



DISSERTATION

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Alternative Approaches to Refugee Problems
for Resource Development in International Politics in the
Great Lake/ East African Region

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Acknowledgement

Philosophically, no one lives on an island and/or in isolation. Every successful person has someone, few peoples and or things that have backed him or her up and contributed in no small measure to what he/she will be or will achieve or has achieved on Earth. Going by the aforementioned philosophy, and pursuant to that, I have dedicated this page to respect, honour and attribute to individuals and personalities who in one way or the other contributed to the successful completion of my dissertation.

Having said that, I hereby thank *Uni. Professor Dr. Teuber* (late) who during my approach and consultation agreed to supervise me and gave no second thought before accepting. Unfortunately, her sad passing left me at a cross roads and interrupted my research project. May her soul continue to rest in perfect peace!

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Dedication

I hereby dedicate this project and or work to refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs).I further acknowledge all dead and living refugees across the universe, especially refugees in East Africa and particularly those who have lost their lives at the *Mediterranean Island of Lampedusa* (Italy),in their quest for good or better living conditions in their lives.

May their souls and all other refugees, who died as a result, rest in perfect peace.

Amen!

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1. Introduction

The problem of refugees has been very crucial and alarming in the past decades. Today it is still one of the most devastating, overbearing as well as the most challenging and endless task for social scientists, contemporary writers, lecturers and professors of political science alike. It does not however end here. It is today the most worrisome problem for leaders of most developing countries especially those in the Great Lake of Africa. In terms of international politics as much as international relations, it is a huge problem for the partners involved, be it in bilateral or multi-lateral relations. Furthermore, it has become an epidemic and chronic sickness for the international communities in the last decades. A global problem, which the world, including the United Nations (UN) today, have not been able to find reasonable and durable solutions, let alone a more lasting one to it. Its occurrences have always been embarrassing to everyone involved in combating refugees' problems.

This automatically brings us to the question of the roles of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Non – Governmental and Humanitarian Organisations to mention just a few.

The title of this project is *“Alternative Approaches to Refugees’ Problems for Resource Development in International Politics in the East African Region”* The aim as well as its function however, is to evaluate and diagnose the refugee problem in the East African countries, thereby finding and offering lasting solutions. Having said that, what immediately comes to readers’ mind is the question, why alternative approaches? Are the current solutions not enough? Have they abandoned their various expectations? Alarming feelings of despair run through entities or whoever is confronted with the aforementioned questions. Allow me to say here that the present system of solutions being applied are not very effective. While some have not (as a matter of fact) left much to the imagination, some have demanded operational evaluations and changes. For instance, the continued granting of financial loans to African countries in which the refugee problems exist, as assistance is to many observers no longer profit-oriented in combating the problems, and therefore questionable. The campaign must take another shape. This work will present to readers, the *pros and cons* of the argument. The nature of the operational systems and the method of assistance that is being applied will also be looked into. Assistance whether political, financial, social and economic, should be overhauled. If the political and diplomatic approaches up till now have not yielded adequate results (for which enough evidence in existing literature can be offered), there is then something very wrong somewhere and there is a pertinent need to try an alternative kind of diplomacy and political applications to achieve results.. All these considerations are what resulted in the title of my thesis. These and

probably other factors will be fully addressed. In order to achieve that, the work will be carried out in three major ways.

2. Methodology

Firstly, it will have a very close look at the existing theories concerning African Refugees, paying special attention to the "*Horn of Africa*" as the Region under research. Looking at the recent developments, a proper evaluation of the existing generalised issues would be carried out to see if they justify or falsify the refugee problem. This will place me in a better position to carry out my research thereby, suggesting alternative approaches and methods.

Secondly, specific issues in East African Countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia exist. Others are Sudan and Tanzania. This research tends to find out the major refugee problems in these countries. What are the factors that lead to refugees? Apart from the general information in existing literature that civil wars in these countries contributed immensely to the problems, do other factors exist? Such as natural disasters and inter-state conflicts for example, not also forgetting the impact of tyrannical regimes. What are, or alternatively, what should be the most acceptable solutions to the aforementioned causes and factors?

This work will tackle these problems, finding out what could be the long-term solutions that will stop the disasters and remove such inevitable situations. For instance, how can one convert the 180,000 refugees in Tanzania¹ into very good human resources? Thereby making adequate use of them or the 700,000 in Somalia and the 46,800 in Ethiopia² instead of keeping them in refugee camps and wasting millions of dollars yearly feeding and taking care of them. I am of the opinion that if and when the refugee problem is adequately managed, such a heavy effort and millions of dollars when saved could be better used in some other areas of human development that are direly needed. It is the aim of the project to investigate and research the given states, provide relevant answers to the questions as well as suggesting probable solutions to them. One Quotation goes thus:

"Africa has fallen into the lap of Anonymous bureaucrats and stagers of Conferences; It deserves far better"³

What can I contribute with this project? This research will provide the "*far better*" solutions that the refugee problem in Africa deserves. It will also analyse some relevant conferences held in connection to finding lasting solutions to the refugee problem in Africa.

Thirdly and finally, in doing that, some scientific methods will be applied. Existing literatures in this area will be critically analysed. Discussions with experts in this field and those working

¹ Dossier, March 31, 1984, p.1

² Ibid.

³ New York Times, 4.7. 1994

in refugee camps will be of immense help. The extracts from the discussions will be occasionally presented where and when appropriately applicable throughout the work. They will be used either as back-up arguments or as confirmation to support the hypothesis, my thesis and positions to issues and in addition, shed more light on the topic. The application of quantitative, qualitative as well as comparative analyses will be of relevance given the fact that five major countries in the “Horn of Africa” and/or in “East Africa” are involved. The wealth of experience of these people will be very useful in this research.

Appropriately, interviews were conducted first, with *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without Borders) a big international humanitarian organisation. Historically, it was established in France years ago in 1971. Since then, it has been trying to provide humanitarian assistance to populations in danger anywhere in the world, working with them and providing them with medical assistance. According to the information I gathered during my interview with the senior staff of the organisation, their mandate at the beginning of the any war is to speak out about the situation of people in danger and to speak out about human rights abuse where they work in the field.

The organisation runs programmes in several refugee camps starting from Somalia where they have displaced people within Somalia and also Somali refugees in Kenya and again in Ethiopia. There are also refugees from Sudan. Tanzania is home to several groups of refugees from Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Other functions of this organisation in these camps is in creating and monitoring awareness of epidemics. Ensuring that they have knowledge of what kind of diseases are emerging (coming out) in refugee camps. This is because disease can easily spread very fast. So, it is important to have information. Health information dissemination allows one to monitor the ongoing disease and to react very quickly to any alarmingly high number of cases of different kinds of diseases. This lies as one of the important tasks of the organisation.

Meanwhile, it is on this note that I chose to conduct interviews with them. This was to gain important insight on the wealth of experience this organisation has gained since its establishment. I conducted interviews with them shortly after the aid worker came back from Kenya.

Second, I did another interview with the General Secretary of “*Kinderdorf International*” in Vienna, Austria. These two International NGOs (Doctors without Border and Kinderdorf International) have their projects in the East African region as mentioned earlier and even up to the present time.

Coming to the interview *Radio Afrika* conducted in three countries that are at the forefront with issues on migrants and refugees in the Great Lake of Africa/East Africa. I found it

adequate and as a result decided to work with the interview materials since they fell into my area of research work.

In the field work (interviews) conducted through *Radio Afrika*, thirty people were interviewed in three different countries (Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania). The interviews were conducted in every one of the countries mentioned with refugees, field workers and various NGOs in the camps. Interviews were conducted near the *Kakuma Camp* located in the North-western part of Kenya. This is about ninety Kilometres (90km) to one hundred and twenty kilometres (120km) from the Lodwar District Headquarters between the Sudan and Kenya borders. Another place where interviews were carried out was near the *Nyarugusu Camp* in Tanzania, which has a distance of about seventy (70km) to eighty-five (85km) kilometres in the northern area of *Kasul* town in the *Kigoma* region. To wrap it up, *Radio Afrika* staged the last interview around the *Shimelba Camp* situated at about twenty-five (25km) to forty-five (45km) kilometres at the borders of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The initial plan was to interview a total number of fifty (50) persons (migrants, field workers and experts from NGOs) in each of the countries, but due to some security and logistical issues, it was not possible as restrictions were placed. These restrictions made it impossible to reach to the numbers intended as many could not speak to the *Press* and or *Media* due to fears of either denial of access to camps or other amenities or threats to their lives. In addition, most of these camps are located at very far distances as aforementioned and mostly at the borders of neighbouring countries. To worsen the situation, the transportation systems were not easily accessible and available at a reach at every given time.

To say the least, a total number of thirty persons including migrants/refugees and field workers and experts from the NGOs working in the field and camps located in the countries were interviewed. On the whole, I had three interviews of about forty to fifty pages of A4 paper. From this data, I made some verifications, surveys and evaluations on one hand, and carried out quantitative, qualitative analyses and comparisons on the other.

The results of the interviews is what I will use in narrating and analysing the experiences of the migrants. Through its application, it helped me to quantify and qualify the assumptions and hypothesis that some sections of the work has focused attention to. The rich experiences of the people involved or affected by the process on one side and the experiences of the migrants on the other, are very fundamental to buttress the real situation on the ground. The wealth of experiences of those experts who take care of refugees and migrants and the experiences of the migrants themselves call for interesting attention. It is these experiences, I intend to share with readers. In doing that, these will be applied in some sections and subsections of the project. It is my opinion that experiences of those mentioned or interviewed are very useful and may give new inputs to the research work.

The method I used for these materials was to apply these interview materials mostly as citations in the work where and when necessary. To exhaust my arguments, discourse and verifications, I will consult existing literature from earlier scholars to back up my arguments. This I have done throughout the written work.

However, an interesting application and or aspect of the interview material is the section of the work titled *'experiences of Migrants and or refugees in the Horn of Africa'*. Readers will have the opportunity to explore with me, the findings and results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses that will be presented and discussed.

In addition, this is needed to enable me to survey extensively: one, the situation of the refugees in each country; two, to evaluate the work of Non - Governmental Organisations (NGOs) directly or indirectly involved in the case of refugee issues world-wide and; three, to some extent, understand the role of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) relating to the refugee problem in East Africa. Also, to study the role of the UNHCR and finally, to present the current state or situation of refugees in East Africa. In any case, data and diagrams will be applied at the right time to enable me to elaborate my arguments.

At this juncture, it might interest readers to know why I chose this topic *"alternative approaches to refugee's problems for resource development in international politics in the East African Region"*. The answer is not far-fetched. I want to see if I can contribute something very positive in the global campaign to combat refugee's problems. After a long period of brainstorming, surveying and taking some pains in going through so many literatures, as much as print and electronic media as I could find, it gradually became clear that my personal interest was the first principal reasoning. I have also been immensely disturbed, touched and very ashamed more often than not, as an African, each time I followed up any discussion or presentation be it political, socio economical or media minded, about the problematic dimensions of African refugees. It is therefore, a personal challenge to me. That being the case, I humanly and reasonably decided to attempt to see in which way I can sincerely and positively render some kind of assistance as alternative to the present day refugee problem. The following quotation might shed more light to what I am saying and may bring you nearer to my philosophy. It runs thus:

"At the beginning of 1994, Africa's 5.8 million refugees (people living in asylum outside their country of origin) exceeded the population of twenty-eight African states. In addition, nearly 17 million African are internally displaced within their own countries, and thus are beyond the mandate and protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Moreover, by 1990, the majority of African countries (42) were hosting refugee populations"⁴

⁴ BAKER Jonathan & AINA Akin Tade, *The Migration Experience in Africa*, Sweden 1995,p.19

A critical analysis of the above quotation brings to your understanding that the numbers of refugees during the period were more than the total sum of the population of many European and African countries when added together namely, Slovenia 1,95 million in Europe and Seychelles 73,000⁵ in Africa to mention but two. These examples will widen your horizon of imagination realising that the number of African refugees at the time surpasses the total number of the above two European and African Countries. If reflected from the number of 'internally displaced persons' (IDPs) then the number is really unbearable.

Furthermore, in my position as president of National Union of Nigerian Students in Austria (NUNSA) from 1996 until 2013, I had the opportunity to have met and interviewed some of the African refugees that came into Europe especially those in Austria. I was then involved in the day to day search for solutions and assistance to refugees in Austria, meeting authorities in Austria and people that matters including NGOs and humanitarian organisations. As a strong committee member of the founders of the National Association of Nigeria Community in Austria (NANCA) and in my capacity as the secretary general from 1999 to 2003, (an organisation established as a result of the ugly death of *Marcus Omofuma* at the hands of Austrian police executives on Bulgaria Airlines via Bulgaria to Nigeria, during his forced repatriation. I was privileged to represent the National Association of Nigeria and its members and engage in issues that matter with refugees in Austria either before the legal courts, at the United Nations Center in Vienna or during international conferences within the periphery of Austria. A citation to reflect on the death of an Asylum refugee seeker (*Marcus Omofuma*) runs thus:

"The first time we got the knowledge of it was when we turned our radio on last Sunday morning, 2nd of May, to our normal nine o'clock African program on FM 94.0 (the Radio Orange). At first, we didn't get the hang of what the presenter was saying. Later, we heard it clear, Hyman fidgeted and waffled. Then we heard the presenter gave the flash news that a Nigerian national asylum seeker in Austria had been reported dead on board of Balkan airline flight"⁶

Finally, as current president of *Ohanaeze Ndigbo in Austria (ONA)*, which is the Umbrella Organisation for all Igbo Associations and Igbo people in Austria. I have been involved in issues of refugees in Europe. In the same token, you can rest assured that I have collected in the last ten to fifteen (10-15) years', a wealth of experience in the area of refugees. At this point, let me also let readers know that, it is out of my good and bad experiences with physical interactions with African refugees in the European Union Countries that served in conclusion as one of the push factors to study this area of international relations and international politics.

⁵ BERTELSMANN Lexikon, Gütersloh Germany, 1997(Sato-Stich) p. 202ff

⁶CHUKWUJEKWE Emmanuel Obinali: The last Journey of Marcus Omofuma - An account of Prison Experience, 2011, P.218

Meanwhile, this project will attempt to justify or falsify the above quotation and present some relevant hypothesis involved with the refugee issues in Africa. For instance, *“The integration of urban refugees is one of two main refugee issues that remain relatively unresearched and poorly understood (Rogge and Akol, 1989), in an article by Jonathan Bascom.*

While proving the hypothesis, justice would be done to research *the ‘unresearched’ (unsearched) and ‘poorly understood’* made clearly understandable. In addition, it is also one of the reasons why, after a long period of thinking, I decided to take on this challenge.

Having said the above, also, in order to present an academic and scientific work, I have divided this work into five different parts in addition to the introductory, methodological, definition and analytical sections. After this section, you will have the opportunity to start with part one which deals with the topic *“Types of refugees”*. Readers will agree with me that for a comprehensive absorption and understanding of whom (refugees) the whole project is concentrated upon, it is absolutely necessary to do that. What is the meaning of refugee and how does it come about? *“A refugee is simply in a lay man’s understanding, someone who ran away from his country of origin to another”*. The reasons why one runs away from his country of origin to another country will be treated under the section *“types of and definitions of refugees”*. That being the case, the whole of this part will try as much as possible, to handle everything that has something to do with the kind of refugees that exist and also the causes of such phenomenon. In addition, issues like the factors and or causes of refugees will be tackled.

Also very important in this part is to find out where refugees are located in the countries under study, the problems facing them and those who are mostly affected. Men and women, as well as teenagers of the two genders. Literate and illiterate ones will be categorised and treated accordingly for instance. Also very important is to research in areas like the reaction of African leaders towards uneducated refugees? Owing to the fact that this category of refugees constitute more problems and requires more attention than others. Is there any advantage or disadvantage of locating refugees (refugee camps) in a particular area? This project will try as much as possible, based on the existing literature etc. to supply answers to such questions.

Another sub section of this work will focus attention on the term *“asylum”* This is very appropriate since refugees, asylum and repatriation are interwoven (they relate to one another) and goes hand in hand, coupled with the problem of *“asylum seekers”*. This factor will also be given due attention and addressed accordingly, even when it is not the main focus of my research work.

After all said and done, refugees are more often than not temporarily accommodated in countries of their host (for instance, the conventional refugees). That implies that they would eventually return to their original habitual countries. If that is the case, what happens? This brings readers' attention to the case of "*repatriation*" and "*involuntary repatriation*" of refugees. Which difficulties and problems are involved in such operational activities? Who bears the cat (pays the bills)? Is it the host countries, the countries of original habitat, the international community (involving the UN, the UNHCR, and the EU) or the NGOs and the humanitarian organisations or the refugees themselves? Chapter seven of this research work will focus attention on that and extensively address the matter. In addition, I hope that I will be able to find out comprehensive answers to them in the long run!

When that is done, another dimension of this research will automatically open up and we will meet the problems and challenges faced by refugees when they are ready to go home. Leaving their host countries to get back to their original homes creates problems. The problem of reintegration poses enormous responsibility. These responsibilities will be addressed. That leads us to one of the interesting and revealing horrible findings of the "*experiences of migrants*". We shall read for the very first time experiences of the migrants and or the refugees directly from those personally and directly affected. First class information and direct from the *horse's mouth*.

That will automatically bring us to the next part of the project titled "*problem of refugees to host countries and international communities*". We will read about the reactions of the leaders of East African States under this part of the work. For instance, does the possibility of changing their regulations (laws) in favour of the refugees or otherwise exist? On the one hand, it will be apparent to find out if refugees are engaged in any kind of work, on the other hand. To establish, if refugees in the countries of Great Lake receive wages at the end of the month? We will furthermore, read about their interest in the conflicts and management of refugees' problems. Other sub sections are Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the African individual as the people afflicted with the refugee's problems. Others that also come to discussion are for instance, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the European Union (EU), and finally, the Non – Governmental Organisations (NGOs) whom existing literatures have praised for their undisputable and indispensable job so far. This includes also, the Humanitarian Organisations. Some questions that will really come up for academic discussions includes for instance, to find answers to the question that some Non – governmental Organisations serve as spies to either their donors or to some interest groups in crisis situation thus:

“NGOs engaged in human rights monitoring and advocacy, on the other hand,

achieve their objective of changing conditions in various countries through disseminating information and bringing issues to the attention of both the general public and policymakers⁷

To whom is the information disseminated and if the conditions are changed to whose advantage? Why is it that NGOs are so much active on refugee issues? Is it absolutely and purely on humanitarian help or is there any special benefits accruing to the NGOs and Humanitarian Organisations? Some group of scholars argue that the fundamental interest of the Relief Organisations is in money making. Refugee's problems have become in today modern time a lucrative business of money making (capital accumulation). Could that be verified or otherwise? These are some of the open questions that will be taken care of in the latter part of this work and adequately treated. This subsequently brings us to evaluation of what could be the advantages and disadvantages of such organisations.

That is not all, this section will amongst others treat some specific issues and comparability between them. Here, scientific and academic surveys as well as evaluations and analysis would be carried out. Attention will be focused on the countries under study namely Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia. Others are Sudan and Tanzania. This is necessary to enable me prove the hypothesis that refugees' problems and their factors and the likes in Africa are the same. Could that be true?

That will subsequently bring readers to another interesting part of this research project with the title, "*Refugee problems for resource development*". Can problems turn to joy at the end of the day? Suffice to tell you readers that, this section of my work is where I intend to philosophise my vision on how I think and wish that refugees should humanly and resourcefully be developed for the total benefit of the region in the Horn of Africa. As I was having some discussions with an expert in this field, after telling him my intension, he laughed for some couple of minutes and said to me "*Ogbonna, how are you going to do it?*" Let's watch until we arrive at this part of the work. I believe it is going to be interesting for you to share my view on that in chapter thirteen.

Furthermore, after going through most of the literature I have laid hands on, I came to the conclusion that a chapter of the project will tackle the "*role of media*" in relation to its enlightenment of the public over the cumbersome and awful situation surrounding refugees and their problems in the international relations as well as international politics. Chapter fourteen in part three will perform the job. The 'Media effect' will be addressed and see how it affects the political, socio-cultural and economic aspect of refugees' problems in East Africa. In doing this, we shall, where and when necessary, pin-points examples from other countries

⁷ CROCKER A. Chester & Co: Managing Global Chaos; Sources of and Responses to International Conflict, Washington DC USA, 1996, p. 435

in East and Central Africa though, outside the scope of this project and use it to verify, falsify and support my argument for adequate understanding of the thorough situation of events.

Media as watch dog, as advocate, as the conduit of messages and also as agenda setters and the builder of public opinion in addition, to truth seeking and interested bystanders will be candidly and intensively discussed in this chapter. What roles has media played pertaining to refugees to date? Has it on the one hand, played positive or negative roles? Has it on the other hand, failed to play its expected neutral role? We are going to keep ourselves busy with what the media has offered so far or supposed to have offered or otherwise, will offer in the future. Suffice it here to note that:

“The refugees of Africa need our help. They need the help and the input from the media so that the tale of their agony never goes unknown, so that their cries never remain unheard”⁸

From the above, you can see the deep trust and hope people have on media. The role, which media can play in the quest for durable solution to the refugee problem in Africa, is beyond reasonable doubt, very essential? Here, media is seen *as the conduit of messages and the builder of public opinion*.

The issue of refugees is an issue, which has to do with the human being. In that case, it is an issue, which also has more to do with “*human rights*”. On that note, the project will try as much as possible under the auspices of the frame work of this project, pay due respect to it. You shall be provided the opportunity to have a look at what the “*international laws on refugees*” say on this matter (chapter fifteen). Can something be changed that could be of use and assistance to the efforts being made to combat and eradicate the refugee problem in the East African region or at least seriously minimise the rate of its occurrence and escalation? If yes, whose responsibility is it? If discovered, what is hindering the right decisions to take place or to have taken place? In addition, the chapter will also have a closer look at the question of the “*New – World Order*” and “*Globalisation*” for whom? For instance, the NGOs are facing an unbearable situation and challenges as related to their expertise in influencing the policies and priorities of the donors for some years now. This has been established as a result of the changes in the social-political and economic dimensions of the world economy and donor nations today. Why is that so? What effect has that had on the role of NGOs in the campaign for assisting refugees? What has the “*new world order*” and “*globalisation*” offered in correlation with the refugee problem in East Africa? What reactions are coming from the leaders of African countries? These and other questions and their respective answers will be adequately tackled based on the available literature and my findings.

⁸ Development Outlook: 1989, p. 35

After that, comes part four (chapter sixteen). This part would handle two important sections of the project. One is the “*New alternative approaches to the refugee problem*”. This project has some aims. One of them is to find new alternative approaches to the refugee problem. This is as a result of the collapse of almost all other approaches applied to date. In doing this, existing solutions will be reviewed to keep readers abreast of how the situation on the ground looks like. Second, the efforts of the “*International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa one and two (ICARA I and II)*” will be brought to our knowledge. What were the aims of these two international conferences? How far have they gone in solving or minimising the refugee problem in Africa? If unnoticed results were realised, why was it so? Are there any other ways and means available? If there are some other options, how best the situation could be handled in order to reap enough positive results. Some school of thoughts are of the opinion that repatriation is still the most durable and acceptable solution. This thought is confirmed by, “*John R. Rogge*” in his article thus:

“Repatriation, whether organized or spontaneous, has the potential of providing a durable solution to the problem of African refugees”⁹

I do not however, share the opinion of the above writer. My reason being that most of the assisting nations, international organisations including the United Nations (UN) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and simply the European Union (EU) as well as all other actors involved in combating the refugee problem in Africa, see that as the most acceptable excuse to shy away from realities and the real nature of African refugees. They either lack the political will or they are ignorantly paying *lip service*, given the fact that the matter is more or less African. Subsequently, *John R. Rogge* in his further analysis said the following:

“Of the three durable solutions, repatriation is clearly the least researched; this is evidenced by the dearth of substantial research papers and reports [----]. One likely reason for this relates to the widespread assumption that, because repatriation is the most desirable outcome of a refugee problem, it is also the least problematic and hence one not generating high research priority”¹⁰

Drawing your attention to the quotation, you can clearly see my position and probably agree with me. Furthermore, if and when adequate and comprehensive research is focused on repatriation, social scientists and contemporary writers in this profession might come to the conclusion that better and more durable solutions exist than repatriation. These and many more analyses would be carried out and adequately addressed in this section of the work.

⁹ ALLEN, Tim II. MORSINK, Hubert: *When Refugees Go Home*, UNRSD 1994, p. 14ff

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 21

The next topic is the “*concluding section*” of the work. In this section, a summary of the whole work would be reviewed. The essence is to bring readers back to the most pressing issues and refresh their minds once again in an effort to motivate anyone who might come in contact with this project. Also to contribute as much as possible (it does not matter how small or big your contribution would be) in the course of combating the refugee problem in the “*Horn of Africa*”. In addition, I am going to make my personal opinion on this research work known, as well as the difficulties and experiences I went through during the period of research. At this stage of the work, I will be able to say whether my expectations at the beginning of the project have been fulfilled or not. This is in relation to the refugee constellation in the Great Lake. This chapter will address those controversial cases that are not always welcomed in the western world. For instance, I am of the mind that if really, “*the powers that be*” want to handle the refugee problem in Africa, the original root of some of the causes of the outbreak of refugees must be looked into and uprooted. For instance, amending the colonial boundaries must be dully addressed in addition, to democratically eradicating tyrannical regimes in the whole of African Continent. If the Czech Republic and Slovakia could be granted separation and independence respectively, and states in the former Yugoslavian Republic made into independent states, why not do the same to many of those nation-states in Africa? It is my fundamental belief that, if the United Nations (UN) without *paying cosmetic attention to the problems*, eventually decides to review the original and artificial boundaries in Africa, it will go a long way in solving most of the problems and thereby removing some of the factors that accelerate the immediate outburst of refugees in Africa. This is real, given the fact that boundary disputes have in several African countries either led to inter-ethnic or inter-state conflicts and eventually wars. These wars have had a tremendous and devastating effect on the manpower development, preservation and reservation in Africa and will continue to do so, bearing in mind that human lives have been lost during those conflicts and wars. The streamlined flow of refugees is nevertheless the result. Associated to this, for example is in Sudan thus:

“Violent interethnic conflict in a society as diverse as Sudan’s is a threat that increasingly seems to be realized not just in the resumption of the civil war in 1983 but also in the number of smaller conflicts that have reached highly destructive levels, especially in the western rural areas. [--] Growing numbers of people are being uprooted by the conflicts, and refugees have become a significant element in Sudanese society”¹¹

I want to place on record here that the problem in Sudan is however, a complex one. While some group of thoughts share the opinion that it is more of a religious problem, the other group maintained that the problem lies on the fight for mineral resources, apparently on the

¹¹ The Middle East Journal: Volume 44, Number 4, 1990, p. 576

economy. While the mineral resources are naturally and mostly located in the South (the domain of the Christians), the North is made up of mostly Muslims (the ruling class). Given the fact that Sudan is the largest country in Africa in terms of landmass, one sees the need to separate the two different religious groups. From its independence, the country has suffered the longest civil war on the soil of Africa. And Muslims have been occupying almost all the leading positions in the government whether, military or otherwise. The root of today's Sudan problem is attributable directly or indirectly to the colonial period. Be that as it may, since the civil war in Sudan is not really covered by the project, I would like to refrain from that. I have in any case, offered that as an example to buttress my argument of the need to review such amalgamations. (Refugees in Sudan are however, a part of the work). Maybe, it could yield better results in the quest for the solution to the refugee problem in Africa. Despite that, it is enough here to register that:

“Famines [is] provoked by 40 years of war in Sudan”¹²

In addition, an exhaustive survey will be carried out on the concept of African Heads of States and Governments and also the leaders, on the refugee problem in their various countries. Since the level of education of any given state reflect its grand total development, including human resource development and adjustment to prevailing issues, empirical research shall be carried out where necessary and addressed accordingly.

Finally, part five of this work takes a look at “Attachment” and the “*Glossary*”. Under attachment are my “*personal profile (curriculum vitae)*” on one hand and on the other hand, one will find and read also the “Abstract” on the work both in English and German version. The importance of the glossary at this part of the project is to make the sources of my literature available to the readers. I hope, at the end of the work, I will have given answers to the controversial points raised above thereby providing some more reliable new alternatives to the refugee problem not only in the East African region, but most probably in the rest of the African continent. It is my wish and aim to provide the reader something very special.

Before I round up, permit me to touch just a bit to the definition of the refugee since the body of the work is focused on them. However, it is necessary on the one hand, to bring to your knowledge that there are lots of definitions attached to refugees by different authors. On the

¹² MENDILUCE Jose´ - Maria // in *Humanitarian Affairs Review*; A quarterly Journal of Global Policy Issues, No. 2, Summer 1998, p. 31

other hand, it is academically necessary and scientifically appropriate at this stage of the project to define the work that is being carried out. The definitions continue to unfold if one starts to differentiate the types of refugees that actually exist. Nevertheless, two major definitions are universally acceptable. These are the definition from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) during the 1951 Geneva Convention on Human rights and refugees. It includes people thus:

“Who are outside their country of origin and unable or unwilling to avail themselves of its protection owing to a well-founded fear of being prosecuted or for reasons other than personal convenience” [----] “Any person who is out of the country of his nationality, or if he has no nationality, the country of his former habitual residence, because he has or had a well- founded fear of persecution by reason of his race, religion, nationality or political opinion and is unable or, because of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of the country of his nationality, or, if he has no nationality, to return to the country of his former habitual residence”¹³

The other one is the definition African nations applied to accommodate their purposes in assisting refugees and combating the various problems on the continent. In the convention in Addis Ababa, capital city of Ethiopia in September 1969, during the Sixth Ordinary Session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of States and Governments, the following description of their status was agreed upon and defined thus:

“Every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or whole of the country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality”¹⁴

Having given the two most important definitions of the two international institutions, I will leave the comprehensive analysis and some other definitions and treat them in the main body of the work. For instance, the evaluation of both definitions (western and African patterns) and how they are applied in practice and also to what extent the Geneva definition can successfully be applied in East Africa? The subsequent chapter of this work (chapter two) will draw attention to these.

May I finally draw your attention readers, to one of the most recent political changes in Africa? The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) after the 29th year of its establishment has been changed to African Union (AU). This transformation took effect at the meeting of the Organisation held in South Africa. The reason given for the change was that, OUA has out lived its aims and obligations as one of the most important instruments African nations used to fight and combat colonialism in the twentieth century. With the end of Apartheid in the year 1994 in South Africa, the period of colonialism and foreign occupation in African Continent was assumed politically to have come to an end. The African Union (AU) was then called to

¹³ GUY S. Goodwin-Gill: The Refugee in International Law, New York –USA, (2nd Edition) 1996, p. 7ff

¹⁴ AJALA Adekunle: OAU and African Refugees // in Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika, Berlin 19 (1991) 2, p. 310

life to fight challenges of the twenty-first century. Since that area does not concern this research work, I will refrain from that. As a result of this, please note that I will in this work hence forth, where and when necessary, use the word OAU instead of the current name especially in quotations.

3. Definition and Analysis

In the introductory section of this work, I have given two most important definitions of refugees. To that effect, this part of the work is going to look at some other relevant definitions concerning refugees. In-depth evaluation and as well as critical analyses of the terminology (Refugee) will be carried out for an adequate understanding of in the latter part of the project.

We will in addition, see how the various definitions work in practice and evaluate how the Geneva definition could be applied in Africa. Like I said earlier on, different institutions define the term “*refugee*” differently and treat the matter also differently either to achieve their aims or otherwise. Fortunately or unfortunately enough, some contemporary authors do the same. However, after adequate research on the differences applied by many authors, I realised that although they looked at it from different angles, at the end, attention is focused on the same thing (the end result is the same with little or no difference).

We shall read later on as the work gradually progresses, the differences and similarities that exist. But before then, let us have a look at some of the relevant definitions available.

3.1. Definition

I have already at the concluding part of the introductory and methodological section of this work defined the term ‘refugees’. While I did that, I did not fail to inform readers that some other definitions would follow suit in order to give them a comprehensive knowledge of the subject matter on which the whole work is focused namely, the refugees. The term ‘*refugee*’ in its common application has a broader and looser meaning. It tells of someone in flight, who seeks to escape from any form of condition he considers unfavourable, in most cases for personal circumstances and reasons. He might not even know the destination of his flight. As a matter of fact, the distance for him is also irrelevant. He just wants to run away from danger to freedom and to save his life at the utmost.

The reasons for his flight may be varied, ranging from prosecution, oppression from tyrannical regimes like in many developing countries across the international arena. It might be that his life and liberty is in one way or the other threatened or from war and civil strife. Sometimes as well from acute poverty or from natural calamities like the ‘volcanic disaster’ in the ‘Democratic Republic of Congo’ that occurred in the second week of January 2002. Elsewhere, it might also be from flood or drought. The list has no realistic end because of the different views writers, some school of thoughts and political and social scientists attach to the term refugees. Bearing that in mind, it is natural that such an individual needed help as much and as early as possible. The kinds of help ranges on the one side, the three most essentials of life namely, food, shelter (accommodation) and clothing and on the other side, employment to earn a living, education for intellectual development, to mention but a few. For the aforementioned reasons and wants, he therefore should be assisted to find refuge and alleviate himself with other people’s help and protected from the causes and consequences of his flight. Nonetheless, during my research period, I found some scientific definitions, which I will like to share with you. Some of them are for example that of the United Nations. The definition mandate limits its purview to those involuntary migrants:

- a) “Those who cross international boundaries due to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion”¹⁵

Before analysing the above UN definition of refugees, let us take a look at one or two of the other definitions. This will enable us see carefully the interwoven perceptions inherent in the different definitions. Such definition(s) of refugees is in the Geneva Convention from another author thus:

- b) “Any person as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being out the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such event, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return”¹⁶

While the definition from the international labour Organisation has a slightly different slant from the previous one in the previous page, its definition of the African pattern correlates with the definition of *Ajala 1991*(see also the former page above). To refresh your memory once again before venturing into the analysis, it is on record that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) adopted a convention on 10 September 1969 supplementing the Geneva definition to suit its vision and understanding of the term “*refugee*” on one hand, as it affects Africa as a

¹⁵ BASCOM Jonathan:// in BAKER Jonathan & AKIN AINA Tade, Op. cit. p. 199

¹⁶INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION: International Migration in Africa, (Legal and Administrative Aspect), Geneva, 1989, p. 139f

Continent. On the other hand, according to the experiences Africa as a body had undergone as a result of colonial polity. The definition is applicable to cover:

- c). “every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality”¹⁷

3.2. Analysis

A very close look at the aforementioned definitions above confirmed in the first instance that one, the definitions are interwoven, two that different institutions or organisations defines that terminology (refugee) differently, third that the definitions are more or less to achieve several aims otherwise at least one aim.

One question that comes to the mind of readers is, why such application differs from organisation to organisation? Or which aims and objectives are the definitions to achieve and serve? In order to supply answers to the above questions, I have while presenting the definitions from difference sources, numbered them A, B and C. The comparison of the three definitions shed more light onto the intentions and motives of each groups and players in these political areas as it affects international politics.

- A) The United Nations (UN) has its limitation to refer to refugees to only those people who had crossed international boundaries. This recognition or definition excluded those who might for one reason or the other like natural disasters, leave their natural habitual residences and relocated in any part of their home country.
- B) Here, the Geneva Convention in 1951 was only concerned with those people who were affected as a result of events or occurrences before the convention namely the effect of the First World War and the Second World War.
- C) The African Heads of States and Governments during the Convention in 1969, and as a result of their experiences in the fight for colonial liberation and given the fact that the liberation wars in many parts of the Continent was a major cause of refugees at the time had a quite different ideology to their concerns, reactions and treatments as well as approaches to refugees.

¹⁷Ibid, p. 140

Now that at least the three different definitions have been compared, simplified and clarified for easy understanding, we will now focus our attention on the major diagnoses and comprehensive analyses.

Permit me to say that the definitions 'A' and 'B' above were as a result of the events that occurred before the final convention in 1951. Before then, Europe had experienced lots of inter-state and international conflicts and the "*last straw that broke the camel's back*" was then, the Second World War after the First World War 1914-1918. As a result of their experiences, many people were forced to unwillingly leave their countries of habitual residence and relocated in another country as a result of fears, humiliations, and denial of their Human rights or livelihoods for whatever role they might have played during those conflicts and wars. There was then, the need to accommodate all those affected people and reintegrate them into society. Several conferences and meetings were held with regards to finding lasting solutions to refugees in the western world. Eventually, those conferences and meetings produced some guidelines, rules and regulations, which later manifested into a sort of constitution. To buttress more on this analysis and argument, a statement discovered during the course of my research could serve to justify this thus:

"The Constitution of the IRO continued the practice of earlier instruments, and specified certain categories to be assisted. 'Refugees' thus included victims of the Nazi, Fascist, or Quisling regimes which had opposed the United Nations, certain persons of Jewish origin, or foreigners or stateless persons who had been victims of Nazi persecution, as well as persons considered as refugees before the outbreak of the Second World War for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion. The IRO was also competent to assist 'displace persons', including those deported or expelled from their own countries, some of whom had been sent to undertake forced labour"¹⁸

Suffice here to mention in passing that after the World War I, the "*League of Nations*" was established. During the time of the "League of Nations" the "*International Refugee Organisation*" (IRO) was created and charged with the role to cater for the needs of refugees. For their maintenance, their repatriation and for their settlement or resettlement to mention just few. Then came the formation of the United Nations, after World War II. It replaced the "The League of Nations" as a more durable International Organisation and on the one hand, as a forum for players of international polity and diplomacy. On the other hand, for the maintenance of world peace. At the time, Europe and America were not thinking widely. They were just concerned and concentrated on how best to get rid of the refugee problem in their respective countries and continents and were therefore, not interested in what was happening in other continents. In order to make the Organisation stronger and for it to receive international acceptance world-wide, the International Refugee Organisation (IRO)

¹⁸ GUY S. Goodwin-Gill, Op. cit. p. 6

gave birth to the present day “*United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees*” (UNHCR) in 1952.

HARRIS D.H. also in relation to the development and establishment of international human rights noted this in his article thus:

“After the First World War, efforts were made to protect minority groups by treaty, but no protection of individuals generally, on a natural law or other bases, was attempted. Events in Europe in the 30s and in the Second World War focused attention upon this wider question and the guarantee of human rights became one of the purposes for which the Allied Powers fought. It was therefore no surprise when the realisation and protection of human rights became one of the purposes of the United Nations and when the Charter imposed obligations upon members to this end. The Charter was followed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and a still growing number of multilateral treaties concluded through the United Nations. At a regional level, the European Convention on Human Rights 1950, the European Social Charter 1961[and] the American Convention on Human Rights 1969”¹⁹

Be that as it may, it was not until 1981 that the African Charter on Human Rights and People’s Rights 1981 was adopted. Today all four definitions are in force. The following quotation confirmed this and brings us nearer and deeper to the contents of the Charter thus:

“The single prominent exception with respect to human rights policy has been the adoption by the OAU in 1981 of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights. The formal, legal bases for that act is found in Article II (l) (b) of the OAU Charter, which requires member states to ‘coordinate and intensify their collaboration and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa,’ and Article II (l) (e), which asks member states to ‘promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights”²⁰

On the one hand, the application of the Geneva Convention in Africa has been successful despite the fact that problems are encountered from time to time. For instance:

“From the mid-1070s, the General Assembly has spoken of and unani-
mously commended the High Commissioner’s activities on behalf of
‘refugees and displaced persons of concern` to the Office. The reference
to ‘displaced persons` dates at least from 1972, when the Economic and
Social Council acted both to promote the voluntary repatriation of refu-
gees to the Sudan, including measures of rehabilitation and assistance,
and also to extend the benefit of such to ‘persons displaced within the
country”²¹

In addition, the declaration of the Human Rights Convention in Geneva has been most peacefully successful in its application in African countries through the method of additional

¹⁹ HARRIS D.J: Cases and Materials on International Law, 4th Edition, London, 1991, p. 600

²⁰ STEINER H.J & ALSTON Philip: International Human Rights in Context, Oxford (Law, Politics, Morals), 1996, p. 690

²¹ HARRIS D.J: Op. cit.

treaties to supplement those areas that the nation-states in Africa felt were missing in the declaration as it affects its continent.

A fairly practical example of a situation where both the African and United Nations Treaty through the UNHCR concerning the rights of refugees and the conditions of repatriation were put into place was an incidental and prompt decision by the Kenyan government in 1993 to forcefully repatriate a good number of refugees in its country as a result of the unbearable burden she was undertaking. Kenya asked the UNHCR to quickly repatriate refugees into its vicinity. The confrontation was recorded as follows:

“In January 1993, the Kenyan Government asked the UNHCR to repatriate all the Somali, Ethiopian and Sudanese refugees in the country after a series of bandit attacks, arguing that ‘the number of refugees in Kenya has not only seriously compromised the security of this country but greatly overstretched the infrastructures and medical services’²²

Thereafter, the UNHCR reacted to the official and demanding request from the Government of Kenya in an opposite way than one would have expected that the UNHCR should have carried out the request order and said thus:

“While committed to finding a durable solution for the 416,000 refugees who have found sanctuary in Kenya, UNHCR’s mandate will not allow it to be a party to the forced repatriation of refugees to areas where their lives could be at risk. UNHCR also stressed that the majority of victims of the bandit violence were the refugees themselves.”²³

What happened after the blockage diplomacy of UNHCR was very interesting. Instead of the government of Kenya to march forward and carry out the operation of repatriating the refugees, they responded positively. We learnt that:

“The Kenyan authorities promptly made clear that they would not return refugees forcibly”²⁴

From the case study above, readers will agree with me that had it not been as a result of the existing treaties, laws and regulations on the floor. That the most probably would have been immediately repatriated thereby, endangering the lives of the refugees in insecure areas. But then, it will also be helpful and fruitful to share with you the question what was the aftermath?

