengthen their social and economic infrastructure so as to enable them to cope with the burden of dealing with large numbers of refugees and returnees. This assistance, to achieve the desired objective, should be additional to, and not at the expense of, concerned countries' other development programmes.

D. The process

6. The international community, through the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, will endeavour to provide assistance at three levels:

(a) The necessary relief and care and maintenance must be provided to refugees in the face of an emergency; it must be adjusted to the immediate needs of refugees, be directly linked to those needs and be commensurate with reliable estimates of their numbers.

(b) Long-term solutions, through voluntary repatriation of refugees or their settlement in countries of asylum, must be continued and, as necessary, expanded; additional resources should be made available for expanded durable solutions efforts.

(c) Technical and capital assistance to countries that offer asylum to refugees and to countries that welcome back re-

turnees should be recognized as an important new element of international assistance; such assistance should be additional to ongoing development programmes. The conference expresses the hope that the commitments as undertaken at the conference will be fulfilled as soon as possible.

E. Structures for assistance to refugees, including returnees, and for coordination of such aid and development assistance

7. The complementarity between refugee-related aid and development assistance should be reflected in the structures addressing these issues.

8. In aid to refugees, both for relief, care and maintenance and towards durable solutions through local settlement and voluntary repatriation, UNHCR should remain the focal point and should closely cooperate with other relevant bodies within and outside the United Nations system.

9. Closer coordination between refugee and returnee services and development services within the administrative framework of countries receiving refugees or returnees would contribute to the development-orientation of refugee projects from the earliest possible stage.

10. Likewise, closer cooperation between the refugee and development services in the financial donor countries would be conducive to addressing the refugee problem in its development context.

11. Governing councils of development agencies should seriously consider the refugee and returnee element in their programme planning with a view to alleviating the plight of refugees and returnees. Among such agencies UNDP, in view of its central coordinating role within the United Nations system for development and its close linkages with donor communities, could be asked to take as soon as possible a leading part in the coordination, implementation and monitoring of refugee-related infrastructural projects of a developmental nature in close association with its partners and other donors; the expertise of nongovernmental organizations, in the assessment, planning and execution of projects should also be utilized.

F. Follow-up of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa

12. The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa is another important step of a long-term process on the road towards lasting solutions to the problems of refugees and returnees in Africa. Further fact-finding missions, accurate data collection activities and feasibility studies may be necessary in many cases in furthering this process.

13. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in consultation and close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, is requested to monitor through the existing channels the follow-up of the conference and to recommend the appropriate action needed for this purpose.

14. Governments are requested to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of any action taken or being taken relating to the projects submitted to the conference, through

UNHCR in the case of projects submitted or which may be submitted in response to paragraph 5 (b) of General Assembly resolution 37/197 and through the office of the Secretary-General and/or UNDP in the case of projects submitted in response to paragraph 5 (c) of that resolution.

15. The Secretary-General is requested to submit to the General Assembly at its 39th session a first report on the results of the conference as well as action taken or planned to follow up on the process initiated at the conference.

**SUMMARY OF
REFUGEE-RELATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS
PRESENTED TO ICARA II**

Country	Number of Projects	Total amount of financial assistance required (thousands of US\$)
Angola	4	8,450
Botswana	5	4,140
Burundi	5	10,100
Ethiopia	14	40,090
Kenya	3	840
Lesotho	5	2,500
Rwanda	10	8,690
Somalia	14	79,900
Sudan	30	92,600
Swaziland	2	1,420
Uganda	12	35,850
United Rep. of Tanzania	8	28,140
Zaire	11	38,800
Zambia	5	10,740
Total	128	362,260

International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA)

Statement to The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II)

The International Council of Voluntary Agencies wishes to thank the ICARA II Steering Committee for the invitation to make a statement on behalf of nongovernmental organizations. We wish to offer these few remarks from our perspective as an association of 71 voluntary agencies from both the north and the south. For many years, voluntary agencies have provided the channels for millions of individuals and families to express their humanitarian concern for refugees in Africa.

The Overall Context

Voluntary agencies have traditionally played a very special role in helping refugees. Being community-based organizations, they have first-hand knowledge of the problems faced by refugees and by the communities that receive them in their midst. Because of this, they often have to assume the role of advocates on behalf of these afflicted groups with respect to governments, intergovernmental organizations and the agencies' own constituencies. The ICVA publications, entitled "Timely Solutions — Voluntary Agencies and African Refugees" and "Assistance to African Refugees by Voluntary Organizations", which have been prepared for this conference, provide details of the contributions being made by voluntary agencies.

We are conscious of the need to approach the refugee situation within the broader context of Africa's current economic and social crisis. This crisis has rapidly escalated in recent years and has now reached a critical level as a result of widespread, severe and persistent drought, and the rapidly deteriorating international economic environment (see the special memorandum prepared by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa for the 1984 second regular session of ECOSOC — E/ECA/CM.10/37/Rev. 1).

African governments are now formulating strategies to redress the situation. Yet, for the most part, they are currently unable to meet the material needs of their own growing populations, let alone those of the refugees. This extremely serious situation is affecting the traditional hospitality of some African governments and peoples towards refugees.

