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AFRICA TODAY

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T.F. Betts
Shelley Pitterman

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AFRICA TODAY

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Number One

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Editor's Note

Another milestone has been passed! We have completed 30 years of publication since the first issue of AFRICA TODAY was mailed from the office of the newly formed American Committee on Africa in New York in March of 1954. With this issue we enter our 31st year. As you know, we celebrated our silver anniversary five years ago with a big special issue, and invited you all to send anniversary gifts, but we are much more low-key this time. Having launched a gift appeal only a year ago that drew an incredibly generous response, we didn't have the nerve to do it again so soon. A few of you have sent spontaneous contributions this year. They were a delightful surprise. Thank you! All contributions to AFRICA TODAY are tax-deductible. Be assured that all anniversary gifts will be gratefully received and carefully used. You can also help by sharing the order form on the back of this page with a friend, or by using it to order a gift subscription. You can help launch us successfully into this new decade.

Edward A. Hawley

In 1954 African independence was only a dream.



AFRICA TODAY

believed in that
dream and worked for its realization.

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Dedication

To

Tristram F. (Jimmy) Betts

(1908-1983)

Scholar, Humanitarian, Gadfly



We are proud to present this issue as a memorial to T.F. Betts, a life-long friend of Africa who devoted his not inconsiderable talents in helping to work out solutions for many of the continent's most pressing problems.

Jimmy might protest at seeing the word "scholar" in the heading of this dedication. No academician, he was nonetheless an avid student of all things African. He read widely and evaluated keenly. Most of his writings were in the form of carefully argued and organized position papers for international organizations, governments and field workers in the areas of African development and disaster relief. We are proud to present his final work as the lead article in this issue.

Tristram Frederick Betts was born 9 November 1908 in Chesterfield,

England. His sister, Barbara Castle, served as a Cabinet Minister in the last Labour government in England. He received a Bachelor of Science degree in Forestry from Edinburgh University in 1930, and continued with post-graduate work in Tropical Forestry at Oxford. For 24 years he was Conservator of Forests for the Colonial government in Nigeria, but returned to Britain in 1955 to spend five years with the Fabian Society's Commonwealth Bureau, working closely with the most famous British advocate of African independence, Fenner Brockway. After a short stint as African Research Assistant for the Labour Party, the lure of the continent called him back, and he became Field Director for East and Southern Africa for OXFAM in 1962. Attempts to channel famine relief to South Africa's African homelands aroused the ire of the Nationalist government, which preferred that the world not know of the plight of its black citizens, and Jimmy gained the distinction of becoming a "banned person" in that country, leading years later to a comedic episode during a 36 hour layover in Johannesburg making connections from Nairobi to Bangui, in which the unhappy Afrikaner immigration officer who failed to find his name on the list was sent to return him to the restricted rooms at the airport from his hotel.

The work with OXFAM then brought him into the field of refugee resettlement, to which the last and most productive 20 years of his life were devoted. He worked as employee or consultant with a number of agencies, including OXFAM, ILO, UNDP, The International Council of Voluntary Agencies and Eurc-Action ACORD. Whether or not he was the first to coin the phrase, the concept of integrated rural development was one whose content was significantly broadened by the work of Tristram F. Betts. Successfully resettled refugee communities in Africa and their new neighbors involved in these programs owe a significant debt of gratitude to him, as do the agencies for whom he prepared his reports. Despite a somewhat crusty exterior the humanitarianism in his heart was not easily disguised, and motivated all his best work.

Diplomacy wasn't Jim's long suit. He said — and wrote — what he thought and believed — and let the chips fall where they may. He was a gadfly. The papers which form the basis for the article presented here were circulated privately at the Arusha conference rather than presented publicly as originally intended because Jimmy refused to be bound by informal ground rules that precluded direct criticism of African governments, and that was not the first time more cautious superiors sought to temper his forthrightness. His criticisms of ill-researched, bureaucratically hatched, high cost schemes could be devastating, and his anathema towards many of the programs sponsored by the FAO was legendary. Shelly Pitterman, in the interests of brevity, and perhaps balance, edited out some of his pithier comments targeting that organization, but the point of view comes through.

A tribute to Jimmy would not be complete without mentioning his wife Jean. She had been his secretary for a number of years prior to their marriage in 1970 in Nairobi's Anglican Cathedral, and his close supporter and collaborator in all the best work of his later years. Jim would be the first to credit her steady and encouraging influence as essential to his success.

The article we present is a collation of four position papers Jimmy wrote for the OAU-called meeting of voluntary agencies concerned with refugee problems, which convened in Arusha, Tanzania in March of 1983, plus his report on that meeting. In Vol. 29, No. 2, we invited any of our readers who might be attending to submit a correspondent's report, and subsequent to the meeting Jimmy wrote to offer us not only a report, but the position papers he had prepared for the meeting. He indicated in a personal note that was part of the letter that this might be his "swan song," as he had undergone a major operation for cancer a few months before. A happy period of remission enabled Jim and Jean to attend the conference, but a note sent with the papers on May 30th said he was reentering the hospital, and his death occurred on August 3rd, 1983.

We regret we were not able to publish this issue before the important ICARA-II Conference on aid to refugees held in Geneva this month, but are hopeful that many of the decisions of that Conference will be consonant with the positions here presented. Readers will do well to examine the ICARA-II reports in the light of the insights presented here.

Finally, a word of personal appreciation to Jimmy and Jean, for the warm hospitality shown when I lived under their roof in Nairobi for three months in 1971 as I served as acting director for Joint Refugee Services of Kenya, and for their constant support and wise counsel in the formative stages of that organization.

Edward A. Hawley
Executive Editor



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Evolution and Promotion of the

Integrated Rural Development

Approach to Refugee Policy in Africa

T. F. Betts (Edited by Shelly Pitlerman)

The Literature on African Refugees (an introductory note by Shelly Pitlerman)

At the 1981 International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, speaking for the whole continent, acknowledged that African hospitality "has been stretched beyond its limits." The next day, he continued, one of "the crucial tragic issues of our time . . . (and) . . . [was] . . . the buckering, conflict or disagreement."

The challenges of managing and resolving the numerous refugee situations around the world today confront various international actors: governments, international organizations, voluntary agencies, the host populations and of course, the refugees themselves. There is also a challenge facing scholars, who have conscientiously endeavored to research and recommend.

Basic refugee research in Africa provides independently verified data complementing what is made available by the UNHCR. Much of the original analysis thus far conducted in Africa has addressed practical questions concerning the role of women, the allocation of resources within refugee communities, the status of spontaneously settled refugees, and the administration of emergency and rural settlement policies. The individual is usually not the unit of analysis of African refugee research, in contrast to work done on the psychological consequences of refugee status among Indian, Indochinese and European refugees.¹

Policy analyses in the African context come in the form of organizational and journalistic reports from the field, as well as independent scholarly studies. These typically concentrate on aspects of emergency assistance and rural settlement, the two basic types of assistance provided in Africa. Detailed histories of both particular refugee populations and rural settlements have been documented. Among the former are case histories of the Rwandan

1. There is a vast literature on the resettlement experiences of refugees, especially from Indochina, in the United States and Canada. Sources for basic data include government agencies such as the Department of State, the Office of the United States Coordinator for Refugees, and the Canadian Department of Employment and Immigration. Among the non-profit organizations which collect and disseminate data on refugees in North America are the American Council for Nationalities Services, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies, the United States Committee for Refugees and the Refugee Documentation Project at York University in Ontario. Congressional hearings are invaluable resources for information on the parameters and details of American refugee policy. The bibliographies on the resettlement of refugees (Barry Stein, "Documentary Note Bibliography", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1/2, (1981), pp. 331-393, and Julia Taft, David North and David Ford, *Refugee Resettlement in the United States: Time For a New Focus* (Washington, D.C.: New TransCentury Foundation, 1979) include macro-level policy studies as well as micro-level research, especially on the mental health consequences of flight and resettlement.

² See the Dedication in this issue for a brief biography of T. F. Betts and information on the origin of this paper.

refugees,² Angolan refugees in Zambia³ and the Acholi of Sudan,⁴ the latter include studies of the Muyenzi settlement in Tanzania,⁵ the Mboki settlement in the Central African Republic,⁶ and the Qala en Nahal settlement in Sudan.⁷ In addition, lawyers have been among the most prolific contributors to refugee scholarship.⁸

Case study research of contemporary situations provides in-depth information to policy makers on issues such as food distribution in Somali camps in 1981,⁹ the identification of refugees in the Kigoma region of Tanzania,¹⁰ and the opportunities for income generation among refugees in Sudan.¹¹ In addition, there is documentation on the social integration of young, educated refugees — especially those who have fled from white-dominated southern Africa — a group which is the subject of considerable policy interest.¹²

Inquiries into social change and rural economy among refugees in Africa are only rarely

made across time and space. These studies could be of great use to policy makers by discussing in a comparative light issues which are normally conceived of idiosyncratically because of the working assumption that refugee situations are unique. Yet only a few authors have used basic case study/historical research as a foundation for more in-depth comparative study. Louise Holborn's chronology of the institutional development of the UNHCR and its assistance activities around the world is notable for its breadth.¹³ Robert Chambers, in his capacity as the UNHCR Evaluation Officer in east Africa, tapped his varied experience to address the administration of international assistance to rural refugees in Africa, focusing on critical issues regarding the costs and benefits of organized and spontaneous rural settlement.¹⁴ In addition, Barry Stein has published widely, and in a comparative light, about the economic integration of African refugees.¹⁵

For almost 20 years, T.F. Betts has been a prolific analyst, writing about alternative policy approaches for optimizing the contributions of refugees to regional and national economic development. In the course of my research on international assistance to refugees in Africa, I have relied heavily on Betts' work. It is distinctive for its cumulative use of comparative case studies, building on analyses undertaken earlier in Burundi and Uganda and later in Tanzania, Zambia and Sudan. In a unique way, Betts has been able to synthetically derive generalizations regarding Africa's diverse refugee situations, and to offer provocative yet realistic policy recommendations derived from years of working with international and voluntary agencies acting in behalf of refugees.

The following article is a composite of several position papers written by Betts in his capacity as consultant on refugee affairs for the voluntary agency Euro Action-ACORD. They were prepared for presentation at the Organization for African Unity (OAU) Conference on Refugees held March 21-26, 1983 in Arusha, Tanzania.

The Principle of "Non-Operationalism"

It is not always realized that one of the prime objectives of the United Nations Statute of 1951 which established the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was to curb the field activity of the new body and to prevent it from launching ambitious programs of material assistance to refugees beyond the simple and prime function of guaranteeing them international legal protection. This was a reaction to the relatively massive sums of money that had been spent on refugee assistance after the 1939-45 war. The Statute specifically states that UNHCR should seek permanent solutions

by assisting Governments and, subject to the approval of the Governments concerned, private organizations to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of such refugees or their assimilation within new national communities.

13. Louise Holborn, *Refugees: A Problem of Our Time: The Work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951-1972*. 2 volumes. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1975).

14. Robert Chambers, *Rural Refugees in Africa: Observations of UNHCR Policies and Practice* (Geneva: UNHCR — 140/18, 1975), "UNHCR: Crisis, Choices and Future" (Geneva: UNHCR, mimeographed, 1976) and "Rural Refugees in Africa: What the Eye Doesn't See" (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, London, 1979).

15. See especially Barry Stein, "Refugees and Economic Activities in Africa" (Paper presented at the Refugee Seminar, Erkowit, Sudan, 1981).

2. Rachel Van der Meer-Yeld, "Refugee Resettlement in Tanganyika" (Mimeographed); Hanne Christensen, *The Progress of Refugee Settlements in Africa* (Geneva: International University Exchange Fund, 1978); and Andrew Sokiri, "The Social Problems and Political Predicament of Refugees: A Case Study of the Buga Refugee Settlement in West Uganda" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1972).

3. Ari Hansen, "Refugee Dynamics: Angolans on Zambia from 1966-1972", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1-2 (1981), pp. 175-194.

4. Christopher Terrill, "Displacement, Repatriation and Resettlement of Acholi Refugees in the Southern Sudan" (Diplomium, University of Durham, 1980, mimeographed).

5. C.P. Gasarasi, "The Life of a Refugee Settlement: The Case of Muyenzi in Mgara District, Tanzania" (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, 1976, mimeographed).

6. M. Marusi, *Reinstallation de Refugies Soudanais en Republique Centrafricaine* (Paris: League of Red Cross Societies, 1968) and G. Gosselin, *Le Changement Social et les Institutions Developpement dans une Population Refugiee* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1970).

7. John Rogge, "The Qala en Nahal Refugee Settlement Scheme", *Sudan Notes and Records*, No. 56 (1975), pp. 130-146, 130-146.

8. For a thorough account of the development of international refugee law, see Atle Grahl-Madsen, *The Status of Refugees in International Law*, Volume I: *Refugee Character* (Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1966), and Volume II: *Asylum*, Entry and Sojourn (Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1972). UNHCR reports highlight contemporary issues in refugee law, such as ascensions to the various international instruments. In addition, commonly cited references on refugee law include: Sam A. Alboni, *Protection of Refugees in Africa* (Uppsala: Svenska Institutet for Internationell Ratt, 1978); G.J.L. Coles, *Temporary Refuge and the Large-Scale Influx of Refugees* (Geneva: UNHCR — EC/SCP/16/Add. 1, 1981); Goran Melander, *Refugees in Orbit* (Geneva: International University Exchange Fund, 1978); Goran Melander and Peter Nobel, *African Refugees and the Law* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978) and Sadruddin Aga Khan, *Lectures Relating to Refugees and Displaced Persons Given at The Hague Academy of International Law* (Geneva: UNHCR — 155/60, 1976). See also Sadruddin Aga Khan, *Study on Human Rights and Massive Exoduses* (Geneva: United Nations Commission on Human Rights — E/CN.4/1503, 1981).

9. Richard Ben Cramer, "Fighting on the Hungry", *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 27-30, 1981; and Hanne Christensen, *Survival Strategies For and By Camp Refugees* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1982).

10. E.A. Lugusha, "Reformulation of the Kigoma Project. Part 1: Sectoral Review of 35 Villages in the Kigoma Region. Part 2: Recommendations on the Plan of Operations" (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam Economic Research Bureau, 1981, mimeographed).

11. United Nations High Commission for Refugees and International Labor Organization, *Income-Generating Activities for Refugees in the Sudan*. Report of the UNHCR/ILO Interdisciplinary Mission on the Employment, Income Generation and Training of Refugees in the Sudan. (Geneva: UNHCR — 80-81/AP/VAR/AR.1/AR.U.B, 1982).

12. The publications of the now-defunct International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) are notable. These include a number cited elsewhere in these notes, as well as Terence Finley, *The Permanent Settlement of African Refugees* (1973); David Moore, *Report on Rwandese Refugees in Burundi* (1976); and Acolia Simon-Thomas, *Final Report on the Research on Social and Educational Counselling of African Refugees* (1972). The latter is a unique, comprehensive comparative study of counseling and education assistance to refugees in Africa. Other agencies fluent in assisting southern African students are the World Council of Churches, World University Services, the African-American Institute, and the Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees.

Material assistance was to some extent sidetracked by its definition as "additional activities" and it was laid down that the High Commissioner should not appeal for funds without prior approval of the United Nations General Assembly. The objective here was to ensure that whatever material assistance UNHCR would reluctantly be allowed to provide could not be construed as implying any *direct responsibility* for the material welfare of the refugees. On the contrary, it was conceived as assistance to the governments of the host countries on their request in cases where the presence of refugees imposed excessive social and economic burdens. A corollary of this was that UNHCR was supposed to provide material assistance only upon specific requests from the host governments and even then as modestly as possible.

This in some sense implied a contradiction in terms with which UNHCR has had to live with difficulty over the ensuing years. As a humanitarian institution, it was supposed to have a heart and to care. According to some UNHCR sources, it had a moral if not a constitutional obligation to inform itself on refugee situations and to press for a request from the government of asylum where this appeared justified. There is plenty of evidence that in face of this dilemma, UNHCR from time to time exceeded its brief. But in the absence of such a request, there was little it could do.

In the late 1960s, this became erected into the firm principle of "non-operationalism." It was reinforced by the findings of an internal UNHCR Seminar held at Arusha, Tanzania in 1976 which came out strongly in favor of spontaneous as opposed to formal settlement.¹⁶ Ironically, the heavy emphasis placed by this Seminar on a more or less 'laissez faire' attitude defeated its objective in that it provoked an immediate debate within UNHCR which was critical of these findings and which more recently has borne fruit in a firm commitment to the operational role.

Early Attempts at Integrated Rural Development

The concept of an integrated multi-sectoral approach to African rural development, with or without the involvement of refugees, is not a new one. In 1961, tens of thousands of Rwandese fled their country to seek refuge in the Kivu province of Zaire (then, the Democratic Republic of the Congo). Initially settled in the malarial Ruzizi plain, they were later moved, through the agency of UNHCR and the U.N. Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), to forested uplands further north. There, fertile soils and the presence of an experienced local managing agency combined with committed backing from Rwandese Catholic brothers and nuns contributed to

16. Robert Chambers. Report on Workshop/Seminar on Rural Refugees in Africa Held in Arusha, Tanzania (February 16-19, 1976) (Geneva: UNHCR - 140/14, 1976).

the achievement of a successful hand-to-mouth assistance effort. This was followed in 1963 by a joint initiative of the UNHCR and the International Labor Organization (ILO) which established a Rural Integration and Zonal Plan, with the latter as the operating agency.

Unfortunately, almost immediately the region was the scene of serious political disturbances, during which both the UNHCR representative and the ILO project chief were murdered. The plan was stillborn. When things settled down, however, the project was resumed and by 1966 had registered positive economic progress in the zone. Already by that year the refugees were discharging their responsibility to the central government by paying taxes. In return, the settlements were benefiting from government assistance in such fields as education and road maintenance.

The experience with refugee settlement in Burundi followed a different pattern. The first major refugee operation there was the settlement of some 20,000 Rwandese refugees in an underpopulated and underdeveloped area of northern Burundi. Management of this operation was assigned to the League of Red Cross Societies. Its field operations for the early succour of the newly arrived refugees were excellent, but it had little agricultural expertise. Without any adequate investigation of the potentiality of the site, these refugees were haphazardly settled among an equivalent number of local Burundi in an environment which kept the local people themselves at a low level of subsistence.

In 1964, the Burundi government signed an agreement with the ILO, involving also some assistance from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), for a zonal development plan to cover improvement of the living conditions of both refugees and local people. It was to be carried out by an experienced voluntary agency, the International Association for Rural Development Overseas (AIDR). This plan was based on a prior field investigation but fell into the trap of placing excessive emphasis on the extensive provision of an elaborate and costly infrastructure covering agricultural and artisan training centers, schools, dispensaries, veterinary establishments and experimental nurseries. Too little account was taken of the felt needs and actual living conditions of the people, whose holdings were often badly sited and frequently either inadequate or infertile.

A detailed field survey of the project summarized the situation as follows:

In general the picture which one observes of the ILO plan is of a project which, for a variety of reasons, is out of balance both in planning and in execution on paper and in general concept. Everything is provided at the corners —

demonstration, training, social and communal activity — to make them springboards for the development of the region. Only one thing is omitted: the people themselves.¹⁷

The impact of these experiences with refugee settlement in Zaire, Burundi and elsewhere spread ripples of debate amongst the organizations — international, bilateral and voluntary — centrally or peripherally concerned with the problem. One result was the mounting in 1967 of the all-important Conference on African Refugee Problems in Addis Ababa.¹⁸ The Conference accepted that refugee self-sufficiency at mere subsistence levels could not be considered as conclusive. Zonal development was required both to consolidate the refugee settlements and to integrate them into the local economic and social system. Furthermore, such development prompted by the refugee presence should contribute effectively to the overall development of the country of asylum; thus the surrounding population must be ensured an equal share of the advantages accruing. In endorsing zonal development schemes, the Conference recommended that the UNHCR be authorized to promote and finance comprehensive planning at an early stage. Host governments should make the necessary requests to the U.N. Development Program (UNDP) and other competent agencies, and should not be expected to abandon existing development projects in favor of refugee settlement.

The first attempt to establish an integrated project of this kind arose initially as a result of yet further influxes of Rwandese refugees into Burundi. The political situation compelled their concentration in a new settlement area at Mugeru adjacent to the earlier ILO project. Here again, environmentally this was not a particularly hospitable area. But, profiting from past experience, UNHCR and its operating partner AIDR were able to establish the base for a viable settlement. After thorough surveys, agronomic as well as topographical, the overall achievements here were positive.