As I went deeper and deeper into my research, I discovered that efforts were made by UNHCR to make the areas where the refugees were to be repatriated first free from danger before the movement would be embarked upon:

²² Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 13 No 1, spring 1994. p. 53

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid

“The UNHCR stated that it had asked governments involved in Operation Restore Hope [...] in Somalia to consider speeding up the deployment of forces to three areas along the Somali-Kenya border to stop bandit raids. At the same time, the possibility has been mooted of deploying UN troops inside Kenya to protect the refugee camps”²⁵

Here, it is clear that in the absence of the existing laws and regulations guiding refugee issues, a better solution than what was done would not have been possible. With the resolution, both parties have respected and applied that part of the provision of refugee’s law that *Article V ‘the essentially voluntary character of repatriation shall be respected in all cases and no refugee shall be repatriated against his will’ and the Article VIII of OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugees problems in Africa which says ‘that member state shall cooperate with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’*

On the other hand, the experiences of African nations were quite different from their European and American counterparts given to the fact that most African refugees have rural origins. Geographically speaking, their movements are limited and most of the time involves the crossing of one international border unlike their western counterparts. In Africa, refugees concentrate as near to the point of departure as possible in areas where they can find shelter and a minimum assistance on which to survive. This is contrary to the experiences of their colleagues in the western part. In addition, the liberation struggles of most African nations in the sixties and eighties created understanding, unity and awareness to the Heads of states and Government of Africans countries. The spirit of brotherhood, oneness, tolerance and acceptance emerged. They saw themselves as a unit with one vision (to fight and die and end colonialism). For this reason, even though there were also inter-state and inter-ethnic wars from time to time, the main focus was to get rid of colonial rule. This philosophy led to almost all African countries pulling resources together and accommodation and harbouring “*freedom fighters*” in disguise as refugees. Naturally, the struggle created refugees amongst other factors such as natural calamities or disasters and they were displaced all over the continent.

Surprisingly enough, most of them do not regard themselves as refugees as was signified in one of the literatures concerning Ugandan refugees who fled into southern Sudan thus:

“After crossing the Uganda/Sudan boarder, they believe they are still... Not refugees. When they see you pack to come to the settlement, they Say `so you have accepted to be a refugees´. They use the `s´ on the Word `refugee´ even if you are a single person without knowing the

²⁵Ibid f

Connotation, even when they are actually refugees in the Sudan"²⁶

In spite of that, it is necessary to place on record here that the vast majority of displaced people in Africa are refugees in every sense apart from the fact that they do not, or, in many occasions cannot cross international boundaries.

The problem with the definition of refugee has been confronting not only scholars and contemporary writers but also relief agencies and media concerns. As a result of this, the latter two institutions namely relief agencies and media expanded the meaning of refugee to suit their functions. In this regard, they tend to base their actions and stories on refugees' condition rather their motivation for leaving their original habitual residence.

In the final analysis, the international community including both, the United Nations, relief agencies, and host countries as well as refugees themselves [*as you can recall above*] and to a large extent, the western nations deploy a long continuum of definitions for the aims and objectives they intend to achieve at any given time. This also reflected on the action the OAU took in 1972 when a peace agreement was reach in Addis Ababa between the North and South of Sudan to end up the long civil war that has torn the country to pieces to enable the refugees and the '*internally displaced persons*' return to their original habitual residence. What happened? As soon as the '*Repatriation and Resettlement Commission*' was established. It realised that the OAU definition of refugees would deprive certain categories of the '*displaced persons*' who needed immediate relief, some of their rights. In order to meet the specifications the Commission broadened the OAU as to include thus:

"Those who have taken refuge in the bush, in towns of the Southern Region and in various parts of northern Sudan; those who had sought refuge in neighbouring countries where they had come largely under the care of UNHCR and required the legal status of refugees; those who, because of political instability in the Southern Sudan, had fled to neighbouring countries in search of educational opportunities and provided by the various agencies for the refugees; orphan children and incapacitated persons"²⁷

I am of the mind, that the argument that the category of refugees who did not cross international boundaries are not included as refugees in the definitions of western nations is just most probably, an excuse to shy away from the African refugee problem by the international community. For example:

²⁶ BASCOM Jonathan: Op. cit. p. 202

²⁷ ALLEN Tim & MORSINK Hubert: *When Refugees Go Home: African Experiences*. USA, 1994, p. 80

“In 1949, the UN began to look forward for a post-IRO period. Several states were opposed to the adoption of a broad approach, considering it essential to identify refugees who were in need of international protection. The United States favoured a narrow definition of those who would fall within the competence of a new, temporary agency, a de-emphasis of resettlement, and concentration on ‘legal protection’ pending integration in countries of refuge, as opposed to assistance or similar activities; and the main purpose was to prevent refugees becoming a liability to the international community. Other refugee categories, such as those created by population transfer, were mostly entitled to rights afforded by their countries of residence, and thus in no need of international protection. Apart from those countries actually having to deal with large populations of ‘national refugees’, a consensus emerged that such refugees were not an ‘international problem’, and did not require international protection”²⁸

Judging from the aforementioned last quotations, readers will agree with me that the nakedness of the conflicting applications of the term ‘*refugee*’, its application and problems inherent to it is quite overwhelming. The position of America in the above quotations cleared all reasonable doubt that fear of responsibility was the main problem (borne of contention) for America favouritism of a narrow definition. It offers us the possibility to see clearly, differences in the ideologies of both African and western schools of thought. It is however, on this note that the African heads of states and governments extended the definition of refugees as stated above (see C) in previous page. Maybe, a quotation here will serve as catalyst to more understanding of the analysis and bring you very close to what I am saying thus:

“African refugee groups have proved to be very different from those in Europe in size, character and needs; and African refugee movements have occurred in an entirely different political, economic, social and cultural context”²⁹

Given the fact that some fundamental analyses has been elaborated so far, we will now focus attention on the question how does these definitions function in practice and whether the Geneva definition is applicable in Africa.

A good example most probably will be derived from an interview I had with one senior field worker of “*Ärzte Ohne Grenze*”-Doctors without Borders, (a non-profit and international humanitarian Organisation) on Tuesday, the 5th of March, 2002 in Vienna during the course of research I carried out on this project. During my interview with her, I threw the following question to her thus: international communities, and NGOs try to define refugees in different categories to suit their work and aims, you mentioned of how refugees are defined from time to time, how does your organisation “*Ärzte Ohne Grenze*” define refugees in order to assist them?

The answer to the above question runs thus:

²⁸ BASCOM Jonathan: Op. cit. p.7

²⁹ Ibid. p. 202

“Well, what we do is to take care of the need of these people, define them is important because it has to do with the statute (states) of these people and the aid that are derived from other aid body like the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and getting into action to help, depends on whether they are recognised refugees or not. So it has to do with the status and this is very important for us to determine if assistance should be given to them, and since their need are similar, they are taken of their needs”³⁰

The aforementioned quotation has more or less substantiated the fact that all institutions base their definition on the 1951 Geneva Human Right Convention and its product. In spite of that, readers could extract from the above statement and analysis of the senior staff of “*Ärzte Ohne Grenze*” in response to my question that some atoms of diplomacy are most of the time applied by players of human rights, agencies of institutions each time on the issue of refugees especially when their lives are endangered in order to either give assistance or refusal to them when the will is lacking.

As a result of the above, it is convincing enough to say that no scholar or contemporary writer can claim enough answers to the above questions. This is as a result of the fact that the nation-states, international communities, relief agencies as well as the media and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), as we will read in the later sections of the work, [more often than not] produce and apply different definitions at any given period to justify their wants or intentions and missions. However, on the one hand, it is very important to note that subsequent to the 1951 Geneva Convention, all other development of ‘*refugee laws*’ across international community reflected on it. It has formed the basis of further development. Not only that, it was also on that note that the Organisation of African Unity in 1969 brought to life the African version of the definition of refugees.

With this preparation, I hereby end the introductory and definition sections of the work. This conclusion brings us to part one of the research project in which we will study the different kinds of refugees and their component issues.

³⁰ Interview with *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without borders): On Tuesday, 5th March 2002, p.2, Vienna 2002

PART I

4. Types of Refugees

“The purpose of any definition or description of the class of refugees is thus to facilitate, and to justify, aid and protection; moreover, in practice, satisfying the relevant criteria ought to indicate entitlement to the pertinent rights or benefits”³¹

Meanwhile, as a result of the above quotation, I decided amongst others, to categorise the types of refugees that exist since the contemporary history of refugees began both in the regional and international levels as it affects international politics as much as international relations in the day to day activities of the international community.

We would therefore, under this chapter employ the assistance of ‘*analytical theory*’ in order to present an academic work and most probably address it extensively. Some of those categories and short definitions of the kinds of refugees I came across during my research, I will now share with you. This I believed would deepen your horizon and maybe add more to your knowledge of the term ‘refugees’.

4.1. Recognised Refugee

The group called ‘*Recognised Refugee*’³² is a refugee that is accorded recognition on the condition that he fulfils the criteria of the Geneva Refugee Convention 1951. As a result of the recognition accorded to him, he has the right to stay as long as he wants in the state in which recognition is given to him. Recognised refugee who has been given recognition in another or previous country according to the Geneva Refugee Convention as a result of evidence of pursuit that could endanger his life qualifies for residence permit according to the law of the foreign police of the country for instance, in Austria. A refugee that has status as recognised refugee must be given an “Identity card” and a “Convention Pass”. In reality, he poses equal rights just like the citizen of the recipient country. A recognised refugee with permanent residence permit, does not need a work permit as a foreigner.

4.2. De-facto-Refugee

De-facto- refugees³³ are persons who are not asylum seekers or do not fall into the category of refugees and as a result of that, their repatriation is impossible. The repatriation is then

³¹ GUY S. Goodwin-Gill: Op. cit. p. 4

³² Refugees: A challenge to Solidarity, by John Paul II, Address to Refugees in Exile at Morong, (Philippines, 21 February 1981), in AAS 73 (1981), 390. Published by the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral care of migrants and Itinerant people. See also: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/corunum/documents/rc_pc_corunum_doc_25061992_refugees_en.html

³³ Ibid

impossible when there is lack of enough evidence or proof about him or when according to article 3 of the European Human Rights Convention (especially the section of people's rights in pursuit of his person) not enough evidence could be presented.

On the other hand, repatriation is not allowed when there is proven evidence that his life will be in danger if repatriated. In Austria for instance, there is no law guiding the status and position of the de-facto- refugee.

4.3. Refugee as a result of War

The group of refugees called '*Refugee as a result of War*'³⁴ includes people who leave their country or their original habitual home as acts of war or consequences of war or aggression. This includes also, persons who left as a result of human rights situation or abuse in their country of origin. There exists in Austria for instance, no people's or state law that regulates the position of refugees as a result of aggression.

4.4. Economic Refugee

This is a group of refugees called *Economic refugees or migrants*³⁵ whose decision to leave their place of residency is governed above all else by the push factors such as hunger or poverty. Their decision to leave their original habitual home is to look for a better place or green pastures to live a better economic life. They are forced to leave due to quest for material things to upgrade their living standards. This could be as a result of denial of gainful employment at the original habitual residence due to their belonging to a particular social or religious group.

4.5. Refugee under the Protection of Amnesty International

This is the kind of refugee that falls into the protection of Amnesty International. He is protected from deportation at the request of Amnesty International. It is assumed that deportation of such a refugee endangers his life. He could face imprisonment at the end of deportation destination or could be killed.

³⁴ ADEBAYO F. Peter: United nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and Africa, 1957-2009, Chapter 35 p. 569: In Thoughts in the Humanities, Editor AKANMIDU R.A.

³⁵ STUDY GUIDE Op. cit.: The Rights of Refugees by Human Rights Education Associates (HREA) 2003. See also: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/studyguides/refugees.htm>

4.6. Environmental Refugee

This group of refugees can be defined thus:

“As people who can no longer gain a secure livelihood in their homelands because of drought, soil erosion, desertification and other environmental problems, aggravated by pressures of population and poverty”³⁶

In their desperation, they feel they have no alternative but to seek sanctuary elsewhere, however hazardous the attempt might be. Peculiar to this group of refugee is that, not all of them flee their countries. Many of them are *‘internally displaced people’*. There are at least 10 million environmental refugees today, to be compared with 18 million officially recognised refugees, which include political, religious and ethnic refugees. It is assumed that the 10 million is really an under-estimated figure since many governments make little formal account of the unconventional category of refugees. The problem lies on the fact that it is most of the time difficult to differentiate between refugees driven by environmental factors (ecological degradation, drought, overflow of water or flood caused by heavy or torrential rainfall, bush burning or ultra-rapid population) to mention but a few, and those impelled by economic problems.

In spite of the argument, it is necessary to register here that those people who migrate because they suffer from outright poverty are frequently driven more often than not by environmental degradation. As a matter of truth, it is their environmental plight associated with other factors that make them impoverished thereby faced with an alternative approach (to leave their original habitual home and seek refuge elsewhere). This could be within their country of origin or in a neighbouring country as the case may be. Migrations in sub-Saharan Africa is mostly affected and identified with this kind of movement. This could be established thus:

“Of the aggregate total of 43 million of all types [types of refugees], three out of five being environmental refugees, 20 million are in Sub-Saharan Africa. Slightly over half of the total are displaced within their own countries”³⁷

African countries in the Great Lake that are affected from environmental factors are Ethiopia and Kenya. Others are Sudan, Somalia to mention just a few.

³⁶ ECO-refugees: A Crises in the Making//: People & the Planet Vol. 3.No. 4. 1994, p.6f

³⁷ Ibid. p.7

4.7. Conventional Refugee

The conventional refugees³⁸ are identified by their possession of four characteristics namely:

One, they are outside their country of origin. Two, they are unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country or to return. Three, it is acknowledged that such inability or unwillingness is attributable to a well-founded fear of being persecuted. Finally, the persecution feared is based on reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.

4.8. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

At the onset of this analysis it might be of interest to mention in passing that the term '*internally displaced persons*' (IDPs)³⁹ are by no means a new item on the international agenda. Factors of internally displaced persons are mostly man-made such as civil strife or civil wars, and natural calamities like drought, famine or flood and bush burning to mention but a few. In the region of Great Lake, the African region under study, internally displaced persons amounts to greater number of refugees. These are countries like Ethiopia and Kenya. Others are Somalia and Sudan. *Adepoju Aderanti* in his analysis said thus:

"Observers believe that the Horn of Africa 'remains perhaps the most complex region in the world for refugees and displaced people' and that about 4.5 million Sudanese have been displaced by the war"⁴⁰

Because of the serious problems these countries have been suffering due to the large number of internally displaced persons for instance, the UNHCR's extended its relief and rehabilitation programmes for refugees and returnees to include those 'displaced within the country' at least in 1972, when the ECOSOC and the General Assembly endorsed operations in the Sudan. For instance:

"Somalia and Sudan alone harbour 25 per cent of the total African refugee population [and] it is alarming because of the meagre relief mobilised for their assistance"⁴¹

If one ponders on the above quotation, then it becomes easier for anyone to imagine the extent the refugees problem in East Africa could be, bearing in mind that most of the East African countries belong to the so called '*least developed countries*'.

³⁸ <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/inside/apply-who.asp>

³⁹ STUDY GUIDE: Op. cit.

⁴⁰ BAKER Jonathan & AKIN AINA Tade, Op. cit. p.102

⁴¹ International Labour Organisation: Op.cit. p. 139

Some indicators of significant populations of internally displaced civilians within the countries under study revealed that as at 1994, Sudan had 4,000,000 and Somalia 700,000 people respectively, while Ethiopia and Kenya had 500,000 and 300,000 number of internally displaced people also. The number of internally displaced people in the four countries mentioned above is therefore in total, 5,500,000.

After the aforementioned and categorised types of refugees, it might interest readers to note some other kinds of refugees that mostly exist in the region of Africa especially in the region under study (the Horn of Africa). These following examples are therefore, the terms also used when defining refugees.

4.9. Self-settled Refugee in rural Areas

This is the most peculiar pattern of flight in the region under study (*'Self-settled Refugee in rural Areas'* and the *'Self-settler in urban Areas'*⁴² in the immediate paragraph). It is a short en masse push kind of refugees across the closest territorial boundary away from the conflict source. Most of the time, they are unassisted. The largest concentrations of such rural refugees were sometimes found in the boundary areas of eastern Sudan and Ethiopia and the south-western part of Tanzania.

4.10. Self-settler in urban Areas

This is the term applied to the category of refugees who move directly or eventually from border areas into towns. Very peculiar to them is that they try as much as possible to avoid 'Refugee camps' and instead get into towns or urban centres. Two things are common to them. On the one hand, they move to an initial point of safety in an asylum country, a kind of involuntary migration to escape persecution and on the other hand, they move to a town as a voluntary kind of migration.

To buttress more on the two kinds of refugee settlers enumerated above, several types of categories based on observations carried out in Khartoum in Sudan will go a long way in illustrating the wide range of motivations and backgrounds identified with such seekers.

⁴²Self -Settled Refugees in Nairobi, a close look at their Coping Strategies in a paper published by Refugee Consortium of Kenya- Promoting Refugee Welfare Haki House: August – September 2005. See also: www.rckkenya.org

4.11. The Education Seekers

These are those refugees seeking for education opportunity. For instance, “The problem of urban refugees first began to be a subject of concern in Khartoum in 1971. This was as a result of approximately 100 students of Ethiopia origin who arrived from Addis Ababa as a result of the government suppression of the militant student movement. It was recalled that the militant student movement began to oppose the government of Ethiopia in 1965”⁴³

References on the immediate sub-paragraphs could be compared with Jonathan Baker’s assertions who contributed to the discourse.

4.12. Rural to Urban Migrants

The ‘*Rural to Urban Migrants*’⁴⁴ are refugees who first settled in rural areas or in refugee settlements. Their migration usually begins when they are hired to work on agricultural schemes such as the ‘*Gezira*’. Thereafter some of them moved to nearby towns, others moved directly to Khartoum for gainful employment and educational opportunities.

4.13. Army Deserters

This group includes military officers and soldiers who deserted from the Ethiopian army and escaped to Sudan. They are however, smaller in number when compared with the other groups. For instance, I learnt that they are Eritreans - mostly deserters from the army⁴⁵. The same applies in the following paragraph.

4.14. Deserters from the Exiled Fronts

This group consists of individuals who were once fighters of Eritrean or Ethiopian political fronts opposed to the government of Ethiopian. Most of whom deserted because of dissatisfaction with the internal factionalism within the Fronts. For instance, in 1978 a group of TPLF and Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) deserters arrived in Khartoum.

4.15. Refugees-sur-place

This group includes Ethiopian who came to Sudan as migrant workers, but who subsequently became unable or unwilling to return home for fear or threat of persecution. They play a very important, informal role in the reception and orientation of newly arriving refugees.

⁴³ Jonathan Baker, Tade Akin Aida: The Migration Experience in Africa Nordic African Institute, 1995, p. 206ff

⁴⁴ ADEBAYO F. Peter, Op. cit.

⁴⁵ IRIN Africa: Shiraro, Ethiopia, 22 November 2002. Feature-Eritrean deserters in – enemy Land. See also: UNHCR Handbook: Part one – Criteria for the Determination of Refugee Status, Chapter 5 (Special Cases) Section a + b, Paragraphs 164ff.

The requirement that a person must be outside his country to be a refugee does not mean that he must necessarily have left that country illegally, or even that he must have left it on account of well-founded fears. He may have decided to ask for recognition of his refugee status after having already been abroad for some time. A person who was not a refugee when he left his country, but who becomes a refugee at a later date, is called a refugee “*sur place*”⁴⁶

On one side, a person becomes a refugee “*sur place*” due to circumstances arising in his country of origin during his absence. Good examples are diplomats and other officials serving abroad, prisoners of war, students and migrant workers. On the other side, a person can become “*sur place*” as a result of his own actions. This ranges from associating himself with refugees already recognised, or from expressing his political views in his country of residence.

4.16. The Activists

The group ‘*activist*’⁴⁷ includes an array of exiled political organisations. The Eritrean groups, the ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front), PLF (People’s Liberation Front), and EPLF (Eritrean People’s Liberation Front), all have offices in the towns of *Khartoum*, *Kassala*, and *Port Sudan*, each with organisations of their different memberships. These range from workers, women or students organisations. It is necessary to point out that they do not exercise total control of the refugee population, but then, they do perform an important role in providing alternative assistance to refugees, as well as being accepted as mediators between refugees and common agencies such Commissioner of Refugees (COR) United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and Refugee Counselling Services (RCS).

4.17. The Opportunists

This group are those who migrate to Sudan as a stop-over station to seek ways of emigrating overseas. They believe that in Sudan they can acquire the necessary travel documents, visa and tickets on the one hand, and receive money from relatives and friends on the other hand, who are already abroad. Further to this I learnt that,

“There is also a conflict between the “real” refugees and those whom I would call “opportunistic” refugees. Each year about one thousand refugees are given asylum in another country – the United States, Australia, England, and so on. These opportunistic refugees come to the camp, not because they have had

⁴⁶Op. cit. UNHCR Handbook: Part one – Criteria for the Determination of Refugee Status, Chapter 2, Section 4 b, Paragraphs 94ff.

⁴⁷ BANKI Susan: An article titled The Paradoxical Power of Precarity: Refugees and Homeland Activism. See also: <http://refugeereview.wordpress.com/working-papers/paradoxical-power-and-precarity/>

traumatic experiences, but because they want to be sent to one of these receiving countries"⁴⁸

As I said earlier, the definition and classification of refugees continues to unfold as one continues to research deep into the problem. For example, "John R. Rogge"⁴⁹ in his analysis about repatriation of refugees quoted Kunz (1981) as identifying three extra categories of refugees namely the Majority Identified refugee, Events Related Refugee and Self-alienated Refugee as described below.

4.18. Majority Identified Refugee

This group –*Majority Identified Refugees*⁵⁰ - are those who hold a firm conviction that their opposition or antagonism to events at their original habitual homes, which caused them to seek asylum, is shared by majority of their compatriots with the hope that they are likely to regain a strong bond with their home areas. One of the characteristics of such a group is that they are most likely to return home when and if the cause of their exile is removed. Many of the Africa's refugees especially in the Horn of Africa fall under this category.

4.19. Events Related Refugee

This category of refugee termed '*Events Related Refugee*'⁵¹ includes those who, upon leaving their home areas, feel alienated from the rest of their homeland, and most probably also feel discriminated against. As a result of this, they become irrevocably estranged from their fellow citizens and are less likely to have a strong desire to return home. Their decision is attached to changes at their home especially the fundamental changes to the social and political systems which alienated them on the one hand, or if they have become economically and or socially integrated in their country of asylum on the other hand. They are more or less the opposite of the former type. In Africa, good examples of such groups can be drawn from areas where ethnic conflicts were major cause of exile. An example of such countries is Tanzania.

4.20. Self-alienated Refugee

The '*Self – alienated Refugee*'⁵² is the group of refugees who exile themselves for a variety of individually held beliefs and philosophies. They are people who alienate themselves rather

⁴⁸ African Great Lakes Initiative of the Friends Peace Teams, reports about East and Central Africa. Kakuma Refugee Camp — September 6, 2013. www.friendspeaceteams.org

⁴⁹ ALLEN Tim & MORSINK Hubert: Op. Cit. p. 32

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid

than the society alienating them, and they are the least likely ever to want to return. This category is less associated with African refugees.

At this juncture of the analysis, we are going to withdraw our attention from the categories of refugees since, it has been well addressed as you can agree with me. And focus on the term 'Asylum'. Although asylum is not a major factor to this research work, but it is of my opinion that this work will be incomplete if I fail to say one thing or the other about it. This is given the fact that asylum and refugee are synonymous. In other words. They go hand in hand and are as a matter of truth interwoven. For me asylum and refugee are twin sisters.

4.21. Asylum and the Principle of "non-refoulement"

Like I mention before now, Asylum is a younger sister to refugee. It is to be understood that the meaning of asylum is the right of a state (country) to give refugees' protection, and the refugees this right to enjoy.

To the question who is an asylum seeker? An *Asylum seeker*⁵³ is any refugee who has applied to be recognised and be given the status of refugee according to the Geneva Refugee Convention but is still waiting for the end result or completion of his application.

Before closing this section let me also share with you the meaning or definition of the principle of "*non-refoulement*"⁵⁴.

In doing this, let me remind readers that the obligation of the principle of "*non-refoulement*" exists under Articles 33 of the 1951 refugee Convention not to return a refugee to a country of territory where he/she would be at a risk of persecution. On the explanation on this principle, we learnt that:

"No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion." [In addition] This is known as the principle of non-refoulement, which is considered part of customary international law and therefore binding on all states. The principle is also incorporated in several international human rights treaties, for example the 1984 Convention against Torture, which prohibits the forcible removal of persons to a country where there is a real risk of torture"⁵⁵

With this explanation, I hereby end the interpretations, analysis, surveys and evaluations of the various types of refugees amongst so many other minor definitions that one may come across in some other literatures. What I have presented here is the most common ones that

⁵³ <http://www.un.org/en/events/refugeeday/background.shtml>

⁵⁴ Op. cit: STUDY GUIDE

⁵⁵ B.S. Chimni: From Resettlement to Involuntary Repatriation: Towards a critical History of Durable Solutions to refugee Problem: In Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3, 2004, p. 55

are mentioned on a daily basis in the treatment and discussions of refugees. This is followed with an analysis of factors of refugees.

5. Factors/Cases of Refugees

After a precise definition and analysis of the term 'Asylum' in the previous chapter that has been carried out, we shall now treat one amongst the most wearisome sections of the research work. It is on the one hand, wearisome because some of the factors or the causes of refugees are not supposed to be relevant but because of the carelessness of mankind they have come to play and impose serious problems to the already dilemmatic situation of refugees. On the other hand, it is absolutely necessary to diagnose the main roots and manifestation stages of the factors of refugees with special experience and reference to the Horn of Africa. Before solutions and lasting solutions can be applied otherwise, no fundamental result or results can be established at the end of any exercise carried out in this direction. Lack of such extreme investigation could have contributed to the lesser success of the treatment of the refugee problem in East African countries under study to date.

However, in determining the factors that favour the escalation of refugees with a special reference to countries in the Great Lake of Africa, two major factors come quickly to mind. These are *external and internal factors*. In addition to that, is what is called *man-made and natural factors*? During the course of my research work, I came across such statements with regards to the causes of refugees thus:

"In South Africa, colonialism, racism, and apartheid are the major factors for refugee exodus. In independent Africa, internal political differences, inter-state conflicts, interference in the internal affairs of states and other man-made and natural disasters, especially in areas close to common borders, have been among the major causes for refugee situations"⁵⁶

Despite the above quotation, it is better before serious surveys, analysis and comparison will be carried out, to have a brief look at the tables below to see the most notorious factors or causes of refugees. The table will amongst others, guide us as we continue to go through some of the stipulated causes as the work continued to unfold.

Table I: Significant number of external and internal factors that promote African refugee

⁵⁶DOSSIER: Refugees – September 1984, p. 27

Migration

External Factors		Internal Factors	
1	External Aggression	1	Political Repression and Persecution
2	Forced Colonial Rule	2	Localised Civil Wars/Secessionism
3	Imported Culture/Non recognition of African Ethnic Cultural Background	3	Ideological Differences
4	Slave Trade	4	Economic Oppression and Destitution
5	Destruction of Natural Borders	5	Ethnic Conflicts
6	Imposition of White Rule – Apartheid Regime in South Africa- Anti-colonial Wars	6	Ecological Disasters
7	Unbalanced World Economy		
8	Globalisation/ New World Order		
9	Arms- Race Trafficking		

Table II: *Significant numbers of man-made and natural factors that promote African refugee Migration.*

Man-made Factors**Natural Factors**

1	Localised Civil Wars	1	Flood
2	Political Repression	2	Famine
3	Socio-economic Unrest	3	Erosion
4	Bad Governmental Management and Corruption of Leaders	4	Droughts and Desertification
5	Breach of Human Rights	5	Volcanic Reactions
6	Military Actions	6	Cyclone/Hurricane
7	Interference in the internal affairs of other states		

Now that the major factors of refugees in Africa have been tabulated in the previous table one and two. We will now chronologically elaborate the factors enumerated, starting first of all with the external factors and then the internal causes. Thereafter, we will then analyse the man-made factors as well as the natural calamities.

5.1. External Aggression

External aggression against African nations from mostly Europe and America can be traced as far back as over 400 years. It was on that note that late *Bob Marley* (reggae musician from Jamaica) in one of his musical memories about the oppression and suppression which his fore fathers (recalling his root to Africa) sang a song with the title “*four hundred years*”. However, it is still in living memory that African Countries had suffered much from Western Countries starting from Britain, Portugal, and Belgium. Others are Holland, Italy and America to mention but a few. This dated as far back as 1810 when Britain used force and suppression to enter different kinds of treaties with many East and West African Countries (see text under 5. 4. Slave trade). Meanwhile, external aggression has been one of the major factors of the causes of refugee not only in East Africa but also in several if not in all African countries both in the past and the present time. While the method on the one hand has changed in comparison with the old form, the term used today for the aggression on the other hand has metamorphosed in different forms ranging from economic Globalisation to the New World Order.

5.2. Forced Colonial Rule

Forced colonial rule was by no means one of the factors that championed refugees and its problems in the continent of Africa today. During this period, Africa tried as much as possible to wage the autocratic and colonial regimes. They fought the foreign regime as nature would always want it. Some prominent African kings who carried out such wars and defended their various territories were for instance, in Nigeria West Africa „*King Jaja of Opobo*“, the „*Obas*“ in Benin, „*Yoruba Kingdom*“. This also took place in Ghana like the „*Ashanti Kingdom*“, Rwanda, and also in Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. Others are Tanzania and Kenya. Even *Radama*, the king of eastern Madagascar, the *Iman of Muscat and Seyyid Said, Sultan of Zanzibar* all tried in their various means to fight and wage the war against colonialism. As a result of different interest groups, civil wars took place. The end result was that people had to flee and that was the beginning of the refugee problem in some countries. In some other countries this added problems to the existing ones. This argument can be justified as below:

„With the advent of inter-tribal wars, which became more frequent during the slave trade era, the number of such refugees shot up considerably, but any problem posed by such a new development was taken care of through the well-known spirit of African brotherhood and hospitality“⁵⁷

In spite of the efforts to wage the colonial rule, Africa was defeated and conquered by their white rivalries as a result of better and sophisticated weapons. Many of the African fighters as a result of losing the war had to abandon their homes, villages and towns due to fear of being humiliated, and many left because of not being able to face the colonial administration, which for them was quite unusual.

5.3. Imported Culture/Non-recognition of Existing African Ethnic Cultural Backgrounds

This is one of the factors of refugee production and migration. It has been until the present day a big problem to various African countries. As you can recall above, the Europeans towards the end of the nineteenth century expanded their invasion and colonialism in Africa. Through these means she was able to gain access to the economic wealth of African Nations, as they ripped and dismantled them. In doing that, they introduced their forms of administration, social life and thereby suppressed the existing African cultural background. The fate of Africans was then being decided from London, Paris and from Washington DC to mention just a few. All of these were either programmed or not programmed for later conflicts. The African elder statesmen and the opportunists who later took over the mantle of

⁵⁷Ajala Adekunle: Op.cit. S. 306.

leadership as various African countries gained political independent did less as to follow the footsteps of their colonial masters. Repression, national and ethnic as much as social emancipation movements especially within the elites was the order of the day. Today, the same situation reigns in almost all the African states if not in all.

The factors that were developed and established during the colonial period are still having serious influences on the management of these countries because, the leaders of the countries still maintain relations with their various colonial masters who through such means monitor and maintain their status-quo in their former colonies. Their counterparts in the western countries supply them with military and economic personal protection and with that, they have been succeeding in continuing to suppress and oppress their rivalries.

5.4. Slave Trade

Like I said earlier on, the history of slavery dates as far back as four hundred years ago before Britain started the slave trade treaties, which eventually led to the stoppage of it later in the eighteen century. For instance:

“The slave-trade treaties, which are more or less well known, were initiated by Britain in 1810 and invariably embodied coercive clauses designed to bring other nations into line with her policy of suppression. [--] Britain had applied them with some success to the suppression of the East African slave trade. In 1817 Radama, king of eastern Madagascar, concluded a slave-trade treaty with Britain and in return for his undertaking to put an end to the traffic the British Government promised to pay him a subsidy of 10,000 dollars a year for three years. Similar treaties were signed with the Iman of Muscat and in 1822 with Seyyid Said, Sultan of Zanzibar.”⁵⁸

The point I am buttressing here is the fact that during these dark years and centuries, which naturally were involved with African resistance coupled with wars. The end effect was a stream of refugees fleeing from the tyrannical oppression and suppression from external influences. In addition, that was also one of the factors of poverty that African nations found themselves in those days until the modern time. During this period, Africa lost thousands if not millions of its human power to the western world. These human resources could have been used to develop the continent, if it had been given the chance of gradual development at its pace. This is true given the fact that those African slaves were employed in the plantations, factories and industries in Europe and America through which the western economy was established for example:

“In the eighteenth century, when the trade was legal for all nations, the export [export of human being] was between 70,000 and 80, 000 a year. In the nineteenth century, when nearly all the great powers (including Britain and America) had condemned the traffic, the annual export had risen to 135,000. These figures may represent little more than official estimates, but the increase in the nineteenth

⁵⁸ DIKE K. Onwuka: Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885, 1956 (rep. 1981), p. 81

century was an undoubted fact. [---] It has been estimated that between 1808 and 1860 300,000 slaves were imported into the U.S.A.”⁵⁹

One question that might be posed by readers is the reason why, did the western states at the early period conduct trade on slavery? Many answers may be given, but then, it is better to concentrate on the most important and accurate answer. The following is to my mind the most likely reason. The western countries were at the beginning of its industrial development amongst others. She not only needed labour, but she needed cheap labour and of course in quantum. During the period of conquest, Europe and America discovered that the most needed cheap labour was abundant in the Continent of Africa. The only option left for them was to conquer Africa. This, they achieved with every amount and means of force. Today, it is proven in many existing literature that those slaves were employed under severe conditions in the industries, in the factories and in the different kinds of plantations in Europe and America. Many were enslaved to serve them at their homes. By so doing, the western nations destabilised the organised system already existing before their seamen first landed on the coast of African. Intrusions in the political set up of the African empires at the time, never gave a chance again for African to gradually develop. Some literature even confirms that the stage of development was better off when compared with many western cities today.

In one of his write ups titled “*African Economic Analysis*” – Slave trade: a root of contemporary African crisis, by *Tunde Obadina*, we learnt that:

“Portuguese seamen first landed in Africa in the fourth decade of the fifteenth century. From the onset they seized Africans and shipped them to Europe. [---] Portuguese adventures who sailed southeast along the Gulf of Guinea. In 1472 landed on the coast of what became Nigeria. Others followed. They found people of varying cultures. Some lived in towns ruled by kings with nobility and courtiers, very much like the medieval societies they left behind them. A Deutsch visitor to Benin City wrote in around 1000: “As you enter it, the town appears very great. You go into a great broad street, not paved, which seems to be seven or eight times broader than the Warmoes Street in Amsterdam. The houses in this town stand in good order, one close and even with the other, as the houses in Holland stand, ”More than a century earlier Benin exchanged ambassadors with Portugal. But not all African societies were as developed. Some enjoyed village existence in primeval forests remote from outside influences”⁶⁰

What I wanted to share with readers is that the root of today’s African socio economic, political crisis and the “*refugee crises*” was planted by western rivalry over many years and as far back as in the fifteenth century judging from the above quotation. Today, western nations are paying lip service to the many crises in Africa. This should serve as a food for thought for readers.

⁵⁹Ibid. p. 81 f

⁶⁰OBADINA Tunde: *African Economic Analysis; Slave trade as a root of Contemporary African Crisis*.p.1, June 09.1998

However, one may argue if that is the case, why did America and Britain abolish the slave trade? The reason to my understanding is that at the time the industrial revolution started in Europe and America, western countries realised that the application of machines could better increase output of production, save costs and at the same time minimise the number of human labour. This was a result of the discovery of machines. Economically, an alternative was discovered. Suffice here, to mention that, we will read more of that in the later parts of the project.

5.5. Destruction of Natural Borders

Destruction of natural and existing ethnic as well as national borders on the inception of white man rule in Africa is by no means one of the push factors that escalated refugee migration and problems in the early fifties up till the seventies. This is not only in the countries under study, but also in several other nation-states in Africa.

Today in Africa, there exists several unrecognised and inaccessible borders as a result of forced colonial regimes. These borders as a matter of fact have created more problems to ethnic and border nations. These problems ranges from civil strife and unrest up to civil wars or inter-state disputes, which in the process leads to the escalation of refugees in each of the regions especially in countries in the Horn of Africa.

It is sad that the super powers due to their geopolitical interest, in addition to securing their economic interest in Africa have succeeded through military and economic power, gotten African countries divided and separated for their interests. It is unfortunate that during the divisions, the interests of the different ethnic groups were not considered. Especially as it affects their respective original habitual residences. They were just brought under one roof and termed a country. Such amalgamation has been '*a torn in the flesh*' (it has been a course of agitation) between the different groups and in most cases led to wars like in the Sudan and Ethiopia-Eritrean cases. Other East African countries were not left out in the process.

Ajala, in his analysis of the unbearable situation, contends that many African countries have been suffering to the present day and may will probably suffer in future if nothing serious is done to save the situation, He said thus:

“Although many states are affected by such border conflicts, the most significant of such conflicts are those between Algeria and morocco, and those

between Somalia and her two neighbours, Kenya and Ethiopia. Such conflicts have been one of the chief causes of refugee problems throughout Africa”⁶¹

In addition to the afore-stated quotation, causes and good examples of these kinds of disputes and conflicts include the Congolese crisis of 1960-1967, the Shaba invasions in Zaire (today's Democratic Republic of Congo), 1976-1978, the Burundi Tutsi-Hutu backlash of 1962-1963. Others are the Rwanda, Hutu-Tutsi backlash 1963-1964, the Sudan-Anyanya wars of 1965-1970 and the Nigerian crisis 1966-1970 as well as the Western Sahara crises in the late 1980s and early 1990s. All these crises and wars have produced and exacerbated refugee problems in the continent of Africa.

5.6. Imposition of White Rule/Apartheid Regime in South Africa

The Apartheid regime in South Africa contributed much to the production and escalation of the refugee problem during its period. Apartheid is the imposition of white minority rule in South Africa. The resistance from many African countries was a major cause of refugee problems in Africa. During this period, many opposition members were pushed out of the Apartheid territories and many willingly moved away and relocated in different neighbouring African countries from where they launched attacks on the white minority regime in South Africa. The effects of which were shared by many independent African nations at the time.

However, it is necessary to mention here that the Apartheid regime has been abolished and eventually stopped in 1994, with the national celebration of democratic unification of South Africa Republic.

5.7. Unbalanced World Economy

The issue of unbalanced world economy as a push factor to migration generally was well known even in the early years of seventeenth century. As contributor to the modern time refugees, economic refugees under disguise, refugees of various faces and terminology cannot be over emphasised. This has led, to some extent, that some healthy world economies have developed what I call '*international social and economic injustice*'. This is a system that has instead of minimising the gap of developing and developed world economies, continued to expand the margins. As a result of that, less developed countries around the globe and especially in the Great Lake region, migrates to either the neighbouring

⁶¹AJALA Adekunle: Op.cit. p. 307

countries or to the country they assume the economy is better than what is available in the home country.

Although, this sort of refugee migration is not so pronounced in East Africa, when compared to refugee migration from Africa to Europe and America or some parts of Asia and Australia, it is believed according to my information, that some refugee migrations are not free from this symptom. The truth is that behind economic measures affecting a person's livelihood there may be racial, religious or political aims or intentions directed against a particular group. This is dominant on African soil and especially in countries of East Africa. Sudan is a good example where economic measures and religious intimidation from the Muslim-controlled central government had been suppressing the Christian group in the southern part of the country.

Another situation which reflects the unbalanced effect of world economy between north and south is where economic measures destroy the economic existence of a particular section of the population for instance, withdrawal of trading rights from, or discriminatory or excessive taxation of, a specific or religious group. The victims may according to the circumstances become refugees on leaving the country. This situation presents the style and politics of the developed world against underdeveloped and developing states for instance. A determination of economic and trade agreement between north and south where decisions favoured always the north. A concrete example is the price of petroleum. The developing countries poses large quantities of petroleum in their respective countries. The developed nations carries out the explorations, drilling, determines and set the prices.