Protection

While recognizing these problems, we trust that African governments will comply fully with the various Conventions and UN Resolutions relating to the international protection of refugees, and that they will avoid any form of forced repatriation. In this connection, ICVA agencies warmly welcome the unanimous adoption by the organization of African Unity of the Charter on Human and People's Rights and hope that all African governments will shortly ratify it.

The Response

Over the past few years, the international community has increasingly recognized the need for new approaches in assisting refugees. Past responses have proved to be inadequate or not fully effective, and durable solutions have remained elusive. In early 1983, however, the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme began a detailed study of the links between "refugee aid and development". This concept, which the voluntary agencies understand well, has been incorporated into the thinking behind ICARA II.

The adoption of this concept should enable African governments to consider their approach to the arrival of new groups of refugees within the context of development programmes for the whole

area into which the refugees are moving. This may allow them to avoid the temptation of setting up camps, or settlements artificially separated from host communities, which foster among the refugees a state of dependency on outside assistance and which may eventually stifle the initiative of whole communities, thereby lessening their ability to help themselves. Conversely, the international community must stand ready, not only to provide emergency assistance but also to address, from the outset, the developmental requirements which a refugee influx creates in a specific area. It is essential to involve the refugees in all phases of the search for durable solutions: the identification of needs, and project planning, implementation and evaluation.

Overall UNHCR Responsibility

ICARA II provides a forum and an opportunity for addressing the structural problems facing host governments and the international community in meeting the needs of refugees and local populations, and in making equitable arrangements for sharing the burden. The participation of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the Conference's Steering Committee and its role in preparing the project outlines are welcomed. However, this must not be allowed to detract from the paramount role of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the field of assistance to refugees, whether the projects are funded through his office or through other UN agencies. While UNDP may have a role to play in the follow-up to 5(C) projects, we believe that UNHCR still has the overall responsibility in this area as well. We have also noted another form of collaboration which involves cooperation between UNHCR and the World



Bank in a refugee-related rural project and we shall be watching with interest for examples of innovative cooperation between other UN development agencies and UNHCR, and for the possible participation of voluntary agencies in such projects.

Implementing Structures

ICVA has begun a process of reviewing the ICARA II projects in order to assess the role which voluntary agencies might play and to identify those projects most suitable for their involvement. The reviews, which will be completed by the end of 1984, are being undertaken on a country-by-country basis and a group of ICVA member agencies, specialized in various aspects of agriculture, health, water, infrastructure, social affairs, education and training, has recently completed an analysis of one country's projects. ICVA is prepared to make these reviews available to interested parties.

It is clear that additional resources could be obtained for some countries where the need is greatest, provided that suitable implementing structures exist. This requires the development of genuine cooperation arrangements between host government, intergovernmental organizations and voluntary agencies. ICVA stresses the importance of establishing or strengthening in each country the appropriate coordinating mechanism for both local and international voluntary agencies. Such bodies would undertake the following tasks: information sharing; liaison with government departments and intergovernmental organizations; and, situation analysis and programme development. We recognize that, unless strong mechanisms for cooperation exist, there will always be a danger of duplication, inappropriate distribution, and misunderstanding between voluntary agencies, governments and intergovernmental organizations.

The question of the arrangements for project implementation is of particular importance in relation to the 5(C) projects. The gap, which has arisen in recent years between humanitarian relief and development assistance programmes, is partly responsible for the current need to obtain additional resources for infrastructural development in the areas affected by refugee influxes. In order to

fill this gap, voluntary agencies believe that, in some circumstances, they are well placed to make effective use of the additional resources which donor governments are willing to offer under the 5(C) heading. However, the development of satisfactory implementing arrangements will involve concerted co-operative efforts among governments, UNHCR, UNDP and voluntary agencies in each country in which these projects are being carried out. We have no single recipe to put forward, but we do believe that the coordination of agency resources within the framework of a consortium will often be a successful arrangement. Voluntary agencies consider that the organization of follow-up arrangements to ICARA II is of crucial importance and are ready to participate at all levels of the process.

Additionality

Donor governments will recognize from the above that the principle of "additionality" is an essential component of any long-term solution. We are happy to note that some governments have accepted the principle of "additionality" and we hope that other donors will be able to announce major additional contributions as ICARA II progresses or during its immediate aftermath. In this context, it should also be recognized that durable solutions require a multi-year financial commitment. Further, we believe that host governments also have an obligation to do everything possible to ensure the success of this new approach by integrating refugee programmes into the government's development plans. Conditions should be established which are conducive to the full and durable settlement of refugees, including facilities for naturalization and for the granting to new refugee rural communities of a status identical to that of indigenous rural communities.

Root Causes

Whereas voluntary agencies actively support these new and innovative responses to the refugee problem in Africa, they recognize that there will be no lasting solution unless the root causes are adequately addressed. One of the major causes is political instability in the region. We would urge all the governments present to show the political will to tackle this element of the crisis in a creative way. In this respect,

we feel that the armaments race contributes to the current crises not only in Africa but elsewhere. A second major cause is the general crisis of economic underdevelopment and poverty in many parts of the continent. In this context, we believe that much more emphasis must be placed on prevention and anticipation including, where necessary, aid to potential countries of exodus.