The initial responses among the refugees were positive. However, with the achievement of subsistence self-sufficiency and the establishment of at least a modest social infrastructure, it was arguable that UNHCR had come to the end of its immediate obligation and that it should have withdrawn its supervisory and financial support. Two problems, however, remained unaddressed: first, the benefits of the scheme had in the main been confined to the refugees with little involvement of the local population; and second, there were no clear plans for the third phase of settlement establishment, namely introducing cash crops and generating alternative revenues.

17 T.F. Betts, "Refugees in Eastern Africa: A Comparative Study" (London: OXFAM, 1966, mimeographed)

18 Economic Commission for Africa, *Final Report of the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems* (October 1967) (Addis Ababa: ECA, 1968)

In 1968, therefore, an approach was made to UNDP to take up the burden as part of an integrated rural development project under its own auspices. The government of Burundi, however, insisted that another major undeveloped area of Burundi, well-distanced from the refugee settlements, be included in the plan. Since this appeared to offer a more promising agricultural potential, FAO, the managing agency in which UNDP had entrusted the project, concentrated its attention largely on this area, leaving the Mugeru complex comparatively neglected. The result was that considerable numbers of Mugeru refugees defected across the border into Tanzania, while the remainder continued a hand-to-mouth existence. They were increasingly threatened by the hostility of local Burundi jealous of their apparent privileges. Project BDI-7, as it came to be called, also suffered from poor definition of objectives and general project mismanagement, involving the removal of the FAO project manager half way through the scheme. With the major political disruptions in Burundi in 1972, the project died a natural death.¹⁹

Reviving the Concept of Zonal Development

There followed a mood of disillusionment over the concept of integrated rural development. Only recently has there been a revival of interest in integrated and multi-sectoral approaches to refugee settlement. Evidence to this effect includes the proposed Special Fund for Long-Term Solutions, and the convening of conferences such as the Khartoum Seminar in 1982. The conclusions of this important Seminar were consistent with the Sudanese government's refugee conference of 1980,²⁰ and the U.N. Inter-Agency Mission of the same year. The latter in particular underlined that, despite international aid efforts, a substantial proportion of the needs of refugees, especially those spontaneously settled in rural and urban areas, remained uncovered. The need for more far-reaching and long-term solutions involving development-oriented programs was endorsed. The Seminar cited the urgent need for financial and technical support for feasibility studies, detailed site surveys and comprehensive plans both in current programmes and in the framework of settlement schemes. There was also a present need to strengthen the infrastructure and services in education, training, health and agriculture.

19 T.F. Betts, *Integrated Rural Development: Reports 1-4* (Geneva: International University Exchange Fund, 1969)

20 Government of Sudan, *Documentation for the June 20-23 Conference*, 4 vols. (Khartoum: National Committee for Aid to Refugees, 1980)

In August 1979, the High Commissioner proposed to the Executive Committee the establishment of a Special Fund for Long-Term Solutions to Refugee Problems. The High Commissioner argued that UNHCR had so far lacked the resources to finance multi-year schemes of any appropriate magnitude. While under General Programs, UNHCR had engaged in ventures benefiting both refugees and the local population, these had suffered from the fact that the funds involved had been relatively limited and made available only in annual installments subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. The High Commissioner argued that it would be desirable to fund a separate technical and operational wing of UNHCR, aimed at not merely linking refugee assistance with rural development in the country of asylum, but even offering a development aid package as a "bribe" to other developing countries to encourage them to share the refugee burden as countries of second asylum.

The High Commissioner proposed that the Fund be set up for a trial period of three years. Schemes that would benefit from the absorption of refugee groups would be identified in existing national development plans. If no suitable projects were identified in existing plans, special refugee schemes — rural and urban, multi-disciplinary and sectoral — could be identified. Duplication of effort would be avoided through coordination with organizations such as the World Bank and UNDP. While the UNHCR would remain solely responsible for the Fund, voluntary and governmental agencies would also participate.

New proposals for development-oriented assistance must be closely related to the government's overall development policies and its national development plan. Despite this stipulation, however, it is possible, particularly in view of the massive inputs likely to be required, that in the discussions leading to the formulation of such development-oriented proposals and of the agreements to be concluded between the participating parties, some modifications of the government's sovereignty in such matters may come under discussion.

This is a sensitive area which heretofore might have led to implications of a neo-colonialist attitude on the part of outside participants, but the increasing maturity of the governments concerned can surely invoke amongst them a recognition of the constraints imposed on the donor agencies by their own constituents. Relative to this prickly issue is the comment made by Pierre Coat:

Clearly the host country enjoyed full sovereignty and UNHCR could not impose the settlement site, but to what extent should it resist a bad choice? UNHCR should avoid placing itself in a position of confrontation and should negotiate and insist on independent technical advice. Should that fail, UNHCR should refuse to sponsor such projects while promoting other alternatives.²¹

21. Pierre Coat, "Material Assistance: Some Policy Problems Reviewed in the Light of Robert Chambers' Evaluation Reports" (Geneva: UNHCR, 1978, mimeographed).

Three serious problems face a government of asylum when concentrating resources, both national and international, on a vigorous attempt to deal radically with the difficulties arising in specific refugee-affected areas. First is the risk of distortion of its national development plan. Second is the equal risk of uneven development of one or two areas more favored in the development process because of the refugees' presence. The third challenge is the parallel distortion of the distribution of the limited technical manpower in countries where this vital commodity is always in short supply.

It is obvious that a central issue in planning for the establishment of development-oriented zonal development covering both refugee aliens and the indigenous population will be the expansion of agricultural productivity wherever utilizable land can be found. The main thrust of some government policies, for example Sudan's, has been in the direction of large-scale and capital-intensive food production schemes. However, this policy is questionable.

Revising this policy approach involves placing greater reliance on the creation of comparatively small peasant communities, unified and supported by cooperatives, covering agricultural credit, marketing and supply. Governments should be persuaded to give high priority to cooperative training and organization. Parallel with this, consideration may also be given to the problem of existing low rural wage levels, already rendered particularly acute as a result of rural inflation. In order to meet at least the minimum requirements for living costs over and above subsistence, an income target should be established for the development area based on existing national averages plus a percentage calculated to accrue from the new development effort. Such a move may well cause perturbation among some of the major agricultural schemes. However, present policies of low seasonal wage rates for migrant seasonal labor drawn from more poverty-stricken areas and otherwise dependent on a marginal subsistence existence is scarcely consistent with the surge of national development to which it is hoped that the new development-oriented program will make a significant contribution.

A further problem likely to arise concerns the inclusion, in partnership with the government and UNHCR, of a neutral implementing agency as the tool of project management. This has been common practice in a number of African countries where the refugee problem is acute, but has been resisted by others. Any hesitations the government of asylum may have about tampering in this manner with its basic policy decisions must surely be tempered both by the large financial and technical inputs for

which it hopes under the new development-oriented policy and by the recognition that refugee influxes do not involve only debit items in the national economy.

In the Bas Zaire region of Zaire, for example, the massive refugee influxes from Angola initially replaced the rural exodus from that zone to the new capital of Kinshasa and made possible a very considerable agricultural expansion providing essential food for the new urban areas. In Zambia in 1977, at a time of crucial food shortage, the Meheba settlement provided an important food surplus. In 1979, the Ulyankulu settlement in Tanzania produced crop surpluses valued at over one million dollars. Further, the refugees who live in northeastern Sudan have made an important contribution to relieving the seasonal labor shortage on the major agricultural schemes of that region.

Still, the burden of massive refugee influxes into countries which accept the principle of asylum but whose resources are already strained to the limit in the attempt to raise living standards and to combat the ever-present strains imposed by the development process on their balance of payments position calls for a large-scale international intervention well beyond the current resources of UNHCR and the voluntary agencies which have hitherto carried the main burden of refugee assistance.

There have been signals of a new attitude within UNDP and the specialized agencies towards Africa's refugee problems. Until the mid-1970s, the general attitude of these agencies had been to draw in their skirts against any direct involvement and to postulate the problem as one which should be left to UNHCR alone to deal with. The exception to this was ILO which, being derived from the former League of Nations, has always maintained its own policy approach. It is true also that limited concessions were made by some of the specialized agencies through the secondment on short-term contracts of a few of their own experts.

From about 1968 onwards, however, there was growing evidence of a shifting of this attitude, mainly under the influence of UNDP headquarters itself. The UNDP then undertook an initiative in the direction of integrated zonal development by sending a fully representative mission to Uganda, of which the writer was himself a member. The mission produced carefully worked out proposals for integrated projects in two areas of Uganda, but these were abortive because of policy changes by the government which, for a variety of political and other reasons, declared against development projects in those regions.

Again in 1971, Project BDI-7 was mounted in similar terms by UNDP. However, as already noted, it failed partly as a result of project mismanagement and ill-defined objectives and partly because of the political upheavals there in 1971. After the ceasefire in southern Sudan in

1972, faced with major problems involving the repatriation and resettlement of the large numbers of Sudanese refugees and returnees, strong representations by UNHCR succeeded in forming an ad hoc working committee of most of the specialized agencies, with positive and beneficial results.

Planning for Development-Oriented Projects

The informed and enlightened debate within the UNHCR hierarchy concerning the organization's principle of "non-operationalism," sustained by the external pressure of Chambers and others, has borne fruit. Evidence to this effect includes the evolution within UNHCR headquarters of a much tighter and more professional approach toward the planning of formal rural settlements and the establishment of a formal and detailed manual of procedures under which new settlements would have to be firmly governed.²² A basic perception behind these two important developments is that there can be no effective project management and monitoring without adequate project formulation and design.²³

There are two basic axioms which will dominate the planning process for the establishment of a development-oriented, refugee-affected zone. The first of these is that planning cannot proceed until base-line surveys and feasibility and pre-investment studies have been completed. As a first priority, a detailed environmental survey, using to the full extent existing aerial photography techniques, should be undertaken of the settlement area to identify the demarcation areas for water supplies and essential forest resources. Additional base-line data is necessary concerning: (1) the health status of the people, both indigenous and newcomers, from the points of view of existing and additional medical infrastructure, preventive as well as curative, and of manpower availability; (2) the composition of the refugee population, with the aim also of reuniting scattered families, and of existing refugee skills; and (3) the potentials for alternative sources of rural income, e.g. apiculture, sericulture, pisciculture, specialized vegetables production, small and large livestock, animal traction and the various artisan skills which these involve.

The detailed environmental survey could probably be best fulfilled either by a team of experts from U.N. specialized agencies or be sub-

²² UNHCR *Project Management System Handbook* (Geneva: UNHCR PCS/335, Rev. 1, 1981), UNHCR, *Planning Rural Settlements for Refugees: Some Considerations* (Geneva: UNHCR - PCS/326, 1979).

²³ See also UNHCR, *Managing Rural Settlements for Refugees in Africa: Proceedings of a Workshop on the Follow-up to the Arusha Recommendations on Rural Refugees in Africa* (Geneva: UNHCR Specialist Support Unit, 1981).

contracted to a professional organization with long field experience in the particular country. Both would necessarily collaborate closely with the appropriate government ministries. The health status survey could be entrusted to the World Health Organization (WHO) or, perhaps preferably, to the African Medical and Research Foundation. This voluntary agency, of high international repute, already has wide involvement in rural medical planning and operations. Here again, a prerequisite would be close collaboration with the government's own ministries of health and labor.

The identification of alternative income sources has long been a Cinderella of settlement planning. The refugee censuses, particularly in relation to refugee skills, are critical to policies which are of great importance not merely from the point of view of relieving the pressure on cultivable land, but also as offering opportunities for alternative employment beyond the drudgery of cash crop production. School-leavers in particular may be better reconciled to the rural scene and be deterred from the drift to the towns. It is obvious that alternative potentialities need specialist study and the drawing together of experience. Such studies will have to be made available to planners of the settlement process. Voluntary agencies such as Euro Action-ACORD, possibly in conjunction with a body such as the Intermediate Technology Group, might specialize in this subject, and identify and implement projects for alternative incomes.

The refugee census requires an intimate knowledge of local susceptibilities. This task could be appropriately entrusted to a team selected from one of the indigenous universities, with support from within the refugee communities themselves. This writer has long advocated the establishment (with the backing of UNESCO) of doctorate-granting Faculties of Rural Development at the main universities of African countries. The objectives would be to establish a historical and analytical record of rural development experience; to train personnel for future field work; and to provide an independent evaluation system for projects in progress. As a critical part of their training (and with the essential support of a social anthropologist), student groups drawn from these Faculties would help carry out rural censuses, not only in refugee situations but also as part of more general rural development projects.

The second axiom of the development orientation is to establish a multi-sectoral approach involving a wide range of disciplines. Feasibility studies may therefore be entrusted, in collaboration with government ministries (such as planning and interior), to a particular specialized agency. Yet great caution must be exercised in the selection of the planning team to ensure that one form of specialization does not dominate.

In the past it has been the general tendency to look upon all projects carrying a rural development label to be the prerogative of FAO. It has, however, proved itself fallible since its contribution has in many ways been heavily production-oriented, neglectful of the social aspects of policy and not seldom insensitive to local aspirations. UNHCR, on the other hand, though not in itself technically equipped for such problems, has performed and with increasing willingness adapted itself to the multi-sectoral approach to refugee settlement and has qualified itself as a major collaborator with UNDP in the planning process. UNHCR is also a crucial agent in the mobilization of funds and must therefore have a leading position in the planning process. An essential constituent should also be the voluntary agencies already operational in the refugee field. They have wide multilateral experience in refugee and rural development situations and will be intimately involved in the new process.

The implementation of policy is likely to be kept under the basic control of the ministries of planning and interior on the government side, and of the UNHCR with the backing of UNDP on the other. If, however, the practical process of implementation is left to the government ministries, the project may be at risk through changes in the complexion of government or in ministerial responsibility. This reinforces the value of having a neutral implementing agency as a field operative in a tripartite partnership. Such neutrality can best be attained by employing voluntary agencies, and there are numerous examples of the efficacy of this arrangement: for example, the Lutheran World Service, through its satellites in Tanzania, Zambia and southern Sudan; and the AIDR in Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire. Euro Action-ACORD has successfully resuscitated the Qala en Nahal settlement in northeast Sudan; and it has launched new initiatives in urban areas. It has the particular advantages of being non-denominational and having a wide network of international support.²⁴

Most rural development projects, whether involving refugees or not, have normally been subject to internal evaluations of progress undertaken by the executing agency and/or by the financial sponsors. Without any implications of bad faith, this writer contends that this is inadequate; inevitably, sometimes the process is slanted. For instance, the UNHCR information broadsheet on the Qala en Nahal settlement was an optimistic report which preceded the near collapse of the settlement.²⁵ Other positive

24. See T. F. Betts, "Development Aid from Voluntary Agencies to the Least Developed Countries", *Africa Today*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1978), pp. 44-68, for a discussion of this resource.

25. T. F. Betts, "Spontaneous Settlement of Rural Refugees in Africa: Part II-Sudan" (London: Euro Action-ACORD, 1982, mimeographed), p. 72.

reports and even a film produced by UNHCR about the Ulyankulu settlement in Tanzania were dramatically undermined by the UNHCR-sponsored independent viability study of 1977.²⁶ These examples, and others, underline the importance of independent evaluation. The more recent policy decisions of UNHCR, embodied in its PMS Handbook,²⁷ include precise arrangements for evaluation, but this remains an internal operation. Independent evaluation would be greatly enhanced by using the skills available at universities in the countries receiving UNHCR material aid.

Priorities During the Reception Stage

Hitherto the reception phase for refugees streaming across the remote borders and destined usually for formal settlements has been a hand-to-mouth affair. It has usually involved temporary housing in makeshift huts and an immediate emergency program of feeding and health, and little more. Where large numbers have been involved, these camps have often been squalid and the refugees malnourished, with high mortality and morbidity rates. This has given refugees the impression in some cases, such as in Zambia, that these temporary refugees are death camps. Furthermore, there has been a tendency to dump large numbers of new arrivals either on existing settlements because of the existing facilities for food supply and health care, but thereby leading inevitably to an overload on the settlement area; or on new settlement sites before proper planning has been carried out regarding the capacities of the sites. In Tanzania, we had an example of the former at Ulyankulu. On the other hand, Mishamo (also in Tanzania), is an excellent example of what can be achieved where advance planning and site preparation is undertaken before the settlers are admitted. Mishamo was in fact planned under the new PMS approach not for new arrivals but for the overflows from Ulyankulu and elsewhere.

The proposals put forward for the establishment of baseline data for feasibility and pre-investment studies and for a proper planning process will obviously prolong the pre-settlement phase. Furthermore, the time of transfer to the new settlement areas must take account of the demands of the agricultural calendar year. The timescale here may be of the order of six to nine months. During this period the supply of food and immediate medical care will be the first priorities. Transit accommodations will

necessarily be of a primitive and temporary nature, yet a more imaginative approach must be adopted for this reception period. It should be looked upon as a positive opportunity rather than as merely an emergency operation. The following measures are therefore suggested:

Food Supply: As far as possible without risking shortages in the reception region, food from local cash purchases should be maximized. They are likely to provide a more familiar diet than imported supplies and to offer local farmers some financial return for the inconvenience of the refugee presence.

Health Care: Quarantine is an important means of preventing disease carried by the new arrivals and of limiting exposure among them to possible health risks prevalent in the new zone. Such actions should be initiated in the reception areas and should include where possible a multi-inoculation program for the young. In light of the almost impossible burden which would likely be placed on local medical services, voluntary agencies such as the African Medical and Research Foundation and/or the local Red Cross or Red Crescent Societies should be involved. With funding from UNHCR, they could assist in the provision of standard emergency teams to conduct comprehensive health censuses, inoculation programs and the beginnings of health education at the reception stage.

Census of Refugee Population and Skills: It has been stressed above that these are essential base-line data; project planning cannot be carried out efficiently without such demographic data. To delay gathering them until the refugees have been moved to the settlement sites can impose great difficulties on the settlement staff, already at this time fully occupied with the routine of infrastructural work, plot demarcation, etc in the newly chosen settlement areas. Data gathering should be conducted in the reception areas largely by indigenous voluntary agencies with the support of experts, including a social anthropologist. This process should involve not only a head count and a record of demographic distributions of age groups, but also the identification and as far as possible reuniting of families and community members who have lost touch with one another during their flight. At this point also, official documents — including the vitally important residence permits — could be provided to the refugees.

Boredom: Heavy stress is commonly laid on the trauma suffered by refugee newcomers as a result of their forced dislodgement, but in the reception areas at least there is commonly another phenomenon which has hitherto been little recognized: plain boredom. In a situation which

26. T.F. Betts, "The Spontaneous Settlement of Rural Refugees in Africa: Part II, Tanzania" (London: Euro-Action-ACORD, 1981, mimeographed), p. 90. For further discussion of spontaneous settlement see Art Hansen, "Self-Settled Rural Refugees in Africa" in Art Hansen and Anthony Oliver-Smith, eds., *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The Problems and Responses of Dislocated Peoples* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982), pp. 13-36.

27. UNHCR, *Project Management System Handbook*, op cit (fn. 22)

may last as long as six to nine months, it can be a major factor inducing depression and despair. It is important, therefore, to provide simple sports facilities for the younger age groups, basic materials such as pencils and paper for family education, as well as simple tool kits for some of the artisans. Classes in the local language directed initially at those with special skills identified by the census should be established early in the reception stage.

Water Supply: The dangers of exposure to bilharzia and other water-borne diseases as well as to sleeping sickness are well known. It is suggested, therefore, that a crash program of well-sinking or spring capture be undertaken in the reception areas. It would offer employment to some of the refugees and thereby the beginnings of a cash income, and it would also reward the local population's tolerance of the refugee influx.

Land and Agriculture: The local authorities should be clearly advised that in the reception stage the refugees, being in transit, must be discouraged from attempting to establish their own farm plots in the vicinity. If the refugees do so they will be reluctant to move before they reap a harvest and this may clash with the new settlement timetable. Manpower will be diverted from settlement establishment and it is probable, moreover, that if they take up land, a process of agricultural overcrowding will likely be initiated, leading to the diminution of available fallow and the deterioration of the environment.

Refugee Participation in Settlement Establishment: It should be made clear to the refugees that their stay in the reception area is a temporary one and they should be included to the maximum possible extent in the establishment of the new settlement site. Refugee 'leaders' identified through the censuses, or otherwise emerging, should be taken on visits to the proposed sites during the preparation phase so that they have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the new environment and to share in discussions. Visits to other settlements already established should also be made. Brief helicopter flights over both the new site and existing ones would offer the leaders a new perspective and would be an adventure of which they could usefully boast upon their return to their communities. Wherever possible, women leaders were identified or the wives of notables should also share such trips.