Notwithstanding, my research work discovered as well as confirmed the hypothesis that the unbalanced world economy contributes in one way or the other to the endless nature of refugees in the Horn of Africa thus:

"Well I just think that causes of poverty and conflicts in Africa are complex, and are rooted in the historical event, the ongoing different international economic interest as well. It is a very complex work of factors that have sustained for a quite long time"⁶²

That was a reaction to my question during an interview to the question, how easy is it to identify some of the factors of the conflicts of refugees in East Africa? From the quotation, readers discovered that it reflects on the two examples of the economic suppression in Africa and the economic policies against African nations by the international community.

⁶²Interview with Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without borders): Op. cit. p.7

5.8. Globalisation and New World Order

The influence of globalisation and the new world order on the refugee problem or as push factors are treated in chapter 15.2. -15.3. This is to avoid repetition. You are hereby referred to that section.

5.9. Arms- Race Trafficking

The issue of arms – race, trafficking and arm conflicts within the Horn of Africa along with their foreign allies cannot be over emphasised. In as much as there is no *Weapon Industry* in any of the African nations to date (throughout the period of the research) and there have been unlimited arms trade and presence of sophisticated weaponry in the African Continent especially in the East Africa, it boils down that there is connection to external partners. During my discussion and interview with a field staff of one of the international NGOs based in Vienna Austria. I asked her the question based on her wealth of experience, if there are other push factors apart from wars, civil-strife and natural calamities to facilitate the production of refugees in the Horn of Africa and she had this to say:

“Yes of course, very much, so very often in fact, it is the combination of different factors yes in most cases it is related to arm conflicts or disaster conflict a saturated situation that lead to that. I think especially in this region most cause are due to conflicts and this is really the worst in the region. Other factors are environmental, but I cannot give any example in East Africa”⁶³

Be that as it may, let us further look at the other side of the factors that have contributed and are still contributing to outburst of refugees in the region under focus.

5.10. Factors/ Causes of Refugees (Internal)

In analysing the internal factors for outburst of refugees in East African some evaluations and surveys as much as comparison will be applied for adequate clarifications. The internal factors could be evaluated as follows.

⁶³ Interview: Ibid. p.6f

5.11. Political Repression and Persecution

Political repression and persecution has been established in most independent African states. Good examples can be drawn from the countries in the Great Lake under study namely Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. Others are Tanzania and Kenya. For instance, the conflicts in the Sudan is the South's rejection of a situation that discriminates against the southerner's ethnic, linguistic, racial and religious characteristics. That of Somalia was based essentially on the rejection of corruption, tribalism, mismanagement of the nation's economic wealth and finally, escalation of repression.

5.12. Localised civil Wars and Secessionism

Civil wars have been a notable push factor as long as the refugee is concerned in Africa. In almost all the countries in the Horn of Africa, there has been one civil-strife or the other in most cases leading to wars and war like issues. For instance, the causes of the refugee situation in both the eastern and western parts of Ethiopia were wars and warlike conditions. The secession war of Eritrea against Ethiopia is still fresh to many students and contemporary writers of international politics. This war led to many people at the border areas to quit their original habitual homes. Many of them ended up as internally displaced persons (IDPs). Also in Sudan and Somalia, there have existed armed struggles against the central government. While the situation in Somalia has subsided, that of Sudan is still going on at the time this research was completed. It will be prudent to place on record here that:

“The country [Sudan] is facing hard times; economic decline, political instability, drought, and civil war all plague the beleaguered people, the government, and some 763,400 refugees who have sought shelter there. The situation demands respond that donors cannot provide through their current policies and resource constraints. It demands development and that requires peace-something Sudan's government cannot or will not produce”⁶⁴

Somalia is another instance where civil strife had led to localised wars. This is subsequently followed by the tremendous flow of refugees in the neighbouring countries. The following will shed more light to buttress how heavy the common populace of Somalia paid for the unbearable situation:

“Mogadishu, the capital, saw the fiercest fighting, massive looting and destruction of infrastructure and property. All foreign missions and international agencies left the country. Thousands of Somalia was left homeless; and, there are reports of an increasing number of children dying from malnutrition and diseases”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Middle East Journal: Op. cit. p. 649

⁶⁵ KATUMBA Rebecca:// in IDOC international 2/91, p. 22

Another good example where civil strife led to unrest was in Kenya. However, the symptom that served as catalyst to the civil unrest was through “*land dispute*”. This could best be cited with an instance thus:

“Ostensibly, the violence in western Kenya results from land disputes between the settled agricultural communities of Kikuyu and Luo people and the pastoralist Kalenjins and, more recently, the Maasai”⁶⁶

Supportive to the above was registered by another comment like:

“Fourteen people were reported killed and 10,000 displaced by violence in the Rift Valley in the first three weeks after election. The attacks were reported to have been carried out by Kalenjin warriors, armed with bows and poison arrows, as in many previous attacks”⁶⁷

5.13. Ideological Differences

Ideological differences have also played unnecessary problems leading to civil-strife and eventually to civil war and the secession tendency. Ideological differences could be in different forms. Sudan is not far from such incident. However, the Sudan case has to do with religious ideological differences. For instance, the imposition of Islamic law in Sudan in 1983 was a major factor in the civil war between the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SLPA), representing Christian and animistic southerners, and the northern Muslim-dominated government. As a result of this war, the wealth of the country has been drained (material and human) resources that would have been invested for national development. That a majority of group of people will just overnight impose on the minority a force, to change their religious ideology is something that is not understandable. The role religious ideology has played in Sudan is over emphasised. It is however on record that:

“The war has contributed to the instability of the national government including the overthrow of the democratically-elected government of Sadi al-Mahdi in June 1989. This, in turn, led to the mandatory imposition by the US government of Section 531 of the Foreign Assistance Appropriation Act which immediately prohibits further economic assistance to a country whose democratically-elected government is overthrown by a military action”⁶⁸

5.14. Economic Oppression and Destitution – Case Study Sudan

In this analysis and evaluation, Sudan is one of the countries in the Great Lake that serves as a good example of such a situation amongst others. As result of that, I am going to carry

⁶⁶ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 13 No 1, Op. cit. p. 37

⁶⁷ Ibid.p.41

⁶⁸ Middle East Journal Op .cit. p. 651

out my analysis and evaluation on Sudan as a case study on how economic oppression and destitution could lead to people leaving their natural habitat within a sovereign state. By extension, even crossing the national border to save their lives thereby, either falling into the group of internally displaced persons or refugees.

To begin with, one may want to know how today conflicts in Sudan came into being and as a result of that, tends to ask the question, can someone tell me the beginning of the conflicts in state of Sudan of today? While I was in deep research to find out what could be appropriate to the question above, I landed upon a write-up probably by a Sudanese judging from the style of the essay. I want to share with readers my findings as to that effect in form from quotation and this runs thus:

“The current conflict in Sudan has its roots in the early history of the demographic dynamics of the first century that introduced immigrants from the Arabian Peninsula on the African continent. The evangelical objective of spreading Islam went hand-in-glove with slave trading and military conquest. The north-south line that runs roughly along latitude 13 degrees-N has for times immemorial been the battle front between the Arabs and the Africans. That line refused to disappear even during colonial rule; first as part of the Ottoman Empire (1824-1884) and later as part of the British Empire (1889-1955)”⁶⁹

What the above quotation was saying was that the Sudan of today came as a result of wars and conquests in the beginning. These wars and conquests were carried out with an ultimate intension of economic domination by the Arabs. As we could extract from the quotation, there was the practice of slavery (buying and selling of humans to make wealth) and of course the spreading of the Muslim religion. As a result of the conquerors success (the Arabs) against the African Blacks, the law of nature demands that the most powerful or the winner controls the loser. This process automatically placed the Arabs as the opportunists in the control of the economic wealth of what turns out to become the wealth of present day Sudan. For that reason we are told that:

“Economic opportunities and development are concentrated in the central Arab region. The rest of the country never benefits even from the ‘tea cup effect’ of investment. Even when Mother Nature decides to place a natural resources outside this favoured region as is the case of oil, the field is redefined by legal fiat as part of the north”⁷⁰

A general analysis and evaluation of the just concluded quotation points out some interesting elements. These elements are some of those economic suppressions and destitutions as mentioned earlier as some of the push factors for refugees. We learnt that economic opportunities and developments were centred in the region dominated by the Arabs. These economic opportunities and developments could range from industries of any types, social

⁶⁹<http://members.aol.com/casmasale/hellin.htm>.

⁷⁰Ibid

amenities and services. We learnt also that even the natural resources naturally located in the south where African Christians dominate, were enacted through legal legislation to be controlled by the Arab north. It could not be far-fetched, to understand that the armaments and armies of the government of Sudan is dominated by the Arab north thereby providing them the needed platform to legally enact any law in the name of democracy that favours them.

5.15. Ethnic Conflicts

The Horn of Africa has suffered from the last fifty years to the present, serious environmental degradation caused by underdevelopment, poverty, high population growth and many other problems to mention just a few. This is tantamount to the proliferation of conflicts, which the region has been witnessing in the recent years. For this reason, many scholars have captioned the region as '*a theatre of conflict*'. These conflicts even though, appear to be internal in terms of the forces involved, do have a lot of trans-boundary impacts as they take place in adjacent areas. The conflicts also cover a wide range of areas where millions of people, wild-life and domestic animals live. In addition, a whole range of natural resources on which the survival of the latter depends are destroyed.

Naturally, the outcome of so many years of ethnic conflicts in the region means acute and massive displacements of people, which have disrupted the natural and human ecologies of the East African region. For instance, the causes of the refugee situation in the countries under study like Sudan, Somalia or Ethiopia have been related to wars and warlike conditions. In comparison between for example, Sudan and Somalia revealed that there has existed an armed struggle against the central governments of the two countries. In Sudan we have the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA), while in Somalia was the students militant group in the sixties.

However, as a result of the continued escalation of the conflicts, the nationals of both Sudan and Somalia had to flee their original habitual residence and settle in Ethiopia and in some border areas as refugees. As a result of that, they are remote and also not viable in terms of economic returns, because the socio-economic infrastructure in these areas is least developed. As intensive and horrible the ethnic conflicts in Somalia could look like, TIMES in one of its publications carried a message titled "*the death of a warlord*". The under title of the magazine reads " will the killing of *Mohammed Farrah Aidid* pave the way for peace in war – ravaged Somalia". In its analysis the magazine said:

“Now that he is dead, “maybe the other warlords will find a way to sit Down and talk, if for nothing else, than to divide the spoils [.....] His unwillingness to compromise made it impossible to work out any agreement. He was determined to be king, even if it means destroying the kingdom. Should his removal turn out to be the key to peace? The irony will be that it was his removal that the U.N and the U.S were seeking to accomplished three years ago”⁷¹

The above tells us how ethnic conflicts and civil unrest could produce millions of refugees and over 350,000 people died. The irony according to the piece is that today, peace has not been seen in Somalia.

5.16. Ecological Disaster

Discussion or talking on ecological disaster as a factor of refugee escalation has posed in recent time serious questions and argument for and against the background of the factor. While a certain school of thought on the one hand favours ecological factor as influencing refugees, the other school of thought on the other hand, disfavours it.

In this analysis, we are going to survey the positions of both scholars and see why differences exist. We will also relate their positions as it affects the countries under study.

The former argues that when ecological disaster like the volcanic eruption in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which took place in the January month of the year 2002, happened, people took to fleeing. And when widespread famine and drought takes place like in Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia, the same happens. As a result, thousands of people are made homeless and internally displaced.

On the contrary, the latter argues that the presence of a large number of refugees in a given area at a given time is a catalyst to ecological disaster to begin. How this functions can be best established thus:

“When a massive displacement of 800,000 refugees occurs in a relatively short span time, the first danger that follows is large season tree cutting of fire wood, and for the construction of shelters. The area of land clearance required for the construction for 1000,000 refugees is estimated at 333 hectares. The same number refugees consume 85,000 tons of wood annually”⁷²

In view of the above quotation, the latter school of thought tries to convince readers that it is the presence of refugees in a particular area of land that influences ecological degradation given the fact with reference to the aforementioned quotation that large number of season trees are cut for firewood, large area of land is cleared to construct tents and temporary shelters. As a result, the vegetation of that given area is exposed for ecological inception:

⁷¹ TIMES, August 12, 1996, p. 17

⁷² TSEHAI Mariam Fikre:// in IDOC international 2/91, p.3

“The removal of such a big quantity of trees over an area of 1332 hectares can be considered the most serious cause of land degradation in the region. As studies on the climatic change reveal, the removal of the trees will reduce the absorption of incoming [--], daytime air and soil surface temperatures will increase; wind-speed will rise, air structure will deteriorate, soil moisture will decrease, more solar energy will be redirected back into the atmosphere from the depleted ground; the erosion of top soil will accelerate; and as atmosphere dust levels increase and are accompanied by a lengthening of intensified aridity of the season, so rainfall becomes more erratic in distribution of progressively lower in overall amount”⁷³

However, judging from the above analysis, one will agree that both schools of thoughts are right depending on and from which way one evaluates the case without sitting on the fence. My personal opinion is that the two are interwoven. While ecological factors in some cases serve as factors of refugees, in some other situations the reverse is the case (refugees serve as catalyst) to ecological and degradation as well as desertification problems. I am of the mind that the most important thing, while dealing with such problems is first of all to identify, which factor that first surfaced. This is useful since it will help in treating and stopping the escalation that may eventually be leading to the consequences.

5.17. Natural Disasters - Flood, Erosion, Drought and Famine

I have chosen to discuss natural calamities as internal factors together with the sub section of *table II* above, which I also named natural disasters since literature have proven that the factors are the same everywhere in the countries I chose to study. I think it is wise to do so to avoid repetition and remove ambiguity.

Having said that, factors like flood and erosion would be surveyed and analysed when and where the need arises. Others are drought and famine. We will also use the opportunity to learn the wide effects of these natural calamities to the refugees and the host nations.

Famine is generally, one of the major factors that push for refugee problems in the region of the Great Lake. Whenever there is famine, people are forced to migrate abandoning their home villages to areas where they expect to find food. They also look for places where they think that better survival opportunities awaits them, when compared with what life use to be at the original village or habitual home. We learnt that:

⁷³ Ibid. p. 3f

"Families have lost their homes and possessions as floods damaged entire villages, roads and fishing boats," the aid agencies said, also warning of the risk of waterborne diseases"⁷⁴

Drought has also contributed immensely to the gravitational movement of people from one part of an East African nation into another nation. Due to the recent drought and desertification of the region, several numbers of livestock were recorded dead, especially in the Eastern part of Ethiopia. The loss of livestock in the region means less economic power, thereby endangering and exposing the people to unbearable economic situations. In addition, the true picture is that famine situations resulting from successive dry seasons do lead to the disintegration not only of the social fabric of the population but also to the destruction of wildlife and domestic animals which are all intricately intertwined. Furthermore, the increasing refugee outflows in the Eastern and Western parts of Ethiopia for example, have created a very serious disproportion between water requirement and supply. It has also posed serious and unbearable heavy loads on the host country.

Be that as it may, Sudan and Somalia do not escape some of the natural disaster problems that inflicted many countries in the Great Lake in the last decades. Sudan suffered the worst unseasonable flooding in the Khartoum area in more than hundred years for instance.

And the government of Ethiopia in its efforts to curb the problem of land degradation and soil erosion initiated a good deal of conservation work. This was evident between 1976 and 1985 when 600,000kms of bunds and 470,000kms of hillsides terraces were constructed and 80,000 hectares of steep slopes were closed. These initiatives go further to enlighten readers on the grave problem of soil erosion in the region under focus. For instance:

"According to the data from the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), fifty per cent of the Ethiopian highlands, which account for half of the total area of the country and contain 88 per cent of the total population, are affected by significant erosion"⁷⁵

I think that the above instance proved above all human reasonable doubt, how dangerous erosion has caused much harm to the efforts of the Ethiopian government and also what erosion as push factor and promoter of migration and refugees (internally displaced), this time around could be. This is a situation that is even above human prediction -a natural disaster as a factor.

Under natural disasters one may add cyclones and or hurricanes. Instances exist where cyclones and hurricanes caused tremendous disaster and produced unbelievably terrible living conditions for people living in the region under study. A good example of such

⁷⁴http://allafrica.com/stories/201312020348.html?aa_source=sptlgt-grid?aa_source=sptlgt-grid

⁷⁵ JOHNATHAN Baker: Op. cit. p. 240

devastating circumstances was experienced in Somalia people where after cyclones and hurricane were left in the horrible situation of losing almost everything in their possession. I discovered that:

“More than 100,000 people are struggling in Somalia's cyclone-hit north-eastern Puntland region, aid agencies warned Friday (November 29th), saying flood-waters had wiped out the livestock two-thirds of the people survive on, AFP reported. A joint statement by 12 agencies -- including Somali Organisations as well as international ones such as CARE International, Oxfam, Save the Children, Refugees International and World Vision -- said that people are "in dire need of food, clean drinking water and shelter. For the pastoralist communities, the loss of their livestock could lead to an even greater number of people dying," said Degan Ali, from Somali agency Adeso [because] Livestock is the basis of the local economy and their only means of survival”⁷⁶

6. Locations/Problems of Refugees/Countries those affected and Why?

After a successful analysis and survey of the push factors for the occurrences and outbreak of refugees in the Horn of Africa, we shall under this section of the work look at and identify locations of refugees in the countries under focus. We shall further look at the kinds of problems they do face and finally, we will go ahead in identifying the categories of refugees who are mostly affected at any given time.

Refugees are located in different parts of East African especially in Ethiopia and Kenya. Other countries worth mentioning are Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania. The locations could be identified in each country under the field of this study as stated below:

6.1. Kenya

In Kenya one can find refugee locations in the District of *Turkana*. This location harbours about 42,000 refugees of which 90% are Sudanese. Another location is situated in the District of *Garissa* with about 104,000, most possibly from Somalia. Also there is another one in the District of *Kakuma* as confirmed by *Radio Afrika* in Vienna during which she conducted a field work in the region. In responds to a question from *Radio Afrika* journalist to one of the foreign workers (*Mr John Ugbodi* from Italy) in the region, he replies thus:

“Each of these countries produces refugees in other countries apart from Tanzania, for instance refugees from the neighbouring countries are found

⁷⁶http://allafrica.com/stories/201312020348.html?aa_source=sptlgt-grid?aa_source=sptlgt-grid_Op. cit.

in Kenya, there are presently about 50.000 refugees only in Kakuma camp in the northern part of Kenya”⁷⁷

In continuation, *Mr. John Ugbodi* a native of Italy who has been working for 15 years in Kenya during the interview said:

“There are about 47.000 refugees the largest group are Sudanese. Then, the second largest group is from Somali, follows by Ethiopians, then the Burundian and Rwandese as well as some Ugandans”⁷⁸

Other refugee locations could be found around *Liboi*, which is also the name of the camp. Here over 40,000 refugees mostly from Somalia, as a result of the civil war, were camped there, while another one is the *Utange* camp outside *Mombasa*.

Furthermore, there are other camps in *Dabaad*. This location hosts some other minor camps like *Ifo*, *Hagadera* and *Dagahaley*. The location was in 1990 home to about 110,000 refugees, out of which 105,000 were from Somalia, and the remaining from Ethiopia, Sudan. Others are from Uganda and Eritrea.

6.2. Ethiopia

Ethiopia has been identified and praised for her open door policy in receiving refugees from around its frontiers and or neighbouring countries. Despite this open door policy, the other side of her policy is that she does not permit the integration of refugees into country. Refugee Camps are located outside the main cities and at the borderline of the neighbours.

A UNHCR spokesperson *Andrej Mahečić*, while briefing the Press on 2 December 2011, at the Palais des Nations in Geneva was caught saying:

“Hundreds of Somali refugees in southern Ethiopia's Dollo Ado region have been relocated from an overcrowded transit centre to a new camp, Bur Amino. The camp was opened on Wednesday and became the fifth one in the Dollo Ado region. The first group of some 400 refugees has been moved by bus from the transit centre to Bur Amino, 26 kilometres away. On arrival, the visibly relieved refugees underwent health and nutrition screening before being shown to their tents and given hot meals”⁷⁹

While other camps are located in various areas like, *Gambella*, *Assosa* and *Shire*. About 400,000 refugees are estimated to be camped in Ethiopia from January to August in 2013. I discovered that:

⁷⁷ Refugees Problems in Nairobi Kenya: In an Interview from Radio Afrika, Kenya/ Austria, p.1, 1998

⁷⁸ Ibid. p.1

⁷⁹<http://www.unhcr.org/4ed8d89a6.html>

“Ethiopia received over 44,000 new arrivals in the first eight months of 2013, leading to a total population of concern of more than 400,000 people, who are mainly accommodated in camps throughout the country. The Government has been generous in allocating land for the 18 existing camps, including in Dollo Ado, Shire, Gambella and Assosa, and for new camps to be opened as the majority of existing camps have reached their maximum capacity. In addition, the Government provides police forces in the camps and facilitates customs clearance for internationally procured items”⁸⁰

Furthermore, majority of the refugees entering into Ethiopia and being distributed to different camps as mentioned above come from Eritrea. To shed more light on the situation we learnt that:

“Ethiopia are home to about 45,000 refugees, with as many as 1,000 Eritrean refugees arriving each month. The camps, in the northern part of Ethiopia not far from the Eritrean border, include Shimelba (established in 2004), Mai-Aini (2008) and Adi Harush (2010)”⁸¹

6.3. Somalia

The situation in Somalia as one begins to identify refugee’s location is something more difficult. At the end of the effort, one is forced to simply conclude that in Somalia there exists or has never existed any refugee camp. This is rooted to the fact that the historical and political developments of what is today called the “*state of Somalia*” is quite different in comparison with the other “*nation states*” under projection with the former. As a result of the component of Somali people in small groups and almost always on the move due to their nomadic way of life. It becomes difficult for them to settle at a particular place. This made it difficult for the state of Somalia to attain all the pre-requisites of a nation namely, one geographical location, one culture and tradition, one language and one religion. As people on the move with their cattle without a permanent place of settlement, they spend their whole life in small groups. This was confirmed by one of the existing literature I came across, which stated:

“Somali is not a country like any other. And in many ways, it is neither African nor Arab, although it is located on the African continent and has often been considered Arab in some ways. In 1974, Somali joined the Arab League of which it is still formally a member. The Somali people or the Somali nation is an unquestionable reality. But the Somali state is a much more ambiguous notion which has for the time being receded into the gray zone of a legal abstraction, probably for good many years to come. [...]. Somali society, like many nomadic societies, of arid and semi-arid lands, is largely a product of its geographical and climatic environment. The land is very dry, and it generally does not permit sedentary agriculture, except in the South, between the Juba and Wabi Shebelle rivers. Hence the social differences

⁸⁰<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483986.html>

⁸¹<http://www.cvt.org/ethiopia>

between 'pure' Somali and the Southern Peoples. As a result, people move, with their herds of camels, goats and sheep, forever in search of good pastures and water. Such a world is not conducive to any form of economic surplus or economic accumulation. Without economic accumulation, there are no possibilities of permanent settlements, of cities and of districts political structures we have called 'the state'. In such societies, politics are diffused throughout the whole social body and not separated, specialized so to speak, in a 'state' form, since people are forever moving"⁸²

Be that as it may, by the time the first civil strife began in 1961 when some militant northern group took over power, the civil population who were used to and had been on the move did not actually find it difficult or strange apart from the fact that warlords were seen patrolling the area, guns were fired and shelling and machine guns were heard. The most that the civil population could do was either to continue their usual internal migration as nomadic as they were and migrate to safer regions or at worst to cross the border to neighbouring countries.

If we draw our illustration from the above analysis, we will then come to the conclusion that in Somalia there were no refugee camps and instead, people were internally displaced. In line with this assumption, United Nations Information in 1997 confirmed:

"Somalia also faces a major problem of internally displaced persons. Severe droughts and lack of central planning have led to repeated population movements"⁸³

Not being satisfied, I continued my quest to see if I could still discover, even if it is only one official refugee camp in Somalia. This task was neither easy nor possible. But then, I landed on yet another UNCHR report on Somalia which said:

"Heavy fighting in April between two factions killed up to 200 persons and wounded some 400. Among the deaths were 16 occupants of camps for internally displaced persons in Mogadishu [---]. Many camps for displaced persons in Mogadishu received little or no assistance, leading to reports in mid-year of malnutrition and hunger- related deaths in the camps"⁸⁴

At least the above quotation did not only bring us nearer to the quest in search of refugee camps in Somalia, but also made me and / or I to understand that several camps existed or rather did exist in Somalia. These camps however, from the above quotation gives the impression that they were located near or around the capital city of *Mogadishu* since '*camps and Mogadishu*' was repeated more than once in the quotation. Interesting for readers might be that the words '*internally displaced persons*' were also twice used instead of the word '*refugees*'. This brings us again to the question of the differences between internally displaced persons and refugees. In other words, who is really a refugee? However, we are

⁸² Refugee Survey Quarterly Vol.15, No. 1, p. 35f

⁸³ UNHCR REF WORLD: E/CN.4/1997/88, 3 March 1997, 2/12/97. p. 4

⁸⁴ UNHCR REF WORLD- Country Information 3/12/97, p. 1

no longer debating who and who is not a refugee here because this has already been treated under the categorisation of refugees in chapters three and four and their subsections previously.

In spite of that, one can say that after Mogadishu, another location for refugees is in *Hargeisa*. This is according to report on country information thus:

“In 1996 approximately 560 Ethiopian refugees remained in northwest Somalia near Hargeisa”⁸⁵

In conclusion, we may come to a resolution that in Somalia refugees camps are located near and around the capital city of Mogadishu and the city of Hargeisa. These camps in any case, were provided for refugees and internally displaced persons from neighbouring countries like Ethiopia and the people of Somalia.

6.4. Sudan and South Sudan

In Sudan there are many refugee camps with the *Wad Sherife* camp topping the group with a total of 128,000 refugees. This is followed by *Wad Kowli* with inhabitants of about 35,200 refugees. Then followed by *Shagarab* 1, 11 and 111 with a total number of 31,600. Others are located at *Hilat Hakuma* 1 and 11 with 28,200 and at South Tokar District with 23,000 refugees settled there and *Faul* 1, 11 and 111 with a total number of 20,700. Apart from these major camps, other minor ones exist like *UmRakoba* and *Wad Hileau* with 15,700 and 12,800 respectively. Tens of thousands of persons, largely southerners and westerners (southern and western Sudanese) displaced by famine and civil war, live in squatter slums in areas around Khartoum, the capital city.

The refugees in the various camps engage themselves in one job or the other to earn a living. For example:

“In Shagarab, for example, a women’s workshop has been set up For weaving traditional Ethiopian baskets, and the agency CONCERN has organized a rehabilitation and physical education programme for the weakest children”⁸⁶

To compare refugees in the Tanzanian camps and the Sudanese camps unveil great differences. While the refugees in Tanzania were willing to work and thereby live a better life and also contribute to the economy of the host country, the refugees in Sudan showed a nonchalant attitude when approached for work. For instance:

⁸⁵ US Department of State Country report on Human Rights Practices for 1996: Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January 30, 1997; 3/12/97.p.4

⁸⁶ DOSSIER: Refugees –March 1986, p. 27

“The Kassala authorities are also concerned. They complain that the Wad Sherife camp showed some reluctance when it was suggested to them that they help harvest cotton until the end of April in Halfa, some 80 kilometres away. Yet, the residents of the Wad Kowli and Frau camps are willing to lend a hand. On 27 January two delegates from the council of elders at the Wad Sherife circulated around the camp with loudspeakers calling the men to work. We currently need 20,000 men and have only 2,700 in the entire Kassala region, and a mere 132 in the camp itself; they complain, hoping the volunteers would be more numerous as a result of their appeal”⁸⁷

But that is only one side of the story, another situation in the same Sudan gives readers something on which to ponder. For example, we learnt that:

“For the huge majority of these refugees who come from a rural background, there is little alternative but for them to pursue an agricultural livelihood. Specifically for some 133,000 refugees now living in 24 settlements agricultural production and labouring forms the only real alternative to continued reliance on handouts”⁸⁸

From the above, one can see that even in a particular country, behavioural attitude and reactions of people differ. Even in the eastern Sudan, refugees react differently. However, it is important to point out that, while the former quotation cited examples that involved men, the latter was a case study that involved women refugees. As a result of these two differences, one may begin to wonder whether gender has played a role here or maybe academic qualification was in the influence of some categories under study. But again, while the latter instance mentioned of “*rural background*” the former made mention of “*men*” who showed reluctance to cooperate.

Pursuant to balance information on refugee camps in Sudan, it is appropriate to mention that South Sudan was formerly part of Sudan until a referendum was conducted in South Sudan to ascertain if they would want a sovereign state of their own, or to remain in the known and existing country of Sudan. After the referendum, the majority favoured their own sovereign state, hence justice must be done to include them in the study. Then on July 9, 2011, South Sudan became a sovereign state and I recorded the event as published thus:

“JUBA (AFP) – South Sudan’s parliament speaker on Saturday proclaimed his state’s independence on Saturday, sparking joy at the birth of the world’s newest nation and splitting Africa’s largest country in two. “We, the democratically elected representatives of the people, based on the will of the people of South Sudan, and as confirmed by the outcome of the referendum of self-determination, hereby declare South Sudan to be an independent and sovereign nation,” James Wani Igga announced. The independence declaration was read out in front of dozens of heads of state, including Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, and foreign dignitaries as well as tens of thousands of cheering southerners”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.29ff

⁸⁹ Nigeria vanguard Newspaper from Saturday July 9 2011

The declaration affirmed the new state's democratic, multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character, and its commitment to friendly relations with all *countries "including the Republic of Sudan"* The parliament speaker said that as a "*strategic priority*," South Sudan would seek admission to the United Nations, the African Union, the East African Bloc IGAD and other International Bodies. Southern leader *Salva Kiir*, then signed the transitional constitution and took the oath of office as the new state's first president, swearing to *'foster the development and welfare'* of the people of South Sudan.

In an unprecedented affirmative that followed the incident, world leaders both present and absent endorsed the new sovereign state. For instance we learnt that:

"Kenya's President Mwai Kibaki, the first foreign dignitary to speak, declared that his country "fully recognises" South Sudan. Egypt, another key regional power, also officially recognised the Republic of South Sudan, Foreign Minister Mohammed al-Oraby said on his arrival in Juba for the celebrations, the official MENA news agency reported"⁹⁰

As other sovereign states across the globe were sending in their congratulatory messages, and announcing their recognition, the president of the United States of America *Barack Obama* has this to say:

"I am proud to declare that the United States formally recognises the Republic of South Sudan as a sovereign and independent state upon this day, July 9, 2011, Obama said in a statement. The head of the visiting US delegation, Susan Rice, told the people of South Sudan: "Independence is not a gift you were given, but is a prize you won. „We salute those who did not live to see this moment - from leaders such as Dr. John Garang, to the ordinary citizens who rest in unmarked graves. We cannot bring them back. But we can honor their memory"⁹¹

While the Head of the United Nations who was even physically present in Juba the new young states capital of South Sudan in his contribution summarised the event as follows:

"It was an important day for the United Nations, which has been engaged promoting peace in Sudan for many years. „Today we open a new chapter when the people of South Sudan claim their freedom and dignity that is their birthright ,” he said. Ban commended Kiir and Bashir for the "difficult decisions and compromises" but noted key unresolved provisions of the 2005 peace agreement that ended Sudan's devastating north-south civil war. He called on South Sudan to build its nation, saying sovereignty was "both a right and a great responsibility"⁹²

In conclusion, other nations and their leaders or representatives like, Ethiopia president, the Chinese special envoy, the world-bank group president *Robert B. Zoellick* pledged support to South Sudan, while the British Prime Minister *David Cameron* summed it up when he said:

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

“British Prime Minister David Cameron announced that London also recognised the new state”⁹³

Having clarified the issue of South Sudan, which is very crucial to make readers understand why I decided to do so, let me set forth with few instances on refugee Camps locations in this new born state. One of such camps I discovered was called *Yusuf Batil Camp* refugees’ camp in South Sudan. Thereafter, I wish to share with you my discovery:

“The Danish Refugee Council is raising awareness about gender based violence in the refugee camps in South Sudan’s Upper Nile State as a part of the global campaign ‘16 days of activism’. In the kick-off event, refugee youth performed a drama with a clear message: no to gender based violence and yes to education. The Danish Refugee Council (DRC) is now launching a campaign to raise awareness about gender based violence in Yusuf Batil Camp in South Sudan’s Upper Nile State. For 16 days, the camp – home to more than 35,000 refugees from Sudan’s Blue Nile State – will be full of drama plays, songs and banners conveying one important message: No to gender based violence! The campaign is a part of the global initiative ‘16 days of activism’ to end violence against women”⁹⁴

It is important to indicate here that, these refugees were forcefully repatriated from their former country (Sudan) before they gained independence. Apart from this, other camps existed like the *Doro Refugee Camp*, Maban County, and Upper Nile State. South Sudan is a home for over a registered population of 42,606 refugees living in 23 villages. I further discovered that,

“The Mabaan area has 4 refugee camps filled with 120,000 Sudanese who have, fled for their lives from the Blue Nile area of N. Sudan. Many will never return to their homes until there is peace in Sudan. This particular SP operation oversees a food distribution program for about 40,000 refugees and their families. The food consists of lentils, oil, cereal, sorghum, rice, salt, etc. The food is brought by the World Food Program in conjunction with the UN. The process is fairly orderly and requires an official ID from the families before food is given. A 30 day supply is given to 30 families to share. It take about 4 days to complete the distribution. Those are 50 kilo sacks!”⁹⁵

6.5. Tanzania

It is easier to discuss or present analysis on the case of refugee camps in Tanzania than in Kenya due to clear case studies on the issue of refugees here. Here in Tanzania, it is easy to obtain information and also to speak about refugees unlike in Kenya. The difference is as a

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ DANISH Refugee Council: <http://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan-republic/sexual-and-gender-based-violence-rapid-assessment-doro-refugee-camp>

⁹⁵ <http://eaglesnestministry.blogspot.co.at/2013/01/doro-refugee-camp-south-sudan.html>

result of the legalised refugee system and politics in Tanzania, unlike in Kenya. In addition, Tanzania is an asylum country contrary to Kenya.

In Tanzania, there is a refugee camp for instance in *Ngara*. According to my information, about 107,348 refugees from Burundi and 52,000 from Rwanda are settled here. The lesser number of Rwandese refugees in this camp could be better explained with the following quotation thus:

„On 7 December talks were held in Ngara Tanzania between the Rwandan and Tanzanian governments to discuss the ‚forceful’ expulsions of Rwandans from Tanzania [...]. Since the beginning of October, Tanzanian authorities have expelled nearly 2,000 Rwandans and 575 Burundians living in Tanzania“⁹⁶

However, some of the information I received in the course of my research revealed only the numbers of the refugees and their country of origins and sometimes little was said about the camps, but no real information was given on where they could be found. As a result of that, let me share this as one of the problems I have encountered since I started this project.

The following quotation serves as a confirmation and sheds more light on the difficulties one may experience, while dealing with the issue of refugees in East African Continent:

„Given the fact that most of the influx and return movements occurred in the last two months of 1996, the statistics are exclusively based on UNHCR estimates. The demographic information provided is based on initial results of a registration carried out in Ngara in early 1997“⁹⁷

Other refugee camps are located around the village towns of *Kagenyi* and *Kyabalisa* where mostly Rwandese could be found. Furthermore, the town of *Karagwe* serves also as a refugee camp. In all these camps joint efforts from the non-governmental organisations, the Tanzanian government and the local people have been very helpful to the refugees on one side, on the other side, there are also some problems like crimes around the camps and inflation on consumable food products just to mention but a few. We shall read more extensively, the problems and challenges to the three parties as mentioned here in part two of this work.

Regardless of the difficulties, the fact remains that Tanzania is recognised worldwide as a result of its refugee liberalism.

At this juncture, let us pause a bit and shift our minds to another interesting section of the work. This section we are turning our minds to enable us to survey the groups of refugees and see those who mostly suffer as a result of becoming victims. In order to present a better

⁹⁶<http://www.notes.reliefweb.int/Websites>

⁹⁷<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/refbib/refstat/>

analysis, present a better work and to make it easier for readers, I have divided these groups of refugees into four categories namely, men and women, male youths and boys, and finally ladies and girls.

Before then, it might interest you to note that the lives of refugees is very traumatic, they are exposed to a series of unbelievable dangers and their living standards are nothing more than hopeless. Their life as a result of the factors of refugees, which I have earlier discussed in the previous section is very unwelcoming. As far as I am concerned, and as a result of my research work, it is an abomination if not evil to wish someone to become a refugee. It is even a curse. This is because the life situation and standard of living of a refugee is horrible.

He is always on the move, sometimes from camp to camp and sometimes from one state to the other within a country. Many of the refugees in the Horn of Africa live in dirty and swampy areas with no access to roads. These areas are mostly very unhealthy for human beings.

During an interview and discussion with the general secretary of *SOS Kinderdorf International* in the course of my research work in Vienna- Austria, while he was trying to show or rather make me imagine the general life and living conditions of refugees he said thus:

“While I was in Nairobi- Kenya, I discovered that the situation in the country and around the country (in the neighbouring countries like Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda) were terrible. The life people are undergoing, especially the refugees is unbearable. It conforms to the news and information that I got from the media before my travel, and I realised that before the wars and crises in East Africa would come to an end, it will take some reasonable length of time. Good a thing that nothing happened to the Kinderdorf International there in Nairobi”⁹⁸

The above quotation was necessary at this moment to bring readers closer to the real situation of the general life of the refugees from someone who was once in the region and witnessed the situation in person. It may further and also foster the understanding of the whole scenario. More emphasis will be given in the following section of the work on when and what the general living situation of refugees in the countries under review looks like.

However, my research disclosed that refugees in the camps are more often targets of warlords and of opposition parties. Opposition fighters see them as a target of revenge when they lose wars or some areas to the opposition. As a result of that, refugees camps are on several occasions bombed and many migrants killed. An instance to buttress my position is seen from the statement of Amnesty International thus: “*Men have been the main target of*

⁹⁸SOS Kinderdorf Inter: An interview with the General Secretary in 1998. p. 1

the killings, but the majority of those rendered homeless have been women and children“(ai, Nr. 32, 06.1995).

Meanwhile, with this immediate short example, let us quickly move on to the groups to survey and to establish, which groups most suffer.

6.6. Men

Extracting my points from the above quotation, it is agreeable that men are the main target group of the killings. The enemies most of the time determines from the onset or from the outburst of civil unrest and internal disorder to terminate as well as eradicate the men-folks of the opposite party. They are forced to carry guns and shoot the opposition warlords against to their will. In addition, men also suffer from the psychological problem of having lost their traditional role as head of the household. As part of the parenthood, they suffer extremely as they watch their children die helplessly before their eyes.

6.7. Male youths and boys (Teenagers)

My research work reveals that one of the major problems facing refugees is forced separation either from families or from relations and friends. During my research work, I discovered one such traumatic situation of refugees that I want to share with readers now. It was a case of 20,000 Sudanese children. The statement runs:

„Die ssudanesischen Kinder haben im Bürgerkrieg ihre Eltern verloren und irren seit Jahren auf eigene Faust im Sudan, in Äthiopien und Kenia umher. Auf der Flucht vor Krieg und Hungersnot haben sie Tausende von Kilometern durch Wüste, Steppe und Urwald zurückgelegt, barfuß und nur mit kurzen Hosen und zerlumpten T-Shirts bekleidet. Die ältesten sind 18, die jüngsten sieben Jahre alt. Die meisten der Überlebenden - mehr als 10.000 - sind auf ihrem Marsch nach Nirgendwo jetzt in das Flüchtlingslager Kakuma in Nord-Kenia gelangt“⁹⁹

The above quotation in the German says that some Sudanese children and youths lost their parents as a result of civil war and for many years have been on the move. They have been trekking for many kilometres in the desert without shoes and have only T-shirts on them. The oldest among them is 18 (eighteen) years and the youngest 7 (seven) years and more than 10,000 are on the move to nowhere and have arrived in the refugee camp in *Kakuma* northern part of Kenya. I decided on one side to apply the above quotation here even when it is in German language to help me buttress my analysis that even youths suffer very much as a result of falling victim to being refugees. (For more information see page 92ff on this incident)

⁹⁹ Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17. March 1993

On the other side, even when it concerns Sudanese children, it goes a long way in demonstrating how complicated the refugees situation looks like, and the difficulties as much as challenges social scientist and Non-governmental likewise Humanitarian Organisations are faced and confronted with, as a result of refugees problems in the Horn of Africa.

Teenage boys have also been victims of slavery through refugees as a result civil war in Sudan. According to TIMES:

“In the remote southern Sudanese town of Manyiel, a Muslim trader eagerly accepted a stack of currency worth about \$ 1.000, Moments later, he delivered the merchandise – pair of slaves [--] the traffic in humans is an outgrowth of a vicious decade-old civil war between the Muslim north and the Christian and animist south that has killed hundreds of thousands”¹⁰⁰

In my interview with a senior field worker of ‘*Ärzte Ohne Grenze*’(Doctors without Borders) she confirmed to me that from her experience being many years on the front, that young boys very often have had bad experiences as soldier or teenage soldiers and that sometime the experience affects their future lives as well.