While supporting the general view that voluntary repatriation represents the preferred solution to all refugee situations, we believe that voluntary repatriation requires, not only the establishment of appropriate political conditions in the country of origin, but also a specific programme, not limited by artificial time constraints, of economic and social rehabilitation for the area where the returnees are to be settled. This should also be coordinated within the overall development policy of the country of origin.

Conclusion

In closing, I would like to emphasize three points.

Firstly, we believe that the international community should now entrust the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees with the responsibility for mobilizing and involving the development agencies, within and outside the UN system, from the moment that a new refugee situation emerges. These agencies should address the development components of the situation from the start, and should not wait until the needs are so overwhelming that another conference such as ICARA II becomes necessary.

Secondly, we would like to stress our conviction that refugees and their families, in close cooperation with the host community and local voluntary agencies, should participate in the planning and implementation of projects promoting their durable settlement.

Finally, we believe that ICARA II constitutes the first stage in a process which deserves the genuine support of the international community. ICVA pledges its support towards achieving the objectives of this Conference and is prepared to participate in any follow-up consultation.

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

Ugandan Refugees and the Lutaya School

by Charles Data Male
Oxford, England

Following the fall of Idi Amin in April 1979, thousands of Ugandans have fled into exile. This is a direct result of the current struggle for leadership which has split Uganda into different political and ethnic groups. The notoriously undisciplined and ruthless government soldiers, in their ambition to root out the dissidents, have always ended up by looting, torturing and killing innocent civilians. This indiscriminate and widespread bloodshed has resulted in the mass exodus of Ugandan citizens. Abandoning all their possessions, the refugees have needed to begin a new life in their various countries of asylum.

It is estimated that more than 300,000 Ugandans now live in exile in Southern Sudan. At least as many as 150,000 live in UNHCR — assisted settlements, while the remainder decided to settle spontaneously amongst the local Sudanese population.

Although the UNHCR and the Sudan government have responded well to this massive influx of refugees, only emergency relief aid has been provided. Priority is given to food, shelter, medical aid and primary education. Despite the fact that Ugandans consider education as a basic necessity, no response to this plea has been made by the international community.

A detailed survey of the refugee settlements both spontaneous and assisted revealed that more than 15,000 refugees were "interrupted" students in various academic institutions, ranging from secondary schools, teacher-training colleges, technical colleges and university. In refuge they have no opportunity of continuing their education.

Although the Sudan government has willingly accepted to host thousands of

refugees, The Sudan itself still remains one of the least developed nations of the world. There is an almost complete lack of higher educational facilities even for Sudanese citizens.

It was in 1983, after a long period of waiting without any hope, that the idea of a self-help secondary school was developed. It is hoped that the interests of both Sudanese and refugee students will be served once the Lutaya School is completed.

At the beginning the student intake will vary. Eighty percent of the available places will be allocated to refugees and 20 percent to the local Sudanese students. But, in the long run, when the refugees are able to return to Uganda, the order will be reversed, and hence 80 percent of the places will go to Sudanese while 20 percent to the Ugandans. This will also ensure that mutual understanding between the two countries is maintained. The Lutaya School will remain to express the gratitude of the Ugandan refugees to the Sudan government for their hospitality in a time of need.

From the time of its conception, all the work carried out in connection with the school has been on a voluntary basis. Refugee students, teachers, and the local people work hand-in-hand. There is abundant labour from the refugees. To date, a block of buildings divided into three apartments has been completed. Another block, designed to provide an office and more classrooms is now under construction.

Although the project was meant to be entirely the work of refugees, it must be understood that there are limitations. There is a shortage of building mater-

ials: roofing material, cement, and other items cannot be obtained locally. Moreover, money is required to purchase them.

However, this project has been supported by the Third World First organization of Oxford University, World University Service (UK), and the Jesuit Refugee Service. Third World First has raised £2,320 so far and has also been involved in the collection of books and other scholastic materials that will help the refugees generally. WUS has responded by shipping the books to Yei and is also trying to develop libraries in the various refugee camps. Added to this, the Jesuit Refugee Service has offered to send an administrator in addition to Father Victor Mathias (currently UNHCR's Field Office Education Officer) who is working with the refugees.

It is worth mentioning that links between the Ugandan refugee community in southern Sudan and the international community (especially Britain) have been progressing well over the past two years. Last year a group of students from Third World First, Oxford University, visited the refugees. When they returned they were able to inform the British people of the plight of the refugees. This year a repeat visit is taking place. Instead of two students, seven are going to spend two months with the refugees.

Such visits help to create nontangible links and cooperation amongst people here and the oppressed peoples of the world. It also fills the refugees with new hope, and a feeling of belonging to the rest of humanity. Once we view refugees as part of humankind, doubtless they will once again become highly motivated.