Staff Requirements During the Pre-Settlement Phase: The catalog of activities suggested for the reception centers will require special staffing arrangements. Some suggestions have already been made with regard to health and refugee censuses. In other areas, the participation of voluntary

agencies likely to be involved in the later implementation process should be encouraged. The contributions of U.N. and other volunteers have been documented; they could assist in well-digging, recreation, the establishment of short-term vegetable gardens and other reception center activities. Hopefully, these volunteers would accompany the refugees in transit to help establish the new settlement site.

World Food Program (WFP) Supplies: This is a controversial subject. When the WFP was first conceived, it was against a backcloth of food surpluses in the donor countries. United States interests at the time were to strengthen its own agricultural communities by creating a market for surpluses through the use of food as an essential part of its aid programs. Cash grants for local purchases were actively discouraged despite the fact that, although WFP had worked out a sound and balanced ration (in the early days at least), supplies inappropriate to the area of consumption were often shipped. Examples include the provision of ground wheat flour to people who neither knew how to bake nor had ovens; of salt cod to people accustomed only to sun-dried fish; of horse beans unrecognized and distrusted by the recipients; and of maize different from the maize of local custom and hardened (not to mention often weevil-ridden) by long storage.

Today we are in a different situation: there are widespread food shortages, particularly in Africa, and WFP stocks are no longer in surplus. The time has come for a reversal of policy. One of the factors inducing integration between the settlement and the local countryside can be the creation of a doorstep market with guaranteed income for the surrounding population. Consequently, from the moment the settlement site is decided upon, and with at least one local harvest in prospect before the refugees are transferred, the local farmers should be mobilized for a Grow-More-Food Campaign with guaranteed prices at the go-downs provided for refugee rations. This campaign should be stimulated by active assistance in the form of improved seed and fertilizers. To be most effective, every effort must be made to eliminate local seed stocks and to saturate the market with this new input. The free exchange of new seed for old would encourage farmers on the periphery of a refugee settlement to expand subsistence production.

An assessment should be made of the likely contributions of the campaign to food supply. On this basis, then, the formulation of the WFP request should be made covering the shortfalls in basic foods and in the supplementary nutrients, especially protein, not available locally. The savings in inland transport costs would go far to cover the cost of such an

agricultural campaign. The benefits accruing to the local farmers would also encourage a more hospitable reception of the refugees.

Conclusion

The problems facing African states which provide asylum for millions of refugees have over the last few years become part of the common currency of international debate. There has been an increasing realization of the risks of political tensions which may be incurred through special aid programs for tax-exempt refugees settled amongst rural, and sometimes urban, populations who are themselves almost equally impoverished. There has been a parallel realization and acceptance of the fact that the asylum countries cannot sustain the refugee burden without very considerable international assistance for the improvement of their infrastructures and services. It is thus becoming more clearly accepted that the direct and indirect consequences of refugee movement cannot be left as solely the responsibility of UNHCR and its backers. The involvement of the whole United Nations system, through UNDP and its specialized agencies, is necessary.

The evolution of such a "new" approach is not a sudden apparition of the last three years. From his own wide experience in African rural development and refugee settlement, this writer has concluded that the expert contributions of the specialized agencies are indispensable. It is a great step forward that UNDP is at last involved directly in the whole spectrum of the African refugee problem and its wider consequences. These functions should be limited, however, to the contributions from specialists, each within his or her own discipline, to the analysis of basic data and to the pre-investment studies which are the vital tools of a coherent planning process.

Every effort should be made, on the other hand, to ensure that voluntary agencies are the executants in a neutral partnership with the governments concerned and with the UNHCR; for voluntary agencies, more than U.N. agencies and even the UNHCR itself outside the limits of its protection function, have with increasing competence become the main agents in the grassroots operations designed to alleviate the wide spectrum of human problems associated with the dramatic and appalling African refugee experience.

Refugee policy actors must now ensure that their plans for development-oriented assistance also provide those elements which have been lacking in so many refugee relief programs: avenues for the articulation of the refugees' own felt needs and reactions, and for refugee participation in the planning process which will determine the pattern of their lives.

A Comparative Survey of Two Decades of International Assistance to Refugees in Africa

Shelly Pitterman

Thirty years have passed since the first extension of the temporary mandate of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) by the General Assembly. In that time, the agency has grown beyond all expectations; it now has one of the largest budgets within the United Nations organization and is the nucleus of a complex policy apparatus assisting (and sustained by) refugees.

Initially created by and for Europeans, funded and governed by Europeans, it now confronts — twenty years after the culmination of the major aid programs designed to resettle and integrate refugees from World War II — the challenges posed by more than ten million refugees and displaced persons, most of whom have fled from and to states only recently liberated from colonial rule. And ten years after the dramatically successful repatriation of refugees to Sudan, the wounds of colonization, civil conflict and persecution in Africa remain exposed.

There is a glut in refugee production, with supply far exceeding effective satisfaction of the demands for resolution. Achievement of the three durable solutions — voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement — has been elusive; the refugee problem appears intractable. While the mandate of the UNHCR is strictly defined and pragmatically enforced, changes in the refugee policy environment over time — in the magnitude of the problem, the character of the populations, the politics of assistance, and the capabilities of the agency — have generated contradictions and confusion concerning its legitimate role.

The UNHCR is constrained by its identity as a non-political intergovernmental agency from influencing state policies to preempt refugee

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AUTHOR'S NOTE: The Institute for the Study of World Politics generously provided the money necessary for field work during 1981-82 at the UNHCR headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. Special thanks go to those officials who allowed me access to people and documents. Many individuals in Geneva — at the UNHCR and at other international and voluntary agencies — were kind enough to serve as respondents. I have integrated their various points of view throughout this paper, sometimes explicitly using quotations which, on request, remain unattributed.

migrations. An experienced staff member who joined the agency in 1971 compared the UNHCR to "the rocking boat on a stormy lake. Its mandate is to scoop up the foam; it is responsible for the leftovers of violent struggles." On the other hand, the UNHCR is constrained by its identity as the catalyst and coordinator of refugee assistance from engaging in comprehensive programs designed to enhance development prospects of the regional and national structures upon which the economic viability of any refugee community depends.

The passage of time has caught up with the UNHCR. As a young organization, it was small enough to manage its affairs on a more or less ad hoc basis; to rely on the intuitions and experience of its own experts. Its approach to the refugee crisis, then still a new item on the international agenda, was vigorously experimental and idealistic. The Indochinese exodus following the unification of Vietnam was a watershed, marking the onset of a period of almost exponential growth and the recruitment of a whole new generation of policy makers and advocates. The refugee phenomenon directly touched upon, for the first time in twenty years, the sensitive nerves of national sovereignty and identity in Europe and North America, and so almost all of the attention accorded refugee affairs focused on the tragedy of the Indochinese. Vast resources were expended by a host of countries and agencies to satisfy the refugees' emergency needs in the countries of first asylum, as well as to provide opportunities for integration in countries of resettlement.

There have been other important developments, including the recent proliferation of conflict in Central America which has generated refugee migrations of hitherto unknown proportions in this densely populated region. The refugees are vulnerable in the border regions of the host countries and have not been provided large-scale resettlement opportunities. The two largest concentrations of refugees are the Palestinians and the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The former group officially receives international protection and assistance from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, not from the UNHCR.¹ In addition, Central American refugees are fleeing to the United States, Poles have fled since the institution of martial law, and there has been an uneven stream of Jews and others seeking resettlement opportunities outside of the Soviet Union. Among still other refugees are thousands of exiles seeking asylum and the chance to work or study without fear of political persecution.

For two decades, the majority of the world's refugees have been African. Since 1981, Africa has been spared dramatic refugee crises of the

sort experienced in Somalia. The voluntary repatriation of over 200,000 refugees to Chad alleviated, probably only temporarily, the burdens borne by Cameroon and Nigeria. An unprecedented diplomatic effort by the UNHCR to mediate between Djibouti and Ethiopia has facilitated the voluntary repatriation of refugees to Ethiopia, though hundreds of thousands of persons fearing persecution by the Dergue remain in asylum in Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti and overseas in countries of resettlement.

Furthermore, the protection of refugees from military incursions by South Africa remains a pressing concern. The situation in Sudan, where more than half a million refugees from Ethiopia and Uganda have sought asylum, has not ameliorated despite the various types of self-sufficiency programs launched there. And the expulsion from Uganda of some 40,000 Rwandan refugees and Ugandan nationals in October 1982 was notable because it underlined the insecurities inherent in refugee status: the Rwandans had, after all, been in Uganda for more than two decades and were considered economically integrated.

Protection and Assistance Functions of the UNHCR

African countries of asylum have generously provided assistance to refugees. The dramatic refugee influxes of the early 1960s, coupled with strained national economies and the availability of international aid led to an unqualified appeal by the Ugandan Minister of Planning: "We can no longer dip our own hands into our pockets at all, because the bottom of the pocket is hollow."² The involvement of the UNHCR by this time was practically automatic.

Protection is the UNHCR's unique responsibility and underlies its distinctive roles as conflict mediator and as international lobbyist for refugee rights. The goal of protection is to ensure the physical safety of the refugee community in asylum. The hope is that, preferably sooner than later, the refugee status will be rendered obsolete as a result of either voluntary repatriation to the country of origin or the obtaining of citizenship (or at least residence with the opportunity for citizenship) in the country of asylum or resettlement. Short of these "durable solutions," refugees in asylum remain particularly vulnerable to human rights abuse and to threats of expulsion and forced repatriation. In fact, the problematical social, economic and legal status of refugees persists for many years in the vast majority of cases.

1. See Edward Buhrig, *The United Nations and the Palestinian Refugees: A Study in Nonterritorial Administration* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971).

2. See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Statement by the Representative of Uganda*. A/AC.96/246 (Geneva: UNHCR, June 1964).

The UNHCR is also responsible for coordinating efforts to assist refugees materially. Though central, the UNHCR remains but one component of a network of actors constituting the refugee policy community. In implementing policy, the UNHCR relies to a large extent upon the administrative, technical and sometimes financial resources of other international, national and voluntary agencies. Official refugee commissions with ministerial authority have been set up in, among other countries, Sudan, Somalia and Pakistan. Also, it is impossible to ignore — or calculate — how essential the sacrifice and supportive involvement of the host population and the refugees themselves are to fostering successful assistance programs.

Almost all of the money spent by the UNHCR is for material assistance, designed to guarantee for refugees the basic economic security and opportunity which laws alone cannot. Allocation of material assistance is predicated upon the prior granting of refugee status. By the same token, any state — be it the initial host, the country of resettlement or the home to which the refugees hope to repatriate — will be more inclined to ensure legal protection consistent with international statutes if the burdens which the refugee influx impose on regional and national economies are reduced. Referring to new settlements in east Africa, High Commissioner Sadruddin Aga Khan noted that "the effect of these schemes is to encourage a generous asylum policy."³

UNHCR material assistance is financed through the Emergency Fund, Special Trusts and Operations, or the General Program. The Emergency Fund was tapped more frequently in the 1960s than in the 1970s to provide relief and to satisfy immediate needs for rural settlements soon after an influx or, more occasionally, at a later date due to adverse weather. Special Operations are earmarked funds disbursed, initially upon the request of the United Nations Secretary General, primarily to assist large numbers of returnees and displaced persons.

The General Program is a pool from which the High Commissioner authorizes appropriations with the approval of the Executive Committee. Once the annual budget has been approved, allocations from the General Program can be transferred flexibly within or across country programs. Sometimes these funds are used to assist nationals and displaced persons consistent with the UNHCR's "good offices" authority. There are eight official categories of assistance within the General Program budget: local integration, resettlement, voluntary repatriation, lower secondary education, legal assistance, counseling, aid to handicapped refugees, and supplementary aid. A variety of goods and services are provided which cut

across the budgetary categories and the sources of funds. For example, administrative support is a necessary component of all types of assistance, whether funded by the General Program or the earmarked Special Trusts.

Until 1972, about 75 percent of the UNHCR's material assistance efforts were financed through the General Program, and local integration was the major policy objective. Over the last decade, spending priorities have been increasingly oriented toward emergency relief, with most aid now targeted for multipurpose and supplementary assistance programs. This is not inconsistent with the UNHCR's mandate; indeed many in the refugee policy community advocate that the UNHCR should concentrate on these activities. However, the priority accorded relief aid indicates that durable solutions are increasingly difficult to achieve.

A Note on Refugee Statistics

The quality of statistics regarding refugees and for African social and economic affairs generally is less than impeccable. Perhaps this is why so little comparative, empirical research has been undertaken on refugee policy in Africa.⁴ This paper exploits an existing, untapped treasury of data to highlight trends in international assistance to refugees.

The sociological, legal and bureaucratic definitions of a refugee are not uniformly inclusive. The bureaucratic definition is adopted here. We are concerned with those refugees who are eligible for international assistance. Some do not qualify for refugee status in strictly legal terms. The UNHCR has, through its "good offices" in response to requests from the United Nations Secretary General and the General Assembly, assisted displaced persons and returnees. In Africa the wide dispersion of refugees within countries of asylum has led to regional approaches to assistance which also include host populations.

The High Commissioner, in consultation with the UNHCR administration and the Executive Committee, identifies refugee situations which demand multilateral attention and decides which are within UNHCR jurisdiction. In practice, the perceived interests of states, both donor and recipient, constrain policy choices before the budget is designed and allocations authorized.

Sometimes, then, the numbers of people officially recognized as refugees are manipulated to minimize or intensify international attention.

3 UNHCR, UNHCR Operations in 1964: New Projects A/AC.96/277 (Geneva: UNHCR, March 1965)

4 See the more detailed analysis presented in Shelly Pitterman, *Determinants of Policy in a Functional International Agency: A Comparative Study of UNHCR Assistance in Africa, 1963 to 1981*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University (1984).

Verifiable distortions are infrequent in Africa, but there have been examples of rounding of estimates. In fairness, errors in estimation may often be inevitable given the difficult circumstances. Until more reliable data-gathering procedures are devised, official UNHCR estimates must be used with care. Other information sources are not comprehensive and there are often discrepancies among them.⁵ Reporting periods vary, and the size of refugee populations fluctuate in any given year. It is difficult to survey the larger, more unsettled refugee populations (such as Angolans, Zairis, Chadians and Ethiopians) with accuracy. The same can be said of urban refugee populations not on the caseloads of the UNHCR or voluntary agencies.

Financial data are used here to inform about the policy priorities of the UNHCR. "The budget is the lifeblood of the government, the financial reflection of what the government does or intends to do."⁶ The budget is an expression of the political system. It reflects the "aspirations and controversies which cause some programs to be favored over others . . . (C)lashes of interest and priority should be expressed in real dollar terms."⁷

The data used here, UNHCR "obligations," are the funds committed to and, in most cases, eventually spent on refugee projects.⁸ Country obligations are disaggregated according to three criteria: (1) the source of funding; (2) the policy goal; and (3) where identifiable, the nationality of recipients. These data provide little sensitive information on policy implementation beyond highlighting delays and cost overruns. Monies obligated for a particular country program may not actually be expended for the purposes advertised. Moreover, no inferences are made regarding

quality of assistance. These are research concerns which must be addressed in the field.

Trends in Assistance to African Refugees

Africa's share of total UNHCR aid has been uniformly high since the early 1960s, when thousands of Rwandese fled into neighboring states.⁹ In every year from 1967 through 1973, African countries received more than half of all international refugee aid.

The number of African countries receiving large amounts of UNHCR aid increased from five in 1963 to 22 in 1981. Thirteen other countries received comparatively small amounts. Only eleven countries received no aid.¹⁰ Assistance in the early 1960s was offered primarily in east-central, and somewhat less in northern, Africa. New recipients in the late 1960s were other eastern and southern African countries; and in the early 1970s, UNHCR allocations were first made in west Africa to assist urban refugees there. The new recipients thereafter were the former Portuguese colonies, Chad, Zimbabwe and most importantly, countries in the Horn of Africa.

Table 1* provides summary data on UNHCR assistance in Africa: the size and source of annual obligations, the size of the refugee population in Africa, the average levels of per capita aid, and total United States contributions to the UNHCR voluntary fund. Excluding the Special Operations funds targeted for Sudanese repatriation in 1972-73, the data reveal that the average annual change in the level of obligations to Africa between 1964 and 1974 was 18 percent, compared to 38 percent since 1975. Following a decade of relatively incremental growth, the total UNHCR budget for Africa reached \$5.4 million in 1974 (in constant 1970 dollars). During the next seven years, more than \$176 million was spent in Africa, compared to only \$48 million over the preceding decade.

Defining three periods — 1963 to 1971, 1972 to 1976, and 1977 to 1981 — helps highlight trends in refugee aid. Through 1971, an average of \$3.6 million (in constant 1970 values) was spent at an average level of \$13.40 per refugee. Material assistance made available was primarily targeted for development of viable rural settlements, once emergency needs were met.

9. Actually, in 1961 the UNHCR did assist some 6,000 Ghanaian refugees in Togo and 7,000 Togolese nationals expelled from the Ivory Coast, but this was a small-scale effort.

10. The eleven states are Comoros, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, and South Africa.

*See next page (ed.)

5. When journalists report on African refugees, unsystematic data are sometimes provided on the basis of population estimates from the UNHCR or voluntary agency personnel in the area. Governmental sources, such as the *World Refugee Survey* of the United States Congress, cover only the last few years and inconsistently document population estimates. Voluntary agencies typically report only on the populations assisted by projects in which they are directly involved. The annual report of the United States Committee for Refugees is unique for its presentation of comparative information about refugee populations, but its estimates are disaggregated only by the largest refugee groups and, in any case, its primary data source is the UNHCR.

6. Aaron Wildavsky, "Political Implications of Budgetary Reform," in *Bureaucratic Power in National Politics*, edited by Francis Bourke (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), p. 284.

7. Peter Natchez and Irvin Bupp, "Policy and Priority in the Budgetary Process," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 67 (1973) p. 951.

8. Obligations are different from the "proposed allocations" for a given calendar year which are presented to the Executive Committee and the donor states about 18 months in advance. The proposed allocations are based on anticipated needs, but these are almost always amended. UNHCR "expenditures" generally coincide with obligations. An unanticipated development may prevent the full expenditure of the obligated amount. For example, a decrease in 1969 in the population of the Muramba settlement in Burundi resulted in the cancellation of \$28,200 of the \$48,000 obligated for primary school construction. These funds are commonly transferred to other projects within the country program or they are spent at a later date. If additional funds are required, they may be accessed from the Emergency Fund or through the "simple transfer" of other monies from within the General Program. There is also a general pool of Overall Allocations available.

Data on obligations are compiled from the annual accounts of the UNHCR and its reports to the Executive Committee and the General Assembly. All budgets are verified by the U.N. Board of Auditors, which annually reports to the General Assembly that the financial records are accurate and are in accord with United Nations regulations. The value of assistance in 1970 dollars is calculated based on the consumer price indexes published in the International Monetary Fund's *International Financial Statistics*.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY DATA ON INTERNATIONAL

Year	Total UNHCR Obligations (In Constant 000s \$) ^a	Total Number of Refugees (000s) ^b	Average Per Capita Aid ^c	Share of
				Trust Funds
1964	\$2,569	408.6	\$ 10.14	12.5%
1965	2,574	565.6	8.50	5.5
1966	2,716	727.6	9.60	11.9
1967	3,738	814.7	12.24	12.1
1968	4,277	888.5	30.09	22.5
1969	5,819	955.8	12.45	26.0
1970	5,328	982.5	16.14	22.2
1971	5,620	980.2	14.12	15.6
1972	19,189	1,017.8	20.13	3.5
1973	13,298	991.5	36.64	7.8
1974	5,431	1,059.2	24.34	17.8
1975	8,905	1,144.0	23.65	22.1
1976	11,292	1,185.2	28.55	30.7
1977	16,321	1,676.7	64.60	11.7
1978	21,497	1,910.3	39.17	8.5
1979	24,134	1,896.0	52.78	10.1
1980	49,347	2,708.9	86.46	18.9
1981	39,247	2,375.8	104.75	15.4

- a. Including Special Operations obligations.
 b. Excluding returnees and displaced persons. Estimates based on UNHCR documentation.
 c. Based on figures excluding Special Operations funds. Four outlying cases were deleted: Ethiopia (1968), Lesotho (1977, 1978) and Mozambique (1980).
 See footnote 13 for explanation.