6.8. Women

The women on the other hand are victims of sexual abuse. They are maltreated and raped till unwanted pregnancy occurs according to the “*Neue Züricher Zeitung – New Zurich Newspaper*” on Friday 11.11.1993 p. 5 from Kenya”. In order to earn a living, women have to engage in the collection and selling of firewood. In doing that, they have to trek sometimes for about ten (10) to fifteen (15) kilometres in addition to fetching water. This adventure more often than not exposes them to the danger of falling prey to men of opposition groups. Sometimes they are not only raped as mentioned earlier, but they are captured and taken away. Also, in doing that, they fall victim to untold stories of human assault and molestation by men of the opposition groups. Subsequent to that, another story told by TIMES revealed that:

“The women are frequently forced to become “Wives” to their Muslim capturers”¹⁰¹

The above did not only confirm the theory, but also prove above any human reasonable doubt, that women are among the most vulnerable and most affected group of refugees in danger at any given situation of unrest.

¹⁰⁰ Times Op. cit. p. 30

¹⁰¹TIMES July 1, 1996, p.30

6.9. Ladies and Girls (Teenagers)

The situation of these group of refugees is similar to that of the women since they are all female genders. But then, it is important to note that rape and forced pregnancy among under-aged girls and teenagers has psychological and traumatic effects on the life of the victims throughout their life time. Also, the youngsters due to lack of food suffer from serious psychological and physical development problems. In Ethiopia, Eritrean female refugees were faced with horrifying inhumane experiences and are routinely raped or held hostage.

That is not all, „*Radio Afrika*” during a field work in some camps in Kenya had the opportunity to establish a direct contacts with the refugees and their attendants. In one of their discussions a question was thrown by the journalist to one *Martha Ojembera* from Switzerland working with one of the refugee organisation about the life of refugees in the camp. This she has to say:

„These women are so weak and the girls mostly who are children are under 17, 18 years and they got these children at the camp and the men took advantage of them. The lives the children are undergoing in the camp are miserable. If you see the places they sleep, the food they eat you will only get shocked. Their situations are unbearable because they have never seen such a situation in their lives before. It makes one to start crying on witnessing the situation at the camp. It is a dirty life“¹⁰²

Another instance from experienced senior field worker reacting to my question, which group of refugees suffer most when there is an outbreak of inflow or outflow of refugees?, she told me:

“Again this can depend on the different kinds of situations sometimes different groups from the population can become target. Generally it is easy to say that children will be the most vulnerable because they are most likely to catch disease, they are most likely to respond to extra ordinary strange situations, they are also able to show that kind of strenuous weakness after facing very difficult and very traumatic experiences during the war or during the flight. And after the children, it will be the women who are exposed to vulnerable situation as well just imagine women with pregnancy in such situation where they do not have proper homes and may be where they are not used to and no proper medical care for delivery. In the last number of years where women and civilians are increasingly involved in a lot of violence, situations where there was a lot of violence against women. Young girls as well as women are likely to become victims of wars and different kinds of sexual abuse and violence“¹⁰³

I have selected the quotations above in my efforts to prove that it is the women gender that are mostly affected during the course of any civil unrest. When it turns out to be an issue of refugees, their situation is worst.

¹⁰² Radio Afrika: Op. cit. p.2

¹⁰³ Interview with Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border): Op. cit. p. 4

6.10. The General life and Living Situations of Refugees in the Countries under Research

After discussing the various groups, it demands that the work of this section cannot be academically perfect if a general situation of the life of refugees is not treated. As a result of that, I have chosen to tag this subsection 6.10. The general life and living situations of refugees in the countries under research.

Refugees especially the so called "*displaced persons*" live most of the time in the churches, for instance in Kenya. In most of the churches the environment is so bad and unhealthy. For instance, there is not enough to eat, the sanitation is unbearable and the condition to live there is even worse due to lack of medical care. Some of them live in temporary shelters covered with plastic sheeting or under corrugated metal sheets.

They are directly and indirectly forced to sell their belongings for example their domestic animals to survive. This is true given the fact that they are forced to cater for themselves. In most cases, the receiving country provides them with no assistance and makes no provisions before receiving them. This is in most cases the situation before charity organisations and aid workers could reach them. Unfortunately, policy makers of the receiving country either forget or assume not to be serious that even refugees need all the necessary amenities like normal people to live or at least to survive. As a result of the ugly situation, GATE writes as follows:

„Anything beyond basic necessities, such as toilet articles, kerosene for lamps or the fuel with which to cook the food has to be provided by the refugees themselves either through trading things they brought with them, extra food rations or, as in the case of firewood, by collecting it around the Camps“¹⁰⁴

Most of the refugees have to engage in any available job to earn a living like selling of Newspapers (Vendors), as Taxi drivers, Tailors and Car wash and cleaners. Others are found doing work like package carriers, night guide and prostitution.

Tanzania has provided much assistance to refugees due to its geographical position and political role in East Africa. Tanzania established and operates registration centers for refugees. Here refugees are well managed and their human resources tapped not only for their personal benefit but also for the country too. They take part in local projects thereby supporting and contributing to the economy of the country.

¹⁰⁴ Gate, Nr. 3/93. S. 20

A general situation that touches every group as stipulated above is the forced labour. A good case study was in Sudan where:

“Thousands of southerners have been abducted and put to work in households and farms in the north, according to Human Rights Watch/Africa and Amnesty International. The women are frequently forced to become “wives” to their Muslim captors”¹⁰⁵

Another general problem that faces every group of refugees is the tension and hatred from the host citizens as their stay in the country prolongs. At the arrival stage, the host or receiving country tends to show sympathy. The refugees are welcomed and received with open arms. As the period of stay continues to increase, and the resources of the host country are shared with the refugees and even becomes less in quantity, jealousy, hatred, tension and uneasiness gradually develops. Xenophobia becomes the order of the day.

On the other hand, even the citizens of host country benefit as a result of refugees in their territory. A good instance was seen in the western part of Sudan where indigenous have to fetch water from the water wells built for refugees thus:

“Wells have been sunk in the villages for the local population at the same time as in the camp. Sudanese come to be cared for in the hospitals built for the refugees. Cohabitation is happening gradually”¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, refugees face the problems of personal identity and inadequacy. For instance, the organisations and structure of camps and the sort of life obtainable in the camps are most of the time authoritarian and impersonal. The status of individual life is confined, contrived without consideration of personalities. There is no clear perspective of the future and no sense of the social belongings. The worst situation is that refugees have lost the control of their lives. They live only at the mercy of the host countries and to some extent on the humanitarian organisations. According to Dossier:

“Living in such unnatural social conditions causes in some individuals an impairment of interpersonal and social skills. The failure to maintain social status is felt as a humiliation, giving rise to lack of self- esteem and a sense of shame”¹⁰⁷

That is not all, refugees suffer from guilt, from nostalgia and living in the past at their present stages of living conditions. Many of them while on the run, lost members of their personal families, close friends, brothers and sisters. As a result, they are always in torture each time they remember the traumatic experiences that they went through. In addition, and given the fact that they have lost or left behind almost all their properties, the challenge on how to

¹⁰⁵Dossier: Op. cit. P.30

¹⁰⁶ Dossier: Op. cit. p. 32

¹⁰⁷ Dossier: In the Courier No. 150 March-April, 1995, p. 64

resettle and begin a new life in a strange environment with a different culture and tradition, probably with a new language and new behavioural attitudes open yet another door of sufferings. They begin as a result of the new development to undergo a period of inferiority complex.

The process refugees undergo while on transit or when already settled in a particular camp is to say the truth, alarming. It is an insult to humanity. This is because there are different types of problems, all depending on situations on the ground. Some of them are to care for their basic needs and to make sure that their needs are provided for them and their families. That they have the basic needs of the human being like food, water, light and cooling for their children at any point. Other ones are to see that they are able to go to school and also learn simple occupations for their future livelihoods, even when the future is unclear. This is necessary because when they are living in the refugee camps for a long time, they no longer have a defined future. In addition, the question of whether they would be able to go back to their original habitual home countries or not would then arise.

The subsequent result from an interview with a field worker from a Humanitarian organisation in response to my question - what is the life of a refugee judging from her experience in the countries under study? -- deepens further in buttressing the general life of refugees thus:

“Well certainly, the life of refugees are very difficult, it is a very traumatic situation in any body’s life not only because of all the problems involved. You talk also about the factors ranging from your own country sometimes being separated from family members, so apart from maybe the loss of physical contacts there are also lots of Psychological consequences that people are suffering as refugees. It is really hard to imagine from any one of us who are living in freedom throughout our life to imagine what that could really mean. Also how this could mark the beginning of one’s life, maybe this could disorganise the life of people particularly that of refugee children”¹⁰⁸

In as much as the case may be and under any condition, my findings show that good, educated and qualified refugees find it easier irrespective of which group he belongs to. This statement was confirmed by a senior field worker of a humanitarian organisation thus:

“The more qualified refugees have better chances of getting employment while in the camps in most cases from the NGOs given to the fact the everybody including the NGOs are interested to use local skills including receiving refugees. If there is a medical doctor among them of course we will take him or her to treat his or her home people rather than bringing somebody from outside. Then our role is to give and provide them with the facilities they needed and thereby supporting them to improve on them”¹⁰⁹

On the other hand, existing literature revealed an uncomfortable and inhuman situation of refugees in South Sudan namely, prostitution, sometimes forced rapes and forced marriages. All these practices happen in the lives of refugees. Parents most of the time give their under

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border): Op. cit. p. 6

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.p.7

aged daughter up for marriage. In order to give more evidence on this hypothesis I found that:

“DRC emergency officer in South Sudan explains why this campaign is so important: “Sexual harassment and exploitation of women and girls are unfortunately very prevalent in the camp – just as in most other situations of displacement.” In order to improve the understanding of and response to these issues, DRC has conducted an assessment of sexual and gender based violence in the nearby Doro refugee camp. One of the concerning findings was that adolescent girls are at high risk of sexual harassment at water points, along the roads and at the local market. [-----] we’re especially worried about some cases of sexual exploitation where young girls exchange sexual favours in order to get money or clothes”, The assessment also documented that early marriage is widespread in the camp: “It’s normal for girls to get married when they are 14-15 years old – and sometimes they are as young as 11-12 years old”¹¹⁰

For the sake of emphasis, *DRC stands for Danish Refugee Council*. Meanwhile, I refer you to sub-section ten on ‘*experiences of Migrants*’ page 87ff of this project for more and comprehensive evaluations of the experiences of migrants as told by them.

After the general study of the life and living conditions of refugees with substantial examples given. We will now, treat the repatriation of refugees and few other topics connected to the issues discussed, before part one of this project will finally be completed. This last section will focus attention on repatriation of refugees in the Great Lake of African. I hope that readers will find it as interesting as the previous sections would have interested you.

7. Repatriation of Refugees

Repatriation as a word comes after an event has already been taken. That means, it is a secondary action or reaction to a previous event. Many people associate repatriation with force. That means, action carried out against the wish of a person or some group of persons. Our discussion on repatriation in this section and even at all the stages of this work will be associated with refugees in East Africa. We are going to study the repatriation of refugees in the East African part of the continent of Africa. But before then, it might interest some scholars to share with me the meaning or definition of repatriation. According to Dictionary, repatriation is defined as:

“To send back (a refugee, prisoner of war, etc.) to the country of his birth or citizenship”¹¹¹

Referring to the above definition, what concerns this project is refugee. And on this we will focus attention and refer back to its meaning any time we may need to that that.

¹¹⁰DANISH Refugee Council : <http://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan-republic/sexual-and-gender-based-violence-rapid-assessment-doro-refugee-camp>

¹¹¹Collins World Dictionary

Having done so, I have chosen five countries in the region to focus our attention. These countries under scrutiny or study are Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania. I am going to survey, analyse, as well as review the major repatriation of refugees in these countries. In addition, I will evaluate and compare the nature of the repatriations. The questions why repatriation at all will come in? How successful was the repatriation and why not? Other hypothesis like Africa has experienced the worst and longest repatriation will come into play? Is that true? , we shall find out. What are the factors and key players for and during repatriation? Adequate theories will be supplied for readers to digest. Furthermore, we shall see if there is any possibility to prevent repatriation and if yes, under which conditions? These and other hypotheses and theories are the focus of our attention now.

But before we jump into the main work, let us go a step backwards to see what leads to repatriation. This brings us to the word Migration.

Definition of migration says that, it means one leaving his birth place or home for another place for at least one year. And International migrants are defined:

“as those who reside in countries other than those of their birth for more than one year’ It is also noted that the number of such persons has doubled from 75 million in 1965 to an estimated 150 million in 2000 (IOM, 2000a). Of these about 80 to 97 million were migrant workers and members of their families (ILO, 2001), and between 12.1 million (UNHCR, 2001) and 14.5 million (USCR, 2001) were refugees. In addition to the refugees outside their countries of origin, there were some 20-25 million internally displaced persons forced to move within their states. In addition, conventionally, international migration is understood to occur as a consequence of imbalances in development between sending and receiving societies. The most basic assumption is that if growth in material resources fails to keep up with demographic growth, strong migration pressures from LDCs to DCs will evolve. In classical theory, migration occurs due to a combination of supply-push and demand-pull factors. Diminishing migration pressures are thus dependent on eliminating levels of overpopulation and poverty in LDCs”¹¹²

However, my understanding is that migration is as old as human beings as well. That means, migration is one aspect of human nature. That means, it is natural and as a natural phenomenon when the need arises, human being responds accordingly. According to an extract from an electronic publication:

“Migration in general is quite an old and worldwide phenomenon. In the last decade, immigration has become a very relevant phenomenon in all European societies. The consequences that follow on an economic, political, social and demographic level cannot be overlooked. As set out in the Lisbon Strategy (2000)”¹¹³

¹¹²THE MIGRATION- DEVELOPMENT NEXUS Edited by Nicholas Van Hear and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen. Earlier versions of these papers appeared in International Migration Vol. 40 (5) Special Issue 2/2002. P.8ff

¹¹³ Antonio Vitorino: In Managing Integration; The European Union’s responsibilities towards immigrants, CD – ROM- Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung 2004, p.5

In as much as the above quotation may have given readers more insight into the crucial importance of migration, one may further ask, what did the 'Lisbon 2000' say? According to *Antonio Vitarino's* article:

"The Union has set a new strategic goal for the next decade: to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustaining economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion, (...) a Union where the economic and social aspects of the ageing of population become more evident (...) and where the labour for immigrants and refugees represents a crucial component of the integration process. People are Europe's main asset and should be the focal point of the Union's policies"¹¹⁴

Even though the quotation reflects the European Union's efforts in managing the challenging migration situation within the European Union member states and countries, but it goes a long way in citing those natural push factors for migration. Some of these are economic and social factors. Others are the influx of immigrants and refugees in the labour markets of the European Union member states.

While in most cases, economic factors have never topped the list as a push factor for migration in East Africa, social factors serves as one in addition, to the aforementioned factors in the previous section and subsections of the work for instance section 5 subsection 5.1 till 5.3.

For the purpose of recording these factors, it includes: breaches of peace, abuse of human rights, the re-emergence of ethnic tensions and civil unrest as well as religious differences and belonging to a particular group. Important to mention are land and natural boundary disputes and climatic and natural calamities or disasters. Others are the ongoing political processes in the recent independent countries, oppression of opposition groups, economic repression, destitution and persecutions have been on top of the list most recently. So when one or the other from the above happens, people migrate abandoning their natural habitat and flee for their lives.

On their arrival in the receiving country or to their destination, most of the time, they are welcome with open arms. The citizens of the receiving or host country stretch out a helping hand to them with smiling faces, hoping that in the shortest period of time, the refugees will return home. The government of the receiving countries, the non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and humanitarian organisations quickly react and positively offer them different kinds of assistance. As time goes by, the situation changes gradually. The citizens of the host countries begin to experience the pressure and burden of the guests. The government of the receiving countries also notices the pressure and gradually realises that their stay

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

would not be short as was expected. The humanitarian and the non-governmental organisations begin in their own manner and means, to feel that the assistance is either not enough or that they could not keep up with the logistical demands. All these chronic challenges will eventually open up another dimension of thinking- when will the refugees go home?

Repatriation is the next to apply. In application of repatriation, two things come to mind. One is whether the repatriation will be unforced or forced. Unforced or free repatriation is when refugee without pressure wants or agrees to go back to his original natural habitat, while forced and unwilling repatriation is when the refugee is taken home against his will.

Before we continue, it will be of great important to see what various laws from regions of the world to international community say about repatriation. According to the principle of `Non-Refoulement` guiding refugees in international law, it states:

“That no refugee should be returned to any country where he or she is likely to face persecution or torture”¹¹⁵

What will interest any reader is the reflection of the immediate quotation on the practical application of it anywhere in East Africa especially in any of the countries under study. As you continue to move on with the work, we shall see where and when and also how it was applied and whether there were problems as a result of its application.

However, let us see what the OAU or African Union (AU) say about the rights of refugees and repatriation, alternatively, the legal context for protection in repatriation. This could be found in article V of the 1969 OAU Convention. In its provision, it:

“Stresses its essentially voluntary character, the importance of country of origin and country of refugee collaboration, of amnesties and non-penalization, as well as assistance to those returning; Because repatriation may itself cause serious practical difficulties, the general Assembly has increasingly authorized UNHCR involvement in rehabilitation and reintegration programmes, and a fund for durable solutions was at one time proposed, to assist developing countries to meet some of the costs”¹¹⁶

Not only that, the OAU welcomes the potential active role of the UNHCR during its Executive Committee conclusions adopted in 1980 and 1985. The conclusion of the Committee recognises that voluntary repatriation is generally the most appropriate solution. They also stress the necessity for arrangements to establish voluntaries in both individual and large-scale movements. Another good idea was the suggestion of visits to the country of origin by refugees or their representatives for the purpose of informing themselves of the situation in their original home. They also call for formal guarantee for the safety of returnees and

¹¹⁵ GUY S: & GOODWIN –GILL Op. cit. p. 117

¹¹⁶ Ibid. P. 271f

mechanism to ensure the dissemination of relevant information for the refugees. The OAU (AU) in its 1967 Protocol in addition, unambiguously stipulates that repatriation must be a voluntary act. And of course the bases of all later and recent laws guiding refugee the 1951 Convention also in its article V – Voluntary Repatriation stated that:

“The essential voluntary character of repatriation shall be respected and no refugee shall be repatriated against his will”¹¹⁷

From the analysis and examples one can clearly see that the safety of the returnees is very important and highly regarded. While the former warns that no force should be applied against the wish of a refugee especially when there is evidence that he or she could face danger at home if repatriated, the latter goes further to demand for adequate protection even when there is no impending danger at the original habitual home. In other words, the latter is saying that social and necessary amenities should be available for the returnees to adjust easily on return.

As a result of the instances presented, we shall read on the one side, *voluntary repatriation* and on the other side, the *involuntary type* as they happened in East Africa in the last decades and also in recent times.

7.1. Sudan

Referring to the countries on which this work attributes, Sudan happened to be the first instance where major repatriation of refugees took place. This was experienced in 1972 after the Addis Ababa Agreement was concluded. Even though the agreement took into consideration all the necessary safety of the returnees to their original habitual homes, quick voluntary return was not established till after some two years when the first batch first settled at home and no danger was seen. It was thereafter, when it was abundantly clear that it was indeed safe to return, did the balance decide to repatriate.

An instance of another repatriation exercise in Sudan was carried out in December 1996. We were told that:

“In December the Government, together with the government of Eritrea, agreed to begin discussion of repatriation of Eritrean refugees in a technical committee which would include the UNHCR. Approximately 28,000 Ethiopians repatriated early in the year, leaving about 15,000 in camps. Many refugees, including an estimated 26,000 Eritreans, live in villages and towns in Sudan. There were reports of forcible repatriation of refugees, regardless of their status”¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷Courier: Op. cit. p.88

¹¹⁸ US Department of State Country Report on Human Rights Practices on 1996: Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour, January 30, 1997, 3/12/97. p. 8

Despite the wonderful role the Sudanese government played in respect to the above voluntary repatriation, there are some shortcomings by the government as recorded. For example:

“Some reports cited mistreatment of refugees, including beating and arbitrary arrests. Refugees could not become resident aliens or citizens, regardless of their length of stay”¹¹⁹

In spite of that, the government allowed a large number of the refugees in Sudan to work and earn a living. This statement could be supported with a quotation thus:

“Although the Government promised to sell inhabitants (refugees) a plot of land for approximately \$145, tens of thousands were made homeless temporarily. Usually, the inhabitants established temporary shelters on the site of their razed dwellings until they could gain title to a plot of land. Muslims who did not have sufficient money to purchase the land and construct a dwelling could obtain assistance from Islamic churches, others could not”¹²⁰

One may draw some lessons from the quotation. First, is the length of time wasted before a refugee is entitled to a plot of land? The reason could be because of so many logistics involved in the management and administration of refugee problems. It could also lie on lack of competency from the government officials. Two, from the quotation we realised, that eventually they were given a plot even when it was sold to them. With that, they could construct a dwelling place and cultivate agricultural products to earn a living. We learnt previously, that the government allowed a large number of them to work. Three, the less privileged refugees who did not belong to Islamic churches could not secure assistance if they did not have enough money. This is discrimination against refugees, which to my mind could not have come into practice, bearing in mind the plight of the refugees.

7.2. Tanzania

There was also repatriation processes in Tanzania of which some of them were nationals of Mozambique. Much of this exercise was spontaneous, their return and reintegration were somewhat complicated by severe devastation as result of the damages of the war on their home areas. It was then no surprise as some of the returnees migrated back to their refugee villages in Tanzania. One of the lessons here is that even when repatriation is voluntary, if adequate social amenities were not provided, refugees tend not to be excited to go back. Instead they prefer to continue living in exile where they may have substantially developed higher standards of living within the period of stay in exile.

¹¹⁹Ibid

¹²⁰Ibid

A remarkable repatriation course in Tanzania involved refugees from Rwanda. The Rwandese refugees in Tanzania were as a result of the civil war in Rwanda between the Hutus and the Tutsi ethnic groups. This was in reaction to the killing of the president of the country and many others in his entourage. This action was being debated and argued by both major ethnic groups in Rwanda, each group pointing an accusing finger to the other. However, since that topic is not our interest at the moment, we shall divert attention and survey the repatriations as they happened during that genocide. By the time the vast majority of the Rwandese who fled to Tanzania in 1994 as a result of the aforementioned incident, had returned to their original home country. Two weeks after the massive return of the Rwandese refugees from the eastern Zaire, on 5 December 1996, the Tanzanian government and UHNCR issued a joint declaration. The declaration set up a deadline for 31 December 1996 that all Rwandese refugees living in Tanzania must return. An official statement from the government of Tanzania claimed that:

“All Rwandese refugees can now return to their country in safety”¹²¹

Here, the government of Tanzania in collaboration with the office of the UNHCR were satisfied by the aspect of the laws guiding repatriation of refugees. That is, safety of the returnees to their original homeland or country. As a result of the fulfilment of those section of laws, the following action came into play and we learnt that:

“On 12 December 1996, camp leaders in the Ngara area began to move the refugees away from the border and further into Tanzania, so as to maintain their control over the exiled population. In response, the Tanzania army forced the refugees to turn round and redirected them towards Rwanda. Hundreds of thousands of refugees were taken to the Rwandese border during the next few days. Those who had managed to flee into the countryside and those who had stayed in the camps, were rounded up over the next few weeks and trucked back to Rwanda under military escort. In total, an estimated 483,000 Rwandese refugees were returned from Tanzania”¹²²

My feeling concerning the immediate example of repatriation is that even though the requirement was met, the procedure was not free from the application of force. That establishes one of the difficulties I have been encountering with the work that after all said and done, repatriation never freely occurs. To buttress my argument and further demonstrate my fear that though the government of Tanzania and the office of the UNHCR claimed that no danger awaits the planned repatriation of returnees from Tanzania, observers following the exercise wrote:

“Regardless of the nature of Rwandese repatriation from Zaire (where the refugees were returned as a result violence and the AFDL advance),

¹²¹ The State of the World's Refugees 1997-9 in the Great Lake region of Africa: [www:unhcr.ch/sowr97/box 1.16.04.98](http://www.unhcr.ch/sowr97/box 1.16.04.98), p. 2

¹²² Ibid. p.3

Tanzania (where the refugees were returned by the national army), [---], few observers doubted the need for these refugees to go back to Rwanda. Without the return of the refugees, it seems clear, the Hutu militia and the former Rwandese army would have continued to mount attacks on Rwanda from the bases outside the country, indefinitely obstructing any process of stabilization"¹²³

7.3. Ethiopia

Amongst the most, repatriation was registered also in Ethiopia. This significant repatriation was to Zimbabwe and to Chad at the beginning of the decade that is in the early 1990s to return to Ethiopia. Apart from that, other repatriation also took place for instance in Addis Ababa in the month of April 2006:

"The United Nations refugee agency will repatriate some 4,500 Sudanese refugees from Ethiopia during the next two months, an exercise made possible by the restoration of peace in southern Sudan after two decades of civil war, officials said. Civil conflict pitting the Sudanese government and the former rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) ended in January 2005, when the two parties signed a definitive peace agreement after several years of peace talks in Kenya. The SPLM is now a partner in Sudan's government of national unity and administers southern Sudan. The first group of 300 refugees from Ethiopia arrived in southern Sudan on Wednesday, after traversing 820 km in a convoy of vehicles. They had left a refugee camp near the town of Gambella in western Ethiopia on Friday, according to Fernando Protti, the deputy representative in Ethiopia of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). "Since Monday, 300 refugees have crossed the border to south Sudan, marking the beginning of the long-awaited repatriation of Sudanese refugees from Ethiopia," Protti said. "We are planning to repatriate 4,000 more refugees until the end of May, before the rainy season starts." He said the rainy season would make roads impassable"¹²⁴

Let me say in passing that the repatriation was made possible by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees by proving USD\$1 million, the initial fund for the exercise. While total of USD\$2.8 million was needed to fund the return of the 4,500 refugees. On the whole, it was established that an estimated 613,000 southern Sudanese refugees, and some 4.5 million people are displaced within Sudan.

¹²³Ibid

¹²⁴<http://www.irinnews.org/report/58671/ethiopia-sudan-repatriation-of-sudanese-refugees-underway>

7.4. Kenya

At the end of May 1993, Kenya was host to 384,910 refugees. The majority of these – some 330,000 were Somalis, while the remaining 50,000 were equally divided between Ethiopians and Sudanese. At the beginning of 1993, the number increased more and more. I discovered that throughout 1992, there was an average of 900 refugees that arrived each day.

On the other hand, voluntary repatriation has also taken place. For instance:

“About 10 per cent of the Somali refugees registered in camps in Kenya have voluntarily returned over the past few months, and some 86,000 more are registered for voluntary repatriation. Over 42,000 Ethiopians repatriated in the first quarter of 1993”¹²⁵

7.5. Somalia

The similar problem I encountered during the presentation of my research on the location of refugee camps in Somalia before was also the identical challenge that, I faced in my efforts to identify some major repatriation exercises in Somalia. However, it was on record that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees planned some repatriations involving Somalis. Whether these arrangements came to pass, I cannot confirm. In any case, some movement of persons internally took place. Whether this movement of persons in Somalia could be judged as repatriation is optional.

One school of thought may argue that repatriation can only involve movement of people across international border, others may go further to argue that, repatriation could also take place within the country. These movements could mean from a particular region to the other.

This is a similar argument represented by some observers and experts in this discipline that internally displaced persons are not refugees because crossing national borders did not take place. While others argued that, this kind of displacement and those affected fall into refugee groups. For me, the two groups of thought are right depending from each stand point of argument. If we judge from the definition of refugees as contained in the Geneva Convention in 1951, the former group is right, but if one argues from the aspect of the 1961 Heads of African leaders and government in the Addis Ababa Convention, the latter will be favoured. Be that as they may, some recent amendments and seasonal provisions of the United Nations and the African Union have on a resolution that both groups of persons should be cared for and have also mandated the UNHCR to do so.

Despite the above positions and arguments for and against, we learnt that in Somalia:

¹²⁵ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 13 No. 1, spring 1994. p. 51

“As regards to forced displacements, it was reported that in November 1996, about 1,000 displaced minority families returned to their farmlands in the Juba valley from Kismayo as part of a joint operation by the United Nation agencies. This could be the beginning of the return of a significant number of people who moved from the Juba valley towards the Kenyan border and Kismayo in April and May 1996 due to the combination of insufficient rains and later devastating floods in some areas”¹²⁶

Another instance where repatriation took place was also recorded thus:

“As security conditions improved in many parts of the country, refugees and internally displaced persons continued to return to their homes. Despite sporadic harassment, including the theft of U. N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) food assistance packages by militiamen, repatriation generally took place without incident”¹²⁷

The aforementioned are just few instances to justify repatriation as it occasionally took place in the country under focus. With that, we move ahead to involuntary repatriation.

8. Involuntary Repatriation

Let me begin by quoting and sharing with readers a good passage I found during research work that:

“First, of course, there is the reality that involuntary repatriation is taken place in large numbers today. As one UNHCR publication bluntly puts it “It is quite clear that a large proportion of the world’s recent returnees have repatriated under some form of duress” [And] from the reality of involuntary repatriation has emerged the growing belief that the standard of Voluntary repatriation needs to be contextualized. For, after all, the reasoning goes, repatriation takes place under a variety of different conditions and it is unrealistic to insist on adherence to the standard of voluntariness without taking into accounts the peculiar conditions in which it has to be practiced”¹²⁸

Referring you to the above citation, let me share also with you some of the numerous problems refugees face when they are involuntarily repatriated. For instance:

1. Women’s traditional roles, responsibilities and supportive networks become dramatically altered by involuntary repatriation, especially when the repatriation means separation from family members or from the partner.
2. Whether the receiving country has funds to reintegrate them. This is because most of the time, lack of fund on the side of the receiving countries have little or no fund to provide the forced repatriated refugee the common need in life like, a place to put head. In addition to house, food and clothing,

¹²⁶E/CN/4/1997/88: Op. cit. p. 4

¹²⁷ US Department of State Country Reports: Op. cit.

¹²⁸ CHIMNI B.S.: From Resettlement to Involuntary Repatriation: Towards a critical History of Durable Solutions to refugee Problem: In Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3, 2004, p. 63f

3. If the Northern donors especially, the international community and more especial those world economic powers who make world economic policies are willing to consider such policies that will support returnees?
4. Returnees are disenfranchised of the refugee statutes, making them vulnerable to acute economic and financial shortage,
5. They are forcefully returned to a place where they have no desire to return,
6. They are confronted with a host of difficult problems relating to property claims, employment challenges and education not only for them but also to their children.
7. For instance, when it comes to returnees, “economic factors” or development, are generally defined in narrow terms. The scope of returnee aid is delineated with the objective of establishing minimum material conditions in which the returnees can be promoted¹²⁹

In addition, readers can compare the above survey and analysis with the following quotation:

“Eritrean refugees that are returned face indefinite detention and torture. But those who flee also risk a perilous journey that includes risk of torture, capture, imprisonment and death. Human traffickers exploit the situation, profiting from Eritreans paying to be smuggled across the border”¹³⁰

After I briefly summarised the challenges that faces refugees when they are forcefully repatriated, the question a patience and interested reader will ask is for instance, who bears the cost of these repatriation processes enumerated in the respective countries? A precise answer is that three parties are involved in the exercise. These are the host country, the UNHCR and the NGOs even though the European Union plays major role, but in most cases through the UNHCR. For that reason, I decided to mention only the first three parties. In order to establish this statement, I decided to place here three different instances where all the three parties either single-handedly carried out the operation or where the exercises are collectively done.

Firstly, having satisfied those areas namely voluntary and involuntary repatriation in the various countries under review with support from existing literatures, I am now going to share with you some problems and challenges that refugees face when they are willing and ready to be returned. You can read as follows.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ <http://www.cvt.org/ethiopia>, Op. cit.

9. Problems and Challenges faced by Refugees when ready to return Home

During my research work, I discovered that some hindrances sometimes make it impossible for refugees to be repatriated. Some of these problems and challenges are recognition of educational certificate obtained while in exile. The issue of married ones while in exile or even the possibility that one may have during his stay in exile changed religion beliefs for one reason or the other. Even, children born in exile have no identity with the home country of their parents, and language confrontation with the children should they follow their parents and return. A good example is a case study in Sudan. *John R. Rogge* writes:

“In most refugee settlement in eastern Sudan for example, Ethiopia/Eritrean refugees are taught by Sudanese teachers using a Sudanese curriculum in Arabic language and script”¹³¹

Other challenges are the possibility of securing a living when returned. Some women who during the period of exile turned to prostitution as an alternative to survive may not be willing to return knowing fully well that their families will not accept their profession. When they even return, most of them tend to remain in the major cities in their home country, where they will continue their profession and never venture to return to their home towns.

Financial support is one of the difficulties encountered not only the returnees alone but also the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) under whom the repatriation exercise is carried out, assisted by the country harbouring refugees. In most cases, the Non-governmental and Humanitarian organisations are very supportive to the whole exercise. For instance, existing literatures on the subject show that repatriation in Somalia and Ethiopia and elsewhere in East Africa in the 90's all suffer from lack of funds thus:

“Unfortunately, there were no signs of forthcoming aids...And there were no other UN agencies willing to work in these regions”¹³²

Even when majority of the available literatures believe that voluntary repatriation is the most effective and humane means, which I also tend to support, there is still much to be done to effectively improve it. That refugees are willing to go home is not an end to the process. More effort should be made to really get refugees established and reintegrated once again in their original home country when they are back. Mere assumption that the country of origin is their natural base and as such, little precaution is taken and is nothing more than ignoring the gross danger that may erupt if adequate care is not taken from the onset. I am of the mind that if serious and adequate considerations and provisions are not made before repatriation

¹³¹ ALLEN Tim & MORSIK Hubert: *When Refugees Go Home: African Experience UNRISD 1994*, p.42

¹³² *Ibid.* P. 65.

starts, it is best to leave refugees in their country of exile as long as their lives are not endangered till such conditions that may be conducive for their return and reintegration are made available. A situation like the following example shows, will not be supportive. It runs thus:

“No proper security has been provided to the displaced people in the event of returns to their homes particularly in the Mt. Elgon region. Many of the victims have no resources to enable them reassemble [*sic*] homes as all their property has been destroyed. Families have lost parents leaving orphans who will be unable to re-establish new homes. Others are aged and therefore incapable of re-establishing homes”¹³³

However, some literatures revealed that a number of other displaced people who were affected in Ethiopia feared for their security if they returned home, especially those from the *Mount Elgon* area. They were afraid that the other clans or opposing groups would strike again to kill them.

Subsequent to the last statement, it created for me good and timely period in this work to treat at the same time the experiences of the migrants and or refugees themselves. In doing this, I will retrieve their experiences by application of the results of live interviews *Radio Afrika* in Vienna Austria conducted in East Africa in 1998 during a radio project on the life experiences of the migrants and refugees in the Great Lake. The evaluations, the analysis and survey to be carried out will be quantified, and measured, backed up as well as supported and verified with a similar interview I personally conducted with a Staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without Borders) in Vienna Austria in 2003. At the end of it, readers will have a qualitative and comprehensive insight into the real lives of migrants as told by them.

10. Experiences of Migrants in the Horn of Africa

The experiences of migrants and refugees in the East African Countries under focus cannot be over exaggerated. The experiences by migrants and even the social workers and NGOs that are daily caring for them are even not better as situations were precarious, painful as well as unbearable like any other person under acute trauma. Contributing to this *Jeff Crisp* has this to say:

“Individuals and Organisations who work on behalf of refugees are frequently affected by a syndrome which can best be described as ‘humanitarian pessimism’ [---] the state of the world – and Africa in particular- is in perpetual decline, with life becoming progressively more nasty, brutish and short for ever larger numbers of people [...

¹³³ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 13 No.1. Op. cit. p.45

migrants]. Each war that breaks out is more violent than the last, and every population displacement that occurs is described as being unprecedented` in its scale, speed and degree of human tragedy”¹³⁴

These experiences and challenges ranges from lack of jobs as restrictions are officially placed on migrants and refugees to work in the three countries where interviews were conducted either by *Radio Afrika* or the ones I did with *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without Borders) and *Kinderdorf International* in Vienna Austria. Policy challenges in the countries under review have affected the rights and welfare of the asylum seekers, migrants and or refugees in their host countries.

As a result and amongst other things, the migrants who have lost almost all of their belongings in life are in need and also in the quest to satisfy their basic needs like drinking and cooking water, food and cooking pots or even plastic sheeting. Others need something like blankets, mattresses and mosquito nets for sleeping. In addition, they wait for all day each week to receive ration or coupon cards for food and for other resources from the aid agencies and NGOs that are organised, supervised and or run by the UNHCR.

Furthermore, the sick migrants lack medical treatment and have to receive from time to time medical kits for healthcare and treatments and also sanitation. These are supplied to them by the aid agencies. Subsequent to these unbearable situations the migrants face, many of them who have overstayed in the camps, most of the time over three years as a result of ongoing wars and civil strife, which had made it impossible for them to be repatriated, receive aid from the aid agencies to build their own houses. The NGOs and humanitarian agencies also assist them to establish community self-help setups, especially for those migrant refugees who are physically or mentally disadvantaged.

Meanwhile, readers are privileged to read instances where the challenges and experiences migrants and refugees made with references as detailed above under this subsection of the project research as we go ahead in the region under study. In spite of that, it suffices to place on record that it is difficult for me and I believe also for many other scholars in my position to describe. The life of the migrants were reduced to zero and it might be probably better to describe the situation as a Staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without Borders) put it:

“Well certainly, the life of migrants and refugees are very difficult, are very traumatic situation in any body’s life not only because of all the problems involve, you talk also the factors ranging from your own country, sometimes

¹³⁴ **Crisp** Jeff: Africa’s Refugees; Patterns, Problems and Policy Challenges in: *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 18.2.2000

being separated from family members, so apart from maybe the physical contacts also there a lot of psychological consequences that people are suffering as refugee. It is really hard to imagine from any one of us who are living freely throughout without problem to our life to imagine what that could really mean. Also how this could reflect, maybe will disorganise the life of particularly the children”¹³⁵

That notwithstanding, during my research work, I discovered from the interview that the experiences of the migrants are very diverse in nature. These range from lack of food, even lack of fire wood to make fire. To cook food if any raw food is available was a big problem. The women and girls fall victim to rape and forced pregnancies, forced marriage and various forms of violence. Others are the need to send their children to school coupled with the question of how they will pay for the school fees or who pays the fees for their children. Many of them are afraid to even give interviews to Media in the fear that they may be reported to an enemy warring party who might even kill them. In addition, they suffer from separation from their families and love ones. Some have for the past one year at the time of this interview never seen their family members and love ones and do not even know if they are still alive or dead. Many do not even have a place to sleep at night because they were not recognised as migrants and therefore could not be attended to, since their status disqualified them. As a result, most of them sleep outside either under the trees or around the camps in the night and are exposed to militants who visit the camps from time to time for rampages.

This was one such information *Radio Afrika* gathered while on field work and visits to some refugee camps in Ethiopia. The migrant who pleaded to remain anonymous said as follows:

“We have no shelter, no place to sleep and sleep outside the camp because we were told that there is no space again for us. Nobody is taking care of us since we left Sudan to Ethiopia and we have not eaten since three days now. This Organisation Doctors without boundary has given us water to drink since yesterday. So we are very hungry and I am afraid what will happen to my three children”¹³⁶

That is not all, I gathered that spread of various types of disease were very common. These ranges from Malaria to Cholera as a result of the lack of latrines. Air borne diseases spread all over the camp as migrants come and go, transmitting and spreading diseases over the camp along with them. These findings revealed during the various interviews conducted is quantified by *Brendan Girdler-Brown* when he claimed that:

¹³⁵Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border) Op. cit.p.7

¹³⁶Interview: Radio Afrika. Op. cit. p.2

“Very little research has specifically addressed the important issue of the relationship between migration and HIV/AIDS in these regions of Africa. However there is a great deal of information about migration, and also about HIV/AIDS, in isolation from each other. HIV/AIDS is widespread and prevalent throughout the two regions. Since HIV prevalence rates are now high in almost all African countries, the concern that migrants may bring the virus with them is no longer appropriate. Instead, the concern is that migrants may be vulnerable to acquiring the infection during migration, and that they may spread the infection when they return to their homes at the end of migration. In the eastern African region there has been rapid growth of urban populations during the last ten years, mainly as a result of rural to urban migration. In addition, the conflict in Sudan and disputes in the Horn of Africa have created large numbers of internally displaced persons. Most recently, conflict in the Great Lakes region has also resulted in very large numbers of refugees crossing international borders”¹³⁷

This view was also shared by the staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without Borders) as you must have read above.

For instance, the armed conflicts and chronic conflicts in Sudan in war situations where the populations are seriously affected very often due to long ongoing war situations, face this this is reflected in many different ways like on health structures, it destroyed and prevented activities. Diseases are spread in many different ways. The long contaminating diseases are re-emerging because of migration and displacement. So there are many, many health problems directly or indirectly related to the war situations. This is true to most of these countries in the region.