The first marked increase in UNHCR obligations to Africa dates to the Sudanese repatriation program of 1972 and to increased sensitivity to the needs of urban refugees. This coincided with the economic pressures resulting from the jump in oil prices. The number of countries receiving UNHCR aid from 1972 to 1976 rose and the per capita level of aid doubled. African expenditures continued to rise through the mid-1970s. By this time, refugee affairs generally had attracted considerable attention in the United States, not only because of the human tragedy of the "boat people" but because of the sometimes negative consequences associated

ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN REFUGEES

Total Obligations Coming From:			Total U.S. Donations in Constant \$ (Millions)	U.S. Share of Total Donations ^d
Emergency Fund	Special Operations	General Program		
11.2%	-- ^e	76.3%	\$.78	24.7%
10.6	--	83.9	.68	20.0
10.3	--	77.7	.71	19.4
5.8	--	82.2	.43	11.6
7.1	--	70.4	.63	15.6
6.5	--	67.5	.93	17.9
7.6	--	70.2	1.00	17.0
2.6	--	81.7	.99	15.3
4.6	60.0	25.2	10.90	61.9
3.1	41.7	32.5	2.52	18.7
3.7	4.3	74.4	7.96	38.2
10.0	30.1	38.0	13.86	36.2
8.6	35.7	25.1	23.11	51.3
3.6	51.7	32.9	29.69	58.2
2.3	43.0	46.2	24.55	38.3
2.1	29.5	58.4	33.54	27.7
5.5	23.2	57.3	49.58	35.8
3.7	17.4	63.5	51.97	33.9

- d. Excluding private contributions and those from NGOs. Governmental donations only.
 e. There were no Special Operations prior to the Sudan Repatriation of 1972.

with mass resettlement to American shores.¹¹

11. The salience of refugee policy to the United States government can be gleaned from the number of references in the Department of State Bulletin to refugee issues. These peaked in 1979-80, with most attention being given to the Indochinese refugee problem and the dramatic inflows from Cuba, El Salvador and Haiti. More than at any previous time, official interest was also expressed in the status of refugees in Africa and the more general policy implications of forced migrations.

References in the early 1960s focused on the flight from communism in Cuba and Vietnam. There were numerous references in the aftermath of the 1967 Six Day War in the Middle East and the ramifications, in that same year, of the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. State Department sensitivity to refugee affairs was also comparatively high after the civil war in Pakistan (1971) and during the fall of the Thieu regime in Vietnam in 1975.

References to refugee affairs peaked in 1975 in the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. The number of articles in each about the Indochinese exodus was 250, 270 and 130, respectively. The Indochinese refugee situation persisted as an agenda item for these media through 1979. Attention shifted in 1980 primarily to the inflows from Central America and the Caribbean, although there were frequent reports on Afghan and Polish refugees. These particular cases all had direct relevance to the readerships in these newspapers. Nevertheless, there is some evidence of wider coverage of African and other Third World refugees, and of America's refugee policy in general. (The *New York Times* index does not include the key word "refugees," making such a reference count impossible.)

The most dramatic changes take place after 1976, primarily in response to the presence of hundreds of thousands of refugees in Somalia, as well as several other crises. More than 60 percent of all UNHCR general operations expenditures to Africa since 1963 were spent between 1977 and 1981; much of this was concentrated during the last two years. The average number of refugees recognized by the UNHCR doubled during the third period, and the per capita assistance level almost trebled. The coincidence of dramatic political changes and the refugee crisis in the Horn of Africa during this period made the UNHCR's activities in Africa especially interesting to United States policy makers.¹²

The diversity of the refugee problem in sub-Saharan Africa results in part from the diversity of economic well-being and policy preferences of the many different host states. The causes of refugee migrations in Africa vary as do the characteristics and needs of refugee populations. The four broad distinctions usually made among African refugees are between: (1) urban and rural refugees; (2) those fleeing colonialism, and those who flee civil conflict and repression in independent states; (3) educated and non-educated refugees; and (4) those who approach self-sufficiency and the more vulnerable groups primarily comprised of women and children, the aged and the handicapped. International assistance has had to be tailored to respond to population groups which differ in educational level, age distribution, political involvement, economic activity, ethnicity and size. Thus the levels of aid vary widely.

The average per capita obligations reported in Table 2 range from less than \$2 for refugees in Algeria to \$242 per refugee in Lesotho.¹³ Although the average for all states is \$48 annually, distribution is skewed toward

TABLE 2
UNHCR OBLIGATIONS TO AFRICAN
COUNTRIES OF ASYLUM, 1963 - 1981
(in Constant 1970 Dollars)

Host Country	Average Annual No. of Refugees (000s)	Average Annual Total UNHCR Aid (000s)	Average Annual Per Capita Aid	No. of Years Aid Received
Algeria	63.79	\$ 167.7	\$ 2.16	7
Angola	118.83	1,140.4	15.98	7
Botswana	5.92	754.2	121.46	14
Burundi	54.54	285.4	4.77	19
Cameroon	43.75	1,600.4	43.36	4
Central African Republic	15.73	215.9	12.03	18
Djibouti	23.88	836.6	33.48	5
Egypt	4.70	236.6	48.99	15
Ethiopia	12.88	359.2	32.55	15
Gabon	43.00	34.6	17.43	7
Ghana	.19	15.0	79.98	7
Kenya	2.59	262.9	81.10	16
Lesotho	.47	185.2	241.78	12
Morocco	.50	9.6	19.16	7
Mozambique	59.12	1,152.5	106.17	7
Rwanda	8.38	183.9	25.78	10
Senegal	46.54	173.8	13.92	18
Somalia	623.75	4,781.3	5.93	4
Sudan	159.51	990.7	8.07	15
Swaziland	2.70	314.3	192.19	7
Tanzania	103.41	1,063.3	11.37	19
Uganda	129.75	422.3	3.16	19
Zaire	420.61	572.5	1.57	19
Zambia	33.49	672.9	21.33	16

12. An indication of why refugee policy in Africa should be more salient to donor countries is that between 1976 and 1981 the recipients of UNHCR aid accounted for 89 percent and 69 percent of United States and NATO military transfers to Africa, respectively. The figures of 1972 to 1976 are 46 percent and 58 percent, based on estimates calculated from World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers.

13. More generally, since 1975 the United States has accepted more than half a million refugees from Indochina. In 1980 alone, at least 125,000 Cubans and Haitians arrived in Florida and were admitted as "special entrants." More than 160,000 Indochinese arrived as well, pushing that year's total for legal admission to 808,000, the highest in 60 years. In 1978, Congress approved creation of a Select Commission in Immigration and Refugee Policy, which released its report in 1981. The legislative vehicle for the Commission's recommendations is the controversial Simpson-Mazouzi Bill.

13. Four outlying country-year cases were deleted from these estimates. In 1980, \$4.6 million was spent in Mozambique to finance temporary settlements and transit centers to assist in the repatriation of some 28,000 Zimbabweans. A similar expenditure, these persons lost their refugee status. At the time of this large financial commitment, therefore, the official number of refugees in Mozambique was only 100.

Assistance to Lesotho has always been at very high per capita levels. But in 1977 and 1978 this was especially the case as the UNHCR obligated \$100,000 and \$604,500, respectively, to build additional secondary and technical school facilities. While there were officially around 150 refugees in both years, the number of unregistered refugees using Lesotho's educational facilities was estimated by the Government and UNHCR at 1,000. In its annual report, the UNHCR expressed the hope that these obligations would "encourage Lesotho to continue its liberal policy of admitting South African students." See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Report on UNHCR Assistance Activities, A/AC.96/564 (Geneva: UNHCR, July 1979), p.42.

The fourth outlying case is Ethiopia in 1968. Some \$84,000 was obligated to help establish the Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR), based in Addis Ababa. This institution would serve student refugees throughout Africa, not only those seeking asylum in Ethiopia.

SOURCE: Annual Report of the UNHCR to the United Nations General Assembly, and Annual Report on UNHCR Assistance Activities to the Executive Committee.

lesser amounts. Most states receiving low levels are those with the longest histories of UNHCR involvement. While not free of urban refugees (for example in Dar es Salaam, Lusaka, Khartoum and Addis Ababa) or influxes of crisis proportions, most aid to these countries has been for large rural refugee settlements. Aid to Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia, among others, is rather stable over time.

The average values mask fluctuations in aid experienced by certain countries. Zaire and Senegal, for example, confronted in the 1960s large populations of spontaneously settled refugees. Since the working assumption was that these refugees were integrated among the local populations, relatively low levels of per capita funding were authorized. In Senegal, problems were aggravated in 1974 when a drought in the Casamance region forced more than two thousand least advantaged rural refugees to flee to Dakar in search of security. Since 1976, after Guinea-Bissau achieved independence, Senegalese assistance has concentrated on the urban refugees in Dakar; consequently, per capita levels have increased markedly. Zaire's erratic levels of assistance are due to twenty years of political instability and, since 1976, recurrent transfers of populations with Angola.

Changes in per capita expenditures in the Central African Republic are indicative of the diversity of refugee situations many African states confront. Provision of emergency assistance to new Sudanese refugees in the early 1960s involved high per capita expenditures, which soon thereafter quickly declined. The organization of the Mboki rural settlement required investments in infrastructure and supplementary aid pending good harvests. These costs fell as Mboki consolidated. The repatriation program for Sudanese refugees in 1972-73 precipitated a two-year peak in spending, and also the closing of Mboki. An unusual, extended period without any UNHCR aid followed. In 1979, there was a small influx of refugees from Chad and the provision of emergency assistance to yet another stateless group began.

The richest recipients, with the exception of Cameroon, offer asylum mostly to urban refugees, especially from southern Africa, who receive many times more aid than the vast majority of Africa's refugees (which does not suggest that they are in fact more secure). This is shown in the data in Table 3, which indicate that per capita aid levels vary among refugee groups as well as within groups across countries of asylum. Other African refugees, except the primarily urban Ethiopian refugees in Djibouti, received aid at lower levels than southern African refugees. Addressing the needs of urban refugees is more expensive on a per capita basis since the costs of living in urban centers, as well as of aid for resettlement and advanced education (mostly targeted for urban populations) are

TABLE 3
AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CAPITA OBLIGATIONS
BY NATIONALITY OF RECIPIENTS AND COUNTRY OF ASYLUM

Nationality of Recipients	Country of Asylum	Nationality of Recipients	Country of Asylum	
Angolans	\$.39 Zaire	Mozambicans	\$ 10.29 Tanzania	
	4.13 Botswana		10.80 Zambia	
	16.96 Zambia			
Barundi	3.71 Zaire	South Africans	2.01 Zaire	
	9.95 Tanzania		4.43 Sudan	
	17.82 Rwanda		5.88 Egypt	
Rwandans	.75 Zaire		12.98 Zambia	
	3.38 Burundi		13.29 Angola	
	3.77 Uganda		14.49 Cameroon	
	4.62 Tanzania		16.48 Kenya	
Ugandans	1.79 Zaire		35.40 Mozambique	
	3.24 Sudan		59.35 Tanzania	
	14.62 Tanzania		59.88 Ethiopia	
	16.92 Kenya		81.09 Lesotho	
Sudanese	53.65 Rwanda		131.03 Ghana	
	5.44 Uganda	Chadians	145.24 Botswana	
	6.26 Zaire		235.92 Swaziland	
	13.63 C.A.R.			.51 Sudan
19.12 Ethiopia			3.11 C.A.R.	
Zairois	.03 Burundi		15.77 Cameroon	
	.24 Uganda	Guinea-Bissau	1.81 Senegal	
	.37 C.A.R.			
	.92 Tanzania		Returnees	.69 Zaire
	2.53 Zambia			1.17 Mozambique
	6.82 Sudan			3.82 Angola
12.07 Angola	5.81 Sudan			
	7.28 Ethiopia			
Ethiopians	5.17 Sudan			
	9.97 Somalia			
	35.42 Djibouti			

NOTE: Four outlying cases have been deleted. See footnote 13 for explanation. Per capita estimates based on total obligations and total population estimates for years when aid was made available by the UNHCR.

SOURCE: Annual Report of the UNHCR to the United Nations General Assembly, and Annual Report on UNHCR Assistance Activities to the Executive Committee.

high. Also, the political costs of not assisting the typically educated, mobilized and highly expectant urban refugee communities must also be calculated.

Durable Solutions in Africa

Data on the distribution of UNHCR aid by source of funds offer evidence of how successfully durable solutions have been achieved in

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Durable Solutions in Africa

Data on the distribution of UNHCR aid by source of funds offer evidence of how successfully durable solutions have been achieved in

Africa. Table 4 lists all the UNHCR Special Operations through 1981 according to region and policy orientation. Fully two-thirds of such funding is for relief and supplementary assistance. Relief is often a component of the remainder, but the explicit policy goals listed in the budget are typically repatriation in Africa and resettlement from Asia.

Between 1975 and 1981, almost two million refugees the world over repatriated voluntarily,¹⁴ and most of the assistance for this came from Special Operations. (Voluntary repatriation projects never accounted for more than two percent of General Program funding except during 1972-73 when the Sudanese repatriation was under way.) Four of Africa's largest repatriation efforts followed the end of Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique and of white minority rule in Zimbabwe. The durability of other solutions is doubtful: while there are no more refugees from Equatorial Guinea since the repatriation in 1979, the conflicts in southern Sudan, Zaire, Angola and Chad persist despite earlier repatriations. Indeed, more than 250,000 refugees from Angola and 50,000 from Zaire continue to receive material assistance in neighboring countries.

There is an inverse relationship between the size of the Special Operations and General Program funds, which together have absorbed more than 75 percent of the Africa budget since 1972. The Special Operations share declined from 52 percent in 1977 to only 17 percent in 1981. This shift is attributable to the increase in multipurpose assistance from the General Program. Until 1978, Africa was the sole recipient of the relatively low levels of multipurpose assistance (except for two years when about half went to Latin America). The primary beneficiaries were refugees in west Africa whose needs were diverse but numbers too small for fully-fledged assistance programs. Most multipurpose assistance now goes to the two largest recipients of UNHCR money: Somalia and Pakistan. The funds are used primarily to satisfy basic food, shelter and domestic needs. In 1981, only about five percent of Pakistan's multipurpose appropriations were used to finance education, income-generating and agricultural programs. One third of Somalia's program, then in its fourth year and relatively established, was geared toward such development-oriented objectives.

The figures in Table 5 on the policy goals of General Program obligations indicate the low incidence of resettlement to third countries as a durable solution in Africa. The only two instances of mass resettlement are the 1964 Kujipers Project to resettle Rwandese refugees expelled from the Kivu Province of Zaire, and the resettlement of Ugandans of Asian descent

TABLE 4

UNHCR SPECIAL OPERATIONS:
DISTRIBUTION BY REGION, POLICY GOAL AND PROJECT,
1975 - 1981

Region (Percent of All Funds)	Percent of All Funds By:	
	Project	Policy Goal
AFRICA (22.2%)		
Relief:		
Horn of Africa (1978-1981)	1.6 %	1.6 %
Supplementary Aid:		
Sahrawi Refugees (1977-1978; 1981)	.3	2.8
South African Refugees (1977-1981)		
Repatriation:		
To Sudan (1972-1976)	5.5	
To Guinea-Bissau (1975-1978)	.6	
To Mozambique (1975-1978)	1.1	
To Angola (1976-1978)	2.4	13.8
To Equatorial Guinea (1979-1980)	.2	
To Zimbabwe (1980-1981)	3.4	
To Chad (1981)	.6	
Aid to Returnees:		
To Zaire (1978-1981)	1.4	
To Uganda (1979-1981)	.7	2.6
To Ethiopia (1981)	.5	
Resettlement:		
Ugandan Asians (1972-1973)	1.0	1.0
EUROPE (26.1%)		
Relief:		
Cyprus (1974-1981)	26.1	26.1
ASIA (51.0%)		
Relief:		
Indochina Programs (1974-1979)	5.0	
Refugees in Thailand (1975-1979)	10.5	
Vietnamese Refugees (1975-1976)	2.5	35.0
Kampuchean Refugees (1978-1981)	17.0	
Repatriation:		
Subcontinent-Operation (1971-1976)	2.9	
Indochinese Refugees (1975-1976)	1.3	6.1
Bangladesh / Burma (1978-1981)	1.9	
Aid to Returnees:		
To Kampuchea (1980-1981)	.8	.8
Resettlement:		
Orderly Departure Program (1979-1981)	.5	
Language Training (1980-1981)	1.7	10.1
Processing Centers (1979-1981)	6.9	
LATIN AMERICA (.6%)		
Relief:		
Refugees in Nicaragua (1979-1980)	.6	.6
MIDDLE EAST (.1%)		
Relief:		
Lebanon (1976-1981)	.1	.1

14. United States Committee for Refugees, World Refugee Survey (New York: American Council for Nationalities Services, 1982), p. 41.

*See page 40 — (Ed.)

SOURCE: Annual Reports on UNHCR Assistance Activities.

TABLE 5
THE GENERAL PROGRAM:
DISTRIBUTION BY POLICY GOAL

	Local Integration	Resettlement	Voluntary Repatriation	Multipurpose Assistance	Supplementary Assistance
1964	88.2 %	11.4 %	--	--	.3 %
1965	92.6	5.3	.1 %	--	.4
1966	97.5	1.3	.1	--	.9
1967	93.3	.2	.1	--	.8
1968	98.4	.3	.3	--	.8
1969	95.3	1.5	.4	--	.5
1970	94.0	1.3	.5	2.4 %	2.0
1971	97.0	.7	.4	.3	1.6
1972	84.5	.8	10.9	1.5	1.7
1973	82.2	1.2	8.4	3.1	2.0
1974	91.2	1.2	.3	3.1	4.0
1975	80.1	1.9	4.5	5.6	5.3
1976	87.0	.8	.4	5.9	5.4
1977	82.4	.5	.2	10.0	3.7
1978	80.5	.3	.3	10.8	4.8
1979	64.9	.2	.3	23.8	3.9
1980	41.4	.2	.1	53.0	2.0
1981	44.0	.4	.2	48.9	1.7

SOURCE: Annual Report of the UNHCR to the United Nations General Assembly, and the annual Report on UNHCR Assistance Activities to the Executive Committee.

expelled by Idi Amin. However, many refugees from southern Africa and some from Ethiopia have been assisted in continuing their studies in other African countries, Europe or the United States. An important component of the Special Trust Funds, which consistently absorb about one-fifth of the African budget, is the provision of educational assistance to resettled refugees through either the Education Account or the United Nations Trust

Fund for South Africa (UNTFSA). Since per capita obligations for local integration of these refugees living in the capitals of west and east Africa are high, resettlement can be considered an important priority. The expectation, however, is that the refugees will return home when conditions permit. It is hard to know whether the propensity to repatriate differs between those students who have resettled outside of Africa and those in transit in, for example, Lusaka, Gaborone or Khartoum. Thus far, only Zimbabweans have actually gone home in significant numbers.¹⁵

The Local Integration of African Refugees

Most of the UNHCR African budget has been committed to projects promoting refugee integration in the first country of asylum, a complex goal discussed here in terms of four policy orientations. In two of these — spontaneous urban and rural settlement — it is assumed that the refugee population is largely integrated and that only supplementary assistance is necessary. In the other two — organized rural settlement and citizenship — no such *a priori* assumption is made; instead, integration must be demonstrated.

"Spontaneously settled" refugees have crossed borders into neighboring rural areas inhabited by members of related or compatible ethnic groups. Numbers are typically high, and population estimates often contradictory. Refugees who settle spontaneously, in contrast to those assisted in organized rural settlements, are able to "fend for themselves."¹⁶ Only minimal amounts of international material aid are thought necessary to alleviate the problems which population pressures place on the existing social and economic infrastructure. The levels of UNHCR aid to, for example, the tens of thousands of Guinean refugees in the Casamance region of Senegal and the even higher numbers of Angolans in Zaire were disproportionately low.

Chambers challenged the assumption that these refugees were successfully integrated. He pointed out that refugees who have to integrate themselves must cope with all the disadvantages of subsisting in the rural economy, and are also likely to be the first to suffer if there is any ecological adversity or change in land tenure. Moreover, it is difficult to assist the most vulnerable — pregnant mothers, the handicapped, aged,

15. There are few detailed accounts of the repatriation of refugees to Zimbabwe from neighboring countries. See, for example, Shirley DeWolfe, "The Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Refugees in the Umtali Area," *Issue*, Vol. 11, No. 3/4, pp. 27-30.

16. See UNHCR, *Emergency Fund for Sudanese Refugees in the Central African Republic*, A/AC.96/INF.64 (Geneva: UNHCR, October 1966) and UNHCR, *UNHCR Operations in 1967*, A/AC.96/290 (Geneva: UNHCR, April 1968).

etc. — if they are spread out among the local population. Chambers expressed concern that the “poorest in the host population may be made worse off by a self-integrating refugee influx through the depression of agricultural wages and the rise in food prices.”¹⁷ Chambers challenged the UNHCR to look actively for eligible refugees not benefitting from international assistance.¹⁸

As a humanitarian organization, he wrote, the UNHCR is morally obligated to encourage aid where needed, but it has failed to assess adequately the needs of spontaneously settled refugees. The lack of information on spontaneous settlement, he wrote,

presents an arena for broad prejudices and convenient rationalizations (by problem-minimizing bureaucrats who might argue that ‘no news is good news’ (and) dyed-in-the-wool do-gooders who might argue that ‘no news is bad news.’ The simple fact, however, is that usually no one knows. No news is no news.¹⁹

In a similar vein, an Eritrean refugee studying in the Netherlands said, “It is the UNHCR’s responsibility to stand up strong behind the refugees, for if the UNHCR doesn’t, no one will.”

In response to Chambers, Coats argued that the UNHCR is under no constitutional obligation to provide aid to refugees unless requested to do so by the host government.²⁰ Assisting scattered refugees would be administratively and financially burdensome since the surrounding national populations would have to be assisted as well, and would be at the expense of aid to eligible refugees elsewhere. Coats also doubted the prudence of fostering dependence on outside assistance by those who “so far, at least, have done, and are prepared to do, without it.”²¹

Chambers’ challenge has been cautiously accepted. The Arusha Conference of 1977 recommended that more information be collected on spontaneously settled refugee populations.²² In recent years, pilot investigations and censuses have been commissioned, mainly through African universities. Needs have been more thoroughly identified and evaluated among rural refugees in the Kigoma region of Tanzania²³ and

the Cataracts region of Zaire; and among urban refugees in, for example, Fort Sudan, Kassala, and Dakar.

The second group of refugees who must frequently fend for themselves lives in cities. Urban refugees constitute a small proportion of Africa’s refugee population and are typically younger, more educated and politically active. Special Trusts have been established to provide scholarships and otherwise subsidize educational needs for some students, particularly from southern Africa. While they receive higher levels of per capita aid than other refugees, the cost of living in African cities is excessive, unemployment is endemic, and there are frequent inefficiencies in the administration of assistance.²⁴

The unsuccessful search for jobs by both the qualified and unskilled urban refugees began to “swell the ranks of the unemployed in African cities” well before the economic crisis of the early 1970s.²⁵ In response, counseling services were designed to encourage refugees to resettle in rural areas. The Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR) was organized under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to help resettle and employ refugees, and to gather information on educational and training opportunities. National agencies, such as the Joint Refugee Services of Kenya and the Christian Council of Zambia, became responsible for administering increasingly large amounts of supplementary and relief assistance to urban refugees.

The rural to urban migration common in Africa is also relevant to refugees. As early as 1963, there was a “considerable flight from the land” in Zaire.²⁶ The attractions of urban life and the marginal character of the land where the refugees tried to settle were the two reasons cited by the UNHCR to account for the presence of some 20,000 refugees scattered around urban areas in Kivu Province.²⁷ In 1968 in Burundi, the population of organized rural settlements declined by 20 percent, and many presumably went to Bujumbura.²⁸ The reason given for the decrease in the size of the Mayukwayukwa settlement from 4,000 to 3,000 in 1969 was

17. Robert Chambers, *Rural Refugees in Africa: Observations of UNHCR Policies and Practices* (Geneva: UNHCR 140/18/75) 1975) p.6

18. Chambers, “Rural Refugees After Arusha,” UNHCR Mimeographed (Geneva: UNHCR, 1976) pp.5-6

19. *Ibid.*, p.7

20. See Pierre Coats, “Material Assistance: Some Policy Problems Reviewed in the Light of Robert Chambers’ Evaluation Reports,” Mimeo (Geneva: UNHCR, 1978)

21. *Ibid.*, p.8

22. See Chambers, *Report on Workshop/Seminar on Rural Refugees in Africa Held in Arusha, Tanzania (February 16-19, 1976)* (Geneva: UNHCR 140/14/76) 1976.

23. See E.A. Lugusha, “Reformulation of the Kigoma Project: Part 1: Sectoral Review of 35 Priority Villages in the Kigoma Region. Part 2: Recommendations on the Plan of Operations.” Mimeo (Dar-es-Salaam: University of Dar-es-Salaam, Economic Research Bureau, 1981).

24. See Acolia Simon-Thomas, *Final Report on the Research on Social and Educational Counseling of African Refugees* (Geneva: International University Exchange Fund, 1972); Jon Woronoff, “Refugees: The Million Person Problem,” *Africa Report* (January-February 1973): 29-33; Louise Piroet, “Urban Refugees in Nairobi: Small Numbers, Large Problems,” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (London, 1979); and Barry Stetin, “Refugees and Economic Activities in Africa,” Paper presented at the Refugee Seminar (Erikwit, Sudan: 1981), pp.30-31.

25. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Program for 1970*. A/AC.96/412 (Geneva: UNHCR, September 1969).

26. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Program for 1964: New Projects*. A/AC.96/235 (Geneva: UNHCR, April 1964).

27. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Operations in 1967*. A/AC.96/390 (Geneva: UNHCR, April, 1968).

28. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Operations in 1968*. A/AC.96/407 (Geneva: UNHCR, June 1969).

that the refugees "found a way to fend for themselves elsewhere in Zambia."²⁹ The "elsewhere" was Lusaka; within a short while, the Zambian authorities admitted having a major urban refugee problem.

The urban refugee problem reached crisis proportions in certain countries, especially Sudan and Djibouti, in the late 1970s as numbers rose and opportunities for employment and resettlement remained few. Secondary migrations of refugees to cities nevertheless intensified. In large urban centers throughout Africa, as well as in Europe and the United States, there are an unspecified number of eligible refugees not receiving material assistance. Some perhaps are in fact self-supporting with an adequate means of livelihood. Others may prefer anonymity from institutions linked to governments. Still others may be ignorant of their rights to legal protection and material assistance.

Organizing Rural Settlements

When the integration of refugees is not assumed *a priori*, international assistance is extensive and theoretically continues until there is demonstrable evidence that refugees have in fact become locally integrated. The dominant UNHCR policy orientation is to achieve local integration through organized rural settlements. The following is an early explication of the aims of rural settlement, which is consistent with rural settlement policies to this day:

The aim of such a development plan would be the creation of one or several series of new settlements. To make these settlements really self-supporting the plan would have to include road-building, irrigation and/or drainage and would have to be completed (as soon as the first income is earned by the refugees) by building adequate accommodation for the settlers. In each of the larger settlements a primary school would need to be established, and in each group of settlements a dispensary, a small vocational training center, and if possible a community center should be set up. The new settlements would thus become the centers of development for the whole area.³⁰

The standard pattern of rural settlement begins with "initial measures" to help the refugees reach a minimum subsistence level. All influxes generate short-term emergency responses, whose durations vary depending upon logistical, administrative and environmental factors. The more recent and intense an influx, the more pressing is the responsibility to satisfy "basic needs" through emergency assistance. The UNHCR often cooperates in these efforts with the World Food Program (WFP) and experienced agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Catholic

Relief Services. Initial settlement measures include surveying the land and demarcating plots, constructing administrative and medical facilities, developing an adequate water supply system, and distributing tools and seeds for cultivation. The "consolidation" phase, which lasts at least a couple of years, involves further development of the agricultural infrastructure and the promotion of community and income-generating projects.

The often mistaken expectation that the refugees will soon repatriate is the first major factor which can retard the process of rural settlement. For example, the government of Zambia hoped that the 1,000 refugees who arrived from Zaire in early 1967 would return within a relatively short time; "for this reason, the Government limited its request to an emergency project."³¹ In response to the Sudanese influx in 1965, which the government of Uganda also expected would be short-lived, capital investment was kept at minimum levels and the largest expenditures were for food supplies. In the absence of a firm decision by Zaire concerning prospects for permanent settlement of Burundi refugees after the conflict in 1972, the UNHCR "abstained from investing in durable social and economic undertakings."³²

The decision to organize rural settlements by no means guarantees their prosperity. Transport to isolated settlements is expensive, and rural settlement is vulnerable to the exigencies of weather. Moreover, local food reserves in sparsely populated regions, such as eastern Central African Republic where the Mboki settlement for Sudanese refugees was established, are likely to be insignificant. Even when cash crops are cultivated, it is difficult for refugees in remote settlements, such as the Rwandese in the Mwesi settlement in Tanzania, to find market outlets to generate income.

Refugees, like other rural dwellers, must cope with deleterious ecologies: the presence of the tsetse fly, or the onset of droughts or floods. But their vulnerability is aggravated by persistent new influxes into settlements with already scarce resources. The Nakapiripirit settlement for Sudanese refugees in Uganda was "comparatively well-established."³³ But subsequent influxes and overcrowding led a multi-agency United Nations mission to determine it "could not become viable in the foreseeable future."³⁴ Viability is also threatened by early mismanagement. In more than a few settlements — such as Lwatembo and Mayukwayukwa in Zambia, Qala en Nahal in Sudan, and Ul'yankulu in Tanzania — preliminary

31. See UNHCR, *Emergency Fund for Refugees in Zambia*, A/AC.96/INF.79 (Geneva: UNHCR, September 1967).

32. See UNHCR, *Report on UNHCR Assistance Activities*, A/AC.96/506 (Geneva: UNHCR, July 1974).

33. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Operations in 1966*, A/AC.96/364 (Geneva: UNHCR, April 1967).

34. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Operations in 1971*, A/AC.96/467 (Geneva: UNHCR, August 1972).

29. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Program for 1970*, op. cit.

30. UNHCR, *Summary Report on the Refugee Problem in the Republic of Togo*, HCR/RS/23/Rev.1 (Geneva: UNHCR, February 1962), p. 5.

studies wrongly estimated the adequacy of existing water and/or soil resources. Such conditions may force refugees to migrate independently to urban areas in search of better opportunities or, even when the situation at home is insecure to "voluntarily" repatriate.

Usually, however, rural settlement progresses toward consolidation. As settlements approach self-sufficiency, supplementary food assistance from the UNHCR and the WFP is discontinued.³⁵ Not only can the refugees meet their food needs; the infrastructure of the community is established, marketing links with neighboring communities are strengthened, and the younger refugees are getting an education. (However, refugees with special needs, such as the aged, the handicapped and perhaps some recent arrivals, may still be receiving aid.) At this stage, the refugees' standard of living should be comparable to, but by design not higher than, that of the local national community. Ideally, more and more responsibilities for settlement administration and general refugee welfare are "handed over" to the government.

TABLE 6
LIFESPANS OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN AFRICA
(AS OF 1981)

Host State	Settlement	UNHCR Aid Begun	Reason UNHCR Aid Ceased	
			Self-Sufficiency Achieved	Refugee Repatriation
Botswana	Etsha	1968	1975	1980
	Dukwe	1978		
Burundi	Kigamba	1963	1969*	1973
	Kayongasi	1963		
	Muramba	1963		
	Mujera	1964		
C. A. R.	Mboki	1967		1973
Ethiopia	Gambela	1969		1973
Mozambique	Doroi	1976		1980
	Tronga	1976		1980
	Mavudzi	1976		1980
	Memo	1976		1980
Rwanda	Mutara	1973	1976 H	
Sudan	Rajaf	1970	1977	
	Qala-en-Nahal	1969	1976 H	

35. There is disagreement concerning whether or not the termination of WFP food aid indicates that the refugees are indeed self-sufficient. No systematic inquiry into this matter has been published.

TABLE 6 - Continued

Host State	Settlement	UNHCR Aid Begun	Reason UNHCR Aid Ceased		
			Self-Sufficiency Achieved	Refugee Repatriation	
Tanzania	Karagwe	1964	1966 H		
	Muyenzi	1963	1969 H		
	Mwesi	1964	1971 H		
	Rutamba	1965	1972 H#		
	Lundo	1966	1974 H#		
	Muhukuru	1966	1974 H#		
	Matekwe	1969	1975 H#		
	Mputa	1970	1976 H#		
	Katumba	1973	1978 H		
	Ulyankulu	1972	1980 H		
	Kigwa	1974		1979	
	Pangale	1966	1971 H		
	Uganda	Kahunge	1964	1974*	
		Oruchinga	1964	1974*	
Nakivale		1964	1974*		
Rwamwanja		1964	1974*		
Kyaka		1964	1974*		
Kyangwali		1967	1974*		
Ibuga		1967	1974*		
Nakapiripirit		1966		1972	
Onigo		1966		1972	
Acholpi		1964		1972	
Agago	1966		1972		
Kinyara	1964	1969**			
Zaire	Ihula	1962	1970		
	Bibwe	1962	1970		
	Kalonge	1962	1968**		
	Mutambala	1976	1979		
	Amadi	1969		1973	
Kypa	Kypa	1969		1973	
	Kanyama	1971	1973		
Zambia	Nyimba	1965	1970 H#		
	Mayukwayukwa	1966	1973 H		
	Lwatembo	1966	1971**		
	Meheba	1971	1982 H		

* Settlements once considered self-sufficient but still not viable. After 1968, the Burundi settlements were assisted by a UNDP/FAO Integrated Rural Development Project. UNHCR assistance to the rural settlements in Uganda was begun again in 1981.

H Handed over to the Government. Some UNHCR assistance may continue to especially needy refugees.

H# Handed over to the Government, but subsequently closed after the repatriation of the refugees, most often to Mozambique.

** Settlements were closed before self-sufficiency was achieved or the refugees repatriated. Rwandans left Kinyara because it was not viable; Rwandans abandoned Kalonge after civil violence in 1967; and Lwatembo was discontinued after it was determined that the soil quality was too poor to support the settlers.

The data in Table 6 on the lifespans of rural settlements in Africa indicate that some, mostly in Tanzania, have been handed over to the government after self-sufficiency has been demonstrated (though voluntary agencies may remain involved). Just as often, the settlement process was discontinued following repatriation, a welcome development. An unfortunate third pattern is the resumption of official international assistance, primarily as a consequence of ecological or political crisis. This recidivist effect offers compelling evidence of the sustained vulnerability of many refugee settlements and raises doubts concerning the adequacy of the concept of "self-sufficiency."

Verifiable indicators of self-sufficiency are rarely cited in UNHCR documentation. In one case, field officers said that some instances of intermarriage between Ugandans and Rwandans meant the refugees were becoming socially integrated.³⁶ More commonly, progress is synonymous with infrastructural development: the construction of roads, dispensaries, schools and more permanent housing. Developing better indicators of self-sufficiency is one priority of a unit within the UNHCR specializing on settlement. The systematic collection and analysis of data on income and production is also a component of the newly instituted Project Management System.³⁷

Even when the UNHCR succeeds in settling refugees in a reasonably self-sustaining manner on a level comparable to that of the local population, that level may be unstable to the point that one poor harvest would once again make the refugees depend upon external aid. In such cases, says a senior UNHCR official, "It would seem desirable to consolidate their settlement through additional measures to ensure an effective integration of the settlement into the country's development efforts." Which agencies should be responsible for providing the necessary "additional measures"? In the 1960s, the UNHCR Executive Committee encouraged coordination on this matter with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Bank, and interagency meetings were subsequently called to do

36. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Program for 1970*, *op. cit.*

37. The Project Management System (PMS) was introduced in 1979. It was designed to: (a) encourage better assessment of needs by technical specialists, (b) require performance-oriented program objectives, (c) introduce performance and financial monitoring, (d) serve as a basis for setting country and project funding levels, (e) provide donors and the Executive Committee with more information on project operations, (f) assist in the justification of proposals presented to donors for contributions, and (g) provide information on project accomplishments and lessons learned. See UNHCR, *Project Management System Handbook* (Geneva: UNHCR (PCS/335), Rev. 1), 1981), p.6.

Other reforms initiated since 1978 include the establishment of a Policy, Planning and Research Unit (PPRU) directly accessible to the High Commissioner. The Unit is responsible for appraising policy objectives, conducting research to inform and evaluate policy, and developing relevant recommendations. Few respondents were familiar with the work of the PPRU. It has, for example, subsidized research in Somalia and done preliminary work on developing cost-benefit criteria for refugee projects. See H. Utikan, "Mission to Tanzania. Report on the Feasibility of a Cost-Benefit Analysis of Refugee Settlements and Their Impact on Regional Development," Mimeo. (Geneva: UNHCR, 1981).

just that.³⁸ More recently, official guidelines for "phasing out" UNHCR assistance have been established:

Already at the early stage of the integration process, UNHCR encourages governments to include refugee programmes in their national development plans. Concurrently, UNHCR seeks to hand over the coordination of external multilateral assistance for such programmes to the governments concerned or to appropriate agencies within or outside the United Nations system. . . .³⁹

Nevertheless, though officially not interested in, or indeed suited for, helping to implement the national development plans of host states, the UNHCR influences regional economic development while assisting refugee populations by building schools and roads, introducing crops and bringing in foreign exchange. The persistence of poor economic prospects — for refugees and nationals alike — in most refugee-impacted areas makes the practical difficulties of disengagement a continuing source of frustration. Nor is it a new one: how to instigate the gradual withdrawal of UNHCR without destabilizing the new settlements in Burundi, Uganda and the Central African Republic was "foremost in the preoccupations of the UNHCR" fifteen years ago.⁴⁰

Initiatives in Developmental Refugee Aid

Integration is usually conceived of as an economic process, achieved when refugees are thought to be "self-supporting," or "self-sufficient," or have a "satisfactory standard of living." But the ultimate goal is to encourage the host country to grant the refugees a secure legal status in asylum. Citizenship most genuinely resolves the basic problem for refugees as far as the UNHCR is concerned, that is, their statelessness. In Africa there are only a few instances of this second type of integration.

In 1974, Botswana granted citizenship to 2,200 Angolan refugees in the Etsha settlement. This first naturalization program was dwarfed by the 1980 Tanzanian decision to grant citizenship to more than 30,000 Rwandan refugees. Subtler changes in the legal status of refugees are more common. For example, the Lesotho authorities granted permanent residence permits to all resident South African refugees in 1974. This guaranteed them the right to work and released them from the responsibility to report regularly to the authorities. Legislation in Burundi in 1971 permitted

38. See UNHCR, *Report on Relations between the UNHCR and the United Nations and other Members of the United Nations System: Report of the Ad Hoc Inter-Agency Meeting on Assistance to Refugees in Africa*, A/AC.96/410/Add. 1 (Geneva: UNHCR, July 3, 1969).

39. UNHCR, "Guidelines for UNHCR Activities," Mimeo. (Geneva: UNHCR, May 8, 1981) p.3.

40. See UNHCR, *UNHCR Operations in 1968*, *op. cit.*

naturalization of Rwandans who arrived there in 1964. Though some progress was made naturalization ground to a halt by 1976.

Overall, then, the economic integration of refugees, whether certified by the UNHCR or demonstrably achieved by the refugees, has been elusive in Africa. Ultimately, there is no guarantee of protection even after economic self-sufficiency has been achieved, as the October 1982 expulsion of long-time Rwandan residents from Uganda shows. Despite the active encouragement of African host governments, a catalog of factors — some controllable, others not — have thwarted, or at least delayed, independence from international assistance.

The "pauperization" of the local communities and the "systems of dependence" often associated with refugee aid are related to the orientation toward emergency relief. The intractability of political and economic causes of refugee situations impede the achievement of durable solutions. A voluntary agency official with twenty years of experience noted that the causes are not as "simple" now as they once were: that overlaying ethnic repression and civil war is "a lot more external involvement making for a much more politicized arena for responding to refugee needs."

Questions have arisen concerning how adequate even well-endowed and well-implemented international assistance programs can be if the "root causes" of deprivation and persecution are not systematically resolved.⁴¹ Codrignani asserted that "international aid can offer nothing better than the bleakness of the refugee centers, while the generosity of the poor can do no more than share their poverty."⁴² This is an overstatement; there have been lasting solutions to refugee problems over the years, and there are instances where international assistance has contributed to economic betterment for the refugees and their hosts.

Nevertheless, self-sufficiency is an insufficient goal. The deterioration of many Third World economies means that "we can't expect refugees to become economically self-sufficient in a vacuum," according to one UNHCR specialist in rural settlement policy. Refugee settlements can prosper and refugees can contribute to the welfare of the host population only insofar as broader economic integration is fostered.