Sexually transferable disease were common to include HIV/AIDS as preventive measures are either very expensive or not at the reach of the poor migrants or even not available. Medication stocks at the refugee camps were very poor. Few NGOs try to administer health services to thousands of people and this is not enough as many migrants could wait for over two to three weeks before they could be attended to. Most of the time, some migrants that are sick die before they will receive medical attention. As *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without Borders) put it, while analysing some of their functions:

“We look for shelter and accommodations, we take care of the water supply and sanitation, we make that food supply of the people especially at the very early stage of the problem and immunising the refugees because they are in a very crowded living conditions especially children are very much exposed for missiles outbreak and the likes and very many lives has been lost because of different kinds of disease so one of the early activities are a broad organise weekly campaign then certainly general health care that means clinical activities about preventive health care and activities. So epidemical awareness making

¹³⁷Girdler-Brown Brendan: International migration, 1998 - Wiley Online Library, Volume 36, Issue 4, pages 513–551, December 1998. IOM 1998. See also: [http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1468-2435/homepage/virtual_issues.htm](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1468-2435/homepage/virtual_issues.htm)

sure that we know what kind of disease that are emerging (coming out) in these refugee camps because as I said earlier disease can easily spread very fast so it is important to have an information, a health information existence that allows you to monitor the ongoing disease and to react very quickly to any alarming and so where we are working, we do prepare emergency Kits that contain all the required materials for such situations like kits for health care or health centre or kits for cholera. So if anything happen in the refugee camp everything that is needed to fight the outbreak is available within a limited amount of time to handle high number of cases of different kinds of diseases”¹³⁸

And the crime wave in and around the camps increases day in day out as control measures were difficult to observe. Warring parties from time to time targeted camps and laid ambushes, killed some migrants and took away their wives, girls and valuable things they left home with.

In addition to the analysis so far, let me share with readers the extracts from the interview. I believe that these will shed more light on the experiences of the migrants in the region under review, which they have gone through. As I write this project, their lives have not changed for good. These experiences are summarised during the interview by *Radio Afrika*, one of the migrants in Kenya was confronted to tell the media what is her basic need and she said thus:

“We have nothing to make fire and cook and because of that we have to go long distances in order to collect firewood and sometime we fall victims of rape. The soldiers have been harassing and taking some of our little girls away from us sometime for weeks and sometime before they release them the girls are already pregnant”¹³⁹

This claim is further justified with the view of *Meredith Torshavn* in what is captioned the political economy of rape, which substantiates that:

“In July the Rwandan Patriotic Front won the war and took power. Hutu and Tutsi killed each other as well as members of their own group, but this was primarily a genocidal attack on the Tutsi. Women and men were implicated in the killings, but women bore the brunt of the civil war. Sexual violence occurred on a massive scale: the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights (1996:7) initially estimated that 250,000 women were raped, but a recent Human Rights Watch publication says ‘tens of thousands’ (des Forges 1999:215); the World Health Organization (2000:3) issued a revised figure of 15,700 women and girls between the 3 ages of 13 and 65”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Interview: Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without borders) Op. cit.

¹³⁹ Interview: Radio Afrika, Op. cit.

¹⁴⁰ Turshen Meredith: *The Political Economy of Rape; an Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa*. Published in *Victims, Perpetrators or: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* edited by C. Moser and F. Clark, 55-68. London: Zed Books, 2001

Pursuant to migrant experiences as buttressed during interviews in the former citation the lady continued and concluded saying:

“Our children are small and need to start school, but there is not enough schools to take our children. It is a big problem for us if the children cannot learn to read and right. We need the help of the NGOs to assist us built schools here for our young ones”¹⁴¹

Another migrant who was confronted during the field interviews complained that her three children and she have been separated from their family since over one year as social unrest and killings forced them out of their home country. In her words, we learnt that:

“We are family of seven, since the left Somalia, I ran away from the militants with three of my children that were with me at home when the militants came to kill people. Since then, I do not know were my other two grown up children are and where my husband is. We do not know if the story is going to be like that that of the lost boys of Sudan. I am sure you still remember the story of the 30.000? If they are dead or alive I do not know. I pray to God that one day, if we have opportunity to go back, that we will meet ourselves again. I pray”¹⁴²

Pursuant to the experiences of the migrants and drawing attention from the complaint of the woman in the interview. The Staff of the *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without Borders) surprisingly reminded me of the incident and said:

“I think every country has specification and the way refugee communities have gone through different experiences, certainly there are differences. Well, you know for example, of young men Sudanese refugees, young men Sudanese in the eighties who have fled to Kenya and who had a very long, very traumatic journey until they reach Kenya and many had lost their lives on the way. So that is just exactly one of the extra ordinary stories where young men suffered really traumatic experience and then they could get assistance from northern Kenya, and they are different from these people who had stayed within their countries like within Sudan. There are many displaced communities who are able to fled to their neighbouring communities”¹⁴³

At this juncture it might interest readers to know more about the story of the lost boys of Sudan. This is important especially for the benefit of doubt and for those who have no knowledge and or may not have had the opportunity to read about this. Very special on this migrants experience is that the story has been written and produced in book form. Still very essential is that the book is recommended for use in the schools especially in East African countries. Further to that is that, there is a Synopsis on the incident. This Synopsis goes as follows:

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Interview with *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without borders) Op. cit.

“Garang, an eight-year-old boy in Sudan, tends cattle for his father. When his village is attacked during a civil war, he escapes the destruction and death that comes to his family and the other villagers. He soon discovers that thousands of other boys who were away from their villages during the attack are also orphaned. The Lost Boys band together and set off to walk hundreds of miles to Ethiopia to find safety. They endure numerous hardships and dangers on their journey. In Ethiopia they find shelter at a refugee camp, but fighting soon reaches that country as well, and the boys are chased back to the Sudanese border. From there they walk to Kenya where they settle in another camp. Garang tells his story to a refugee worker named Tom who uses it to inform people in other countries about the plight of the boys. Years pass, and Garang grows into manhood. He becomes a leader and educator in the camp. When Tom returns with an offer of a home and education in the United States, Garang is conflicted. Then he recalls his father’s words: Your heart and mind are strong. There is nothing you cannot do. He becomes one of some 3,800 Lost Boys resettled in the U.S. This story is fiction, but is based on the true story of the Lost Boys as told to the author by the young men who lived it”¹⁴⁴

Therefore, let me share with readers the background information as the incident happened in the eighties namely:

“A civil war has raged off and on in Sudan, Africa’s largest country, since 1955. During the late 1980s the conflicts were between the Muslim Arab government of the North and the non-Arab, Christian and Animist black Africans in the South. Thousands of Sudanese boys were orphaned when armed soldiers attacked their villages, killing their families. The Lost Boys, as they came to be called, numbered almost 30,000 when they began their trek over deserts, mountains, and rivers. Thousands died along the way from disease, starvation, exposure, wild animal attacks, and drowning. During the course of their journey, the boys walked almost 1,000 miles. In 2000, the United States began a resettlement program, and about 3,800 Lost Boys started a new life in cities ranging from Atlanta, Georgia, to Fargo, North Dakota. Many have made great strides, but others have found the cultural adjustment difficult. These young men face continue to face formidable challenges, but their faith and belief in education fuel their determination to one day return to their homeland and work toward peace”¹⁴⁵

Unfortunately, the dilemma has persisted till now. The Sudanese war which has been tagged the longest civil war in the continent of Africa in human history has not found its end. Despite the fact that South Sudan has gained independence from the rest of the majority of the northern part of the original Sudan, the conflict continues. And we learnt that:

“In Darfur, home to mostly Arabic and black Muslim populations. Relentless attacks have been carried out by government backed militias, called Janjaweed (“man with gun on a horse”). Considered one of the worst humanitarian crises in history, it is believed that

¹⁴⁴Williams Mary: BROTHERS IN HOPE: THE STORY OF THE LOST BOYS OF SUDAN
illustrated by R. Gregory Christie Published by Mail: Lee & Low Books, 95 Madison Avenue, NY 10016;
Copyright © 1997-2007 The Active Learner
See also: www.teachingbooks.net

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

between 200,000 and 400,000 people have been killed. More than two million have been displaced”¹⁴⁶

While, I was interviewing a Staff of one of the NGOs who was working in East Africa, I confronted her to mention to me the failures her Organisation has experienced during the humanitarian work they have been doing over the years. In addition, I referred to the incidence of the information as I read from the interview *Radio Afrika* conducted in Kenya in 1998. It was surprising for me to hear her confirm that or at least make a similar statements and she said thus:

“I think in any situation where human beings work there are also failures. I would not call any particular programme a failure because there are always strong points and weak points in any intervention and we have been critical. Very often I think we question on how much the protection of refugees have gone this is always our responsibility. We are working that it cannot be entirely our responsibility but we know we must be present in the camps and certainly what is happening in the refugee camps has given us a lot to think and to question. For instance, the murder of refugees in the camps and that is something many agencies has to question and have been questioning, or asking themselves how this could happen because they could not prevent it and have no answer until now”¹⁴⁷

Speaking on the escalated killings in and around the camps in Kenya, she narrated the ugly situation and the dangers inherent with it and hinted the Media during the interview that:

“Last week, they killed my cousin in the camp. Up till now, the NGOs and the government of Kenya have been making inquiry of who killed him. People are suspecting that one of the warring groups must have killed him according to news, but I am afraid to mention the source of this information. I am afraid they may also kill me if I do so. You see, there are people around here looking at me as I am talking and this is very dangerous for me. This is one of the challenges facing us as refugees”¹⁴⁸

Reflecting on the above citation, it is my sincere peace of mind that it has justified as much as verified the assertion like the theories as reported in the *Radio interview* on the killing of migrants in and around the camps. Furthermore, to the issue of migrant experiences, what quickly comes to mind is the challenging episode of crime. The wave of the matter was very high at the time the interview was conducted and following the current situation or even from the current literature the situation has not been abated. An elderly man who is a migrant had this to say:

“Criminals come to the camp from time to time to steal and beat us. We do not know from where they come from because we do not see their faces. They cover their faces and speak different languages. Two years ago, I came

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Interview Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without borders) Op. cit. p.8

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

here with bicycle, after two months I arrived, they came in the midnight and beat many of us and put our faces on the ground so that we cannot see their faces. In the morning, I did not see my bicycle again, they took it. Since then, every three to four weeks they will come again and beat people, sometimes they will take our women and molest them and tear their cloths into pieces and forced them to sleep with them. We complain to the NGOs and local authority but it seems the local authorities are not doing anything. They tell us, go everything will be ok, but after sometimes, the arm robbers come again and again. We are very tired and afraid of our life”¹⁴⁹

Despite all these bad and inhuman experiences of the migrants, reports from Tanzania based on the interview revealed some hopes and better days to come. At least refugees are participating in some mini trades to earn a living and better their lives. Some of the migrants work as informal wage labourers around the camps. Others even sell their food rations or coupons to get cash with which they use to buy other essentials according to their needs. In addition, few have small gardens and work in agricultural fields and cultivate few crops to earn a living. It did not stop there, many also do other work or entrepreneurial activities like hairdressing salons, electrical and mechanical work like installations, repair of radios and video recorders and other variety of mini jobs available around the camps. The list of mini-jobs migrants undertake goes further to include tailoring and restaurants.

Nonetheless, some educated or very literate migrants are employed by the NGOs to assist them in running the day to day job of caring for other migrants and refugees. A lady who claimed to be a nurse in her country in Somalia before they were forced out to run into Tanzania had this to say:

“I was very lucky that my life is better than other migrants. My family and myself came three years ago with that hope that we shall go back after six to one year. All these years I have been working as Medical assistant to ‘Care International’ one of the NGOs here in Tanzania. IN spite of that I am so sad that many person in the camp every due to one sickness or the other because of lack of medication. The treatment, they receive from the NGOs are most of the time too small to cure them completely. Sometimes, the Militants will not allow the Humanitarian Organisations to bring Aid assistances to the camps due to war. We hear shootings almost every day especially from the borderline to Somalia”¹⁵⁰

These few employment opportunities were also substantiated by the Staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors Without Borders) during my discussion with her and she responded to my question whether refugees or migrants have access to work, while staying in the camp and what kind of workers are engaged. Listen to what she has to say:

“Well, there are few people who work in the refugee camps especially for those who have been in the health section before will be recruited and be taken to participate especially for our organisation. We know that they do

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

engage in small trade activities, or handcraft work depending on their skills”¹⁵¹

Evaluating the aforementioned citation, and the survey and analysis so far, we can read that some migrants also engage in small trade activities, while others are doing one sort of handicraft or another. This also answers questions if there are still other activities they do to earn a living on one hand. On the other hand, it buttresses and sheds more light on the life of migrants in the host country where they incidentally found themselves.

In continuation of the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the experiences of the migrants in the Great Lake of Africa, it is pertinent to mention that it has been an age- long, decades of experiences as was gathered during the camp visit. Parallel alongside these experiences as shared by the migrants are the reactions of the host countries. Migrants are in most cases not wanted within or inside the cities of the host nations. They are seen by the indigenous people as being treated better than them. This is because, most of the aid and services targeted to the migrants like, clean drink water, imported food stuffs, mosquito nets for sleeping used by migrants in the camps and even health services provided for them to mention just a few are seen by the host citizens as luxury. This has in effect produced and polluted the expected good and harmonious relationships between the host country citizens and the migrants. To this end, a young migrant narrated his experience and confirmed this:

“We migrants are not being received by good heart from the citizens of our host countries. They see us as taking some government benefits of their country from them. Many of the local people did not know that we do not get anything from their government but from International Organisations like NGOs and Humanitarian and Health Organisations. They feel that we are being better treated than themselves and we are living luxurious life on their expenses because of the aids and services we get from the NGOs and UNHCR”¹⁵²

But what are these luxuries that have been the bone of contention and have caused more hatred amongst the indigenous people and the migrants on one side and kept the stake holders in the management and welfare of refugees and migrants so busy and challenging to sort out on the other side? To further find answers to the above, I asked *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* during the period of interview and the staff had this to say:

“One of them is to care for their basic needs and make sure that their needs are provided for them and their families are covered like food, water, light and cooling for the children that one important points. The other one is to see that they are able to go to school and also learn simple occupation for their future. This is necessary because when they are living in the refugee’s camps for a long time they do no longer have a define future. In addition, the question of whether they would be able to go back to their various home countries or not would then arise. As I said before, providing aid is not an easy thing considering all the factors, the situation in which people are living the local

¹⁵¹Interview with *Ärzte Ohne Grenze* (Doctors without border) Op. cit.

¹⁵²Interview: Radio Afrika, Op. cit.

capacities, the appropriate ways have been able to help people in difficult circumstances”¹⁵³

Supporting the statement of the Staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without Border)*, I discovered during my research that:

“In refugee emergencies, the focus of UNHCR’s social services department was on ensuring that the needs were met of unaccompanied children, elderly people, disabled, chronically sick and others who were socially or economically disadvantaged were met. The NGO responsible for the sector tended to employ social workers, who would move through the refugee community identifying needs and arranging the distribution of appropriate resources”¹⁵⁴

Despite that, let me say that managing refugees and migrants has never been an easy task. The NGOs, the field and social workers and even the UNHCR are faced with several challenges. The migrants also have not had it easy because of the complexities involved in caring for their lives. For instance, the NGOs and the agencies involved must be in the position to know and evaluate, likewise analyse the cultural and social backgrounds of the migrants. Their ways of life, the kind of food they eat in their home country or their lifestyle in order to take adequate care of them. The migrants complained that they are not being given the kind of food they used to eat in their home country and that they find it difficult as a result. These were some of the experiences a migrant lady shared with *Radio Afrika* during the course of the interview. With reference to both challenges on the side of UNHCR and the aid agencies. Also on the side of the migrants with reference to their experiences, let me share with readers one of the interesting findings, I made in the interview literature from *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without Border)* and this involves:

“One of the problems in refugee’s situation is to find the right location where people are safe and where all the conditions are available. Like water supply, where you are allowed to dig latrines, and so on and these are just logistic constraints that have become very important in refugee’s situations. In some bad situation women have to go for quite a long distance to collect fire wood where their protections would not be granted, so we have to take these and others into consideration in the planning for such programmes. To obtain relevant information about refugee community, how they have been benefiting from health care programmes or otherwise. Information for instance on what have been the immunisation coverage before they left their homes. What have been their kind of living condition what kinds of foods are they used to because it is not just easy to give people any kind of food? The food has to be something they have been familiar with, they like eating or they trust or so. We know very well from experience that people in refugee

¹⁵³ *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border) Op. cit.*

¹⁵⁴ Bakewell Oliver: *New issues in Refugee research, Working Paper No. 82; Community services in refugee aid programmes: a critical analysis. Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees CP 2500, 1211 Geneva 2 Switzerland.*

situation are very shy of their whole living situations, so they also have to establish trust with those who help them”¹⁵⁵

To round up this subsection on the experiences and challenges of migrants as well as refugees in the Horn of Africa, an interviewee in Kenya was asked to narrate their living conditions in the camp and whether there was anything that he especially wished for himself? Responding to the question, he was captured saying that their life in the camp is very miserable. In addition to all the challenges facing them, he regrets that they are confined and restricted from leaving the camp and its surroundings to enter into the main city. This is the truth judging from existing literatures that has been researched in this area. To this we learnt that:

“The camp is a “small city” of thatched roof huts, tents, and mud abodes. Living inside the camp is equally prison and exile. Once admitted, refugees do not have freedom to move about the country but are required to obtain Movement Passes from the UNHCR and Kenyan Government. “Essentially, the refugees are confined to the Kakuma camp area: they are not allowed to move freely outside of it, and they may not seek education or employment outside of it” (Jamal 2000, pp. 7-8). Inside this small city at the edge of the desert, children age into adulthood and hope fades to resignation. To be quite frank, it’s more or less a kind of hostage life for many refugees”¹⁵⁶

Finally, let me also add that, this assertion is also the same in Tanzania where migrants are not allowed to leave the camp unless with permission. It is claimed that the restriction is necessary for the national security of the host country Tanzania. The non – governmental organisations and humanitarian aid agencies only, can take away those in need of medical treatment and bring them back at the end of their treatment.

Therefore, given the fact that I have evaluated, compared, analysed and narrated the different kind of refugees, the issue of asylum likewise, the causes of refugees generally and especially in the Horn of Africa as region under study on one side. I have also done justice to the challenging topic of location and problems of refugees in countries under study namely Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Southern Sudan. Others are Kenya and Tanzania on the other side, especially those mostly affected. I concluded this section - part one - with repatriations both voluntary and involuntary. In addition, I presented the experiences of the migrants or refugees who either as a result of their unbearable leaving conditions have left their countries of birth to other African countries in the Eastern part of Africa or refugees. Those who as a result of a series of arm conflicts, war torn countries of their origin or region and therefore

¹⁵⁵Interview: Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without borders) Op. cit.

¹⁵⁶Jamal, Arafat (2000). Minimum standards and essential needs in a protracted refugee situation: A review of the UNHCR programme in Kakuma, Kenya. UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Unit/2000/05.

forced to leave their original habitual areas and dispersed internally or crossed the border to either escape death at home or to search for new lives.

Meanwhile, we shall now close the chapter and open another interesting dimension in this research project *namely 'the problems of refugees to host Countries and International Communities'* in part two. You are invited to join me below.

Part II

11. Problems of Refugees/Host Countries/Inter. Comm. /Roles of Institutions etc.

Since the onset of this work in part one, I have to the best of my knowledge referred to the existing literatures and based on my personal research work, treated in the introduction, the definitions and analyses, the types of refugees and asylum. Others are the causes of refugees otherwise called the push factors, the locations and problems of the refugees in the countries under study and the groups of refugees that are mostly affected when a plight takes place and lastly the repatriation of refugees. I concluded part one with migrant experiences as told by them. I have in all these chapters, sections and subsections systematically presented in a form I feel is well arranged for a perfect academic work and made easy as much as possible for readers to digest.

In part two the subsequent part, we will among others confront ourselves with some other interesting sections of the work. This part of the work will focus attention on problems of refugees to host countries and the international communities in the states under research in the Great Lake of Africa. As a result of that, we will deal apart from host countries and reactions of indigenous habitants of the respective nations, regional geo-political bodies like the Organisation of African Unity now called African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU).

In addition, we will confront and survey the role of some arms of the United Nations like the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the non – governmental and humanitarian organisations (NGOs). In pursuance of the aforementioned, questions like how competent are local or host governments in handling refugee problems, and why despite after so much money has thus far been spent on the sector for many years now? The situation remains more or less the same. This question will come to evaluation. Efforts will be made to find answers to them.

In the same way, other unavoidable questions and remarks like, why the UNHCR seems not to have been competent in dealing with the situation in combating the refugee problem in the Horn of Africa, will definitely be attractive. The last not the least is the interesting insight of the work of non-governmental and humanitarian organisations and, why they are more efficient and result-oriented unlike other bodies and institutions involved in fighting and finding solutions to the problem of refugees not only on African Continent but as a matter of fact all around the globe? We shall see.

To treat the above questions competitively, I have divided the work in sections and subsections namely: the host countries and their citizens, the role of African nations in the Horn of Africa, the role of African Union (AU). In addition, the role of the international communities like the European Union. Along with the European Union (EU) I will in addition,

bring into play the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and their contributions to solving the problem of refugees in Africa especially in the Great Lake Region. Others are the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and finally the non-governmental and humanitarian organisations.

11.1. The Host Countries and their Citizens

Although it is well known that refugee problems are a tremendous challenge to the host countries in and around the world. It is even more extreme in countries in the Horn of Africa. It is important at the beginning to note that playing a host to refugees has double faces. There are the positive and the negative aspects. The benefits accruing to the host countries like financial assistance, material assistance and economic assistance in form of aid to mention but a few and the negative aspects like, lack of enough funds to curb the problems. Increase in crime in the respective host countries, increase in unemployment, increase in inflation, or even a fall in the standard of living of the home country as a result of cheap offer of employment by refugees, which on one hand will boost the economy, bringing profits to companies and eventually boost the nation's economy. On the other hand, the citizens of the host countries suffer from a fall in the standard of living as a result of more and cheaper employees in the open market seeking jobs due to presence of refugees in the country.

Be that as it may, the rule of law in terms of provision of refuge for refugees in the countries under study is guided by the provisions of the Geneva Convention, the Organisation of African Union provisions and that of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (see definitions in the introductory section). Unfortunately, countries are also allowed to determine to some extent the best means and method of the application of the above provisions in practice. This permission to host countries to make some policy measures creates loopholes.

During my research, I discovered that host countries undergo lots of problems, difficulties and challenges as a result of the presence of refugees in their country. Some catalogue of such situations apart from the few already treated in the last paragraph is listed below. These ranges from: insecurity, indigenes are afraid of looters who come from refugee camps. The problem of destroying the environments is one amongst the challenges. For instance:

“The refugees have cut down all the trees. We don't have enough firewood and sometimes we can't cook”¹⁵⁷

The above was a statement coming from a grieving Tanzanian complaining to the relief workers from a humanitarian organisation the kind of situation they were undergoing. That is not all. When all the trees are cut down, the soil is exposed to rainfall and serious dryness

¹⁵⁷Dossier Op. cit. p. 86

and the result is erosion and soil devastation. Ecological problems follow suit. Such development leads to chain reactions. This will lead to less farming land for agricultural production, thereafter less products on the market. Demand may surpass supply of agricultural goods and that will in turn result to increase in the prices of agricultural goods and inflation will be the end situation. Amongst the population, those that will be most affected are those with less demand power. However, this is not just the only factor to soil degradation.

Another instance that could offer more understanding of the problems the host nations face runs thus:

“In another angle, the refugee situation, not just to say burden, occurring in Ethiopia is only a part of wider problem. As it is well known, the refugee problem has become a very crucial issue and its impact on the least developed countries is more demanding, destructive and even disastrous. The Horn of Africa’s 3 million refugees are all hosted in least developed countries of the region- impoverished and with scanty resources”¹⁵⁸

In other countries like Sudan, the burden of refugees on the local people was also noticed. The indigenous population at the onset of the influx of refugees were so liberal. They thought that their stay was going to be short. By the time the whole situation changed the local people started growing impatient. As a result of that, we learnt from General *Mohammed El Mahdi Osman* Governor of East Sudan that:

“The refugees were the source of many problems. Some of the problems are of an educational nature. Between 9,000 and 10,000 refugee children are attending Sudanese schools. Others concern health and house Rents have increased considerably, and in some cases have jumped from 70 to 400 Sudanese pounds per month. Moreover, every town in eastern Sudan, such as Kassala, now houses some 60,000 urban refugees”¹⁵⁹

If one attempts to analyse the above quotation, one may be forced to believe that the children of Sudanese families have been denied entry in the schools. No, the situation tries to buttress the strange and traumatic experiences Sudanese people were undergoing. This is on one side. Looking at the quotation once again, one is confronted with the high rate of house rent at the period in Sudan. Some scholars may want to argue that the value of Sudanese pounds (monetary currency) at the international exchange rate has fallen. That is once again, false. It is false because that is not the point of argument in this survey. The point I am trying to establish at the end of my evaluation is that the difference between 70 to 400 Sudanese pounds is very alarming. Mathematically, that is around 280% increase. That is the rate of inflation which most of the local people can no longer bear as a result of the presence of refugees in their country.

¹⁵⁸ IDO International: Op .cit. p. 6

¹⁵⁹Dossier: Refugees Op. cit.

The increase in the number of school children as a result of refugee children demands increase not only in terms of more school blocks but also more teachers and increase in the school or education budget of the state. From the above analysis one can now draw a clearer picture on the constraints and different kinds of processes the host state and its people were undergoing at the time. Today, the situation is more or less the same. I want to summarise this analysis on the burden of being a host to refugees with a quotation, I believe it can shed more light on the all-round situation of the extent the burden of hosting refugees can be either to the state or to its citizens thus:

“The presence of criminal elements in the camps has also had adverse consequences for the security and welfare of local community, placing great strains upon the region’s tradition of hospitality towards refugees. Host communities have been affected by banditry, cattle rustling and violent robbery, as well as factional fighting amongst exiled populations. Violent clashes between refugees and their local hosts have also taken place, often because of the intense competition which has arisen over scarce resources such as wood, water, land and humanitarian relief supplies”¹⁶⁰

A case study of some of the problems host countries experience when refugees are with them is a good example with that of Ethiopia. She experienced the following problems:

- Environment degradation as a result of the presence of refugees;
- Widespread famine;
- Declining agricultural production;
- Shortage of essential social services and
- Serious disproportion between water requirement and supply.

Despite all the above negative results and impressions about the presence of refugees in the countries under focus. My research unveils some good and reasonable values for hosting refugees as the situation may demand.

These are namely emergency financial support as mentioned earlier and technical assistance. There is an assistance in form of advanced pledging for the host country if the stay of refugees is expected to take long or longer. In Tanzania for instance, villages around refugee camps that have little or no access to water benefited from water wells, dug by charity organisations like Oxfam. Others are access to medical services, which were originally meant for refugees. Also new market opened up for local products as a result of the presence of refugees in their country.

¹⁶⁰ Refugee Survey Quarterly Vol. 17, No. 2, 1998.p. 3

In Sudan for instance, local people were cared for and treated in the hospitals built mainly for refugees. This aspect has been and is still being entertained by various non-governmental and humanitarian organisations. Some of them see the development as contrary to their immediate aim since the home citizens are not their target group instead of the refugees. This is established fact that, it is no longer a new development. It has now become not only a new challenge to them, but also a problem. The worst is that, it is dangerous situation that though they do not welcome the practice, but they must live with it in order to continue their work.

Be that as it may, it opens another discussion point, a new dialogue between the partners involved. This is true because it demands additional logistics – increase in number of the population to be fed, increase in budget, probably increase in personnel and of course increase in every aspect of the work. I went further and asked some of the field workers and this is what they said:

“Well in general it is often difficult for host country to recognise the refugees. It is often a challenge to provide assistance not only to refugees, but also to host communities because as you know almost these countries are rather poor in living conditions as such if you give help to the refugees, you have also to make it available to the host country. That means that the host communities have to get some aid from the international communities. This is because you cannot just attend to the refugees alone otherwise it will create disadvantages to the host countries in such situations. Like establishing let say health centres for displaced people or refugees in a certain region without providing access to the host countries to make use of them. So it is always legitimate to allow the host countries access to the health care they are used to. For instance, think of the northern region of Kenya that is isolated and there are very remote health cares that have not been very good. So establishing programmes there for refugees must also include a little bit of the local people”¹⁶¹

Above all, African nations see the policy of accepting refugees and hosting them as sign of humanity. An issue of charity and a sign of ‘*African brotherhood*’ policy even when the burden is hard. It is demonstrated as upholding the ethics of tradition and culture-*acceptance of a guest*.

On the other hand, readers may want to know if local people give support to alleviating the problem of refugees in their respective countries especially in East Africa. The answer is yes. During my interview with a senior aid worker from ‘*Ärzte Ohne Grenze*’, I asked her to tell me if local people or local actors do assist them in their work and she answered thus:

“Yes, sure, we would never be able to work without the efforts and assistance of the local actors or counterparts. One of the first things we do when we enter any region is to recruit people from the local community to work with, maybe people who have had health related trainings on the one hand and on the other hand, local speakers because these people will

¹⁶¹Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border): Op. cit. p. 15

be able to speak the language and they know the local context (complex)!
And only in that way that it is possible to provide effective aid"¹⁶²

The above establishes the truth that the local people do also assist especially the humanitarian organisations during their activities in their countries.

11.2. Role of the African Nations in the Horn of Africa

You have followed me up till now to survey the types of problems encountered by states and its citizens as host to refugees. African leaders realises the need for total commitment in solving the problem of refugees. This is paramount to the various commitments they have individually and cooperatively demonstrated within their various domains and outside in cooperation either with fellow African and neighbouring country or with the UNHCR. They have demonstrated these contracts and cooperation, especially in the question of repatriation. We shall now see to what extent the states could address these challenges and problems:

11.2.1. Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, the government view voluntary repatriation and rehabilitation as the correct course towards a durable solution. Believing in this, the then Minister of Interior in Ethiopia said for instance:

“As a concrete example of putting this view into practice, mention can be made of the steps already taken by the Ethiopian Government, in close cooperation with UNHCR, and the assistance of the international community to repatriate some 150,000 Ethiopians over and above those from Djibouti”¹⁶³

11.2.2. Tanzania

Almost all the literatures I consulted during my research, there was no question raised on the established theory that amongst all the countries in Africa and especially in the countries in the Great Lake, that Tanzania is known worldwide and respected as the most liberal state in Africa in terms of hosting refugees. We shall now see to what extent the state has gone to gain such respect around the universe. In respect to that, *Salimin Amour* then minister for Home Affairs was recorded to have said thus:

“Refugees are certainly capable of engaging themselves in productive activities quite effectively. In my country, we have seven refugee

¹⁶²Interview with Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border): Op. cit. p. 3

¹⁶³Dossier- September: Op. cit.

settlements. All these settlements, except one, are producing enough to feed themselves. They are also producing cash crops very effectively”¹⁶⁴

11.2.3. Sudan

In an interview during an international conference on finding solutions to the refugee problem, the then Minister of Interior Affairs from Sudan *Ali Yassin* was caught saying:

“We are now tending to means of listing solutions to refugee problems. We have planned for them organized residential areas, special income generating projects and wider chances for work. We are giving them the necessary protection and encouraging them for voluntary repatriation as the ideal solution to the refugee problems”¹⁶⁵

The above quotation gives an insight on the role played in the efforts of collective solutions to refugee problems. The government cooperated with the UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations and accorded refugees relatively good treatment. It provided first asylum, although no figures were available in year 1996.

11.2.4. Somalia

From Somalia government, represented by *Abdirahman Jama Barre*, during the same conference has the following to say:

“While the Government of Somalia reaffirms the view that voluntary repatriation remains the most appropriate long-term solution to the problem posed by the presence of refugees, we have decided that pending the realisation of repatriation, refugees must be assisted to achieve self-sufficiency through a programme of settlements”¹⁶⁶

If one compares the above case studies involving four countries under study, one realises that credit can only be given to the Government of Tanzania because out of the four official statements of the interior ministers of each of the nations, Tanzania was clear with its statement giving practical examples of productive assistance to refugees in making them self-sufficient. While Ethiopia repatriated voluntarily according to sources of information. Sudan was as then still tending to list some solutions, has planned some strategies but not carried out and Somalia made some grave diplomatic statements saying that they are waiting pending when repatriation will take place. In concrete situation, they may be waiting when

¹⁶⁴Ibid, p.28

¹⁶⁵Ibid, p. 29

¹⁶⁶Ibid, p. 31

international community could release fund to implement repatriation procedure. The standard of the management of refugees in Tanzania is confirmed thus:

“In Tanzania, about 410,000 Rwandans were located in the Ngara area, while another 123,000 were in Karagwe. The political environment in Tanzania was, however, much less critical because the Tanzanian Government, unlike President Mobutu [of Democratic of Congo], never tried to use the refugees as pawns in any local or international politics. As a result, Tanzania has managed to assert a fair degree of administrative and even police control over the refugees, and the camps in Tanzania had never developed into military base camps for the ex-FAR and *interahmwe*”¹⁶⁷

Back again to Somalia’s role, it was not easy in Somalia for the government to carry out tangible responsibility towards reducing refugees problems in their country. This is as a result of lack of a recognised central government, which would have been responsible for the refugees in its country providing some basic necessities like locations, foods and clothing or assisting international humanitarian organisations in exercising their functions. This fact is established as a result of the quotation below, which runs thus:

“As Somalia has no functioning government, there is no policy of first asylum, although in 1996 approximately 560 Ethiopian refugees’ remained in northwestern Somali near Hargeisa. The central authorities in northwestern Somalia have cooperated with the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations in assisting refugees, although agreement on the return of refugees to the coastal areas of the Awdal region has still not been reached. There were no reports of forced expulsion of those having a valid claim to refugee status”¹⁶⁸

There are five points to extract from the above quotation first, the lack of recognised central government is a fact. Second, some refugees were allowed stay in the country that means the government has in some occasions played a positive role. Three, some authorities (which could be seen as clan governments out of the experience of the present day Somalia – a nation without a state), cooperated with UNHCR and some humanitarian organisations. The cooperation should also be recorded as a positive role. Four, agreement has been difficult to reach because of the vacuum created by lack of recognised central government. In this situation, both the UNHCR and humanitarian organisations have to handle and agree with several smaller groups to secure a pass to reach the refugees and five, those refugees without valid status were forcefully expelled, the latter two points are clear negative role from the government.

¹⁶⁷ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1997, p. 7

¹⁶⁸ US Department of State Country Report: Op. cit.

11.2.5. Kenya

The role of the Kenyan government to tackle the problem and presence of refugees in the country was seen by many scholars as inhuman. This was without reasons, available literature on the refugee situation in Kenya made it clear that in the early years of the 1970's, only a handful of about 15,000 refugees were in Kenya. At that time, the issue of refugee problem was never the topic. Instead, these refugees were evenly distributed and eventually absorbed into the labour market of the country. Even then, the government of Kenya sent signals that refugees were not welcome in their country.

However, the situation gradually changed after twenty years that is around the beginning of the 1990's until 2000 and even beyond. Within this latter period, Kenya had in one way or another carried out repatriations as I have already mentioned in the previous sections. As a result of the '*out of control situation*' in managing refugees, it was then not surprising for the steps taken by the state to do away with the presence of refugees in its territory. Contemporary writers and observers in international relations and politics and experts involved in refugee matters wrote:

"By 1997, refugee camps that had mushroomed along the Kenya coast were closed down at the government's behest, and refugees mostly Somalis, were transferred to camps near the borders with Sudan and Somali. Responsibility for administering the camps was placed in the hands of UNHCR and its international NGO partners, while the refugees were confined in Kakuma and Dadaab"¹⁶⁹

Pursuant to the above action, the government of Kenya enacted some measures and policies to reduce the presence of refugees in its territory and if possible face them out completely. Steps taken by the government are indicated below:

- b) A general recognition of the principles of asylum and non-refoulement,
- c) A determination to resist the integration of refugees into the economic and social life of the country,
- d) The maintenance of large refugee camps in remote areas, close to the refugees' countries of origin and
- e) That an assumption that pending their repatriation, responsibility for the refugees will be fully assumed by UNHCR and other members of the international community.

¹⁶⁹ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2000, p. 63

The effects of these policies are treated in chapter seven between Tanzania and Kenya refugee policies. But then, it has been proved that Kenyan government has demonstrated in many occasion unwillingness to assist refugees in their country. During an interview with a refugee worker, who pleaded to remain anonymous, she informed a *Radio Afrika* journalist that the Government of Kenya does little or nothing to assist refugees and there exists no rule of law guiding the refugees or rather the laws are not practiced in their territory. In continuation she said thus:

“Especially from the time the refugees from Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi started coming, the attendant to refugees takes longer and the waiting list could last for two to five months. In between the refugees have no money to buy foods and their daily needs like transport and accommodation? We try as much as we can to provide them with such”¹⁷⁰

The above quotation buttresses the principal position of the Government of Kenya on the issue of refugees, even when she in most cases, probably as a result of pressure from international communities, shows little sign of mercy. For instance we learnt that:

“Kenya has the third largest population of Rwandese. These people some of them have been facing prosecution and some of them have been apprehended by the authorities and the international tribunal in Arusha. We are ready to look at every single case that comes forward to see that they deserve an asylum. We cannot grant asylum to every single Rwandese until we have all the information we got in their case. At this time, there are only some 340 recognised Rwandese refugees in Kenya”¹⁷¹

This other side of Kenya, could be seen by many observers as status quo, a diplomacy to satisfy the international community. This seems to be so given the fact that only 340 Rwandese could be given status of refugee despite the fact that she has the largest number of refugees at the time in East Africa, in her territory.

Generally speaking, it is on record that most African governments especially those in the Great Lake region react positively and offer cooperation to humanitarian and non-governmental organisations in their respective countries towards alleviating the suffering of refugees. We have seen from the analysis and comparisons from the countries under study, where they demonstrated their responsibilities for providing protection and security to individuals and groups within their respective jurisdiction. This includes, respect for the fundamental human rights, such as the right to life, liberty and security of persons. However, we saw also that sometimes they failed to do so as a result of one reason or another.

¹⁷⁰ Radio Afrika: Op. cit. p.3

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p.1

During my discussion with a senior management member of *SOS Kinderdorf International* in Vienna, Austria he had this to say:

“The cooperation with them are good without frictions, it is so that we assist and help each other and that is exactly what we do expect from the government, their support for our humanitarian work; that they provides us with enough area of land and conducive atmosphere for our activities. But we do understand that sometime the supports from the government are limited because she has some other problems to solve. But I say that overall in Africa the cooperation with the Individual governments are working out fine. I am sure that for the coming years things would continue to go well. One thing is clear, there is the feeling that in many parts of Africa, the economy is reviving for good. This we have noticed from our children in the camps, in spite of all the present bad conditions” ¹⁷²

11.2.6. Role of African Union (AU)

The issue of African refugees should be as some writers argued the problem of Africa alone. Other writers said that some African governments use refugees to play their monetary politics. Meaning that they apply the refugee issue in their respective countries to secure some funds from not only the World Bank, but also from the European Union and the United Nations! How true is this accusation? Are the local governments strong to handle the challenges of refugees in their respective countries alone? Or simply put, how competent are the local governments? We shall read at the tail end of this analysis and evaluations the findings to justify the questions asked.

The OAU and or AU will be applied here side by side since the research started before the birth of AU as a new name for OAU and also because the word used in a greater number of available literatures on refugees is OAU.

Coming back to the issue whether African refugees are an African problem is for me not true. Not because I am an African, but because most of the early years, factors of refugees were as a result of the western colonial politics in the fifteenth century or even before till the middle of the twentieth century. This was followed up with the latter word used, that is Imperialism. Today, the term ‘new world order’, democracy, freedom and war on terrorism have been applied to pursue the old healed wounds of slavery and colonialism. For those who doubt, read factors of refugees in chapter five.

¹⁷² Interview SOS Kinderdorf International: Op. cit. p. 3

However, the modern day causes of the refugee problems on the continent of Africa are by Africans themselves. This is also true, but has not answered the question if the African refugee problems are African problems alone. No, it is not.

The problems of refugees in Africa are a global problem. To shed more light on my position on one aspect of the problems we learnt that:

“No one organization can face the challenge alone [---], a concerted international approach is needed to prevent and redress violations to the physical safety and security of refugees and other persons of concern to UNHCR”¹⁷³

Today, the world is called a *‘global village’*. That means different things for different people. For me it means, freedom in every part of the universe. It means solving problems collectively through the United Nations irrespective of the nature of the problem and in which part of the world the problems arise. Furthermore, it means for me a democratic and collective solution to problems in their original homes before the problem becomes a trans-national or trans-continental problem. In addition, it is for me, an immediate action to minimise costs in whichever form. This should be done within the framework of the UN, UNHCR and EU just to name a few.

The number of African refugees in the European countries or around the world confirms the fact that the problem of African refugees is today a global problem. By the time we treat the subsequent subsections, we shall be convinced that the refugee problem no matter in which part of the world, is a challenge to the world and must be collectively handled.

Having said so, what comes to mind now is, what role has African Union played or will in future play to reduce the problem of refugees in its Continent? Previously in this work, we have learnt that Africa has the highest number of refugees world-wide. As a result of that, we shall expect to see to what extent the African Union as a continental organisation has pursued this challenge. In doing this, we shall look at the legal, the economic, security and social aspects as well as the humanitarian roles the organisation has played in the Horn of Africa.