Regional frameworks for planning the economic development of refugee settlements are not new, however. In one of its first policy statements on rural settlements in Africa, the UNHCR referred to them as potential regional centers.⁴³ The idea that priority should be given to community participation in the policy process has also been widely acknowledged in recent years, and indeed the 1962 statement continued:

The work required to implement such a plan . . . could be performed by the refugees themselves. They are aware of the hard work which would be required of them . . . Even the administration and intermediate supervision could be assumed by the refugees, a number of whom possess the qualifications required.⁴⁴

The strategy of "zonal development" was tried in Zaire and Uganda in the 1960s under various cooperative agreements among the UNHCR, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the UNDP. These projects, and the later collaborative effort in Burundi which included the Food and Agriculture Organization, largely failed because of the combined effects of political instability, ecological adversity and bad administration.⁴⁵

The disillusionment resulting from these unsuccessful efforts at integrated rural development is being overcome, slowly but surely. The objectives of assistance and the strategies for achieving durable solutions are being reassessed. For, despite two Nobel Prizes and an unblemished record for effort, the UNHCR is trailing in the race to channel the tide of refugees.

Three years after the representatives of some 90 governments and 120 voluntary agencies gathered in Geneva to answer Africa's pleas for more money to assist its refugees (most of whom were languishing in camps in Somalia), a second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA) is scheduled for July 1984. The decision to go ahead with a second ICARA is one of several measures that will have important implications for the character of international responses to refugee migrations and for the UNHCR's role as the responsible, catalytic agency.

ICARA-I failed to generate as much new money for African refugees as anticipated. Not all of the \$574 million pledged at the conference was actually paid: as of December 1982, neither UNICEF nor WFP had received the \$112 million designated specifically for ICARA-I projects. "The

41. Observers of refugee policy are concentrating on the precipitants of refugee migrations. See Kathleen Newland, "Refugees: The International Politics of Displacement," *Worldwatch Papers*, No. 43 (1981); Astri Sahrke, "Global Refugee Movements and Strategies of Response," in *U.S. Immigration and Refugee Policy: Global and Domestic Issues*, edited by Mary Krutz (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1983) pp. 163-166; William Glove, Richard Thurston and Frederick Tortimiro, "Aid and Refugees: The Structural Implications of U.S. Economic and Military Aid to Mexico and Haiti," paper presented at the Ninth Annual Third World Conference (Chicago, 1983); Candace Weeks, *Africa's Refugees: The Uprooted and Homeless* (New York: Church World Service, National Council of Churches, 1978); and Leon Gordenski, "Causes of Forced Migrations," paper presented at the Columbia University Seminar on Human Rights (New York, 1982). The most thorough United Nations study of the issue is authored by former High Commissioner Aga Khan. See Sadruddin Aga Khan, *Study on Human Rights and Massive Exoduses* (Geneva: United Nations Commission on Human Rights (ECN.4/15/03) (1981). The report develops a comprehensive list of pushes and pulls influencing refugee migration.

42. Giancaria Codrignani, "Refugees and the Problem of Human Rights," *Politica Internazionale*, 2(2) (1982) p.85.

43. See UNHCR, *Summary Report on the Refugee Problem in the Republic of Togo*, op. cit.

44. *Ibid.*, p.5.

45. See T.F. Betts, "Zonal Rural Development in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 7 (1) (1966), pp. 149-153 and *Integrated Rural Development: Reports 1-4* (Geneva: International University Exchange Fund, 1969).

record here then is one of continuing muddle and obscurity."⁴⁶ The conference did succeed, however, in broadening world attention beyond the horrific plight of the Indochinese "boat people." The effectiveness with which public information materials about African refugees were distributed to media all over the world is reflected in a 200-page scrapbook of newspaper clippings released after ICARA-I.⁴⁷

The steering committee for ICARA-II includes representatives of the UNHCR, the Secretary-General, the Organization of African Unity and, most significantly, the United Nations Development Program. The projects to be proposed for supplemental funding will have an explicit developmental component, and the UNDP is intimately involved in project formulation. Intermittently over the last twenty years, the UNDP and its subsidiary agencies have been involved in assistance to refugees, providing critical technical resources unavailable from within the UNHCR. Yet, the formal, senior level coordination with UNDP on ICARA-II represents a recognition that relief is a necessary but insufficient policy response to refugee situations where prospects for repatriation and resettlement are dim. A further appeal lies in the apparent acknowledgement that interagency coordination in pursuit of development objectives should not be an afterthought, cultivated only years after the refugee influx.

Cautious optimism also surrounds the innovative efforts to coordinate with the World Bank on large-scale income-generating projects for refugees in Pakistan. The concept itself is not novel: the Executive Committee of the UNHCR encouraged coordination with the World Bank as early as 1970⁴⁸ and income generation has been a priority for ILO activities in several countries for years (especially in Sudan).⁴⁹

The priority accorded ICARA-II by African host governments hopefully indicates their appreciation that responses to refugee problems must be more comprehensively accommodated to regional and national development plans (and vice versa) in order to increase the prospects for durable solutions. The host states must therefore be convinced that it is often in their better interests to encourage local integration measures, even if granting citizenship is out of the question, for it is likely that the refugees will remain for several years. The expectation of repatriation has too often

justified relief-oriented programs which shackle the refugees to dependency and squander opportunities for the more constructive use of the available human, financial and technical resources.

It is significant that recently the Somali government officially changed its position regarding settlement of refugees from the Ogaden. The new policy direction offers opportunities for the refugees to improve their own lot and to contribute productively to Somali's desperate economy. It also provides the refugee policy community, with the UNHCR at its helm, another context for exploring how to organize effectively for development.

Conclusion

Efforts to improve the administration of refugee policy, including the more systematic data collection essential to accurate program evaluation, therefore come at a strategic moment in the UNHCR's institutional history. The second ICARA meeting, the activities of the World Bank in Pakistan, and the settlement programs designed for refugees in Somalia will all have to be carefully monitored and evaluated. (Independent, external observers should be involved in this process.) These are three benchmark experiments in this period of redefinition for the UNHCR.

Such initiatives are indicative of an invigorated commitment to give effect to the UNHCR's principled acknowledgement that development objectives are in fact important. Guaranteeing refugee self-sufficiency falls short of raising productivity to levels at which the refugee communities are actively integrated within and contributing to regional and national economic development. The initiatives also offer the opportunity to define more precisely, based on actual field experience, the most desirable policy jurisdictions for the agencies involved in refugee aid.

The UNHCR should not compromise its unique responsibility for the needs of refugees and, toward that end, to coordinate the activities of international and non-governmental organizations. It cannot be the main agent for implementing development projects, for it lacks the expertise and financial resources necessary for adequate multi-year planning. Nor is it appropriate for the UNHCR to take over functions of the UNDP. The UNHCR should nevertheless flexibly broaden its mandate as it has in response to the needs of displaced persons and returnees.

The UNHCR is thus seizing several opportunities to recast its role and to redefine policy objectives and strategies. It could not do so without the approval of the Executive Committee. The UNHCR does not, after all,

46. Betts, "The International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa and the Role of the Voluntary Agencies," Paper presented at the Organization of African Unity Conference in Arusha, Tanzania (1983), p.3.

47. See UNHCR, *ICARA Scrapbook* (Geneva: UNHCR, 1981).

48. UNHCR, *Addendum to the Report of the UNHCR: The Twenty-first Session of the Executive Committee*, General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 12A (A/8012/Add.1) (New York, 1970) pp 11-12.

49. See UNHCR and International Labor Organization, *Income-Generating Activities for Refugees in the Sudan*, Report of the UNHCR/ILO Interdisciplinary Mission on the Employment, Income-Generation and Training of Refugees in the Sudan. (Geneva: UNHCR (80-81/AP/AR/AR/1/AR/UBO) (1982).

operate in a political vacuum. States generate refugees, finance the agency, invite it to undertake material assistance efforts, and finally, help establish the conditions which make durable solutions more or less likely. Still, the UNHCR does have latitude in the policy process because of its field orientation and its somewhat diversified sources of funding. The UNHCR has applied its legal and moral authority to regulate and change state policies concerning refugees. It has also provided a forum where relevant actors converge to elaborate principles and establish priorities for protecting and assisting refugees.

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A Look at Books

Progress toward Economic Integration in West Africa

James Cobbe

Peter Robson, *INTEGRATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EQUITY: Economic Integration in West Africa* (Winchester, Mass: Allen & Unwin, 1983) pp ix, 181; \$28.50.

Peter Robson, Professor of Economics at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, here continues his long record of interest in attempts at economic integration in Africa. This short book will become the standard reference on attempts at economic integration in West Africa for some time to come.

The book has a very straightforward structure. After a brief introduction, Chapter 2 gives a succinct review of relevant theory. This looks at the comparative statistics of customs unions in small economies in the presence of economies of scale, and the impact of domestic distortions on the analysis. This basically neoclassic approach is followed by some brief remarks about the many factors ignored by the analysis. The main thrust of the chapter, reflected throughout the book, is that the primary justification for economic integration among developing countries is the possibility of dynamic gains which may flow from a larger, protected, 'domestic' market; but that particular countries may lose from integration, even if there is static 'trade creation' as a result of the integration.

Chapter 3 discusses the policy and strategy issues that tend to arise in actual schemes for integration. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the structural situation of developing countries, and especially the relatively poor functioning of markets, implies a need to pay more attention to what Tinbergen termed positive steps to promote integration. Robson concentrates on three issues, namely the need to determine how regional trade and specialization should develop given that it often does not as yet; the problem of equity and the distribution of costs and benefits between countries (but not between groups of persons within countries, an unfortunate omission); and policy toward foreign capital, ownership, and technology. This discussion is useful and interesting, although obviously it cannot be definitive or even come to firm conclusions.

James Cobbe is Associate Professor of Economics at Florida State University.

1st Quarter, 1984

The next four chapters follow a fairly common format, each dealing with a particular integration scheme. Information on the economies of the countries in question, the history and politics of the schemes, their strategy and operation, are followed by assessments of how well they have succeeded and their future prospects. Chapter 4 covers CEA0, the *Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Upper Volta); Chapter 5 the Mano River Union (Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea); Chapter 6 ECOWAS (16 states, Benin, Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Guinea-Bissau, Gambia, and Cape Verde in addition to those previously mentioned); and Chapter 7 Senegambia, the proposed full economic union of Senegal and Gambia. These chapters are supported with tables giving basic data, often up to 1980 (drawn from World Bank sources), although the trade data is usually older and often incomplete. A useful aspect of these chapters is the discussion of how the larger and smaller schemes have, and may in the future, interact and conflict.

Chapter 8 deals with monetary cooperation, discussing first the general issues and then the performance of the (francophone) West African Monetary Union (UMOA: Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal, Togo, and Upper Volta) and the broader West African Clearing House (covering all ECOWAS except Cape Verde). The argument here is that the main need in the monetary field is far greater harmonization of policy and de facto convertibility of currencies to support integration.

The book ends with a brief conclusion, which argues that far too much effort has been devoted to tariff reduction and not nearly enough to reducing non-tariff barriers and developing regional, as opposed to national, policies on industrialization. This is followed by a useful bibliography and an index; there also is one, reasonably clear, map. Overall, one can say that Professor Robson has done a very competent and workmanlike job, and that the book should find a place in many libraries as the first reference of choice on West African attempts at economic integration.

Blaming Underdevelopment on on the Underdeveloped

Kofi Roland A. Glover

Keith Hart, *THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WEST AFRICAN AGRICULTURE*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982); pp. ix, 226; \$34.50 hardback, \$12.95 paperback.

There is very little doubt that the debate on what forces are responsible for the underdevelopment of the world's poor regions will continue, *ad infinitum*, as long as there remain poor regions of the world. Professor Keith Hart has

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entered into this debate, arguing, in *The Political Economy of West African Agriculture*, that it is the internal conditions and not colonialism or the international capitalist system that must bear the responsibility for the lack of development of West African agriculture. West Africa's history, the professor suggests, has been determined largely by its proximity to Europe as the nearest tropical region. Nevertheless, "even if [European] powers have exercised great influence over West African economies," Europe should not be blamed for the backwardness of the region because only "the mobilization of endogenous social forces" can solve economic backwardness (p. 19). In any case, it is the growing productivity gap between Africans and Europeans, following the industrial revolution, that "pushed West Africa further behind Europe than it had been in the middle ages." If industrialization caused Europeans to accumulate "capital at West Africans' expense, as surely they did," it does not imply that West Africans "were made absolutely worse off" (p. 41) or that the blame for their backwardness should be placed on the "predatory capitalism" that siphoned off the region's resources. The "undue focus" on these overseas factors is, he argues, an excuse to ignore the massive endogenous material and social impediments to development.

The internal impediments may be categorized under three closely related factors. First, West Africa has been very sparsely populated, a fact that prevented centralized-authority state formation and urbanization and the consequent growth of the market economy and commodity production. The market has been a significant feature of West African economies but market growth was retarded by the low density of the population which resulted in high transportation costs and therefore the emphasis on subsistence agricultural production. Second, the absence of strong, centralized governments prevented forced labor production for capitalization. Professor Hart would agree with the observation that historically it has been the near enslavement of workers through repressive laws that has enabled private or government capitalization for development. He argues that because of the low density of the population, free peasants were able to withdraw their allegiance to governments under which they felt abused or exploited. Under such circumstances it was neither possible to form states nor to force labor to produce, both of which conditions were essential to intensification of production, specialization and technological innovations. Third, it was the restraint of the headmen on the youth that prevented them from entering the market, impeding the commercial division of labor and the private accumulation of capital. The commercialization of labor would have undermined the social framework and the privileges of the headmen, who accumulated family labor for personal aggrandizement and not for economic improvements. Because "the rural social order constituted in itself a powerful blockage restricting the development of the market" (p. 38), most West Africans have remained tied to the traditional property social nexus; they are never landless, produce their own food, are not subjected to the discipline of the European industrial worker, and do not spend the majority of their working hours as wage laborers.

It cannot be denied that internal socio-political constraints do retard development; to argue, however, that a society is under-developed because it has not been able to overcome those conditions which, according to Western social scientists, are the parameters of backwardness in the first instance, is to argue that a society is backward because it is backward. The strenuousness with

which Professor Hart argues this case while denying that colonialism and slavery were causes for underdevelopment gives the impression that this work is an apologia for imperialism. His argument that West Africa's "commercial development and prosperity were [not] adversely affected by the Atlantic slave trade" (pp. 40-41) which was Africa's only available response to world trade (p. 111) is utterly unconvincing. This assertion contradicts his principal theme that the sparse population was a cause of backwardness. How does he reconcile, otherwise, his theme to the implied argument that the further depletion of the most active and productive segment of the population did not constrain the political and economic development of the region?

The second major problem one finds with the book is the poor use of research resources in spite of an extensive annotated and supplementary bibliography. Indeed, the author himself warns early (p. 2) that this is "not a work of authoritative scholarship." The book falls prey, therefore, to very debatable interpretations of history. European economic activities, from the mercantile period to the current neocolonial period, and their relationship to the production and supply of raw materials and overseas markets cannot be separated from the socio-political subjugation and emasculation of the world's tropical regions. With regards to West Africa, there is clear evidence that when cocoa farming was prospering and creating capital in African hands, in Ghana for example, the Colonial Government concluded that the country "is advancing faster than may seem good to the Government who actually has had occasion to act as a brake rather than as an accelerating force."¹ More specifically, the rapid growth of education and "the capitalist organisation of cocoa production" acted as "dissolvent on the traditional structures" of society through which the British had hoped to govern.² The Colonial Government, under even the progressive Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, passed legislation to strengthen these same "political forms . . . [that] have been determining influence restricting West Africa's development," while campaigning to curtail the growth and capitalization of the cocoa industry. Professor Hart surely should be aware of this general aspect of imperial history.

The Political Economy of West African Agriculture may be characterised, generally, as *suggestio falsi*. It should be a worthwhile reading for Africans and Africanists nevertheless, if only to remind us the Africans that we alone must bear the burden for our development through the mobilization of our resources and to guard ourselves against the persisting misinterpretations of history and social evolution that shifts the blame of our victimization to us the victims.

1. Cardinall, A. W., *The Gold Coast 1831*. (Accra: Govt. Printer, 1932), p.75.

2. Kay, G.B., *The Political Economy of Colonialism: a collection of documents and statistics*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 12.

3. Guggisberg, Sir Gordon, *The Gold Coast, A Review of Events of 1920-26 and the Prospects for 1927-28*. (Accra: Govt. Printer, 1927), p.15.

Two Views of Namibia's Prospects

John Seiler

Robert I. Rotberg, editor, *NAMIBIA: Political and Economic Prospects* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1983), 114 pages plus bibliography and index, \$18.95.

Reginald Green, Marja-Liisa Kiljunen, Kimmo Kiljunen, editors, *NAMIBIA: The Last Colony* (Harlow, Essex, U.K.: Longman Group Limited, 1981) 258 pages plus statistical annex, bibliography, and index, £15.

Given the increasing public attention to the unresolved Namibian issue, it would be good to give high marks to these recent introductory collections, but the Rotberg book is a considerable disappointment, while the Green book, although generally maintaining a vigorous style and providing much useful information, lags seriously in one key chapter dealing with Namibian politics.

Looking first at Rotberg, his editorial judgment is most at question: acknowledging the utility of Wolfgang Thomas' 51-page essay on Namibian political economics and the policy choices open to a prospective SWAPO regime, what did Rotberg expect to produce by jamming four more essays into a book whose total length is 114 pages? His own introduction on the state of negotiations and internal politics has been outpaced by events. The 27 pages taken by Nicholas H.Z. Watts to summarize Namibian political-diplomatic events to date are inevitably superficial. The two short pieces by Kate Jowell and Stanley Uys do no more than paraphrase some of the arguments made by Thomas and might better have been omitted.

Looked at for its point of view, best reflected in Thomas' hope that SWAPO will adopt a "moderate social-democratic" post-independent development policy, the Rotberg volume is especially disappointing. The perspective is a valid one and deserves more detailed and insightful explication.

Green's book is a different matter. His intellectual discipline and insight are reflected throughout it but especially in his own contributions on political economy (ch. 11) and agricultural development (ch. 13, done with Robert Chambers). Despite his own commitment to SWAPO and his conclusion that SWAPO's economic policies will necessarily require a radical change from present economic policies in Namibia, he gives extended attention to Thomas' arguments which he characterizes as "coherent, forceful." (p. 204 ff.) That is a rare openness and civility among intellectual combatants and refreshing to read.

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The only questionable contribution to Green's book is Kimmo Kiljunen's "National Resistance and the Liberation Struggle" (ch. 8), based in part on a 1978 visit to Namibia. That essay exaggerates South African military manpower levels, SWAPO military achievements, and SWAPO political gains.

What are his errors? First, he estimates South African security forces in northern Namibia to total 53,000 (table 8.1, p. 159). Although his delineation of combat forces remains generally accurate for October 1983 when I visited the area, his figures for "logistic support units" — 22,600 — are much larger than fact. I found no more than 2,000 men at Grootfontein, by far the largest logistic center in all of Namibia. It is improbable that the total reaches even 10,000.

More seriously, he concludes somewhat illogically that SWAPO, while incapable of creating fully-liberated zones in northern Namibia, had (as of 1978-1979) "more or less permanent control over an ever-increasing area." (p. 158) A map (p. 162) professes to show this: a small "semi-liberated" triangle pushes south from the Angolan border into Ovamboland and a much larger area, "SWAPO's military zones," covers all of northern Namibia and extends below Grootfontein. Kiljunen apparently based his assessment on reports from Lutheran missionaries in Ovamboland. These people were presumably talking about Black sentiments toward SWAPO, sentiments which Kiljunen translated wrongly into a kind of SWAPO control over the behavior of these people.

This leads to the third analytical failure. Probably because to him (and to Rotberg, from his very different political perspective), a SWAPO victory is morally inevitable, he gives almost no attention to the dynamics of Black Namibian politics. To the contrary, a trivial pseudo-dynamic appears in his chapter. By listing various South African acts of repression and violence, a list to which more events could now be added, he believes that he demonstrates a resultant massive "escalation of resistance," (p. 165) but the sole example he gives of this presumed outpouring is Black emigration into Angola and beyond — he insists exaggeratedly that some 50,000 people have left. (p. 167)

Kiljunen is partly right. Even though "academic" proof is unattainable, the indignities heaped on Blacks in Namibia are widely evident. Standing alongside the Oshivello checkpoint at 7 a.m. any morning as road traffic begins to move north into Ovamboland and Blacks are required to walk single file past several tents from which ex-SWAPO men spy on them — that single experience makes clear the impact of security forces in Ovamboland. Then there are the brutal activities of *Koevoet*, the units of Black para-military police, which have resulted in a number of deaths and widespread intimidation. It is a small consolation that the South African Police have apparently belatedly put some constraint on *Koevoet* operations, in reaction to a widely-publicized trial involving two *Koevoet* men.

But what is the response of Blacks? Of course, ultimately SWAPO would gain from it, but only when a SWAPO victory is imminent. And that victory now appears unlikely by military means and indiscernible by the stalled negotiation process. In the meantime, like prudent human beings everywhere, Blacks in northern Namibia will keep at work and confine their public activities to protect their families, their jobs, and their personal safety.

In the rest of Namibia, excluding the Windhoek townships of Katatura and Khomasdal, there is a much-smaller presence of security forces and the anger at indignities mounts more slowly. In these areas, political loyalty remains even more open and contestable, not that non-SWAPO politicians have yet shown any extraordinary skill or perseverance in their efforts.

Justifying The Justifications

for Military Coups

Abdoulaye S.M. Saine

Staffan Wiking, **MILITARY COUPS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: How to Justify Illegal Assumption of Power.** (Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983.) 144 pages, paper, \$3.50 (distributed in the U.S. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J.)

This book is a comparative, theoretical and empirical assessment of military coups in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1958-1980. It is sub-divided into three main sections. The first section provides a detailed treatment of general theoretical explanations for the causes of coups d'etat. The second section is an empirical review of the initial declarations (ID) or justifications offered by military rulers for their intervention in the political process, and the last section examines the extent to which the theoretical explanations in section one fit the justifications presented in section two of the book.

The central assumption upon which the study is predicated is that the initial declarations (ID) given by the new military rulers "might have more to say about the new rulers' political expectations than any other statements made when power is already secured." On the basis of this assertion, Wiking proceeds to analyze coups d'etat within broad theoretical themes such as: (a) explanations connected with foreign interest and foreign influence; (b) explanations connected with societal conditions; (c) explanations connected with government-military relations; (d) explanations connected with intramilitary conditions; and (e) explanations connected with individual perspectives. Eighteen test cases from Sub-Saharan Africa are then used to test the congruence between the theoretical explanations of coups in section one, and the justifications given by the military for its intervention in the political arena, and presented in the second section of the book.

Wiking concludes that:

To some extent, the explanations which the officers themselves give for the part played by the military in political intervention differ from the explanations of the researchers . . . The officers themselves never justify a takeover on personal grounds. Conditions within the society, or other circumstances, can always be cited as the reason for the change of power, even though the underlying motive may be personal (pp. 141-142).

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1st Quarter, 1984

The most obvious flaw in this study lies fundamentally in Wiking's use of the initial declaration (ID) variable as the single analytical tool to evaluate the theoretical explanations he postulates. Unfortunately, the reason for such usage derives not from the internal logic of the theories he seeks to assess, but rather from the importance he attaches to initial declarations. Wiking argues that initial declarations "represent the actual takeover, thus great importance has to be attached on how the officers justify the coups in the ID rather than to how they justify it at another stage" (p. 13).

This argument is, however, very weak, not only because it lacks a solid theoretical base but more importantly because Wiking superimposes his subjectivity on the theoretical perspectives he seeks to evaluate. Furthermore, Wiking attempts to remove the concept — initial declarations (ID) — from its social and historical context, and as a result empties the concept of its meaning. Even if we were to assume for a moment that the initial declaration variable was valid, the declarations would need to be compared historically to determine the degree to which policy outcomes, for instance, reflected initial declarations. It did not come as a surprise, therefore, that Wiking found no relationship between the expectations and predictions of the theories and the justifications of the military rulers.

These limitations clearly suggest that Wiking should have pushed his analysis far enough to consider other variables distilled from the theories, to examine over time the underlying interests and motivations for military intervention. This is particularly important because these declarations or excuses by the military rulers conceal and mystify the "objective" reasons for intervention. Thus the initial declaration variable is a poor gauge for the evaluation of theory or as an explanatory tool for the causes of coups d'état.

Another difficulty with the study is its overwhelming emphasis on modernization and political development theories at the expense of class conflict approaches, which Wiking treats rather fleetingly. A critical look at civil-military relations in Africa, coupled with the empirical evidence on military performance in the political and economic spheres, clearly suggests that the predictions of modernization theory have not been borne out by the evidence. Thus, modernization and political development theories lack the rigor and the analytical tools to capture the increasingly complex military linkages obtaining at the national, continental and international levels. That these theories are inherently limited as explanatory frameworks is testified to by the general lack of "modernization," and the deepening structures of underdevelopment.

It is precisely for these reasons that Wiking should have considered the alternative theoretical explanations of "dependency," international political economy and world system approaches, rather than implicitly reject class analysis in favor of ethnicity. What these approaches essentially argue is that the capitalist mode of production, through the process of capital accumulation/exploitation, and in conjunction with the local comprador class and the state apparatus, generate income inequalities, repression, deteriorating economic conditions and hence coups d'état in dependent African States.

Surely ethnicity is sometimes an important element in the causes of some coups, as correctly pointed out by Wiking's data. However, he failed to examine the counter thesis that military and civilian rulers alike have used ethnicity to conceal their class interests or to gain electoral votes as in the case of Gambia's political class, which Wiking does not analyze rigorously to show the class basis

for the use of ethnicity. Thus ethnicity, like initial declarations, can often be misleading and elusive as one attempts to identify the underlying causes of coups d'état.

Africa's increased dependency on the international capitalist economy, coupled with the rapidly changing social and economic composition of the military, on the other hand, suggests the use of concepts and approaches that can capture the dynamism, and changes in civil-military relations. If the assertion concerning changes in the social and economic composition of the military and the society is accurate, it raises a major problem in Wiking's analysis concerning his implicit position on the primacy of ethnicity over social class as the unit of analysis. This is because coups d'état since the mid-1970s in Africa have tended to be carried out by junior officers mainly, rather than the senior officers, suggesting the gradual crystallization of intraclass and class antagonism within the army and the society. Wiking's analysis did not reflect these changes.

While the book constitutes an excellent review of the vast literature on coups d'état, Wiking failed at adequately evaluating the theoretical explanations as he set out to do initially. His failure arises mainly from his attempt to reduce the theories to initial declarations, even though the theories, despite their limitations, provide a sufficiently rich base from which Wiking could have generated more compelling propositions. Essentially, he failed to push the theories far enough to consider critically the implications the frameworks logically and inherently suggest. A much more useful approach would have been to situate and analyze initial declarations historically within the socio-political context that generated them, in an effort to determine their consistency and/or inconsistency with policy outcomes over a period of time.

In conclusion, the shortcomings of the book should sensitize future researchers to address more concretely the nature of the State, class formation and class relations within the military and society at large. Modernization and political development theories are not equipped with the analytical tools to address these concerns, since their epistemological orientations and assumptions differ from those of a class base neo-Marxist paradigm. Consequently, the causes of coups must not be sought in the initial declarations of military rulers, but in national, international asymmetries, dependency and underdevelopment and their internal manifestations in African countries. Otherwise much valuable time will be spent debating theoretical versions of modernization theory. Despite these limitations, however, the book is very well written, and can serve as an excellent introductory text for the study of civil-military relations in Africa.



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Ethiopia's Falashas: Interest Revived

Simon D. Messing

David Kessler, **THE FALASHAS, The Forgotten Jews of Ethiopia.** (New York: African Publishing Company, a division of Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982) 182 pages, \$24.50.

Within the last three years, three books have appeared on the Falashas, more than during the previous three decades.¹ Long the concern primarily of linguists, missionaries and one ethnographer, their recognition by the Rabbinate of Israel as Jews, in the 1970s, has entailed them to migrate there and to full Israeli citizenship. Yet visitors to Ethiopia cannot distinguish the Falashas from Amhara, Tigre and other inhabitants of what used to be called "Abyssinia." Once again one is reminded of the transitional aspect of the ethnicities that have formed a human bridge between the Middle East and East Africa since ancient times.

In the absence of much written history and in view of the fact that the archeology of the region has been spotty, Kessler draws on a variety of legends and linguistic speculations to tell a continuous story. He follows one theory that views the arrival of Judaism in Ethiopia by way of ancient Alexandria and Meroë. This may explain also the occupation of ironsmithing among the Falashas, one of their specialties in the rural area. On the mountainous plateau they retained political autonomy, despite occasional warfare, until it was finally lost in the 16th century when conflict escalated in consequence of the battles between Christian Abyssinia and Muslims.

It was the European zeal to find the sources of the Nile, particularly the travels of James Bruce in the 18th century, that brought the existence of the Falashas to the attention of missionaries in the 19th. This in turn aroused European Jewish counter-mission concerns, and in 1904 a religious young linguist from the Sorbonne by name of Jacques Faitlovitch began his work of teaching Hebrew and selecting young Falashas for education in Europe and in Jerusalem.

1. These are Louis Rappoport, *The Last Jews, Last of the Ethiopian Falashas* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979) 252 pp., \$13.95; and Simon Messing, *The Story of the Falashas — "Black Jews" of Ethiopia* (New York: Baishon Printing and Offset Co., 1982) 133 pp., illus., paper \$7.50. (may be ordered from the author).

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It was this modern exposure, however, that caused many of these young Falashas to leave the Hebrew teaching work assigned to them by Faitlovitch, and to carve out careers in the service of emerging Ethiopia. Unfortunately Kessler tells the reader nothing about the diplomatic career of Taamrat Emanuel, the long and varied Civil Service of Tadesse Yaqob, and he does not even mention the provincial administrator and onetime Deputy Mayor of the city of Gondar, Mellesse Tekle. These are recounted in another book, also published in 1982.²

There is a colonial flavor in Kessler's account, which tends to emphasize what outside agencies, notably the Organization for Rehabilitation Training (O.R.T.) have done for the Falashas, rather than what modern Falashas have done for themselves. The first of the latter in 1905, are described as follows: "Both withstood the shock of the sudden leap virtually from the Iron Age into the sophistication of Western Civilization . . ." (Page 134). Is it appropriate to use the concept "Iron Age" for a country that had a written script and statecraft for millennia?

But the reader who seeks a concise history of Abyssinia in relation to the Falashas, without having to wade through the volumes of James Bruce's Travels, the histories of Richard Pankhurst, the linguistics and theology of Ullendorff and the archeology of Doresse, may appreciate the library research Kessler has done.

2. Messing, *op. cit.*

Stories About West Africans

Nancy J. Schmidt

Joseph Sebuava, *THE INEVITABLE HOUR* (New York: Vantage Press, 1979) pp. 141, \$6.50.

Rosina Umelo, *THE MAN WHO ATE THE MONEY* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1978; New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) pp. v + 100 (A Three Crowns Book) \$3.95.

Joseph Sebuava and Rosina Umelo are secondary school teachers who subsequently became school administrators. Sebuava's novel clearly reflects his pedagogical background, while Umelo's short stories are those of a skilled fiction writer. Sebuava's novel appears to have been written for a non-Ghanaian, and certainly a non-Ewe audience. In contrast, most of Umelo's short stories were broadcast by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation or the British Broadcasting Corporation. There is a close correlation between the Nigerian and British settings of the stories and where they were broadcast. However, the main characters in all of Umelo's stories are Nigerians, usually Igbo by name or implication.

The Inevitable Hour is set in the early 1940s in the Ewe town of Anloga, which is Sebuava's hometown. It is preceded by an all-too-familiar disclaimer in African fiction: "The characters in this novel are all fictitious. They do not refer to any persons living or dead." The hero, Sedofia, a prosperous shallot farmer who has four wives but no children, is like Okonkwo in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, in the sense that he carries the moral ideals of his society to an extreme, which results in his ultimate social failure and death by suicide. However, Sedofia, unlike Okonkwo, is not a memorable character. Sebuava writes a very lean prose in short sentences, which is appropriate for school texts, but lacks the rich vocabulary and descriptive power characteristic of successful fiction. He tells Sedofia's story almost entirely in narrative. There is so little dialogue and description that Sedofia, his wives, in-laws, employees, and even two famous healers lack personalities. Thus, although the reader is told that Sedofia scrupulously tries to live by Ewe moral prescriptions, the reader has no empathy for the personal dilemmas that result, and no sympathy for Sedofia's decision to walk into the sea to his death.

Sebuava's pedagogical writing style includes an extensive use of proverbs, which is numerically matched only in the novels of Achebe and a few other African writers. However, unlike the natural use of proverbs in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* and *Arrow of God*, the use of proverbs in *The Inevitable Hour* is intrusive. Proverbs are often introduced with a phrase explicitly stating that it is a proverb or wisdom of the ancestors, followed by an explanation of the meaning of the proverb, or a literal translation of the proverb in non-metaphorical English, preceded by a phrase to the effect that it is a "literal

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translation." Sebuava also "literally translates" all the songs that appear in the story, thus interrupting the flow of the narrative. He feels compelled to define words such as *bokor* (sorcerer), the meanings of which are self-evident from the content of the story, and to provide literal meanings of many of the character's names, for example, "Domelevo's name (which literally means 'the stomach is different')."

Sebuava's novel with its heavy pedagogical overtones and absence of evocative power actually teaches less about African life than Umelo's fast-moving, richly descriptive short stories. Umelo is skillful at using descriptive words that are relevant to the people and places in her stories. Her characters come alive and have distinctive personalities. Since Umelo wrote her stories to be read over the radio, they of necessity include a more economical use of language than a novel or long short story. They also have a natural narrative flow which is essential in oral literature.

Umelo's skill as a writer is evident in her stories seeming fresh, even though many are about common themes in African fiction. These themes include the need for a man with six daughters to take a second wife to provide him with an heir, the dangers encountered by a village man who tries to buy goods in Onitsha Market, the temptation of putting money collected for taxes into one's own pocket, the excessive financial demands on a student in London from his known and unknown kin, and the problem of what to do with a pregnant English girl friend after a Nigerian has completed his studies in London.

Umelo often adds an unfamiliar twist to such common themes. In "Brief Visit to a Wonderful Place," the young thief who steals the hero's money, with which he was going to purchase construction supplies in Onitsha, is found in the market stall of the hero's townsman, who had warned him of the "wonders" of the marketplace. The ironies of taking a second wife to produce an heir are doubly emphasized in "Uche's Wife," by presenting the second wife's view of her role. Although she is taken as a wife because she has borne three sons, her first child with her new husband is a girl. She feels no shame at the failure to fill her expected role. Rather, she is amused at the "conceited dignity" and "noisy self-importance" of her husband and other men. When the first wife finally gives birth to a son, the second wife laughs openly.

Umelo also writes about less common themes in African fiction including the continual search of a mother for a child lost in the Biafran war, a man who tries to extort money from other men by threatening to recruit them into the army, the attempt of a European to illegally purchase Nigerian "antiquities," and the adjustment of a boy to life in London when his father moves there to study law.

In "A Change for the Better" and "Portobello," Umelo presents a child's-eye view of learning to live in London. In the first story the hero becomes acquainted with his English neighbor, who has a conception of Nigerians that comes straight from nineteenth century travel literature and is slightly modified by his observations of West Indians in London. Nevertheless, personal acquaintance leads to the Nigerian hero's inclusion in the English boy's gang. In the second story the two boys go to a London market, where the Nigerian hero behaves as if he were at Onitsha Market. He succeeds in bargaining for a pair of earrings, much to the amazement of the English seller, and feels and acts at home when he hears high-life music. Providing a child's-eye view in these stories is one example of Umelo's originality which contributes to the success of her story.

Disillusionment with Independence

James P. Gilroy

Ahmadou Kourouma, *THE SUNS OF INDEPENDENCE*. Translated from the French by Andrew Adams. (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1982), 136 pp., \$8.50.

This fine translation, like the devastating original, eloquently captures the bitter frustration and anguished oppression of the African people in the post-Independence era. The hero, Fama Dumbuya, is the last descendant of a Malinke family of chieftains. The decadence of traditional African values brought about first by colonialism and then by a despotic native regime has driven Fama from his ancestral village and reduced him to near-beggary in the African ghetto of the capital city of a fictional "Ebony Coast." His desperate efforts to regain some of the dignity of his forebears are constantly doomed to at first comic but eventually tragic consequences. Paralleling the struggles of the hero are those of his wife Salimata, who incarnates the plight of the African woman of today. Though her story constitutes a lengthy parenthesis interrupting the main body of the plot, its pathetic overtones reinforce the general impression of inescapable misery.

Kourouma's style is an interesting combination of folkloric narrative art and the techniques of modern European realism. One is reminded of both Homer and Flaubert. As in the former, heroic epithets (e.g., references to Fama's panther-totem) and metaphorical turns of phrase ("the bastard suns of Independence") recur with a litanic obsessiveness. As in Flaubert, the narrator employs free indirect discourse (summarizing the characters' words as though they were speaking directly but maintaining the third-person form) throughout. He thereby effaces his authorial presence and merges his point of view with that of his protagonists. Author and reader are thus able to enter the inner psyche of the character and articulate thoughts and impressions only vaguely felt by the latter. Psychological analysis also partakes of both African and Western approaches. The role of dream in the lives of hero and heroine is at once reminiscent of Freud and *Les Contes d'Amadou Koumba* by Birago Diop. Dream expresses repressed fears and longings yet also has mythical implications.

This novel can be looked upon as a work of savage realism in its totally unidealized depiction of human suffering and degradation. However, realism is only one dimension of this highly complex work of fiction. Characters and events also have an emblematic, larger-than-life quality. The story of Fama is as much a symbolic parable as it is a naturalistic social commentary. It becomes a fable for our times, a myth of contemporary Africa. This myth takes its place beside the myths of earlier eras of African civilization, so often alluded to in the course of the narrative. Kourouma the political and social observer is also Kourouma the *griot*, adapting recent events into the conceptual and linguistic structures of traditional African folklore, without sacrificing in any way the impact of modernity.

James P. Gilroy is Associate Professor of Foreign Languages and Literature at The University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

Coming Events

The Benu Study Group, the Journal of African Civilizations, Morehouse College, and the Human Values Program of the Morehouse School of Medicine are announcing the "Nile Valley Conference" to be held September 26-30, 1984, at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Keynote speaker of the conference is physicist, Egyptologist, historian and linguist, Dr. Cheikh Anta Diop of Senegal. Some of the lectures to be presented include: The 17th and 18th Dynasties of the Nile Valley; The Origin of Physics and Mathematics in the Nile Valley; Astronomy in the Nile Valley; Kemitic (Egyptian) Education in the Nile Valley; The Origin of Agriculture in the Nile Valley; Ancient Kemitic Literature; Nile Valley Presence in Asia; Ethiopia and Egypt in the Biblical World; and Ta-Seti: the World's First Monarchy. Preregistration fee is \$30.00, on site registration fee \$35, and student registration is \$15. A \$25.00 banquet will be held at the Sheraton Atlanta, 8:00 p.m., Sept. 29. For further information, write to: The Benu Study Group, 8:00 p.m., Sept. 29. For further information, or contact Dean Lawrence E. Carter at (404) 681-2800, Ext. 208, between 9-4 Monday-Friday or Dr. Charles S. Finch, M.D. at (404) 752-1367 between 9-5.

The Seventh National THIRD WORLD STUDIES CONFERENCE hosted by the University of Nebraska at Omaha will take place at the Peter Kiewit Conference Center, Omaha, Nebraska, October 18-20, 1984. Abstracts of papers to be presented should be sent to Dr. Daniel Boamah-Wiafe, Co-director, Third World Studies Conference, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska 68182. Telephone: (404) 554-2376.

The Institute for International Development and Co-operation at the University of Ottawa in association with the School of International Affairs at Carleton University is holding a conference on "Third World Trade Unionism: Prospects for Equity and Democratization in the Changing International Division of Labour." The focus of the conference will be to examine the ways in which third world trade unions are responding to the new international division of labour. Recognizing the existence of both repressive and popularly based forms of state in the Third World, the intention is to elicit a sympathetic, yet critical, examination of trade unions in their role of defending and promoting working class interests and basic human rights. The conference will be held in Ottawa on October 25-27, 1984. For more information contact: Dr. Roger Southall, Conference Organizer, Institute for International Development and Co-operation, University of Ottawa, 50 College Lane, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N 6N5.

The 1984 meeting of the African Studies Association will be held in Los Angeles, California, at the Los Angeles Hilton Hotel, from Thursday, October 25th through Sunday, October 28th, 1984. Professor Carol Thompson is the program chair: 1984 ASA, c/o Political Science Department, Von Kleinsmid Center 327, University Park-MC0044, Los Angeles, CA 90089.

The Journal of African Marxists is organizing a weekend conference on Marxism in Africa, to be held in April, 1985. The specific location is yet to be determined, although Senegal is the most likely choice. The Conference will examine in detail the current state of crisis of world capitalism and its impact on Africa and the response of the state apparatus in many African countries to this crisis. For more information contact Emmanuel Hansen, Conference Secretary, Journal of African Marxists, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DU, U.K. Telephone: 01-837-4014.