11.2.6.1. First, the Legal Aspect

One of the most important legal roles the organisation has played since its existence in pursuit of solving the problem of refugees in Africa is its vehement condemnation of the definition of refugees in the 1951 Geneva Convention, which failed to recognise internally

¹⁷³Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol.18, No.4, 1999, p.37

displaced persons as refugees. Another one is the legal steps they took in the 1967 protocol. Cross-check the differences in the definitions in chapter three.

11.2.6.2. Second, the Security Functions

The OAU in its efforts to minimise the insecurity of refugees in receiving states especially in camps, conducted from time to time, meetings with international organisations and the UNHCR. Relevant in this context was the Regional Meeting on Refugee Issues in the Great Lake, held in Uganda in May 1998 under the joint aegis of the UNHCR and itself. During the meeting, literatures revealed that:

” security was high on the agenda and a consensus was reached that the mixed nature of camps had constituted a threat”¹⁷⁴

Throughout the period of the research work, I discovered that the local governments were not and are not in the position to solve the problem of refugees alone. That means that they are quasi-competent or not competent at all. One can equally ask, weather the local government (African states and their government) are competent?

My finding is that without the assistance and help from non-governmental and humanitarian organisations and of course the donors and the UNHCR and the EU, it would be quite impossible for them to handle the challenges. That means by extension, that they are not competent. The countries under review lack almost every logistics required to curb the problem of refugees. These amenities and or infrastructures are provision of camps, pipe borne water, health and sanitary equipment. Others are security at the camps, availability of enough food, transportation, administrative logistics, clothing, check and control on human trafficking and abuse of legal laws guiding refugee camps.

That notwithstanding, in the furtherance of the roles the AU has played since its inception as the former OAU, has been tremendous despite its setbacks. For instance we learnt that:

“Under Article 39, however, the Security Council is the sole organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. As a regional organization within the United Nations system, the OAU was governed by the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations (see Article 52). Regional organizations like the OAU were expected to assume a limited responsibility in ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security in their respective geographic regions, provided their “activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations”. The question, therefore of whether Africa will ever know peace will depend on the one hand on what

¹⁷⁴Ibid, p. 47

the continental organization does to prevent conflicts before they start, manage them when they start and resolve them peacefully, in a short time. It depends on the other hand, on how the United Nations Security Council backs the efforts of Africa at preventing, managing and resolving wars and conflicts”¹⁷⁵

Let me immediately after the above quotation state here that OAU which stands for organization of African Unity has since been re-baptised with a new name and we were informed that:

“On 9 July 2002, 53 of Africa’s 54 countries declared the formation of the AU ([because Morocco withdrew from the OAU in 1984 to protest its admission of the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic as a member, no one was clear about its status and standing within the new AU])”¹⁷⁶

Having done that, we shall note that sometimes these two names are applied simultaneously and readers should not be confused if and when one of the names is singly used. I will start the analysis on the role OAU towards solving the refugee problems in Africa as far back as 1963 when it was established through to 2002 when it was renamed and called African Union. Thereafter, we shall read what she has been doing beyond 2002 up to the time of submitting this work for publication. This section is very interesting to the readers as it is also very challenging to African leaders, the United Nations as well as the UNHCR. And other NGOs and donors to the struggle to keep under control the explosive nature of refugee in and out- flows within the continent of Africa.

It is as a result of the complications of the problem of refugees in Africa, taking into account all the faceted factors and their respective contributions to the huge and endless refugee problems that warranted *Solomon Gomes* to come to conclusion that:

“There are no easy answers to the question of whether Africa will ever know Peace”¹⁷⁷

My answer to the aforementioned is positive, while I share the feelings of the author, I want to say that it is possible. The happiness that I share is that, African leaders have identified the roots of all the conflicts. These they have also solemnly and jointly promised, not only to the African people whom they represent but also to the International Community by declaring during an OAU summit thus:

“...We realize at the same time that the possibilities of achieving the [development] objectives we have set will be constrained as long as

¹⁷⁵GOMES Solomon: Op. cit. p.45

¹⁷⁶KITISSOU Marcel, Discussant: An Uncommon Approach to common Security in Africa by Laurie Nathan: In Copyrights Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd: African Renaissance: Vol. 1. No.3 Nov./Dec.2004, p. 107

¹⁷⁷GOMES Solomon: Op. cit. p. 48

an atmosphere of lasting peace and stability does not prevail in Africa. We, therefore, renew our determination to work together towards the peaceful and speedy resolution of conflicts on our continent. The resolution of conflicts will be conducive to the creation of peace and stability in the continent and will also have the effect of reducing expenditure on defense and security thus releasing additional resources for socio-economic development” (OAU Document:1900)¹⁷⁸

Meanwhile, what they desperately required from now onwards is simple, the political will. But the question in addition is, can Africans manage the conflicts on the ground and prevent new ones from erupting? Based on the expertise I have acquired now, especially through this research project, my answer is no. I said no even though I will see myself as a pessimist. This is because the number of refugees in almost all the countries of Africa, not only in eastern part of the continent is an indicator that conflict prevention does not function in Africa. Where it is established, it could only be seen at the peripheral areas or stages and never stay long. As a result, lack of function-able conflict prevention or management in Africa has contributed immensely towards the unsuccessful solution to the refugee issues on the continent.

Sequential to the above, African leaders should be ready to tolerate if they could not accept challenges coming from either opposition parties or from the masses during the period of their respective legislations in their individual countries. It must be imperative to the current leaders and the other leaders thereafter. In addition, that not accepting or not being tolerant to reactions from their subjects has been seen and said as factors of unrest. Furthermore, they should be recognised as their own persons and personalities. Not to be allowed by outside players and intruders to deceive them and eventually bring them to fall prey to the external influences at the cost of their nations. They should always remind themselves that power is not everything and that if the society in which they operate as leaders and administrators are enjoying conducive political atmosphere, it will boost peace which is prerequisite not only to economic development but also providing better avenues for nation building and for others that will come after them. And there will be unprecedented windows of opportunities for development. Creating a positive environment for investment becomes then imperative and second to none.

They should bear in mind and feel it in their hearts that dialogue and communication are tools, indispensable tools for understanding and peace in any given situation and apply these too. Despite that, we all agree that there is no country in the world that has hundred percent peace guarantees because peace itself has facets and can be interpreted in several ways. What I mean here or rather have in mind is that, leaders should support and have respect

¹⁷⁸Ibid: p. 47

for human rights, making use of the dividends of good governance, which will amongst other aspects give way to political stability and peaceful democratic change of government just to mention but a few. When these potential parts and ingredients of democracy are implanted, nurtured and grown, other parts of peace in all areas of the country will naturally and gradually emerge.

There is no question and no doubt that the issue of “*war and peace*”, rest squarely with the African statesmen and women and every other person occupying strategic and leadership positions.

They have pledged, declared, resolved and committed themselves to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Yet, in some countries, wars and conflicts continue unabated. The new collective disposition of becoming pro-active in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts on the part of the African Union is aided by a new determination within the respective sub-regional groupings to carry out the commitments they made with respect to ensuring that peace, stability and development prevail in Africa. Given the fact that all this involves difficulty on one side and different kinds of bureaucratic on the other side, I am afraid if Africa can do something tangible and substantial in the nearest future.

To cap it up, I do hope that the United Nations and world super powers will see sense and acceptance, if the African leaders shift to doing good to support the shift instead of sabotaging their efforts, if they feel that it is against their geopolitical interest. This is a case we shall watch with time.

In continuation of the surveys and evaluations of the roles OAU has played in the course of time, two brilliant scholars made their assertions and recorded that:

“During the early years of independence the OAU scored several successes. By calling on its members to observe their inherited colonial boundaries, the OAU avoided what would have been continent-wide friction because the colonial boundaries had paid little attention to ethnic realities (Arnold, 1994, p. 49). Other equally important achievements of the OAU include the ostracization of South Africa by member countries until apartheid was abolished and occasionally “talking out” a crisis between its members. However, over the years the strength and influence of the OAU have waned due to lack of strong commitment from member states and the international community. As recently as 1993, the OAU passed 10 resolutions of which the most important concerned the establishment of a mechanism for resolving conflicts peacefully. Nevertheless, the OAU and other organizations such as ECOWAS lack the means to implement the resolutions of keeping peace and resolving conflicts effectively. The potential and problems were clearly manifest in the recent actions of ECOWAS in refusing to recognize the change of government in Sierra Leone, following the military coup, and the attempts to keep peace in Liberia with the creation of ECOMOG. Providing technical and

financial assistance to enable such organizations to resolve conflicts is certainly important empowerment”¹⁷⁹

Beyond the roles OAU has been playing, it is also important to mention that the regional and sub-regional organizations, like the:

“Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC) and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS/CEEAC). Others are the Economic and the Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)”. In addition to the major pillars of the African economic blocs there are other sub-regional ones for instance, “the Greater Arab Free Trade Area (GAFTA) (also includes most Middle Eastern states), the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL) and the Indian Ocean Commission (COI). Completing this group are the Liptako - Gourma Authority (LGA) and the Mano River Union (MRU.)”¹⁸⁰

And these Organisations and Blocs have been contributing from different proportions to bring stability in the entire continent in respective levels.

All these economic and socio-political and monetary groups up to some agencies of the OAU have contributed in no small measure on the quest to bring to an end the causes and outburst of refugees so that the effects and after effects will gradually become the thing of the past. To this end, there was a declaration by the OAU in one of its sessions in Khartoum the capital of Sudan: The paper that was adopted after some serious debate and lengthy evaluations contain catalogues of decisions was later accepted and declared. This catalogue of declarations were taken in stages, the first one being at the national level and this is what I want at this juncture to share with readers in para-graphical sequences thus:

“One of the more practical solutions in dealing with influxes of refugees in Africa hinges on the principle of voluntary repatriation. Countries of origin and countries of asylum have embraced this principle. Unfortunately, as experience has shown, such repatriations require massive financial resources which neither the countries of origin nor the countries of asylum can afford on their own without external assistance.

Evidently, Africa has tried at the national, sub-regional and regional levels to find durable and lasting solutions to the refugee problem on the Continent. At the national level, African Governments have continued to demonstrate willingness to work towards greater and genuine democratization of governance and decision-making processes, within the framework of African values and existing socio-economic conditions allowing for popular participation. African governments continue to demonstrate greater sensitivity to ethnic issues which otherwise were the major source of internal conflict and civil strife. Additionally, African governments have shown greater awareness and concern to socioeconomic conditions facing the African people. To this end, they have accepted structural

¹⁷⁹KALIPENI Ezekiel and OPPONG Joseph: The refugee crisis in Africa and implications for health and diseases: A political ecology approach: In Soc. Sci. Med. Vol. 46, No. 12, 1988, p.1650f

¹⁸⁰http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Economic_Community

adjustment programmes of the IMF and the World Bank, at a great social cost, in the name of improving the living conditions of the people”¹⁸¹

Following the decisions at the national level, came the Sub-regional level, where issues that will buttress the measurements at the national level were better handled and prepared for national implementation and realisations namely:

“At sub-regional level, consultations are taking place to establish confidence building measures between and among asylum countries and countries of origin with a view to creating an enabling environment conducive to conflict management and conflict resolution. For example, the countries of the Horn of Africa are working, within the IGADD [1] framework, to find lasting and durable solution to the conflicts in the Horn of Africa, which has been recognized as a major root cause of refugee flows in the sub-region. It is worth noting that similar efforts have been made in the Southern African sub-region with respect to Mozambique and Angola, and more recently in West Africa with respect to ECOWAS [2] and the Liberia conflict. Other examples of conflict resolution within Africa and by Africans include the current efforts being exerted by the Commission of Mediation of the Mauritania/Senegal conflict, as well as efforts directed towards resolving the Chad/Libya dispute and the conflict between SADR [3] and the Kingdom of Morocco”¹⁸²

This was followed by measurements taken at the summit to include all the facets of the continent of Africa, keeping in mind that the problem of refugees and the challenges are not only a regional or sub-regional matter, but an issue of concern to all African people and the governments, hence the challenges, decisions and measurements must be a collective one. Furthermore, it must be collectively and continentally implemented. This is true if it is target-oriented in nature on one side, and if the leaders want target-oriented results on the other side. In pursuit of that, I discovered that:

“At the continental level, the African Heads of State and Government have resolved to enter into continuous dialogue on the question of root causes of refugees, within the framework of the relevant resolution adopted by the Summit in this regard. They have resolved to translate into action their collective and individual commitment to the defence and promotion of human and peoples' rights and to the peaceful settlement of internal and inter-State conflicts; and to continue respecting the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and that of the United Nations, without necessarily remaining indifferent to internal situations that may lead to influxes of refugees on the Continent.

Despite all these efforts towards new awareness, sensibility and commitment on the part of African Governments to deal with the root causes of refugees, the international community seems to be gradually losing the political will and moral obligation to support the efforts being undertaken on the Continent. Unfortunately, just as the 1980s have been aptly described as 'a lost decade in development' for Africa, so too could the same decade be described as 'a tragic decade for refugees' in Africa”¹⁸³

The results of the Session of the Commission did not end here. They decided that it would be appropriate to get the consent of the international community, since the world has just started

¹⁸¹The Khartoum Declaration on Africa's Refugee Crisis, September(1990): Adopted by the OAU Seventeenth Extraordinary Session of the Commission of Fifteen on Refugees, Meeting in Khartoum, Republic of Sudan, 22-24 September 1990

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid

experiencing the effect of the New World Order and Globalisation. To this end, the African States of the OAU Commission of Fifteen on Refugees made their declarations available to the international community and presented their case thus:

“Considering the actions undertaken by African States, individually and collectively, we call upon the international community to redouble its efforts in providing both material and financial assistance as well as moral support to OAU and its constituent Member States in promoting lasting solutions to the African refugee problem

We especially call upon the Forty-First Session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme to re-examine and review the present financial crisis facing the UNHCR and to provide the High Commissioner with the requisite financial and material resources to effectively carry out his mandate. We realize that the dwindling financial resources of the High Commissioner have had serious negative impact on the programme and projects of the refugees on the Continent, particularly at this time when the number of refugees is steadily increasing and the capacity of the Continent to deal with such a situation is declining. We equally call upon the 45th Session of the General Assembly also to re-examine and review the issue of dwindling resources for refugees

While the African governments commit themselves to the eradication of the refugee problem in the Continent, a partnership must be forged between the international community on the one hand, and the African peoples and Governments on the other. This partnership must be predicated on international solidarity and commitment. We consider this to be the necessary condition for successful eradication of the refugee problem on our Continent. To this end, we hail the steps already taken by African Governments and their commitment to undertake further bold measures to deal with problems of refugees in Africa”¹⁸⁴

Having done that, the Commission took further steps and reminded not only the OAU but also the nation states of the international community, whom they have already contacted that follow-ups are much needed if the proposals, likewise the declarations have to be meaningful and well-articulated and implemented. Their proposals for a follow-up actions sound like:

- Member States undertake to continue with the efforts already started at the national level, particularly in the area of further democratization of society and governance with a view to creating greater awareness among the people and their institutions to work towards total eradication of the root causes of refugees,
- Member States undertake to enhance the capacity for management and conflict resolution. In this regard, efforts being under-taken at sub-regional and regional level must be encouraged and supported
- Member States continue to create and promote mechanisms for absorbing new influxes of asylum seekers, especially in times of emergencies
- Member States should among themselves, strengthen co-operation in order to avert new flows of refugees
- Member States continue to encourage and support efforts relating to voluntary repatriation of refugees and their rehabilitation in material, financial and moral terms,
- Member States undertake, and within the framework of Resolution CM/Res.1278 (LII);

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

Necessary consultations with the appropriate authorities with a view to ensure the convening of ICARA III,

- The Commission calls upon the international community to effectively support all efforts undertaken by Member States at national, sub-regional and continental levels by providing additional financial and material resources which will enhance the capacity of Member States to manage and eradicate the refugee crisis on the Continent. For the purpose of achieving the above-mentioned objectives we shall continue to sensitize and mobilize the international community to show the requisite political will and respond more forcefully to the needs and aspirations of the refugee populations in Africa. The need to co-ordinate our efforts within the spirit of international solidarity is an imperative to the achievement of our objectives”¹⁸⁵

Nonetheless, in as much as I do support most of the visions and dreams of the Commission, let me add that these laudable proposals can only see the light of the day if Africans themselves and their leaders, and those at strategic positions are really prepared to make some sacrifices towards eliminating the problem of refugees on its continent. Africans should not see the financial and material assistance as a means of *Squandermania* and social justification but must realise that these assistances will not be perpetual. They should see it as a means to improve their living conditions and get them back to the position of self-dependency not otherwise.

Commenting on the aforementioned position paper, as declared and adopted by the OAU Seventeenth Extraordinary Session by then, I urge the international community to do this only on the grounds that there is adequate application and use of the material and financial assistance already provided are well accounted for. In addition, my suggestion would be that solid arrangements and agreements must be reached and laid down on the mechanism of control, likewise check and balances over the assistance without the northern donors taking active involvement in the operational aspect of the job. African leaders and governments should realise that the northern donors will stop assistance of any kind, if there is no improvement on combating refugee problems in Africa especially in the Horn of Africa, when there is no accountability from the side of the financial and material receivers and when no proper accounts are presented. Furthermore, African governments and agencies participating in the programmes towards providing durable and sustainable solutions to refugees must make sure that funds and material provided must be used for what they are meant for and not otherwise. Indicators on the ground as I mentioned in passing above speaks negative language however, hope shall not be lost.

Furthermore, African nations have made mistakes and serious mistakes. At least in the last two decades in just accepting any condition offered either from the northern donors, the world bodies like the World Bank and International Monetary Bank (IMF). If Africa wants to

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

improve on its economies one of the first things they must do is to object to the Structural Adjustment Programme of the World Bank. History has indicated that this programme *kills instead of cures*. But why have I suggested that to African government and what is the Structural Adjustment Programme. From its definition, I discovered that:

“Structural adjustment programme package includes trade liberalisation, devaluation, the removal of government subsidies and price controls, "cost recovery" in health and education, privatisation, a credit squeeze, and increased interest rates. According to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the adjustment package will restore economic growth and so ultimately lead to poverty reduction”¹⁸⁶

Nevertheless, I also discovered what experts and economic professors said on this definition as they argued that it has adverse effects. I further learnt that:

“Critics argue that in fact the programmes are designed to meet the needs of the industrialised countries by ensuring that debt is repaid and encouraging Third World countries to export cheap raw materials. A bitter intellectual argument rages over whether such policies can sustain long term economic growth. Though most experts agree that some change was needed, there is increasing evidence, not least from the World Bank itself that structural adjustment programmes have failed even on narrow economic criteria. They have been even less successful in reducing the poverty of those who gained nothing from the debt in the first place”¹⁸⁷

Having noted that as indicated above. I asked myself the question, what could be the likely effect of this programme since there are conflicting content between experts in this field and the World Bank, who is on the defensive? As inquisitive as I am to throw more light on the meaning and effects of structural adjustment programme of the World Bank and IMF. I made further steps and got deep down to discover the likely effects of this programme. The answers to the one single question I asked, is astonishing as one could imagine. It runs that the programme is:

“The reduction in expenditure on health and education and, in particular, the removal of food subsidies, have caused popular discontent, with the attendant risks of destabilisation, in so-called "IMF food riots"- for example, in Nigeria, Zambia, Morocco, and Cote d'Ivoire. Increasingly, African governments are being expected to democratise, but structural adjustment programmes are undermining these efforts. The very legitimacy of the state may be eroded as the implementation of adjustment shifts the locus of authority and responsibility away from African capitals to international institutions”¹⁸⁸

Be that as it may, I am happy that the African people and their governments have recognised, identified as well as embraced the root causes of the outburst of refugees and

¹⁸⁶LOGIE E Dorothy, WOODROFFE Jessica; Structural adjustment: the wrong prescription for Africa?: In BMJ VOLUME 307, 3 July 1993, p.42

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p.143

have vowed to bring it to an end. I can only congratulate them and will appeal to the international community to back them up. Africans and their leaders should keep in mind that what we need in the twenty-first century is action and not rhetorical statements.

11.2.7. United Nations Managing Refugees

Most of the work of United Nations involves peacekeeping operations. We have seen in recent years such activities in almost all the East African countries during social, civil and political unrest. In the war-torn zones and countries in Africa, most of the time we have noticed challenges the U.N forces face, while on these life- saving missions.

According to the analysis from the former Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan:

“Historically, the United Nations has deployed more of its peacekeeping operations in Africa than in any other single region. Following a decline in international tensions, the deployment in 1989 of operations in Angola and Namibia began a new era of complex, post-cold war peacekeeping. Of the 32 operations launched by the United Nations during the succeeding nine years, 13 were deployed in Africa”¹⁸⁹

While, I try to analyse, evaluate, survey and conduct diagnosis on these challenges, I will also endeavour to portray and give instances and other duties the United Nations does and have been doing towards waging wars against the refugees’ problem and causes of it, especially what she does to reduce the outbreak of refugees. We shall read the extent to which these duties have been carried out and I will present its success and failures as well.

However, it is necessary to point out here that the U.N. though have done much over the past decades, but at the same time, she has not been able to solve the strong challenging problems or alleviating the situation because of the upheaval the challenging work involves . These range from the huge amount of financial capital involved on one hand and on the other hand, these huge financial challenges are very acute and scarce. The lack of money is apparent since U.N. has no money of its own but relies and depends on financial and material contributions from member states of the Organisation. Especially from the industrialised nations and specifically from the superpowers. By extension, this means that U.N. is dependent on the contributing member states.

In the same way, United Nations does not have its own army or military force but relies on the member states. This situation leaves nothing than to say that the U.N. is incapacitated here and then as she depends on its members. In the same way, one can easily and equally

¹⁸⁹ANNAN Kofi: Wars and Conflicts in Africa; Will Africa Ever Know peace? The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa: In Copyrights Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd: African Renaissance: Vol.,p.17

say that the U.N. to some extent is “*a toothless bulldog*” In addition, it is to be noted that the member states of the United Nations do not make the contributions equally, but according to their capabilities and possibilities, based on their potentials. This scenario further means that the countries that make larger contributions determines or at least influences decisions and policies to some great extent as the case arises. Since this work does not cover the ratios of the membership contributions, I will stop so far but suffice to mention for academic reasons some of the stronger member states that have been doing much to assist U.N. in its operations. The nations that quickly come to mind are the United States of America (USA), Great Britain, France, China, and Russia as superpowers. Others nations quickly to remember are Germany, Japan, Brazil, India and Canada. These are countries that are equally economically strong than smaller ones. Other nations are Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt and Israel just to mention but a few, but also to put on record that all independent and sovereign countries are members of the United Nations and are about one hundred and ninety – three (193) in total. Other members contribute in some other forms in the way of logistics, or material things as demands may arise and even volunteer to take up medical services or an aspect of the logistics and management. Some countries like Austria and Switzerland are very good in this area.

Finally, the Security Council of the United Nations is responsible for the determination and decision if and when it is necessary to send in peacekeeping forces in any given situation. And wherever and whenever a peace process is required and seriously needed, United Nations play this role and from time to time. In Africa especially together with OAU, to help create one and to offer such assistance. Where obstacles obstruct further progress, it is their role to help remove them. This involves even application of special diplomacy to the rival groups to calm them down before engaging in the peacekeeping. This sometimes and more often than not involves some soft agreements with the warring parties to remove some hurdles. To the expansion this role and make it more effective, a new liaison office has been opened within the African Union headquarters as recorded:

“The newly established United Nations liaison office at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa will consolidate cooperation between the two organizations and facilitate the coordinated deployment of political efforts to prevent, contain and resolve conflicts in Africa. This is also the objective of the annual meetings of officials from the United Nations and OAU Secretariats, jointly chaired by the two Secretaries-General. Cooperation between the United Nations and sub-regional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, which are working actively to address issues of peace and security in their sub regions, is also being strengthened”¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p.15

The United Nations has played several roles which are and were very remarkable towards solving the problems of African refugees. Some of these roles and or functions are sometimes carried alone single-handedly and sometimes in collaboration with the continental and sub-regional organisations in Africa. These other roles the United Nations has played and will continue to play even in future can be summarised as follows:

- “In 1997, the appointment of a joint United Nations/OAU Special Representative for the Great Lakes region marked a significant innovation which may also prove useful in other circumstances. Two different but equally important examples of how cooperation might be structured are the support provided by the United Nations to the mediation efforts of Togo concerning the Bakassi Peninsula, and its support for the mediation efforts of former President Nyerere with respect to Burundi.
- Improvement on economic sanctions: Economic sanctions in particular are too often a blunt instrument, however, applied without adequate prior measurement of their impact or determination of their objectives. In some cases, the hardship imposed on the civilian population is greatly disproportionate to the likely impact of the sanctions on the behaviour of the protagonists.
- Where arms embargoes are imposed it is necessary for countries not only to refrain from official transactions but also to seek to discourage their nationals or corporations from violating such sanctions.
- In Africa, the United Nations has deployed a number of complex, multidimensional peacekeeping operations incorporating a wide range of civilian elements. Largely successful operations of this type were carried out in Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. Though peacekeeping has already played a wide-ranging series of roles in promoting an end to conflict. No catalogue of such roles can be viewed as exhaustive, and the Security Council will need to consider each challenge afresh and tailor a response that best fits the particular circumstances.
- UN has done a number of joint roles with regional organizations. One means of monitoring the activities of a multinational force while also contributing to the broader aspects of a peace process was demonstrated in Liberia. A small unarmed force of United Nations military observers was co- deployed alongside the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG),
- Its mandate being to work with the sub-regional force in the implementation of the Peace Agreement. In accordance with the Peace Agreement, ECOMOG had primary responsibility for ensuring implementation while the role of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) was to monitor the implementation procedures in order to verify their impartial application. Political, humanitarian and electoral components were also established in UNOMIL, later followed by a human rights component. The collaboration with ECOMOG succeeded in helping to restore peace in Liberia. It is a case of cooperation between the United Nations and a sub-regional organization that might be applicable to other situations as well. We should not, however, draw the conclusion that such responsibilities can henceforth be delegated solely to regional organizations, either in Africa or elsewhere”¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p.21f

Another area of the roles and or functions of the United Nations are in terms of humanitarian assistance. Existing literatures have proven this to be one of the distinguished functions that is indispensable in peacekeeping and peace-building assignments of the United Nations. Responding to that, a scholar noted that:

“It is one of the core functions of the United Nations system. Humanitarian assistance today often raises difficult challenges, however—morally, politically and operationally. In part this is because humanitarian assistance is an emergency response that addresses only the symptoms of conflict, not the causes. Humanitarian assistance cannot stop a conflict, and the diversion or abuse of humanitarian assistance may well prolong it. Of special concern is the fact that humanitarian assistance is sometimes treated as a substitute for political action rather than as a supplement. In some cases the vulnerability of humanitarian actors on the ground has even been used as the primary reason for not taking the necessary political action. In situations of conflict the purposes of humanitarian operations, as well as their limitations, need to be better understood by the public and constantly recalled, so that they do not serve as an excuse for political inaction”¹⁹²

The above quotation presents some sort of preference, this is one of the reasons why some scholars and schools of thought share the view that behind humanitarian work stands quite a different agenda. In most cases for the interest of the external (foreign) interests in the conflict. Some of these schools of thought represent the opinion that, it is better for the United Nations to strike deals that will not allow unrest to see the light of the day, than to wait until civil unrest emanates before stepping in. Under South Sudan in this work, I narrated and analysed the food humanitarian exercises going on and see it as a means of “*job creation and up-keeping*” of the Industries in the western world on one side and job opportunities for their citizens on the other side. Some readers may argue that I see this as negative or that I am biased about the issues or even in my judgement. I do not however, share this view, search your mind and see whether this attitude of assistance is really necessary. If the authorities concerned are doing what is at best to be done before the outbreak of unrest.

On an academic basis, it is my opinion that everyone has right to put up critics and share his opinion with others. Why should the powers that be, in the first instance pretend that nothing is at stake and wait until thousands of civilians are slaughtered in tens of thousands before the UN and its allies will step up to discuss on measures to apply before stepping in? We have seen this in Rwanda/Burundi scenarios, we have witnessed that in Dafur Sudan. In addition, we did witness it in the early sixties in Nigeria during the Nigeria/Biafra War, how the Nigeria Federal Troops slaughtered and butchered over three million (3mio) *Biafrans* from south-eastern part of Nigeria. Outside Africa, we are all living witnesses as chemical weapons are used against human beings like you and I in the ongoing civil war in Syria. It is

¹⁹²Ibid. p. 26ff

only after this that concrete efforts were made by the super powers- USA, Russia, France, Britain, China to include Japan and Germany with few other relevant nations. This is after Russia had sold billions worth of weapons and military gadgets to the *Assad Syrian regime*. These questions remain unanswered till today and may not be answered even in the near future.

Furthermore, I am a critical viewer of humanitarian assistance, in some cases we have learnt that external compliance and interest groups on the African political and economic field and especially during war or any other civil unrest that calls for humanitarian assistance, hide under this mechanism to tap information and control the war as it may suit them. Accusations have been leveled against some non-governmental and humanitarian organisations for serving as spies and being used by some interests or war and militant groups either to collect vital information for other parties or used to transport weapons and military auxiliaries to the other as the case maybe. Towards providing substantial proof on the hypothesis I discovered that:

“The activities of advocacy NGOs through their intermediary NGOs can be broadly classified as follows in the words of Baitenman; The provision of information to influence public opinion and build popular support for the rebels has entailed publishing newsletters and journals; writing articles and influencing press; supplying video tapes, photos, print news to journals; assisting reporters with logistic and resources; organizing films, lectures and conferences; conducting research, survey and public opinion polls; maintaining libraries; monitoring human right violations; providing journalism sources; and inviting resistance leaders... In Afghanistan, the forty type of activity that advocacy NGOs engage in is the provision of non-lethal aid.[--] Today it is highly accepted that where there are internal conflicts, there could be international NGOs located there. NGOs can easy access these places in the name of care and humanitarian aid. Clearly. NGOs humanitarian work have been used for political purposes. They spend huge amount of budgets to implement their agendas most or part of which are hidden. This hidden agenda is generally formulated as ‘destroying the existing social, political and economic structure, and values’, and ‘supporting the internal conflicts’¹⁹³

Subsequent to the aforementioned citation and to further buttress the assertion and claim, I concluded this discourse by saying that:

“There are other aspects of criticism and questioning on the status and also roles of NGOs in general. Here, one of the important point which is the differentiation of grassroots organisations and international NGOs. This can be described ‘internal’ and ‘external’ factors in development. Today, many developing countries perceive the international organisations as negative agents for their societies. Many article have been written on the irrelevance of WB, (Aydın, 1993), FAO, UNIDO or any other UN or voluntary organisations in particular in Africa’s development in general developing countries. Because

¹⁹³BAGCI Cahit: In Historical Evolution of NGOs; NGO Proliferation in the Post-Cold War Era. This article was originally published in Avrupa Gunlugu in No: 4/2003 pp. 299-326

it is understood, in general, as an import of neo-liberalism and new type of dependency”¹⁹⁴

Beyond this, it has also been recorded that warring parties, neighbouring countries serving as temporary hosts to refugees manipulate and capitalise on the ongoing wars to collect finance. Aid and material things from the United Nations and from other organisations operating in the areas to cater for the welfare of the displaced persons. Sometimes, there are lootings of the relief materials from central buildings, camps or stores which the NGOs and the UN use as offices or as logistics centers. It does not stop here. It goes further to stealing of vehicles and other equipment that belong to the NGOs. Therefore, one discovers at the end of the day that there are several interest groups in place and also on play and as a result, humanitarian assistance is sometimes viewed as fuelling the conflicts instead of assisting to stop or at best reduce it. This was the case in Sudan when relief meant for the refugees and eventually for the host country was diverted to the warring groups to sustain them. It was documented that:

“In Sudan, according to Prendergast, there have been massive diversions of relief supplies; civilians have been used as shields by the various armed factions; favoritism exhibited by certain NGOs in the distribution of relief supplies has intensified the conflict; and warring factions have consistently humanitarian principles”¹⁹⁵

Be that as it may, let me quickly share with you few instances where the UN failed woefully in tackling its upheaval task. These experiences were a complete *blunder and humiliation* to the UN in its decades of Humanitarian and peacekeeping functions. Two instances called for attention and were recorded thus:

“Yet following the serious setback suffered by the United Nations in Somalia, and the bitter experience endured in the former Yugoslavia, the international community has shown great reluctance in recent years to assume the political and financial exposure associated with deploying peacekeeping operations. This reluctance appears to go well beyond the lessons that Somalia offers, and it has had a particularly harsh impact upon Africa. The international community’s perception of peacekeeping has been greatly shaped by the United Nations experience in Somalia. [---] The memories of that operation continue to hobble the United Nations capacity to respond swiftly and decisively to crises. While the civilian population in Somalia derived significant benefits from the United Nations involvement, including the end of starvation,

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ SMOCK David R.: Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict in Africa; United States Institute of Peace; Peace works No. 6. First published February 1996, p. 11
See also The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance July 4, 1997

the United Nations Operation in Somalia was also the first United Nations operation to be withdrawn by the Security Council before completing its mission. The Security Council based that decision on the fact that, despite the operation's humanitarian accomplishments, no political progress had been made because of lack of commitment on the part of key Somali factions not interested in a settlement"¹⁹⁶

The cited passage buttresses in the affirmative that in most cases, humanitarian assistance has not been the best solution even though it helps to maintain the lives of refugees. It has not and will never be the end, but will continue to some extent serve as means to the end, but I personally doubt it. You can compare this too:

"In addition to the terrible price paid in Rwanda, the broader costs of paralysis can be seen in the reaction by some African Governments, especially in the Great Lakes region, to marginalize the United Nations from further political involvement in the region's affairs. The credibility of the United Nations in Africa to a great extent depends upon the international community's willingness to act and to explore new means of advancing the objectives of peace and security on the continent. It is important therefore, that the United Nations experience in Africa be re-examined and lessons extracted that can guide us for the future"¹⁹⁷

Also the immediate statement goes deeper to reveal the feelings of African countries, leaders and government of the continent for what UN actually stands for and what it means for African matters.

Another instance where UN failed to respond as would have been expected to, is on the issue of genocide in the Rwandan civil war. *Solomon Gomes* in his analysis of war-torn zones in Africa argued that the implications of wars and civil unrests in Africa have its reflections in international dimensions. He cited an instance with Rwanda where more than half a million people were slaughtered and warned that another similar genocide would take place in Darfur, Sudan if the international community fails to respond quickly and concluded that:

"However, there are two major distinctions between Rwanda and Darfur. The first is that the US Congress calls Darfur "genocide." The second is that in the case of Darfur, particularly, the competition for land has been aggravated by environmental degradation, a situation easily exploited by local politicians, with the backing of outside players. However, Darfur lacks the equivalent of the Rwandan Patriotic Front to intervene and help stop the killing, equally with assistance from foreign powers. Another difference is the change in the world economy. The United States is increasing its military presence in Africa to protect its interests, particularly access to oil in particular, rather than to protect Africans against themselves in a situation like Darfur. Neither China nor Russia

¹⁹⁶ ANNAN Kofi: Op. cit. p.18

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

wants the international community to interfere in their affairs in Tibet and Chechnya, thus they are unwilling to support sanctions against Sudan at the UN. More importantly, they don't want to jeopardize their oil contracts in Sudan. Darfur is caught in the web of the globalizing economy. Nations now compete more by technological innovations and for access to strategic raw materials. Following the example of the United States, Russia and China too are militarizing their access to oil sources thus ignoring gross violation of human rights"¹⁹⁸

By interpretation of the above citation, it revealed two things. One, is the role of outside players as the author put it. These outside players could be any one or the same Western Nations. It could as well be individual interest groups and it could also mean lobbyists who represent some key economic interests around the globe. Two, it pictured the case of world powers and their anarchistic and economic interests, and the inhuman exploitation of Africa. This time exactly in the Horn of Africa where my work puts coverage. One wonders why then, should there not be unrest, military and war conflicts when two world powers are canvassing around the area competing for demonstration of their personalities, military capabilities and supremacies on the one hand and economic and trade interests on the other .

The issue of China and Russia in addition to their case, is that they are world powers, while Darfur (Sudan) and Rwanda are not. Their positions in the UN Security Council back them up to position themselves as they want without any person raising eyebrows and/ or raising unnoticed eyebrows. The article portrays the individualistic tendencies and repositioning of the super powers in the administration and management of the world affairs as they control them in whichever way it suits them. Issues of intercontinental or global interest must be decided in accordance with their respective will and understanding. This is on the one hand, the danger of unbalanced power in the constellation of world affairs and on the other hand, they are amongst the main financial contributing members of the UN. *Because he who blows the pipe sets the tone of music*, it becomes to some extent difficult to query them. However, the bone of contention is that at the end of the day, all these actions and reactions whether from within or cross-border are factors serving as push factors and enhance the production of refugees within Africa Continents and by extension beyond the continent. The effect is noticed and felt by international community and everyone suffers in one way or the other even when the burdens differs from one country to the other or from one regional organisation to another up to individual citizens of the global world.

One is left with nothing than to record that the system of world exploitation by the big brothers (the world powers) for instance over the last hundred years has been the same but each time branded with another name. Presently it is called "*New World Order and Globalisation*". The weak and weaker nations will continue to suffer at the detriment of the

¹⁹⁸GOMES Solomon: Op. cit. p. 82

other strong and stronger nations, to seal it up by the super- powers. The struggle continues with manipulations of one country or continent by the other, the power sharing and distribution from the strong and semi- strong economies will continue, while the power demonstrations from the supra and super powers goes without control from outside but within and only for their absolute respective interests. That is the ugly picture that Africa will continue to see in the next decades to come.

Having given these detailed instances and surveys on the challenges the U.N faces in its day to day peacekeeping missions in the countries under study in the Horn of Africa, I will now pause and continue with the duties of UNHCR, which is an agency of the United Nations.

11.2.8. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Challenges

The need to address refugee problems and security issues are the sole responsibility of the UNHCR. It did not end just that way, these syndrome and symptoms have been an upheaval challenge not only to the countries under war, nor the countries hosting the refugees who are more or less first and direct neighbours to the warring partners by any sort of unrest. By extension it has become a serious epidemic to UNHCR. It is by and large an insolvable task for the international community now and will persist even in the next two decades. Unfortunately, sometimes from time to time, either by desire or by natural occurrences, people experience one problem or another. A person affected by these circumstances such as civil unrest, leading to wars, climatic changes and natural catastrophes cannot take resistance or effect it not to happen. When these raise their ugly heads and faces, the resulting effect is the production of refugees. These refugees are not to be blamed for whatever circumstances that may or may have not led to the emergence of refugees. But after all said and done, these groups of people need a helping hand. They need assistance from you and I. Based on these constellations, we were made to understand that:

“Persons fleeing persecution or war deserve refuge and assistance. The safety of refugees has increasingly become a matter of international concern, as has the security of States hosting large refugee populations or having such populations near their borders. The potential threat to African States posed by the movement of large numbers of refugees when they are mingled with combatants must be acknowledged. In the area of the Great Lakes, the movement of large numbers of Rwandan refugees into neighbouring countries became a destabilizing factor for those countries, as well as for the new Government in Rwanda. Every effort should be made to ensure that all refugees and internally displaced persons are adequately protected and provided for, in accordance with internationally recognized rules and procedures. Refugee equipment, including arms and ammunition. Where there is a massive influx of people in need of asylum, immediate measures should be taken to separate the civilian population from soldiers and militiamen. The latter should be quartered separately and the neutrality and humanitarian character of the camps and settlements scrupulously maintained. Action is also required to address the special needs and vulnerabilities of women

and children in such situations. For their own security, and the security of the States from which they fled, I strongly urge that refugees be settled at a reasonable distance from any border, in camps of limited size, in accordance with the OAU Refugee Convention. Where host countries have been generous enough not to require refugees to live in camps, local communities should be provided with additional support"¹⁹⁹

Pursuant to the above citation, the section will now focus attention on the role of UNHCR. I will show some instances and point out areas in the East Africa countries where UNHCR carried out these functions. But then, let me start by asking simple questions, what is the meaning of UNHCR? Why was it established and by whom? What are its functions or roles? On the other hand, does it encounter problems and challenges while performing its functions? If yes, what is the nature of the problems? And finally, to what extent has its function helped in the quest to alleviate the problems of refugees in the Horn of Africa. I will in the unfolding pages try to give academic answers based on the results of my findings during the research work I conducted in these areas.

UNHCR stands for United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It is established by the United Nations (UN) as one of its arms for effective services to humanity. Its sole responsibility is to tackle the problems of refugees worldwide. For instance, she can best provide effective legal protection for persons or people when they are in danger of basic needs. Other areas where UNHCR can provide effective and excellent help and general assistance are in the areas of food, water and sanitation. Also medical care belongs to the list of activities and roles performed by the UNHCR. In addition, other very crucial issues that fall into the portfolio of the agency are to coordinate the provision and delivery of such items aforementioned and to manage them. Either she manages them alone or is assisted in the management and in conjunction with other organisations like the non-governmental and humanitarian organisations. For instance, the International Red Cross, with services including the provision of camps or settlements as the case maybe.

UNHCR has further designed specific projects for vulnerable women, children and the elderly whose identity fall into the groups that are most affected and most traumatised when unrest leads to outburst of refugees. Another essential part of the work of this UN agency is education. She helps and makes education as one of the major priorities especially for children, once tension subsided in any circumstances. The last and not the least to mention is the role to seek ways to find a durable solution to the plight of refugees. She does this by helping them repatriate to their natural habitats or homes as soon as the condition warrants

¹⁹⁹ANNAN Kofi: Op. cit. p. 24 f

it. The agency can also do otherwise, if the situation sounds un-conducive it tries to secure them integration in their countries of asylum. Another alternative is to seek redress in a third country that may be willing to accept and integrate them into its own country.

Meanwhile, this is one very important aspect of this project and I hope that at the end of the work, I shall be in a better position to make some contributions to the durable and alternative approaches to the refugee problems in the world, especially in the Horn of Africa.

The most challenging and pressing issue at the center of the work of UNHCR, which I believe, is the indispensable factor is funding. It will be very interesting if I end this section without commenting on the factor money or monies play to the life of UNHCR. This is because the roles, functions and or activities of the agency runs into billions and every reader will be eager and happy to read the source of these billions spent each year by the UNHCR. Where does she get it? How does she get it? And how big does she get it? Answers will be provided to these questions and readers will read more on the aforementioned as they go down the work. Having said so, one may say and or asked, when was this organisation established?

Like I mentioned above, the United Nations established this commission after the Second *World War* as a result of people who ran away and relocated from their original homes to other countries of the world and those who also were displaced in their natural countries, but had lost all their properties and livelihoods as a result of the effects and after effects of the second World War. Concerning its establishment we learnt that:

“Since the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) came into existence on the 1st of January 1951 essentially to take care of European refugees, it has had to grapple with the issue of funding”²⁰⁰

The United Nations called this Commission to life and assigned it with the functions like assistance, protection and giving emergency aid to refugees. Other roles of the Commission ranges from logistics and repatriation functions. Meanwhile, after identifying the duties of the UNHCR, I will share with anyone that comes in contact with this work, instances where they were asked by the United Nations to perform any of the functions mentioned above but suffice to say that those are major duties. Other multiples and complex functions that hanged from the major ones of which readers will be privileged to read in course of this work will be presented in the discourse.

One of its major functions like repatriation has been paramount in Africa especially in East African countries. One such responsibility was first and foremost officially noticed in 1957 when turmoil in Tunisia forced out people to forcefully leave their natural habitats and

²⁰⁰ADEBAYO F Peter: United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and Africa, 1957-2009, p.565

crossed the border into Algeria as a result of the turmoil in the northern part of Africa. I discovered that:

“UNHCR responded five years later by providing assistance for repatriating 260, 000 Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco and by 1962 opened its first office in sub-Saharan Africa in Burundi. This level of assistance was followed by increase in refugees as a result of the decolonization and independent struggles that was going on in Africa. In '1960s' regarded as the golden years of Africa' following the remarkable number of African countries that attained independence. The Algerian episode was however closely followed by the Ethiopian refugees in Sudan. These were made up of Eritrean who crossed the borders to escape clashes between the Eritrean freedom fighters and Ethiopian Army. As the influence of these refugees continued in Sudan, the Sudanese government sought help of the UNHCR which responded with the sum of \$ 150,000 made available for the purchase of food and medical equipments.²⁷ This was followed by a release of \$ trillion by the LMHCR for the construction of reservoirs and pipelines to bring water to the villages where the refugees were to reside”²⁰¹

Judging from the above, it is discovered that the UNHCR did not only assist in repatriation but also engaged in other logistics like food and medical equipment for the treatment of sick and those wounded eventually by way of the turmoil on their way to escape. Constructions of reservoirs and pipelines were in addition undertaken through the financial means of the Commission for provision of water to the villages. *ADEBAYO* pointed out in his analysis on other functions the UNHCR carried out in the early eighties in Africa. This is something like rehabilitation assistance. To buttress that he said:

“Although it must be stated that when war began in the Horn of Africa, the displacement of three million Somalis and Ethiopians forced UNHCR to launch an assistance programme for the Ethiopian refugees in the neighboring countries. With the help of Ethiopian government, a project was established to help receive and rehabilitate refugees returning to Ethiopia. Such help centered around the construction and equipment of reception centers and the provision of material needs. As the number of Somali refugees increased from 70,000 in July to 380,000 in September, 1979 and 470,000 in December 1979 to 600,000 by February 1980 and rising to 700,000 in May, 1980 UNHCR intervened by launching an appeal fund of \$40.7million for assistance other than food to the refugees. Aside, the UNHCR also concentrated assistance on immediate relief such as clothing, shelter medicine and so on. The body also helped in the resettlement of 12,000 Somali Bantu refugees who had waited for a decade in Kenya camps (UNHCR Report, 2002:9). By 1997, the body began voluntary repatriation of Somali refugees and by the end of 1999 the body had assisted 88,230 out of 129,160 repatriates. In 2003 similar number of 10, 3000 Somali refugees were repatriated by UNHCR”²⁰²

The above citation revealed yet another such of assistance UNHCR can give to refugees. Here it centered mainly on the rehabilitation of refugees where construction of equipment centers and provision of material needs of different categories were focused upon.

²⁰¹Ibid, p. 569ff

²⁰²Ibid, p. 578ff

That is not all, *Financial Aid* dominated during the period as one of their major functions. It was also recorded that functions like Financial Aid were provided. For instance, in the year 1962-67, \$1,200,000 was allocated for refugee programme in the country of Senegal. The Senegalese Red Cross was then entrusted by the government with the implementation of the health aspect of the programme. UNHCR was also providing food for people in need of food assistance. The funds were used primarily like I mentioned to satisfy basic needs. Food, shelter and domestic needs. Subsequent to that, other programme and administrative services were carried out in Tanzania, where most of the refugees' programmes were to be carried out by a tripartite agreement between the Government of Tanzania, the Lutheran World Service, and Tanganyika Christian Refugee Services through UNHCR. Despite that, remaining 1,285 refugees live outside settlements. This includes Malawian and Sudanese 120, South Africans, Rhodesian and South West Africans 565. They were given financial aid in the years 1966 and 1967. About \$570,400 was allocated for assistance to refugees in Zambia through UNHCR. As a follow up to the sympathetic and humanitarian services the UNHCR were performing in the early fifties (50's) up to the eighties (80's) these were recorded thus:

"The UNHCR'S functions as at then were very light and included the provision of sponsorship and placement of students from Liberation Organizations like African National Congress(ANC) South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and Zimbabwe African People's Union(ZAPU) into secondary and higher institutions and giving of financial allowances to a small number of jobless refugees. However, in 1982, the UNHCR opened a full-fledged office in Nigeria and was upgraded to meet up with ever burgeoning refugee response-abilities such as protection of refugees, interaction with government on their behalf, provision of necessary assistance"²⁰³

Furthermore, it will be meaningless and unworthy if one does a work on the role the UNHCR played globally since its birth, without confirming the fact that she has well spent most of its resources in Africa and especially in the Horn of Africa. That will mean by every ramification, an act of disrespect and abuse of legitimacy. In addition, it will mean presenting an academic research work that is inconclusive. In response to this assumption, Adebayo unfolded that:

"On the whole, it is however significant to note that Africa's share of total UNHCR aid has been high since the early 1960s, when thousands of Rwandese fled into neighboring states[?] In every year from 1967 through 1973 African countries as we have seen received more than half of all international refugee aid. Again as we have seen, 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 aid⁴⁹ 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 recipients thereafter were the

²⁰³ADEBAYO F. Peter: Op. cit. p. 580

former Portuguese colonies, Chad, Zimbabwe and most importantly countries in the Horn of Africa²⁰⁴

While, we read and study the roles UNHCR carries out in its efforts to salvage the problems and challenges facing refugees, one of such roles are towards the welfare protection amongst others. These go especially to women and girls at the refugee camps when war or civil unrest breaks out and forcing citizens of a particular country to leave their original and habitual homes. UNHCR steps in to rescue the lives of the refugees that have left their homes and are on the move. UNHCR will then set up camps to provide shelters to the refugees. In doing so, considerations are made and some measures will be taken to provide security and some social amenities like water and sanitation for the welfare of the refugees. In the light of this we learnt:

“For instance, UNHCR developed machineries to remove the problems of insecurity, sexual abuse against women and girls as well as armed robber at Dadaab camp, violence within national refugee groups and human rights violations at following the influx of refugees in to Kenya from different| countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Mozambique in both late 80s and early 90s. The increase in refugee figures which stood at 420,000 in 1992. The body set up police force to enable the police function effectively, vehicles, spare parts, fuel and radio network provided. In addition, the organization supplemented the wages police based in the camps and also paid bonuses for escort and foe distribution duties. UNHCR equally created Community organization which was designed to empower the refugees and to boost their involvement in camp life in Kakuma and Dadaab camps. The UNHCR with the assistance of German Agency fenced the camps round to prevent intruders entering the camps at night .Other facilities provided included provision of firewood needs thereby limiting the need for women and girls to venture into the bush as well as Education and recreational facilities”²⁰⁵

He did not end there but continued to elaborate on some more instances wide and far, what UNHCR has been up to and in which areas those services were distributed and said:

“In 1993, after some difficult negotiation, the Eritrean authorities and the United Nations agreed upon a \$260 million repatriation and reintegration programme for refugees in Sudan and with the end of hostilities in Mali in 1995 it assisted in the repatriation of refugees with further returns in 1997 from neighboring Mauritania and Burkina Faso. Also in 1994, UNHCR had launched a six month pilot project involving the return of 250,000 Eritrean refugees”²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴Ibid p. 581

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶Ibid: p. 582

Further repatriation activities where UNHCR has been involved in providing assistance to refugees although with variations in the various regions of Africa were also recorded. In the case of the Great Lake region, the UNHCR has been largely instrumental in assisting the returnees. The exceptions are the flows from Zambia to DR Congo that had 25 and 30 percent of the repatriates assisted respectively in 1997 and 1998. The flows from Tanzania to the DR Congo, with 51.3 and 69.6 percent assisted repatriates respectively. Those from the DR Congo to Congo (Brazzaville) also had 79 percent and 70 percent of the repatriates and we learnt:

“According to Lambo, It had been high in the horn of Africa, the Great Lakes region and in Southern Africa as against relatively low level in Western Africa. The UNHCR began voluntary repatriation of Somali refugees in February, 1997 and by the end of 1999 had assisted 88,230(68.3%) out of 129,160 repatriates. The repatriates were mostly from Ethiopia, followed distantly by those from Yemen, Kenya and Libya”²⁰⁷

Another repatriation role of the UNHCR, which she carried out and implemented with the OAU is documented like:

“In Africa, it organized repatriations to Algeria in 1962, later to Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and more recently to Namibia. It is currently handling repatriation movements to [--] Ethiopia, etc. As far as Mozambicans are concerned, while the prospects for immediate and mass voluntary repatriation still seem bleak, operation plans have already been drafted by the UNHCR?”²⁰⁸

Buttressing more light on the role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). As an agency of the United Nations as I earlier mentioned, she is entrusted with the world-wide refugee issues and all that has to do with them. These range on one aspect, from refugee problems and seeking solutions to them. Roles she plays towards solving the problems on the other aspect. For instance, by providing infrastructures and logistics to the refugees. In performing its duties, the Commission applies several methods and proceedings ranging from legal and humanitarian assistance. Working in partnerships, while respecting and application of the 1951 Geneva Convention on Human Rights and Refugees as well as that of the 1967 OAU Addis Ababa Protocol and also its mandate. It is on record that:

“That effective performance of UNHCR’s functions depends on its cooperation with States, international Organizations, private organizations and other entities. Accordingly, partnerships in various forms and with a wide range of actors have

²⁰⁷ Ibid: p. 586

²⁰⁸ CALLAMARD Agnes': African Refugee Women and Changing International Priorities: Theoretical and Political Implications: In *Refugee*, Vol. 12, No. 8 (March 1993). p.20

been a pivotal aspect of UNHCR's modus operandi over the years, enhancing protection in all its dimensions"²⁰⁹

At this juncture, it is necessary to note that the partnerships take many forms, according to the needs of a given situation. As a result of its long experience with its partners since its establishment and the continued efforts to perform better towards alleviating the problems of refugees or at least minimising them world-wide, the UNHCR has developed new and dynamic means that can be listed below. These are thus:

- a) Addressing root causes of refugee flows;
- b) Monitoring human rights;
- c) Enhancing response capacities through early warning systems;
- d) Peace making and peacekeeping actions;
- e) Ensuring a transition from relief to sustainable development;
- f) Influencing public opinion in favour of refugees, thereby reinvigorating supports for asylum;
- g) Obtaining additional resources to its protection mandate;
- h) Improving coordination mechanisms;
- i) Drawing on areas of specific expertise which are outside its competency;
- j) Creation of new methodologies and developing new approaches to protection;
- k) Ensuring that frameworks of resolving conflict take due account of the humanitarian and protection dimensions;
- l) Seeing that solutions to refugee problems are durable and sustainable and
- m) Exchanging information on security risks to both refugees and staff, in order to reinforce collaborative measures to counter them.

The points above present some catalogue of functions of the UNHCR. I shall in continuation of the analysis, present some examples where she demonstrated one or two of these functions in the Great Lake Region in Africa.

²⁰⁹Refugee Quarterly, Vol. 18. No. 4 1990: Op. cit. p. 38

In terms of legal functions, UNHCR participated in the OAU 1969 Convention in which she was actively involved at the drafting stage. She worked also closely with African states in the establishment and functioning of status and determining procedures.

With respect to voluntary repatriation, local settlement and resettlement require coordinated action between UNHCR, countries of origin, countries of asylum, and countries of resettlement. Since no other agency was entrusted the responsibility of internally displaced persons or persons of concern, UNHCR has a mandate for addressing the situation.

Providing strong coordination between partners involved as a means of finding durable solutions. In connection with this, it was noted that:

“UNHCR continued to provide assistance to 100,000 Somalis who returned to the country in recent years, including the modest number who returned during 1996. The agency expended nearly \$1 million during 1995-96 on “quick impact projects” in southern Somalia’s returnee areas. The projects focused on construction of water, health programs, sanitation, education, agriculture, livestock, small businesses, and improved infrastructure”²¹⁰

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has also cooperated with the Organisation of African Unity as a cornerstone of efforts for sustainable peace and resolutions of the refugee problem. The UNHCR has as a contribution to alleviating refugee problems, especially the issue of security in refugee camps, supported African countries in the Great Lake. For example:

“Support to national policy in Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania are examples where UNHCR has provided material support for deployment of police to ensure law and order in refugee camps. In the case of the United Republic of Tanzania, the police also help to halt activities which are contrary to the 1969 OAU Convention”²¹¹

At this junction, one may pause to ask if the UNHCR has had it free and smooth in all the activities it has engaged since its creation? Of course the answer is no. If that is the case, let us now focus attention to the questions and see what those challenges were. It is on these challenging instances that I will now concentrate.

11.2.9. Challenges to UNHCR

Nevertheless, as I analyse the role the UNHCR plays in tackling problems of refugees in the war torn East African Countries. Readers might be forced to ask, are there any set backs or

²¹⁰ UNHCR REFWORLD- Country Information: Op. cit. p.2

²¹¹ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 4. Op. cit. p. 47

hindrances and or some factors to the challenging roles UNHCR under the direction of the United Nations go about? And if there are, what are these factors? It is on these responses and to these factors and challenges that I will now look into. These questions and other ones, I will give answers to as we continue to follow this work with enthusiasm. Then, one may further want to know to what level or to, which extent and how big is the volume of their setbacks?

“On the 1st of January 2002, the Vatican Radio in Rome announced that the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) was closing seven of its offices in Africa due to persistent lack of fund: The offices are those of Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Chad, Somalia and Burkina Faso.³ [.....] The concomitant effects of the underfunding crisis-closure of some UNHRC offices in Africa in 2002, inability to meet refugee emergencies in Darfur and the aforementioned global economic meltdown which was affecting funding of African refugees and internally displaced persons was not only worrisome to African leaders but must have led to the meeting of UNHCR aid African Union leaders in Kampala, Uganda, October, 23rd, 2009 to deliberate on the issues of funding of African refugees and internally displaced persons”²¹²

Looking at the above, one quickly discovers that the bone of contention here is lack of financial availability. Due to lack of finance to maintain its offices, the Agency was forced to shut down seven offices unwillingly in several African countries, which served as their administrative and management outlets to reach the countries under siege by wars and or natural catastrophes. What should one expect as the aftermath of the closures? The answer is not far-fetched, the Agency will not be able to continue its operations and legitimacy over the refugees. That means by extension, the lives of the refugees will deteriorate or continue to deteriorate as they would be exposed to all kinds of dangers ranging from sexual abuse towards women and young girls, crimes and lootings in the camp will resurface as people strive to survive and even human slavery and trafficking will come back as we have read in another part of this project. Alternatively, it would mean that the Agency must be fully funded so that such incident will not occur. For the avoidance of repetitions, see alternative approaches to the refugee problem in part four (IV) subsections of this work.

That notwithstanding, it will be adequate to say that UNHCR has suffered much as a result of the lack of funds. The root of the cause of lack of funds ranges from several issues with very wide dimensions but it suffices to establish that the areas of operations or the missions of the UNHCR are so much that it has been a problem for the Agency to cover at one time. Another notable contributor is that, the outbreak of movement of refugees are and has always been spontaneous and therefore, poses a high rate of challenges.

²¹²ADEBAYO: Op. cit. p. 564ff

It is also on record from available literatures from writers of contemporary studies that there are from time to time wide ranges of what could be called the politics of financial assistance. This is as a matter of fact not supposed to happen. But because events happen and changes the wants of man, it affects some other avenues or areas and sectors of the globe. This is paramount in international politics and diplomacy where an event that takes place in Europe for instance, may affect United States of America. Or because of serious issues on the desk of the Security Council, might affect happenings in Africa. Most of the time when such matters take place, it affects the UNHCR and she is faced with saddled problems and difficulties. By and large, these occurrences reflect negatively on its roles. In this regard, political interest has played some negative roles towards the topic in the past and will surely come up again in the future. Even though assistance received from UNHCR in Africa from the sixties throughout up till the nineties could be seen or judged as very good or fairly good, one should not forget that there some occasions when African refugees suffered serious setbacks due to some acute and challenging situations in other countries of the world. A good example for such impediment of challenges could be recalled during the Kosovo and Bosnia siege but the starkest instances were summarised as follows:

“Indeed, to a large extent the politics of assistance could be used to explain the disparity and expenses of UNHCR in Africa and even of large international organizations like the UN. This is evidently manifested in the former UN Secretary General Waldheim gift of \$11.5 million worth of aid to Gambia while seeking for a re-election in the 80s and the general assistance given to the Afghan refugees coupled with the urgency with which the U.S. Congress appropriated \$50 million dollars for the Italian relief operation. All were political „. Again, it was certainly power politics playing its usual role which according to Michael Harris, then Oxfams Overseas Director explained the failure of the international community to respond to the plight of Ethiopia in 1984. A similar explanation holds for why the UNHCR could afford to spend more money in Bosnia crises (former Yugoslavia) while it showed a lukewarm attitude to the Liberian crises. Indeed, former UN Secretary General Khurt Waldheim was quoted to have stated in 1974 that "Four years ago (1974) I believed that humanitarian was above politics. Now I know that humanitarian relief is politics. Other international donors did not also donate much either. [----] Consequently, it had to close seven of the aforementioned office in Africa. The prompt attention given to the Afghani refugees' problems while the Africa Refugee crises continues to escalate is certainly due to politics assistance”²¹³

If one attempts to evaluate the immediate citation, three things are eminent. One, in some cases, the politics of financial assistance have favoured Africa. Two, in some cases, Africa was at a loss. Third, the leaders of world political bodies and the international community especially the super powers directs and redirects decisions as they wish. It goes without

²¹³Ibid: p. 583ff

saying that, in politics, *what counts are permanent interest and permanent enemy has no place to occupy.*

It is also paramount that UNHCR has had difficult times. Some of the requirements relating to the protection of refugees and the support of states hosting large refugee populations are beyond their capacity as humanitarian providers. Many relate to matters of international peace and security for which the Security Council has not only primary but also exclusive responsibility. Most of the time, the UNHCR faces challenges directly from its Boss and, while they stand and looked at situation reports on the faces of News Dailies (News magazines) and through loud voices from Radio transmissions or see pictures of traumatised and devastated and helpless persons in the war torn zones and unrest in Africa. They receive no green light from their Boss (UN and Security Council) to rescue the people. However, it is sometimes quite understandable why it is so. It is because the execution of any measures must be agreed upon by the UN and the Security Council. The financial engagement runs into millions and sometime into billions that no one nation wants to vote for it. Even steps taken to get to that voting, and eventually reach agreement has never been easy going. Looking at the implications, the diplomatic maneuvers until consensus is reach and a deal is struck. This takes time and perseverance.

Nonetheless, after the complete and comprehensive survey, review and analysis of the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The success and failures, the challenges and obstacles of the of the two bodies, it may interest readers to learn something on how the UNHCR gets its funding, where she gets it and who gives her the funds? Without which she would not have survived to this day. The UNHCR gets its money from governments of the countries of the international community. From voluntary contributions and also from intergovernmental organisations and more especially from small, medium and giant corporations around the globe. And not the least, from Individual donors and sponsors as the case maybe. Other avenues of income is at the free will of these corporations and individual business tycoons. However, the first funder of the UNHCR is its Boss, which is the United Nations (UN). But unfortunately the sum or subsidy she receives from the UN is entirely very small that it cannot survive and succeed if she has to rely on the meagre funds from the UN. The subsidy is just for the regular administrative cost, although she receives in addition, material things in kind from the UN like relief items, medicines, trucks and air transportation.

11.2.10. The European Union and Refugees

Since European Union was first established as European Economic Bloc some about sixty years ago, it has served many purposes and defended many interest groups not only for its immediate founders but also for many other institutions and pressure groups across the globe. The actual year of its establishment runs thus:

“The EU traces its origins from the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), formed by the Inner Six countries in 1951 and 1958, respectively. In the intervening years the community and its successors have grown in size by the accession of new member states and in power by the addition of policy areas to its remit. The Maastricht Treaty established the European Union under its current name in 1993. The latest major amendment to the constitutional basis of the EU, the Treaty, came into force in 2009”²¹⁴

Since then, it has gradually and systematically transformed into a strong economic bloc in Europe, first serving the interest of its members and later as a matter of fact, the entire European continent. It did not stop from there, this Organization has through metamorphosis over the years, gone into other areas. These range from socio-cultural and political institutions. It has become an instrument for the continent of Europe to balance power in the immediate affected areas. It has furthermore, become a durable and sustainable means of checks and balances in the International community and diplomacy. It has played and will continue to play an effective role in strategic, security and policy matters. Scholars of international politics and international relations have come to agreement that it has contributed to durable and sustainable peace and harmony not only in Europe but also across and within the agencies of nation states in the global family of nations but even beyond. I share also this belief as recorded here.

At the moment, it is believed that, EU is the most important and potential organisation in the course of problem solving concerning refugees in Africa. How can EU have done so well till date? Well, the answer is not far off, judging from the world economy, it is my opinion that the European Union is very rich. The members collectively have enormous economic strength. Base on this, it can make more money available when demands arise to solve problems around the world. This status has earned her the respect as one of the big global players in international politics and diplomacy. Until now, it is my belief that readers should have come to some sort of mind search and may have even concluded or partially agreed on what the European Union (EU) is all about.

²¹⁴The free encyclopedia, www.wikipedia.com

Now that the definition of this socio-economic, political security bloc comes to mind. I will therefore, share with you below three definitions, I discovered during my work on this project. The Oxford dictionary tells us that it is:

“An economic and political association of certain European countries as a unit with internal free trade and common external tariffs. The European Union was created on 1 November 1993, with the coming into force of the Maastricht Treaty. It encompasses the old European Community (EC) together with two intergovernmental ‘pillars’ for dealing with foreign affairs and with immigration and justice. The terms European Economic Community (EEC) and European Community (EC) continue to be used loosely to refer to what is now the European Union. The European Union consists of 28 member states, 16 of which use the common currency unit, the euro”²¹⁵

The second definition stated that European Union is:

“An economic association of European countries founded by the Treaty of Rome in 1957 as a common market for six nations. It was known as the European Community until January 1, 1994 and currently comprises 15 European countries. Its goals are a single market for goods and services without any economic barriers, and a common currency with one monetary authority”²¹⁶

And finally we found also that European Union is:

“EU. The economic association of over two dozen European countries which seek to create a unified, barrier-free market for products and services throughout the continent, as well as a common currency with a unified authority over that currency. The European Union was established in 1993 by the Treaty of Maastricht, and was based on the European Economic Community. The EU is formed of three areas, or pillars, which are the European Community, Common Foreign and Security Policy, and Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters. The EU has a wide variety of legislative bodies, including the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, and the European Commission. The European Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance are the two main judicial bodies for the European Union. The format and principles of the EU have their roots in the European Coal and Steel Community, created in the early 1950s”²¹⁷

Looking at the above definitions, one thing is very common, interesting and universal is first tracing the origin of European Union and the subsequent three different definitions in common use of European Economic Community (EEC) and also the reference to the early 50s. These quotations buttress the fact that European Union has been on the move, in evolution and that it is very dynamic in its characteristic nature over the years. The definitions were given by different authors and contemporary social scientists within a period of time in the evolutionary life of the Organisation. This fact goes further to support the hypothesis and analysis already carried out in this section and eventually in other sections of this work as we shall see later.

²¹⁵<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/European-Union>

²¹⁶http://www.advfn.com/money-words_term_1775_European_Union.html

²¹⁷http://www.investorwords.com/1775/European_Union.html

In the light of this, let me add that the current number has been increased to twenty-eight (28) countries and few countries will be joining the Union from time to time. The dynamism of this Union will continue as we are already witnessing. We are also learning and noticing that other countries especially from the old Eastern Bloc of Europe are very competitive of who joins earlier than the other. I join scholars of contemporary studies of International politics and International relations to closely watch the interesting development of the European Union.

Currently, European Union (EU) measures itself with the United States of America (USA). It has structured itself in such a manner that the President (*Rat Vorsitzender*) of the European Union assumes the same status with the American President. However, whether the President of European Union can command and wield power like American President is yet to be established.

In the spirit of the theme on which this work forces attention on, which is refugees, we have to make a stop and focus on the roles which the European Union (EU) may have played in the area of concerns and challenges of refugees in the Great Lake Region of Africa. Has European Union played any role at all? Yes they have played some roles. To some extent they have even done tremendously well. No they have not done extremely well, and no they have not done anything at all. What have they done at all and to what extent? What should have been the expectations of the public in terms of what European Union (EU) should have done to the contrary? Efforts will be made here as we go on to shed more light on what European Union (EU) has done. To survey, analyse and prove, the hypothesis on one hand and support the theory on the other side. Furthermore, efforts will be made to justify or not to justify as the case may be.

To that effect, instances will be presented in the course of this work to buttress whatever fact, either good or bad on how European Union (EU) relates to the challenges and problems of refugees in or from the Horn of Africa.

In the concluding part of this section, let me place on record that European Union has done tremendously well to a large extent through some of its sub commissions. Despite that, suffice to mention that many actions already taken are only rhetoric and nothing has changed in practice. For instance, building walls around Europe alongside its offshore member states (*member states at the boundaries*) through creating new laws and implementing them in the name of security measures to ward off African refugees especially those from the Great Lake is and will never be a solution. Examples of such measure is highlighted in the reaction taken by the Tunisian government in recent times. It goes like this:

“Tunisian authorities on Sunday were sent to coastal areas of the country's special forces security forces to try to stop the flow of refugees intending to move to Europe. It is reported by Agence France-Presse, citing a source in the Tunisian government”²¹⁸

One may argue that not any of the European Union member states or the European Union conducted the coastal check and stoppage of Tunisian refugees. This is false because the European Union through their co-operations with some African countries under the auspices of the OSCE agreed and signed some treaties that stipulates terms and conditions of such cooperation of which, safe keeping of the African borders and prevention of illegal migration through their boundaries to Europe was as one of the top priorities.

By the time one reads down and the immediate section of this part of the work on Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and subsequent sections, one will be convinced and agree with my contestation and will further agree with the theory.

The same source of information cited in the aforementioned quote made us understand and confirm thus:

“Meanwhile, Interior Minister Roberto Maroni, Italy (Roberto Maroni) said that holding talks with the Tunisian Government to send to the Italian border police to strengthen controls on immigration”²¹⁹

Meanwhile, so long as the living standard of Africans are not upgraded with that of Europe on African grounds and directives in the affairs of the countries in Africa, refugees will continue to come and in the near future, *bet with me*, they will be coming no longer in thousands but in millions. This is easy to understand because refugees and human trafficking have over the last five years increased with immense and with shocking results. The international mafia organisations must do everything possible to beat whichever method European Union may apply in the future. This activity is so lucrative that, I personally have lost hope. In addition, the lobbyists in the European Union will be more active as the challenges continued. This is because:

“The globalization process will also influence migration as it facilitates the movement of people across the various regions in Africa (through regional integration) and to other regions outside the continent, and the number of migrants is expected to increase, which will have social, economic, environmental and political implications and pose challenges for policymakers in the management of migration. Sub Saharan Africa has also generated significant outflows of intercontinental migration, mainly to Western Europe, but also to North America and the Arab region. Intercontinental migration has diversified, however, and increasingly includes unskilled

²¹⁸<http://newspepper.su/news/2011/2/13/tunisia-has-sent-security-forces-to-protect-the-borders-against-immigrants/>

²¹⁹ Ibid.

labour migrants who emigrate in significant numbers to Europe, North America and the Middle East²²⁰

Subsequently to the above, it is logical that the smuggling of Africans by the international organised crime entities will continue if the economic situation in the old and former colonies of European countries remains hopeless. It is on this note that, I decided to cite another example to buttress the point that human-trafficking of Africans seeking, ways and means into European countries will continue no matter how *'high and thick'* Europe builds its wall:

“Upon arrival in Agadez, the job-seeking migrants are greeted by people smugglers. Agadez resident Raliou Hamed said the smuggler network has grown in recent years. Since the 1990s, there has been an endless flow of migrants travelling through Agadez to Libya and Algeria to find work, earn some money, and continue onward to Europe. Most arrive in Agadez broke, and are forced to do whatever they can to survive to pay these agents. He described a well-organised smuggling operation that “rivalled any travel agency, except without the signs. The 2007 UN funded-Niger government study estimated at least 10 unauthorised transportation businesses - with a dozen offices and more than 50 employees - were recruiting migrant passengers. Known locally as Tchagga, these sub-Saharan smugglers help the West African migrants find transportation, lodgings, and meals, bribing officials as necessary²²¹”

Another online publication on September 12, 2013 went a step further highlighting more on the ugly and inhumane situation and traumatising the refugees and asylum seekers on their way across the borderline of Africa and Europe experience thus:

“As the gateway to Europe, the North African country of Morocco has become a reluctant host to tens of thousands of black African migrants seeking to cross into the “promised lands” of Spain, France, Italy, Germany and other European states. Located only about 15 kilometers (9 miles) from Spain at its closest point, Morocco is a key hub for the smuggling of illegal immigrants from Africa into Europe. Every year, thousands of people try to reach Spain on makeshift boats, somewhat similar to the scenario in the Caribbean where Cubans and Haitians have made desperate sea voyages to reach the United States over the years. But Morocco, which receives millions of euros annually from the European Union to clamp down on illegal immigrants seeking to enter Europe, has come under criticism for its often brutal treatment and abuse of sub-Saharan Africans within its borders. In response to such vitriol, government officials in Morocco have vowed to adopt a more “humane” approach to its increasing population of unwanted immigrants, particularly the estimated 20,000 sub-Saharan Africans already in the country (a figure that has quadrupled in just the past few years, according to the North Africa Post newspaper). Some black people in Morocco have even been the victims of violence perpetrated not only by Moroccan police and security officers, but by ordinary citizens as well. King Mohamed VI himself has admitted that concerns raised by Morocco’s National Human Rights Council (MNHC) over the country’s asylum and immigration policy are “legitimate”²²²

²²⁰ Africa and Middle East: International Organization for Migration (IOM)

See also: <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/where-we-work/africa-and-the-middle-east/east-africa.html>

²²¹ IRIN Online Publication: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/80835/west-africa-migrants-risk-all-to-cross-desert>

²²² <http://www.ibtimes.com/europes-door-black-african-migrants-trapped-hellish-limbo-morocco-1404846>

That is not all, judging from the economic aspect of the cost and the gains the organised international trafficking and smugglers make, Europe should rethink and ask itself if it's worth the risk considering the number of death and lost that are continuously rising in the quest to enter onto the European soil:

“African migration to Europe is commonly seen as a tidal wave of desperate people fleeing poverty and warfare at home trying to enter the elusive European el Dorado. Typical ‘solutions’ proposed by politicians include increasing border controls or boosting African ‘stay-at-home’ development. However, such apocalyptic views are based on fundamentally flawed assumptions about the (limited) magnitude, historicity, nature and causes of this migration. Dominant discourses obscure the fact that African migration to Europe and Libya is fuelled by a structural demand for cheap migrant labour in informal sectors. This explains why restrictive immigration policies have invariably failed to stop migration and have had various perverse effects. African development is also unlikely to curb migration as it will enable and inspire more people to migrate. Despite lip service being paid to ‘combating illegal migration’ for political and diplomatic reasons, neither European nor African states have much genuine interest in stopping migration”²²³

A reflection on the economic spending and receiving from the refugees and asylum seekers in Europe and the collection of funds by the traffickers, there is an alarming sum of US dollars being spent and earned vice versa. An instance of such lucrative business the organised international trafficking syndicates is best described by the following means:

“Trafficking brings annual incomes to gangster syndicates in the magnitude of at least US\$5 to US\$7 billion a year. Official data on illegal immigration to various countries is by definition not available. However, various estimates can be made. Thus, the number of aliens who in 1993 managed to illegally trespass the borders of Western European States, for the sake of illegal employment or residence, could be estimated to have been in the magnitude of 250,000 to 350,000. This estimate is established on the basis of extrapolations on how many illegals finally reached their intended goal, as a reflection of the known number of migrants who were apprehended when seeking to transit through the green [i.e. land] borders of intermediate countries on their way to the stated final goal”²²⁴

Europe should try to give back to Africa what she has taken from her since the fifteenth to the middle of twentieth century. This was during the period of colonialism and neocolonialism followed with imperialism. Europe should try to go down to the root of the massive migration of Africans generally and especially the refugees, there and then help the African nations to solve and or resolve the problems. It all boils down to the consequences of the sufferings Africans met during the last four to five centuries, which has kept Africa under-developed.

²²³The Myth of Invasion: the inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe; The quarterly Vol. 29, issue 7. 2008, pages 1305-1322

²²⁴MORRISIN John and CROSLAND Berth: The trafficking and smuggling of refugees the end game in European asylum Policy. July 2000. P.55

The continued wars and conflicts on the continent of Africa over the years and the bad or even corrupt leaders, heads of governments in African nations must be stopped. One wonders why the new world order and globalization have not been able to achieve these. That confirms the assertion of many scholars that globalization or new world order have only enriched the developed world. The stake holders and key players of these two international norms have applied them as it fits them so long their individual and collective aims are covered and met. To this end, nothing is left for me to say that all, which is happening, can simply be described with the slogan “*Euro Million! The Rich will be Richer*” and I add “*the Poor will be poorer*”. I leave the readers to judge, *who the rich and who the poor is in this context*.

In an interview with *Kristalina Georgieva*, the European Commissioner for International Cooperation, Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Response, in an exclusive interview with the Tehran Times in response to the question what could be done to solve the plight of the Africa people? Said thus:

“The complex problems of Africa do need more attention from everyone: from politicians, from experts, from donors and from our citizens, from Africans and non-Africans. There are encouraging examples of countries - for example South Africa and Kenya where millions of people have been lifted out of poverty and where the difficult past has been replaced by a more promising present and by optimism about the future. At the same time some of the world’s worst examples of poverty and injustice are also happening in Africa: child malnutrition, displacement, violence against women, conflicts, disease. It is unacceptable that in this day of unprecedented global wealth and technological advancement, we have still not solved these problems which affect billions of people”²²⁵

She went further and added:

“There is no simple solution. The choice we in the European Union have made is to help Africans help themselves by investing in education, in sustainable agriculture, in boosting disaster resilience. We have a long way to go, but I am optimistic that we can make progress”²²⁶

Drawing my opinion from the above two quotations, while I do agree with her to some extent with the first statement, I have a contrary position on the last one. In the first statement (quote), it is right that the situation is a complex one and that everyone (to include the western countries) must do something to alleviate and elevate Africa out from and its problematic situation. She pointed out areas where tremendous efforts and results have been made and achieved. I however, find it uneasy in the second quote that the problem could not be solved in the present modern day standard. Here is again the instance of rhetoric, I made mention earlier.

²²⁵ GEORGIEVA Kristalina: Tehran Times, Volume. 11869, Thursday 05 Dec. 2013

²²⁶ Ibid.

What of the things Africa needs to survive and wage the war against is migration and reduce the internal causes of refugees is a “*Free and Fair market*” Africa should be allowed free trade participation in the intercontinental trade and economic communities. Spending billions of Euros and US dollars annually will never, and will only reduce the tendencies as we have seen up till now, but will never solve the matter to bring the situation under control.

In addition to the work so far carried out, one may ask questions like, do individual European Union members also have direct challenges and or problems as a result of African refugees in their respective countries? What kind of problems do they encounter? What measures and steps do they take to tackle the challenges and which measures are applied? I will now try to give responses to the above challenging issues with my primary and secondary experiences as well as through the application of existing literatures that I came across throughout the period of this project.

In my position as president of National Union of Nigerian Students in Austria (NUNSA) from 1996 until 2002 through 2013. I had the opportunity to have met and interviewed some of the African refugees that came into Europe especially those from Austria. I was then involved in the day to day search for solutions and assistance to refugees in Austria, meeting authorities in Austria and people that matter including NGOs and humanitarian organisations. In my capacity as the secretary general of the National Association of Nigeria Community from 1999 to 2003, I was privileged to represent the National Association on issues that matters with refugees in Austria either before the legal court, at the United Nations Center in Vienna or at International conferences within the periphery of Austria.

Finally, as current president of *Ohanaeze Ndigbo in Austria* (ONA), which is the umbrella organisation for all Igbo associations and Igbo people in Austria, I have been involved on issues of refugees in Europe. You can rest assured that I had collected in the last ten to fifteen (10-15) years a wealth of experiences in areas of refugees. At this point, let me also let readers know that it is out of my good and bad experiences with physical interactions with African refugees in European Union countries that served in addition, as the push factor to study this area of international relations and international politics.

Beyond my personal practical experiences, I have consulted several books and discussed with some professionals in the fieldwork. It is very interesting to realise that unprecedented challenges and problems exist on one hand, on the other hand, to say the least under the international community led by the United Nations, much, much work, solutions and resolutions have been made, implemented and carried out in the efforts to rescue and get into grips with the African refugee problem.

In doing that, nation states of the global community and member states of organisations and institutions that have to do with refugees have encountered challenges and gone through

several processes trying to solve the problems. Such problems in the recent and current time are the African refugees in *Lampedusa Island in Italy*. We read that:

“The Italian Government is planning to sign a decree on the issuance of refugee from Tunisia, who are on the island of Lampedusa, temporary permits for movement within the Schengen area, according to Agence France-Presse. According to Interior Minister Roberto Maroni, during 2011 in Italy, attended by more than 25,000 refugees from Tunisia, they are mainly located on the small island of Lampedusa. Maroni said that migrants are mostly relatives in France, and Italy are running in order to later be reunited with them. Temporary permission to stay in Europe will be issued only to those immigrants who arrived in Italy until Tuesday, April 5. Maroney said that for those who arrived later, operates on a simplified arrangement expulsion. The island of Lampedusa, located in the sea between Italy and Tunisia. Since the beginning of 2011 in connection with the worsening political situation in the Middle East and Maghreb to Lampedusa refugees began to arrive. The situation has caused dissatisfaction of local residents. Earlier, Italy paid to European States to assist in the distribution of refugees from Africa”²²⁷

We can read from the above how more light is thrown on the challenges and difficulties receiving countries can face not only in the “Horn of Africa” but also on the intercontinental level. Still in this relation we also know that:

“Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy has asked the European states to take part of the migrants arriving from North Africa, reports the Associated Press. Refugees flock to the Italian island of Lampedusa, located between Sicily and Tunisia. Earlier, Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi talked about the need to clear this small island from the migrants. According to the Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini, the migrants that are already in Italy should be either returned to their native countries, or diverted to other European countries. He noted that Italy had “a shocking lack of solidarity from the European Community. Previously, refugees arriving in Lampedusa mostly from Tunisia, while more recently, against the backdrop of worsening political situation in other countries in the Middle East and the Maghreb, on the island began to appear citizens of other states. Italy is concerned, said Agence France-Presse, in the case of the fall of Moammar Gadhafi in Libya to Europe will go hundreds of thousands of Libyans. Meanwhile, earlier in the political circles of Germany, discussed the idea of??Inviting the refugees from North Africa. Representatives of opposition parties, the Greens and the SPD demanded that the German authorities to accept thousands of refugees from Libya to give a signal to other European countries on the need for allocation policies refugees. Official German authorities had previously refused to accept refugees who arrived in Lampedusa”²²⁸

While, the immediate citation, goes further to buttress the complications such problems can cause. We have seen by extension how member states of European Union (Italy and Germany) engaged on discussions in their respective countries, especially in Germany where opposition party even voted against their government accepting some refugees from Italy.