Publications

1. CRIPPLING A NATION: *Health in Apartheid South Africa* by Aziza Seedat, is one of the most recent publications from the *International Defiance and Aid Fund for Southern Africa*. This book, written by a South African doctor now living in exile, describes the enormous disparities of health care between Black and White South Africans, and shows how the ill-health of South Africa's Black majority derives from the apartheid system itself. The author concludes that an adequate health service for all South Africans can only be achieved with the destruction of the apartheid system. The price for this 110 page book is £3.00 (including postage and packaging in the U.K. only) and \$6.70, including postage and packaging in the U.S. The respective addresses are IDAF Publications, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR and IDAF U.S. Committee, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

2. Occasional Paper No. 11 of the *African Studies Program* at the University of Wisconsin, Madison is "Competing for Power: An Analysis of Conflicting Interests in South African Society, 1924-48," by Elizabeth Schmidt. This 31 page paper discusses South African history from the Pact Government to the rise to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948. It is available at \$2.50 including postage & handling, plus 5% sales tax for Wisconsin residents only, from the African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

3. A special 64 page *Bill of Rights in Action* publication, SOUTH AFRICA TIME RUNNING OUT, has come out of a book by the same title from a report of the *Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward South Africa*. The Study Commission was chaired by Franklin A. Thomas, President of the Ford Foundation. The Commission's original report was intended to serve as a "basic resource for the general reader and the specialist." The BRIA publication has reshaped the materials of the Report so they can be effectively used (with specific class activities and writing assignments) by classroom teachers with junior and senior high school students. However, this is an excellent introductory work for anyone interested in the study of South Africa and U.S. policy options there. The issues are available at \$3.95 each from the Constitutional Rights Foundation, 1510 Cotner Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90025. The Commission's original report, reviewed in *Africa Today*, Vol. 28 No. 4, pp. 17-26, is available through the University of California Press.

4. The most recent publications from the *United Nations' Centre Against Apartheid* NOTES AND DOCUMENTS series are: no. 14/83 "German Democratic Republic: the Land of Solidarity"; Addresses by the Chairman of the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid during a mission to the German Democratic Republic"; no. 18/83 "Role of International Solidarity and Action in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa"; no. 20/83 "Register for Entertainers, Actors and Others Who have Performed in Apartheid South Africa"; and a special issue "Publications List and Comprehensive Indexes (1967-1982)." Orders for specific titles or requests to receive the series should be directed to your nearest UN information Centre. In the U.S. the address is 2101 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

5. *The Washington Office on Africa* has developed two new resources on South Africa aimed at constituencies with little or no background in South Africa and designed to be used as mobilizing tools. "Election 1984: Stop U.S. Support for Apartheid," focuses on the importance of raising dominant election issues of peace, the nuclear threat and fairness within the South African context during the 1984 campaigns. It strongly urges voters to challenge the candidates' positions on these specific legislative issues concerning U.S. policies toward South Africa. The other resource, "The Struggle for Justice" demonstrates the concrete links between the struggles taking place in South Africa and the U.S. These 6 page pamphlets can be ordered for 12¢ each for 1-50 copies, and 10¢ each for more than 50, plus 35% for postage. Contact: Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

6. *The Washington Office on Africa* also has a new 6 page pamphlet "Stop Apartheid War!" which concisely outlines South Africa's aggression in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland during the period 1980-1984. The leaflets are available for 20¢ each for 1-10 copies, 18¢ each for 11-50, 15¢ each for over 50 (add 35% for postage). Write Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. The Washington Office on Africa would also like to announce a new service to grassroots activists: the "anti-apartheid hotline," a taped message for up-to-date news on anti-apartheid action. This will include the latest Congressional action on South Africa legislation, fast breaking news on Administration policy in Southern Africa as well as local anti-apartheid action around the U.S. The telephone number is (202) 546-0408.

7. *The Catholic Institute of International Relations* has two new titles from its "A Future for Namibia" series. EDUCATION, REPRESSION AND LIBERATION: *Namibia*, by Justin Ellis, explores the history of education, the conflict as Namibians have asserted their rights, and South Africa's latest moves to create a new Black middle class. Against this background the book examines the new educational system being developed by SWAPO in exile and discusses prospects for education in a newly independent Namibia. This book is 94 pages and costs £2.95 or \$5.00. EXPLOITING THE SEA, by Richard Moorsom, analyzes the history of destruction of Namibia's fishing grounds, the economic consequences and actions which could be taken by the international community to safeguard fish stocks. Moorsom also outlines possibilities for re-establishing the fishing industry after Namibian independence. This 100 page publication also costs £2.95 or \$5.00. (There is no charge for postage if payment is sent with order.) Other titles in the series are NAMIBIA IN THE 1980s, 84 pp. £1.00/\$1.50; TRANSFORMING A WASTED LAND by Richard Moorsom, 114 pp. £2.95/\$5.00 and MINES AND INDEPENDENCE, 155 pp., also £2.95/\$15.00. The set of five titles can be ordered at a special price of £10/\$15.00. Address all inquiries to CIIR, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF, U.K.

8. An annotated bibliography of the SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK MIDDLE CLASS can be ordered from Yale University's *Southern African Research Program*. It was prepared by Nancy Theis, a doctoral candidate in Yale's History Department. The entries are arranged by subject categories with a brief evaluation of the relevant sources for each section. We have no information on the bibliography's price, but inquiries should be addressed to Southern African Research Program, Yale University, 85 Trumbull Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

9. "What the Banks Say on South Africa," an updated version of a 1981 publication by the same title, has recently been released by the *Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility*. The 22 page survey includes small entries on all U.S. banks doing business in South Africa. This publication provides succinct information of specific activities and policies of large international and smaller regional banks. It can be ordered for \$2.00 from the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Dr., Room 566, New York, NY 10115.

10. *The Non-Governmental Liaison Service of the United Nations* has produced a new information kit concerning women and development. The contents include key UN Documents, including the Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination; Survey of the 1980 Copenhagan Programme of Action; information on organizations producing materials and programs related to women in development issues and current information on plans for Non-Governmental Organizations Forum to be held in Nairobi in conjunction with the End-Decade World Conference for Women. The price of the kit is \$5.00 and can be ordered from United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service, DC 2-1103, New York, NY 10017.

11. *The Greenwood Press* has published the first volume of "International Development Resource Books." The series, edited by Pradip K. Ghosh, and prepared under the auspices of the *Center for Advanced Study of International Development* at Michigan State University and the *Center for International Development* at the University of Maryland, comprises twenty volumes that span the range of issues confronting international development in the Third World today. Each volume is between 500-600 pages in length, and follows a constant four part format. Part One consists of approximately 275 pages of current readings: documents on problems, issues, strategies, analytic methods, policies and country studies. The contributors to this section are distinguished scholars and officials in international agencies. Part Two is statistical data on the topic of the volume. Part Three is an annotated bibliography of the key literature on the topic. Part Four provides a directory of information sources. Each volume is indexed. All twenty volumes should be available by December 1984. This promises to be quite an involved, comprehensive project. A few sample titles are: "Industrialization and Development: Third World Perspective"; "Urban Development in the Third World"; "Health, Food and Nutrition in Third World Development"; "New International Economic Order: A Third World Perspective"; "Multi-National Corporations and Third World Development"; "Developing Africa: A Modernization Perspective." The volumes vary in price between \$45 and \$55. The first volume is 552 pages and costs \$45. For more information write: Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport CT 06881.

12. *THE OIL INDUSTRY IN NIGERIA: An Annotated Bibliography* is available from the *Centre for Developing Area Studies* in Montreal. 592 entries are arranged in subject areas, describing scholarly books and articles, government documents, speeches, newspaper items, with an introduction by the author, Julius O. Ihonvbere. The bibliography can be ordered for \$3.00 plus postage and handling from the Centre for Developing Area Studies McGill University, 815 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 2K6.

13. An English and French STATISTICAL BULLETIN FOR AFRICA is available from the *United Nations Economic Committee for Africa*. The Bulletin's seven papers focus on a variety of topics which should interest survey statisticians, economists, planners and other policy makers. The first paper discusses the important subject of developing Africa's debt, while the second paper provides a status report about the implementation of the 1983 World Programme of Industrial Statistics in the African region. The following three papers are on household surveys — their integration, the need for a more cost-effective approach in their implementation and the issue of income stratifications for income, consumption and expenditure surveys. The sixth paper evaluates the problems survey statisticians face with respect to the classifications and definitions of urban and rural locations in Africa. The last paper on concepts, classifications and definitions pertaining to fertility and mortality highlights African usages and adaptations. The main body of each article is written in English with short summaries in French. Generally most recent statistics used in these articles are through 1980 or 1981, but often are compiled to provide information for a period of nine years or more.

Also from ECA is another French and English publication, *AFRICAN ECONOMIC INDICATORS 1980*. The purpose of this publication is to convey the salient features of the economic and social trends of African countries during the period 1969-79. The eight sections include Demographic and Social Statistics; National Accounts; Foreign Trade; Industry; Agriculture; Prices; Transport and Communication; and Economic Groupings. It is presented primarily in the form of tables and graphs, with little text. To order either of these publications or for more information contact your nearest U.N. Information Centre.

14. The *World Bank's* annual *WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 1984* is now available. As in previous years, the REPORT is divided into three sections: The first section focuses on the current state of the world economy and the impact of the recessions of the past ten years on industrialized and developing regions. The second section analyses the link between fertility and levels of economic growth. The REPORT also contains "World Development Indicators" a section of 28 two page tables showing key components of social and economic progress for 126 countries. These statistics are based on the most recent data available from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations. The 296 page publication is available in English, Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Japanese and Spanish for \$8 paperback or \$20 clothbound. Add \$2 airmail surcharge if desired. Address orders to World Bank Publications, P.O. Box 37525, Washington, D.C. 20013.

15. *RAW MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT REPORT*, a quarterly magazine on the political economy of natural resources, is now completing its second year of publication. The magazine is concerned with all aspects of raw materials policies, and each issue carries articles of economic, political, social and technical nature. The main focus is on minerals, both metallic and industrial, but agriculture and forestry resources are also covered. The editors have indicated that the next volume will feature a regular special report on the changing patterns of ownership and control in different sectors of the world mining industry. Subscription rates for Vol. 3 (1984) are \$55 for institutions; \$22 for individuals plus \$4.00 for air mail delivery. Single and back issue orders must be requested. Order from: Raw Materials Development Report, P.O. Box 5195, S-102 44 Stockholm, Sweden.

16. The latest publications of the *International Monetary Fund's* OCCASIONAL PAPERS Series are no. 24, "Governmental Employment and Pay: Some International Comparisons," by Peter S. Heller and Alan A. Tait (62 pp.); no. 25 "Recent Multilateral Debt Restructuring with Official and Bank Creditors" and no. 27 "World Economic Outlook: A Survey by the Staff of the International Monetary Fund." Specific titles or the series can be ordered from External Relations Department, Attention Publications, International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C. 20431.

17. The *Economist* magazine has initiated a new publication this year called THE ECONOMIST DEVELOPMENT REPORT. Each issue will contain a major lead story and related articles; a "World Notes" section examining development matters by country and region; a page on technology and innovations and a specific detailed project analysis. The DEVELOPMENT REPORT is a monthly publication in 12 concise pages; worldwide subscription rates are £100 or US \$150. To place a subscription or for more information contact: Linda Denli, Publications Department, The Economist Newspaper Ltd., 25 St. James St., London SW1A 1HG, England.

18. A new bi-weekly newsletter, *AFRICA INSIDER*, is being published by *Afritec*, a new networking African affairs consulting firm specializing in the promotion of trade and investment between the U.S. and Africa. *Afritec* staff monitor many aspects of U.S.-Africa relations: Congress, the White House, the Chamber of Commerce, lobbying organizations, human rights groups, embassy row, leading and not-so-well-known personalities, conferences, etc. The subscription rate is \$150 per annum for 26 issues for individuals, academic and non-profit organizations, and \$300 for corporations. If Vol. 1, No. 10 is typical, the report is 8 pages. Write: Africa Insider, *Afritec*, Inc., P.O. Box 53398, Temple Heights Station, Washington, D.C. 20009.

19. The *African World Press* of the *Africa Research Publications Project* has announced the launching of the "Working Papers Series." The Series is meant to augment the outreach efforts of the Project by providing the public studies that will help in understanding current issues in Africa. A set of 8 papers are now ready for distribution to the public. No. 1, "The View from the Right: Africa's Colonial History and American Policy in South Africa," by K. Checole (\$2.00); No. 2, "The Eritrean Revolution and Contemporary World Politics," by James Petras (\$2.00); No. 3, "The Possibilities and Historical Limitations of Import Substitute Industrialization," by Peter Anyang Wyong'o (\$4.00); No. 4, "The Nationality Question in a Neo-Colony: An Historical Perspective," by Mahmood Mamdani (\$3.00); No. 5, "History of Neo-Colonialism or Neo-Colonialist History? Self-Determination and History in Africa," by E. Wambadia-Wamba (\$2.00); No. 6, "Tanzania and the World Bank," by Cheryl Payer (\$4.00); No. 7, "A Political and Legal Analysis of the Eritrean Question," by Khasani Berhane (\$4.00) and No. 8, "The Nkomati Accord: Non-aggression Pact Between Mozambique and South Africa," by Horace Cambell (\$1.00). These papers can be ordered from Africa World Press of the Africa Research and Publications Project, P.O. Box 1892, Trenton, N.J. 08608 (add 75¢ for postage and handling).

20. *Third World Publishers* has developed a new magazine, **THIRD WORLD BOOK REVIEW**. The first issue was published in January of this year. The publishers seek to create a journal which bridges the gap between the technical and specialized academic literature available on Third World development issues and the broader appeal of popular publications. The first issue includes book review sections on Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East, Women's Issues, Art and Culture, Fiction, as well as a major review article on development, an interview with author Salman Rushdie, an essay on the subject of peasant studies and a film critique of Richard Attenborough's "Gandhi." This magazine is 72 pages and the standard format. Subscription rates are £25 institutions, £15 individuals and £10 students in the UK; £30 institutions, £18 individuals and £12 students overseas. From the information we have received we are unable to determine how often the magazine is published.

21. The *International Center for Democracy* has launched the premier issue of **INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF WORLD STUDIES**, for Winter 1984. This 115 page publication contains 4 major articles: "Grenada, Grenadians, Grenades — A Profile of Reagan's Imperialist Militarism," by Themba Sono; "Reagan's Policy Towards South Africa: Constructive or Destructive Engagement?" by Mohammed A. El-Khawaz; "Zionism and Apartheid: The Negation of Human Rights" by Alfred T. Moleah and "Ideology and Third Universal Theory: An Inquiry in the Sociology of Knowledge," by William D. Perdue. There are also Book Reviews and Documents sections. The **JOURNAL** is "dedicated to a rigorous expose and analysis of the export of fascism from the West and East to the Third World and the terror that each pose to each other." Yearly subscription rates are \$20 for individuals, \$12 for students, and \$25 for libraries/institutions. Send orders to International Center for Democracy, Inc., 7676 New Hampshire Avenue Suite 304, Langley Park, Maryland 20783.

22. We have received **KENYA NEWS DIGEST**, an 8-page bi-monthly newsletter published by the Kenya Embassies and High Commission. We are unfamiliar with this publication and assume that 1984 is perhaps its first year. No price is listed on our copies. For more information contact: Kenya Embassies and High Commissions, Black and Harrison Kenya Ltd., P.O. Box 20130, Nairobi, Kenya.

23. We have just become aware of **JOURNAL INSTITUTE OF MUSLIM MINORITY AFFAIRS** of King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah. The **JOURNAL** is a bi-annual publication devoted to "an investigation of the politics, economics, education, history, literature and sociology of Muslim minorities all around the world." The particular issue we have received (Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2 of 1982) contains several articles on Muslims in the Philippines, Muslims in the Pacific and Muslims in East Africa. The **JOURNAL** welcomes contributions from all interested students and scholars of minority affairs. There is no subscription price indicated. For more information contact: The Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, King Abdulaziz University, P.O. Box 1540, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

Books Received

Starred titles have been sent to reviewers. Others may be requested by qualified reviewers.

Political Science

***AFRICAN SECURITY ISSUES: Sovereignty, Stability and Solidarity.** Bruce E. Arlinghaus, ed. (Westview Press, 1984) 229 pp. hardcover \$25.00

CRIPPLING A NATION: Health in Apartheid South Africa. Aziza Seedat. (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1984) 110 pp. paperback £3.00, \$6.70

THE DIPLOMACY OF ISOLATION: South African Foreign Policy Making. Deon Geldenhuys. (St. Martin's Press, 1984) 295 pp. hardcover \$25.00

IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM IN UGANDA. Mahmood Mamdani. (Africa World Press, 1984) 115 pp. paperback \$6.95, hardcover \$15.95

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA. Roger F. Ola. (Routledge Kegan Paul International, 1984) 185 pp. paperback \$10.00

THE OAU AFTER TWENTY YEARS. Yassin El-Ayouty and I. William Zartman. (Praeger, 1984) 406 pp. hardcover \$29.95

PERVASIVE ENTENTE: France and Ivory Coast in African Affairs. Rajen Harche. (Humanities Press, 1984) 184 pp. hardcover \$9.75

POLITICS IN AFRICA: Second Edition. Dennis Austin. (University Press of New England, 1984) 187 pp. paperback \$8.95, cloth \$16.00

WALVIS BAY: Namibia's Port. Richard Moorsom. (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1984) 93 pp. paperback \$11.50, \$3.70

Economics/Development/Sociology

COCOA AND KINSHIP IN GHANA: The Matrilineal Akan of Ghana. Christine Okali. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984) 179 pp. paperback \$15.00

EMERGING DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS: European Contributions. Istvan Dobozi and Peter Mandi, eds. (Institute for World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1983) 546 pp. paperback n.p.

ENERGY AND DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA: Opportunities and Constraints. Phil O'Keefe, Paul Raskin and Steve Bernow. (The Beijer Institute and the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1984) 185 pp. hardcover n.p.

HOW DO YOU SPELL DEVELOPMENT? A Study of Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia. Margareta and Rolf Sjöström. (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983) 196 pp. paperback n.p.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA. Claude E. Welch, Jr. and Robert I. Meltzer. (State University of New York Press, 1984) 349 pp. paperback \$14.95, cloth \$39.50

LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT IN SUBSAHARAN AFRICA: Constraints, Prospects, Policy. James R. Simpson and Phylo Evangelou, eds. (Westview Press, 1984) 407 pp. paperback \$18.95

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS: Intermediaries in Rural Development. Milton Esman and Norman T. Uphoff. (Cornell University Press, 1984) 391 pp. hardcover \$35.00

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF IVORY COAST. I. William Zartman and Christopher Delgado, eds. (Praeger, 1984) 255 pp. hardcover \$28.50

TWO DECADES OF DEBATE: The Controversy over U.S. Companies in South Africa. David Hauk, Meg Voorhes and Glenn Goldberg. (Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1983) 163 pp. paperback, \$25.00.

THE URBAN JOBLESS IN EASTERN AFRICA. Abel G.M. Ishumi. (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1984) 112 pp. paperback SEK 60

History/Geography

* **ANGLO-AMERICAN AND THE RISE OF MODERN SOUTH AFRICA.** Duncan Innes. (Monthly Review Press, 1984) 358 pp. paperback \$12.50

DECOLONIZATION IN WEST AFRICAN STATES WITH FRENCH COLONIAL LEGACY. Aguibou Y. Yansané. (Schenkman Publishing Company, 1984) 540 pp. paperback \$15.90, hardcover, \$34.50

ETHIOPIA AT BAY: A Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years. John H. Spencer. (Reference Publications, Inc., 1984) 397 pp. paperback \$24.95

THE HOUSE OF SI ABD ALLAH: The Oral History of a Moroccan Family Henry Munson, Jr. (Yale University Press, 1984) 280 pp. hardcover \$19.95

THE KENYA MAGIC. John Schmid. (Flatiron Book Distributors, Inc., 1984) cloth \$19.95

Literature

AFRICAN LITERATURE TODAY 13: Recent Trends in the Novel. Eldred Durosimi Jones and Eustace Palmer, eds. (Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1983) 245 pp. paperback \$19.50, hardcover \$32.50

THE ROCK OF THE WIND: A Return to Africa. Denis Hills. (Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1984) 205 pp. hardcover n.p.

SO LONG A LETTER. Mariama Ba. (Heinemann Educational Books, Inc., 1984) 90 pp. paperback \$6.00

STORIES FROM CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. Paul Scanlon, ed. (Heinemann Books, Inc., 1983) 207 pp., paperback \$6.00.

TSOTSI. Athol Fugard. (Penguin Books, 1983) 150 pp. paperback \$3.95

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- 27/2 External Intervention in Africa
- 27/3 African Literature and Literature about Africa
- 27/4 Zimbabwe's Future/Students Police in Nigeria