²²⁷<http://newspepper.su/news/2011/4/7/italy-lampedusa-allow-refugees-to-enter-europe/>

²²⁸<http://newspepper.su/news/2011/3/31/italy-has-asked-european-states-to-accept-refugees-from-africa/>

11.2.11. Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

The question of international peace and stability since after the First World War has been very challenging to the international community. The escalation of international misunderstandings and diplomatic failures in handling such situations amongst nations and nation states for instance, contributed amongst other factors to the outbreak of the Second World War. Ever since after the Second World War and the emerging of several regional and international organisations or pacts, like the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) on the one hand and the United Nations (UN) on the other hand just to mention but a few. The quest for peace, harmony, stability and understanding in whichever way, has been a major task facing the nation states and the United Nations. The escalation of terrorist operations towards the end of the twentieth century with the landslide partial victory of the “*underground terrorist men*” on the eleventh of September 2001 (as the twin towers in the USA were bombed down to ashes) just at the inception of the twenty- first century culminated to worsen the situation on “*how peace amongst nations*” could be achieved.

The background of the aforementioned paragraph and some points mentioned either earlier or later was one of the major reasons why the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) was even established. While the September 11 2001 incident (*the terror attack at the World Trade Centre in New York-USA*) happened many years after the formation of the OSCE.

It is due to this endless search for international peace amongst nation states that confronted me to choose this course (Seminar) as one of my major courses in the area of international politics in accordance and with reference to my Dissertation. In doing so, I further surveyed from, which angle that could be most interesting for me with reference again to the guidelines concerning first, the Seminar work and second, my Doctoral degree project.

I eventually chose the Seminar work “*Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der OSZE*” (*Possibilities and Limitations of OSCE*) with special concern on the “*the OSCE and its African Partners*”. Since I am an African, I believe that justice could be seen in my selection. It is therefore, for me very essential and crucial to avail myself the challenges to study within the specification of this Seminar work “*the relationship between the OSCE and its African Partners*”.

Having done so, I am of the mind that this work will enable me to approach the following questions namely; *for what purpose does Europe need the Mediterranean Partners for its security? Or which roles do the Mediterranean Partners play for effective Security in European security policies?* In trying to find answers to these questions, I hope I will be able to do so. In addition, give an answer to a question a fellow student asked during “*a day*

workshop” organised as part of the Seminar work at the “*Hofburg*” in Vienna Austria. While some visiting speakers from the office of the OSCE in Vienna were speaking thus: “*Does Europe need African Cooperation for its Security*”²²⁹

In order to justify the question, I will identify the African states otherwise called the Mediterranean partners for Cooperation (MPC) of OSCE. In doing so, it will be important to share the areas of common interests of the partners with readers. In addition, the roles some of the continental organisations in Africa like the Organisation of African Unity, now known and called African Union (AU) will come into review. The question of, what the extent of their relationship looks like and what are their common interests? All these would be identified deliberated upon and answers given. For instance, the OSCE supports its Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation in strengthening the African Union (AU) prevention capability; And the issue of international drug trafficking or organised crimes are some of those common interests to both partners just to mention but a few at the moment. These factors and many others shall be fully tackled in the main work and at the respective time.

I want to substantially mention here that the experiences I had during the workshop conducted at the “*Hofburg*” on the 24th of April 2002 under this seminar work, would also be applied in this work. I believe that since several staff of the OSCE in Vienna spoke on different aspects of the work of the organisation, their statements would go a long way in filling the gaps I missed, as I made several efforts to conduct an interview with one or two of the organisation’s staff without success²³⁰

Immediately after the introductory aspect of the work, I will move on to summarily explain, define and analyse in a short form what OSCE stands for. Its origin and the major aspect of its purpose would also be commented upon. This I feel, is academically understandable in order to give readers a clue of what they are reading about and scientifically to comprehensively justify this work.

At the end of the research work, I will be in position to see if my intention in selecting and doing this work is achieved or not. For whatever may be the result, I will not end up without presenting an alternative to the situation of the cooperation. This I believe is very necessary because if the efforts made until now have been enough and effective, readers can agree with me that there would have been less problems, less instability, less confrontation between nations and diplomatic break-ups, likewise less terror in the world today.

I will thereafter conclude this work with my personal opinion. This will depend on my experiences during the period of the work. I hope that at the end of the work, there shall be

²²⁹ From fellow student colleague at the Workshop in Hofburg on 24.4.2002

²³⁰ Mail/letter written by me to the Office of OSCE on 15, September 2002

some positive results that could be useful to the international communities in their endless efforts in finding solutions to the devastating world of today.

Having now introduced what I intend to archive under this section of the work, I will move immediately and focus my attention to the first step towards justifying the work. That is, the identification of the member states called the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

11.2.12. The Meaning of OSCE

The word “OSCE” means “Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. The history of the organisation goes back as early as the beginning of 1970’s. At the very first beginning, it started as a “Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe” (CSCE). The very first beginning was in 1972-73 with a few European countries. Relationships were based *on “Talks about Talks”* on the importance of security in Europe and the possibility of establishing an organisation that will take care of what could be called the “*missing links*”. The years 1973 -1975 witnessed the drafting process of the Act and the year 1975 was the most crucial period in the life of the organisation. This is because the Helsinki Final Act of the organisation was finally signed in August 1975. The organisation started being addressed as OSCE as of 1 January 1995 according to the following information:

- a) “Today, the CPC is one of the three departments which comprise
- b) the Secretariat of the Organization for Security and Co-operation
- c) in Europe (OSCE), as the CSCE has been known since 1 January 1995”²³¹

Today the organisation has about 55 members. Some writers and observers call the Organisation, - *an integral part of the web of interlocking institutions which deal with European society, human rights and economic issues*. These groups of people judging from the broad spectrum and complex nature of security issues and challenges facing Europe, starting from the late twentieth century into the twenty-first century believe that mutually, reinforcing co-operation between the OSCE and other security organisations and institutions is crucial.

²³¹OSCE leaflet: Conflict Prevention Centre, 2001 page 1

In addition, contemporary political and diplomatic observers and even its partners see the organisation as a primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crises management and post-conflict rehabilitation. This statement could be endorsed as follows:

“The last decade of the twentieth century saw atrocities of a kind that had not been experienced since the end of the World War II. To deal with these new challenges, in the early 1990s’ the CSCE[now OSCE] process became institutionalized to the point where The CSCE became an Organization recognized by its participating states as being “a primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crises management and post-conflict rehabilitation”²³²

Nonetheless, some scholars of social sciences and international politics under the organisation simply see it as “a *Platform for Co-operative Security*”; others define or call OSCE the “*Peace, crises and conflict management instrument of Europe*” This definition and terminology could be appreciated if and when one surveys the work of the organisation and the harmony that has been existing within the organisation and its members since over 27 years of its establishment. Maybe the following statement could add some understanding to that:

“Consensus is the stronghold of the Organization [that is the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] (OSCE); even when we disagree, we always find way to move ahead”²³³

That was a short historical metamorphosis of the OSCE today. The organisation is guided by common principles on comprehensive approaches to security through three dimensions namely:

- Politico- Military aspects;
- Equal status for all member states;
- Decisions by consensus.

Be that as it may, this work is faced at the crucial period of the hypothetical analysis of the role of OSCE for problem solving to refugees problems in Africa. In doing that, we shall now be confronted with the Identification of the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation (MPC) in Africa.

The African member states to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe before known and referred to “Non-Participating Mediterranean States” (NPMS) ²³⁴ in the

²³² http://www.osce.org/docs/english/misc/anrep00e_org.htm 26.06. 2002, OSCE Annual Report 2000 On OSCE Activities

²³³ An Extract from Film Documentation about the work of OSCE showed on 24. 4.2002 at Hofburg during a visit and Workshop

early 1993-1995 are the following: Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia. Other members of the MPC that are not from Africa are *Israel and Jordan*. These other countries were mentioned for comprehensive reasons. Since the last two members do not fall into the area of the work, we will now, focus our attention on and discuss in the analysis only on the African countries that falls into the major aspect of this work.

These Mediterranean partners sometimes serve as a meeting place for the organisation. For instance one of their meetings otherwise, called seminar was held in Cairo- Egypt in 1997. The topic for the seminar was *“The security model for the twenty-first century: Implication for the Mediterranean basin”* Apart from the 33 representatives of the OSCE member states, Israel, Morocco, Tunisia and the host country Egypt attended. During the seminar, the following issues were raised, discussed and its principles reaffirmed by the participating states. It was recognised that the OSCE could play an important role in the Mediterranean area thus:

- a. By assisting in the promotion of the rule of law and fostering democracy;
- b. By the development of confidence-building measures in relation between the Mediterranean partners for cooperation;
- c. By devising cooperative strategies for dealing with common concerns such as terrorism;
- d. Protection of national minorities;
- e. Implementation of measures for conflict prevention, crises management and settlement of disputes.

At the end of the seminar, the host and fellow Mediterranean cooperation partners saw the possibilities of applying the OSCE's experiences in their region.

11.2.13. Areas of Common Interest

During my research work, I came across many areas of common interest, which in my personal view would be appreciated if shared with readers. These areas of common interest between OSCE and its Mediterranean cooperation partners could be summarised as below:

- a. The joint Mediterranean Group consultations on common interest;
- b. Annual seminars and conduction of dialogue;
- c. Provide a forum in which both participating states and partners can meet;
- d. discuss and follow up on topics of mutual concern and interest;
- e. Preventing and countering terrorism;
- f. Some other areas are such as police training and monitoring;
- g. Legislative and judicial reform;
- h. Promotion of good governance and;
- i. Prevention and combating money laundering, trafficking in any form;
- j. Border monitoring. Since OSCE shares its major border with the Mediterranean partners for cooperation, courtesy requires that for effective control and monitoring of their respective borders, comprehensive cooperation is inevitable.

²³⁴ Annual Report 1995 on OSCE Activities: <http://www.osce.org/docs/english/misc/anrep95.htm> 24.06.2002

However, on trafficking in any form and border monitoring, it is confirmed that the European Union (EU) has been paying the African borderline countries like Morocco millions of Euros to keep refugees seeking entry into Europe through its boundary closure. As a result of these practices of denial of their human rights from a continent known to respect human rights, heavy criticism was levelled against it. This was confirmed by *Mr Rupert Roy* an EU official to Morocco:

“The EU, which wants to stamp out illegal immigration and human smuggling into Europe, finds itself in a delicate position with respect to illegal migrants in Morocco. The EU pays Morocco to keep migrants out of the continent, but also insists that it wants Morocco to treat such people humanely. “We are obviously concerned about the reports that we have concerning the poor treatment of illegal migrants, mostly of sub-Saharan origin,” Rupert Joy, the EU’s principal official to Morocco, told AFP. “In my opinion the worst mistake one could make would be to pretend that the problem doesn’t exist and that it isn’t serious”²³⁵”

Having summarised the areas of common interests to the partners, permit me to talk on the reason why, the OSCE and its Mediterranean cooperation partners struggle and share such interests. Simply put forward, why do the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners for cooperation share such common interests?

A precise answer to the question can best be given with a statement from *Elizabeth Abela*, Senior External Co-operation Officer gave at the 34th meeting of the Committee of Representatives of the Member States of the European Centre for Global Interdependence and Stability, while on the agenda: “*Development and Dialogue in the Mediterranean basin- The role of the OSCE*” The statement of *Elisabeth Abela* runs thus:

“In the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, participating States included a chapter in which they stated their conviction that “security in Europe (...) is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean as a whole, and that accordingly the process of improving security should not be confined to Europe but should extend to other parts of the world, and in particular to the Mediterranean area”²³⁶”

In other words, she was saying that for effective security in Europe, good and adequate security management in the Mediterranean countries must be in place. That means that the member states of the OSCE recognised the interdependence of security of the OSCE and that of the Partners for Co-operation and the MPCs. Therefore, the OSCE has from the very outset fostered and deepened relations with partners in other regions. In addition, it is the

²³⁵ GHOSH Palash: In an Online Publication on September 12 2013, Op. cit.

²³⁶ ABELA Elisabeth, The role of OSCE- Agenda Item 3: Development and Dialogue in the Mediterranean basin, 24 May 2002, Valencia, Spain, p. 1

belief of the participating members that in view of the broad spectrum and complex nature of security issues and challenges now facing Europe, mutually reinforcing cooperation between the OSCE and other security organisations and institutions is very crucial.

Furthermore, it is my opinion that the cooperation is beneficial for the following reasons:

- a. Both partners intend to learn, share and exchange common experiences on issues quite strange to them;
- b. By so doing, it will help them achieve the maximum peace and security not only in Europe but also in the Mediterranean basin, this will help to avoid cross border conflicts, which affects refugees,
- c. OSCE can assist its MPC,s members in areas like, promotion of the rule of law, development of confidence- building measures in relations between them;
- d. Since OAU member states suggest that OSCE could be given international status, one will expect that OSCE will receive strong support in terms of lobbying during any international negotiation because members of the MPC are also members of OAU;
- e. For successful fight against inhuman atrocities of any kind and the ongoing fight against terror, it is my opinion that the need to share common interest is very crucial not only for the OSCE but also for the MPC, s members even in the area of African refugees.

A quotation can throw more light on the need for sharing common interest thus:

“The linkage between security in Europe and that of the Mediterranean has received added impetus through the Plan of Action on Combating Terrorism (adopted at the Bucharest Ministerial Council Meeting, December 2001). It makes reference to the fact that participating States and the Secretariat will broaden dialogue with partners outside the OSCE areas, such as the Mediterranean Partners”²³⁷

That brings us to the next important question and section of the work thus, which roles do the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation play for effective security in Europe?

There is a long-standing relationship between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation (currently Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia), this is just to mention African partners alone, and it goes back to the very beginning of the Helsinki process in the early 1990s as earlier stated.

In this relationship, the OSCE member states, express their expectations from their MPC members towards a long term relationship. These expectations and measures could be pointed out in the following order:

- a. The OSCE expects to and may draw on expertise provided by its partners due to existing provisions for partners to send observers to electoral missions of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) when the need arises;
- b. It can on voluntary basis send mission members to OSCE field missions;
- c. The MPC,s members are expected to support the fight against organized crimes, provide necessary and adequate information about illicit traffic in drugs and arms;

²³⁷Ibid. p. 3

- d. In addition satisfactory support is expected from them in terms of the fight against international trafficking on human beings;
- e. Furthermore, their cooperation with regards to the Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, the multicultural and inter-religious dialogue as much as in the area of economic and environment issues are also needed judging from the importance of the aforementioned points in the current European life especially with those countries that were one time colonies to some European nations;
- f. Many MPC,s members for instance, Egypt from time to time host some of the Seminar meetings and Workshops of the Organisation

At this juncture, it will interest readers to read something about the relationship or cooperation of OSCE not only with its MPC members as nation states, but also with one or two continental organisations in Africa. I will also try to touch on the effect such relationships or cooperation could bring to the entire continent of Africa. I would like to discuss the cooperation between Organisation of African Unity (OAU) also called African Union (AU) and the OSCE.

11.2.14. Co-operation with the African Unity (AU)

From the available literatures I worked with, I realised that since 1996, OAU has been invited by the OSCE to attend its annual Mediterranean Seminars. This cooperation continued in different stages until in the year 2002 when an official invitation was extended to OAU as a result of the initiative of the OAU general secretariat. From a draft I received from the office of the secretary general, section for external cooperation in Vienna, 19 February 2002, it stated thus:

“Upon the initiative of the OAU General Secretariat and sponsored by the Austria Government, an OSCE Workshop on the Helsinki Process for the OAU/CSSDCA took place on 7-8 February 2002 in Addis Ababa. An OSCE delegation, led by H.E. Ambassador Jutta Stefan-Bastl, Head of the Permanent Mission of Austria to the OSCE, participated in comprehensive meetings with officials from the Headquarters of the OAU General Secretariat based in the Ethiopian capital”²³⁸

During the workshop, several issues were touched upon. These could simply be noted as

Follows:

- a. Four different working sessions were held that focused on an in-depth overview of the OSCE, particularly with regard to its structures and institutions;
- b. Discussions took place on the negotiating bodies (Permanent Council and Forum for Security Co-operation); election issues; CPC matters with a dual focus on organization of work and CPC structures;
- c. The issue of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) was one of the topics;
- d. The issue of Code of Conduct, election observations and deployment of missions featured on the agenda ;

²³⁸ Report on the OSCE Workshop on the Helsinki Process for the Organization of Unity/Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (OAU/CSSDCA): Addis Ababa, 7-8 February 2002

- e. Empowerment of civil society and
- f. The OSCE's interaction with other international organizations and Partners for Co-operation were the major issues that were also featured.

It is very necessary to place on record here that, the successful formation of the "Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) had a lot of blessings and many ideas came from OSCE, which to my mind, African should be thankful to OSCE for. Most of the terms and terminologies that are applied in the OSCE are also applied in the newly formed CSSDCA. This is an evidence of the tremendous assistance received and experience gained from the OSCE by the OAU and the CSSDCA. The Workshop led to the general conclusion that the OSCE and OAU have a number of subjects of mutual interest, such as:

- a. Conflict prevention,
- b. Crisis management,
- c. Confidence-building measures and Small Arms and Light Weapons (the Bamako Declaration provided input to the UN Conference on SALW),
- d. Election observation,
- e. Deployment of missions, and
- f. The empowerment of civil society.

In other words, she was saying that for effective security in Europe, good and adequate security management in the Mediterranean countries must be in place.

Above all, the OAU Secretariat is interested in the process of the OSCE's conversion into an international organization, CPC's advice concerning the OAU Conflict Management Centre (which is not yet fully staffed and is keen on acquiring technical know-how), experience gained in SALW and Confidence and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs), ODIHR's advice on election observation, and regular staff level contacts.

In addition, the African Union, which was launched on 9 July 2002 in South Africa that replaced the OAU, has also identified three major areas of anticipated cooperation with the OSCE as claimed by *Dr Adissa*. (Head of the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) Unit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the OSCE Secretariat, 18-21 June 2002.

This paragraph was also confirmed and spoken about by one of the speakers during the workshop in "*Hofburg*" Vienna. According to her statement, while speaking on the relationship of OSCE with other organisations for instance the OAU she said thus:

"In its relationship with other organisations for instance the OAU/AU, the OSCE used the annual report meetings as an interaction with other organisations for instance in 2001. This meeting is a platform for cooperative security; and in a

meeting in Addis Ababa in February 2002, OSCE was there to assist Africa launch their own kind of security cooperation organisation²³⁹

Going back to my research and analysis on the co-operation of the OSCE with its counterpart the OAU, before the above quotation was implied to shed more light on some of the kinds of assistance and the help each partner receives from the other, the major areas identified during some of their regular meetings to assist the OAU and the CSSDCA is pointed out thus:

- Strengthening AU, s prevention capabilities. This includes issues like election observation; policing and police training, as well as SALW. Dr. Adissa was particularly impressed with REACT and mission preparedness;
- Support to the CSSDCA process. It was pointed out that AU should probably look for support from relevant NGOs in this area;
- Support to AU, s Conflict Management Centre.

In conclusion of this section of the work, it is important to note that the OSCE and OAU/AU and CSSDCA are working seriously in combating and fighting terrorism.

During my research, I realised that the OSCE in many ways, is already involved in preventing and countering terrorism in areas such as police training and monitoring, legislative and judicial reform. Others are good governance and money laundering, trafficking in any form and border monitoring, to mention but a few. It intends to accelerate and focus its work to make it more pragmatic.

The linkage between security in Europe and that of the Mediterranean has received an added impetus through the *Plan of Action on Combating Terrorism* (adopted at the Bucharest Ministerial Council Meeting, December 2001).

The Plan of Action, makes reference to the fact that participating states and the Secretariat will broaden dialogue with partners outside the OSCE area, such as the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation, the Arab League, where all the MPC members are also members, the African Union, and those States (Tunisia, Morocco) bordering on the OSCE area to mention just a few. It is of the opinion of the OSCE member states that such a link would contribute and enhance best exchange practices and lessons learned in counter-terrorism efforts for application within the OSCE area. Identifying specific roles, I dashed into some of them as I was searching for literatures in the course of my work. I discovered a catalogue of roles which the Mediterranean partners for cooperation (MPC, s) and its counterpart, the Organization for Security and Peace in Europe (OSCE) play. These roles amongst other

²³⁹ Statement from a Lady Staff of the OSCE during a workshop at the Hofburg in Vienna, Austria on 24.06.2002, organised as part of this Seminar work

things are very necessary due to the fact that, they serve as pillars to the common trust shared by the members and partners.

On the other hand, they service and maintain the smooth running of the relationship and cooperation and eventually as a confidence builder amongst nations with common interests. However, in my effort to present a precise work, I decided to summarise these catalogue of roles in the following way:

- a. The two partners exchange information on organized crimes and illicit traffic in drugs and arms;
- b. They draw on each other's experiences in promoting a comprehensive concept of security;
- c. Trafficking in human beings. This is very important when compared with its effects on the social-cultural, economic and political structures and security of the participating States bearing in mind that all the MPC members were once under colonial rule of some European countries;
- d. There is also the practice of exchange of military information and the verification regimes on both partners;
- e. The OSCE shares its know-how in the politico-military sphere;
- f. In addition to "e" shares its experience in confidence and security-building measures to the MPC partners;
- g. Furthermore, the OSCE stands at any time to offer expertise required in pursuit of its mandate as a primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crises management and post-conflict rehabilitation;
- h. In addition, the MPC members are invited, *inter alia*, to attend relevant meetings of the OSCE. For instance, meeting on implementation of commitments in all the three dimensions of the OSCE namely, the politico-military, the economic and the human dimensions meetings just to mention but a few.

To sum up, it is good to mention that the points above contribute to security and stability in each region of the partners. Each partnership has its own special features. Despite that, a common thread runs through all of them. That is to say that, they recognise the belief that nations irrespective of their socio-economic, political and military strength, depends on one another especially for their security. As a result of that, both OSCE and its partners, believe that strengthening the dialogue and consultations brings positive returns and it offers distinct mutual advantages.

Furthermore, in their inter-relations as nation states, members and partners to the organisation conduct and invite each other to several seminars and workshops during which dialogues are held and information that is vital for mutual benefit passed on to each other . One of such Workshop was held at 'Hofburg' in Vienna from 25 and 26 June 2000. The Workshop was organised for Experts from the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation and was focused on "*Challenges and Opportunities in Economic Development*". To elaborate further on such roles of both partners in order to enhance more understanding permit me to do that through quotations citing instances thus:

"The dialogue with the Mediterranean partners continue mainly through Contact Group meetings with the MPC, s. [---] During an informal session, The Public

Information Officer of the OSCE Secretariat held a general briefing on OSCE for the Mediterranean partners for co-operation and Partners for co-operation”²⁴⁰

Another quotation subsequent to the above runs as follows:

“Both the MPC, s and the partners for co-operation were invited to the Follow-up Conference on the Code of Conduct on politico-military aspects of security in June 1999. In addition, they were invited to the opening and closing sessions of the Annual Implementation Assessment meeting, which convenes to assess the implementation of the Vienna Document 1994. All the Partners were invited to the Annual Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, as well as to some Special Conferences”²⁴¹

That is not all. The final instance to support this analysis runs thus:

“In the contest of fostering links with NPMS the Seminar on the OSCE experience in the Field of Confidence Building was held in Cairo, Egypt in September organized by the Department for Chairman-in-Office Support and the host Country. Attended by experts, the Seminar was an important landmark in OSCE-NPMS rapprochement and offered the NPMS an opportunity to draw upon relevant OSCE expertise”²⁴²

From the last instance of quotations, one could see that both partners play host and participate jointly on different kinds of Seminars and Workshops. This however, strengthens their individual and collective strengths and understanding through exchange of experiences and expertise for national as well as mutual benefits.

Having evaluated, surveyed and analysed the role of the OSCE especially with its NPMS. It is of academic importance to place on record that the issues and challenges as a result of refugees are dangerous with serious concern for OSCE if she is determined to comprehensively pursue and achieve one of its goals of lasting security in Europe. The question is, did they recognise that? To what extent have they worked towards the issue of refugees in Europe when globalisation has fully emerged? Did what they do, help in any means to solve or alleviate the situation that refugees face especially in the Horn of Africa? As one of the continents Europe shares a common boundary with? Can we admit that, what they have done is good enough or should there be better way of doing it?

Yes of course, I can say that OSCE has done much as security organisation in Europe to handle the refugee problem. This work will now carry readers along into and through the roles and achievements already recorded. But before I continue, let me say that despite all

²⁴⁰ OSCE: Annual Report 1999, p. 71

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² OSCE: Annual Report 1995 on OSCE Activities, p. 24

said and done on the OSCE and its achievement so far, there are still much to be done by this organisation. This is with special reference to Africans who seek entry into Europe but continue to perish in the island off Italy. British broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported that:

“Just hours before the Pope's arrival, 166 Africans, reportedly from Eritrea, arrived at Lampedusa. Over the first six months of this year, some 8,400 migrants came to the island, according to the UN refugee agency, nearly double the figure for the same period in 2012”²⁴³

The rate and dimension of these tragedies have gone out of control that *Pop Francisco* has this to say:

“The globalization of indifference has stripped us of our ability to cry,” he said. I felt that I had to come here today to pray, to awaken consciences so that what happened won't occur again. These, our brothers and sisters, seek to leave difficult situations in order to find a little serenity and peace, they seek a better place for themselves and for their families – but they found death,” he said during his visit. “How many times to those who seek this not find understanding, do not find welcome, do not find solidarity?”²⁴⁴

11.2.15. The Non – Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Managing refugees is a big problem and very challenging to NGOs including the humanitarian organisations. In the East African countries, the experiences from field workers confirm the hypothesis. We shall read in this section about the challenges and difficulties NGOs encounter, the role they play, the systems and techniques they apply while working on the problems. In my discussion with a senior aid worker of one of the humanitarian organisations who has been on several field engagements in the Horn Africa had this to say:

“Well of course there are many challenges in providing Humanitarian aid, providing aid is not an easy thing, it needs us or any organisation to consider many aspects, to establish good relations with counterparts, to apply diplomatic skills for negotiating access for example and this is an important point for us so as to have access to the people in need and especially in conflicts situation because conflict situation is not something to be taken for granted. Making sure that the aid will reach to the people who really need them is one element that is very important for us and there we put all our efforts to make sure that this really happen; And since we are on the ground to monitor distribution of relief goods and the vulnerable groups we most of the time succeed”²⁴⁵

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) including humanitarian organisations are unavoidable and indispensable in conflict prevention, early warning and also in conflict management. In terms of providing assistance to refugees, they are the best and most

²⁴³ <http://www.ibtimes.com/first-trip-outside-rome-pope-francis-focuses-migrants-rights-lampedusa-italy-1336461>

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Interview Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border): Op. cit. p.3

experienced organ amongst international communities. They remain the main and traditional partners to the UNHCR and have over the years gained importance in the field of protection. This is amongst others, due to their ability to offer a range of competencies, which complement UNHCR's work.

Before I proceed with deep discussion, evaluation and analysis of the work or role of NGOs with special reference to the Horn of Africa, permit me to mention those elements with which NGOs and Humanitarian Organisations are identified with.

11.2.16. Characteristics of NGOs

These characteristics can be stipulated as thus:

- a) NGOs have proved to be efficient and flexible partners;
- b) They offer hands-on services in all aspects of the field work;
- c) Responding to emergencies through camp management to durable solutions;
- d) Their relatively less bureaucratic structures enable them to act with speed and adapt rapidly to changing situations on the field;
- e) They are active advocates for compliance with international standards for protection;
- f) Local NGOs serve as bridges between UNHCR and host communities;
- g) They have the ability to gain access to and monitor the situation of persons of concern than any other player in this field;
- h) They are key actors from the transaction of relief to development;
- i) As neutral partners to warring parties;

Now that I have enumerated those characteristics and ethics of NGOs, I will now begin to present to you instances in East Africa, especially in the countries under study where NGOs either single-handedly tackled one or more of their functions, or collectively did that in collaboration with other partners.

The role of NGOs in war-torn regions especially in East Africa ranges from providing relief materials, medical care, assisting during repatriation exercises etc. Some writers and contemporary observers maintain that their role is to a large extent endless. In order not to dabble into these endless functions, I have as per above listed most of the functions that will guide us in this work. However, these roles cannot be completed if we fail to treat NGOs as negotiators and neutral partners to warring groups. The question that may arise is, why must they be neutral as negotiators? They must be good negotiators for them to convince warring groups that they are in the crisis area to assist refugees. So that they can gain access to the refugees, whom they have to assist. Besides, they must be neutral or at least seen to be

neutral to the warring groups, so as not to be seen as collaborators or siding particular groups. In this way they will have unrestricted access to any part of the warring group where refugees and camps are located.

11.2.17. Negotiators and Neutral Partners to War Parties

Non –Governmental and humanitarian organisations sometimes as a result of their work take some unavoidable risks, like talking to warring parties and opposition partners to enable them break some barriers. Also, securing conducive atmosphere that will help them reach out to the refugees. This is very crucial in their work. In most cases, they do apply different kinds of diplomacy just to carry out their humanitarian works. The analysis was confirmed during my discussion with one of these NGOs thus:

“Well in any conflicts there are a lots of parties that are involved and lots of arm groups fighting each other or one another. We are often in situations where we have to talk to also military leaders in order to work in certain territory, but this is exclusive concentrated access to the fleeing population. Well, in all these countries like Somalia and Sudan there are different warring groups and to enter into these countries of course, you need to talk with them. Some of these warring groups is the SPLAM controlling all of Southern Sudan. So in Sudan, we need to go through them as much as we go through the government of Sudan when we were in the north and there are also similar situation in other countries”²⁴⁶

In Ethiopia, NGOs due to their ability to gain access to and monitor the situation of persons of concern, do so more than any other players in this field. They were able to give aid and assistance to the refugees. Not only that, local NGOs serve as bridges between UNHCR and host communities. A typical example here are the activities carried out by local NGO here, is the activities of the Ethiopia Red Cross. We were told that they gave unavoidable and charitable assistance to the refugee returnees from Saudi Arabia as indicated below:

“The Ethiopian Red Cross Society is at the forefront of operations, supporting the government in ensuring returnees receive the assistance they require. Sixty Red Cross volunteers are working around the clock, carrying luggage for returnees, providing first aid, and transportation to shelters.” The society has also deployed five ambulances to transport returnees from the airport to nearby hospitals, including mothers who gave birth either shortly before deportation or upon arrival. Staff and volunteers have helped build 15 temporary shelters and four first aid stations. They are distributing food and non-food items, including soap, blankets and plastic sheeting and work is underway to set up two additional temporary shelters to accommodate a further 4,000 returnees”²⁴⁷

Another good instance to buttress the in-displaceable role of NGOs here are the activities carried out by International Organisation for Migration (IOM) offering hands-on services in all

²⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 5

²⁴⁷FEKADU Ethiopia, Article on 2 December 2013 in: http://allafrica.com/stories/201312021515.html?aa_source=useful-column

aspects of the field work and responding to emergencies through camp management to durable solutions. The International Organisation for Migration did the followings:

“Prevention of Child Trafficking and Gender-based Violence, as well as Protection and Care for Victims in Somalia,” IOM, in coordination with key stakeholders in Puntland, will spearhead the project by raising awareness on both issues, support capacity building of the authorities, and provide direct assistance to child trafficking and GBV survivors²⁴⁸

Not only that, as actors from the transaction from relief, they extended their work to development projects, doing more than expected and has also done more as we can read thus:

“IOM has been implementing various activities to tackle these problems. It has carried out extensive social mobilization activities to increase awareness on GBV in Puntland. To improve community level capacity in psychosocial support, IOM has also been training psychosocial support counsellors, women from IDP settlements as peer counsellors and community representatives as community focal points. In addition, IOM has been engaged in capacity building of government institutions, police and civil society actors in counter-trafficking, and has also provided direct assistance to victims of trafficking on the ground. This EU-funded project builds on previous IOM experience and expertise in Somalia, as well as around the world²⁴⁹

In addition, NGOs organise workshops, seminars and training centres to assist the local government and help refugees to regain normal life. A fantastic example is the role of International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in South Sudan. Here, we learnt that:

“The workshop is part of IOM’s Enhancing South Sudan’s Human Resources for Health through Strengthened Engagement of Health Professionals in the Diaspora project, launched in February 2013 with the support of the IOM Development Fund. Through this initiative, IOM is providing technical support to the Government of South Sudan to develop a national diaspora engagement strategy for the health sector²⁵⁰

Through this means, the IOM shared their experiences and expertise in the fieldwork, gather information to build up data since much is not available. They try to get into contact with Diaspora South Sudanese who might be willing to assist their country and to cooperate with them especially with those who have learnt any profession.

12. Specific Issues and Comparison between Countries under Study

During the long period of the research work, I did as a matter of fact came across several differences and similarities with the countries I chose as reference to study the problem of

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

refugees in East African region in international relations and politics. At this stage of the work, I have chosen to select some specific issues, I consider appropriate and helpful in assisting me to realise my aim and the task I have given to myself. I know that one may contrast my position and argued that all the issues would have been better to present them here. However, I believe that everyone has his or her rights and, interests and manner of approach to issues. I believe that such would have made my work endless and clumsy. Meanwhile, that is amongst the reasons behind my deciding otherwise.

Again, when I chose the topic of my research work, I proposed to carry out field work in the countries I have chosen. I planned in addition, interviews with experts and field and/ or aid workers especially with NGO's. These are groups of people that are on daily bases either in contacts with refugees or working in one way or the other with matters to do with them.

Unfortunately, I could not secure financial assistance to carry out the field work as I earlier planned. In the absence of that, I considered to substitute this with my discussion with field workers who have been in the field for several times and on several occasions. In addition to that, I felt that interview carried on by *Radio Afrika* on their trip to Kenya on the life of refugees direct with refugees themselves and their caretakers-those working in the refugee camps could be of use and of interest. Let me just add that this interview has helped me in different dimensions up till this stage of the work. As a result of that, in trying to present some specific field works and some case studies, I limited my work on the three interviews I had with one, *Ärzte Ohne Grenze*, two, *SOS Kinderdorf International* and three, *Radio Afrika*. While the interviews with the first two were carried out in Vienna based on their personal experience while on field work, the latter was an interview conducted direct at the refugee camps in Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania. These are to be complemented and supplemented with my findings from existing literatures. In addition, I was of the mind that the way I decided will enable me present a comprehensive, exhaustive and constructive academic research, hence I decided the way I did. Let me add that, in the introductory part of the work, I have already demonstrated this decision.

Having said that, since my work focused on refugees, I have decided to start with the factors of refugees in some of these countries.

Other areas will include selected topics like the kinds of diseases as they occurred in some of the countries, effects of armed struggles and wars as well as civil unrest in the countries. Others are for instance, efforts to assist refugees and the nature of rapes in the countries and how they were carried out.

12.1. Case study on causes of Refugees- Situation in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia

A relative case study of the causes of refugees within three countries Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia presents interesting results. I discovered that the cause of the refugee situation in both the Eastern and Western parts of Ethiopia are wars and warlike conditions (social unrest, strong and serious uncontrolled demonstration leading to damages of peoples' properties, careless and uncontrolled gun shootings). All these involving different ethnic groups in a particular country, arising from conflicts between internal factions in Somalia and Sudan. For instance, we learnt that:

“The situation changed dramatically in the early 1990’s when armed conflicts and human rights violations in the neighbouring states of Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan prompted large numbers of people to cross the border into Kenya. By 1992, their number had reached some 420,000, the vast majority of them Somalis”²⁵¹

In Somalia and in Sudan an armed struggle exists there against the central governments, but then, while the immediate cause of the conflict in Sudan is the South’s rejection of a situation that discriminates against the southerners’ ethnic for instance, linguistic, racial and religious characteristics. That of Somalia is based on the rejection of corruption, tribalism, mismanagement and squander-mania of the country’s wealth and escalation of repression.

12.1.1. Case study- similarities- Problem of Refugees in Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania and Sudan

One of the push factors in my decision to do a research project on refugees is the hypotheses that, the causes of refugees in the Horn of Africa have similarities in their problems. In the process of my work, I took kin interest carefully searching to see if I can establish the fact and prove same. I am happy to say that the assumption as we are going to read from experienced aid worker is true. In response to my question, if she can mention the refugee camps in which she has worked or her organisation has been active and if she can assess her experience, she said:

“Well, our organisation runs programmes in several refugee camps, starting from Somalia where we have displaced people within Somalia and also Somalia refugees in Kenya and again in Kenya refugees from Sudan and Tanzania is homeland for several refugees from Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic republic of Congo and so there are a lot of displacement and we usually distinguish between “internally displaced” and really “cross border refugees” Also I have to say that the situation and the needs of these people(refugees) are more or less the same”²⁵²

²⁵¹ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 19, Op .cit. p. 62

²⁵² Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border): Op. cit. p.1

Looking at the quotation, one discovers that all the five countries under focus apart from Ethiopia namely, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania are involved. Since she went on to mention other countries like Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Rwanda. Then, it is very convincing that the same situation is obtainable in the rest of the regional countries and that it is also applicable to Ethiopia. The comparison goes a long way to reveal that, solution could also be more or less the same. We shall find out in chapter sixteen (16), where new alternative approaches to refugee problems would be discussed.

Nevertheless, I went further during our discussion and wanted to know if she can reassure me her first statement that situations in the region are similar or at least in the countries that, I am studying the various refugees' problems. Also, I wanted to know-how significant the effects have been on the bearers (Citizens of and host Nations, NGOs, Regional Organisations, International Organisations and the International Communities). To my question, what are the general aspects of the work of her organisation in the countries of the Great Lake like Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania and Somalia? This is what her reaction was:

“While talking about countries around the Horn of Africa or East African region, there are many different situations and also the strategies of prevention are different in several of those countries. Like the arm conflicts and chronic conflicts likes the war in Sudan, a situation where the population are seriously affected very often due to long ongoing war, which is reflected in many different ways like health structures, all are destroyed and preventive activities are not going anymore because of movement of displaced people. Diseases are spread in many different ways. Contaminating diseases are remerging because of migration and displacement, so there are many, many health problems directly or indirectly related to the war situation and this is true to most of these countries in the region”²⁵³

12.1.2. Somalia, Kenya and Tanzania Case study on Rape

During my research work, I came across horrible and unacceptable disgrace inflicted on human beings like you and me. In this case, it concerns women refugees. In each of the countries I based my work on, I found out that rape of females was a common phenomenon among men from the warring and opposite groups. This is also carried out on a daily bases. I decided to provide a subsection on the topic with the aim of not only condemning this practice against human nature and the rights of female gender, but also invite everyone that may read this work or come in contact with it, to vehemently and publicly condemn it in any way and any time you have the opportunity to do so.

In this precise comparison, I chose to base my work on Somalia, Kenya and Tanzania. We shall evaluate, survey, analyse and compare the nature and system of rape and probably the

²⁵³ Ibid.

intentions behind it. We shall also see which group are targets or most vulnerable to fall victim and those involved in the act.

As a result of war and conflicts in Somalia, it was registered in a report from Human Rights Watch that:

“Rape has been used as a weapon of war by all the factions to punish rival ethnic factions. All the number of rapes, abductions and forced marriages during the 1991-92 was very high, the abuse is by no means limited to this period. The women most at risk seem to be the internally displaced, those who lack the protection of powerful clan structures and those minority clans or ethnic groups; The limited protection and redress available to women is generally based on clan affiliation, which has led many women to support the Sharia tribunals. They see it as affective both as a method of holding rapists accountable and as a deterrent”²⁵⁴

Other instances of rape was recorded in Kenya by *JEGEDE John Oluwatosin* in his paper while analysing a situation report on the life of refugees in the camp especially how it affects the gender situation (women gender) he noted that:

“In the face of overcrowded camps and the struggle to provide the refugees with basic facilities, it has become increasingly difficult to keep an eye on other pertinent issues that concerns majority of the residents of the camps. Women who flee their homes in search of sanctuary from violence too often find that there is no meaningful refuge; they have simply escaped violence in conflict to face a different type of violence in the refugee camps. Women face particular protection and security risks in refugee camps, as well as the challenges of heading households while suffering from their disadvantaged status as women. Refugee women are vulnerable to rape, sexual assault, and other forms of sexual violence. Levels of domestic violence are also high in many refugee communities: in refugee settings, pressures regarding housing, food, security, and other resources often strain domestic situations and erupt in violence. Moreover, extended networks of family, neighbors, and community leaders that may have acted as a deterrent to abuse under normal circumstances no longer exist in the abnormal conditions and unfamiliar territory to which women refugees are exposed. Yet, generally women refugees have limited, or no, legal remedies against sexual and domestic violence, due to their unfamiliarity with, and wariness of, local police and judicial authorities, and because of a lack of proactive, timely, systematic, and sensitive responses by the relevant international and local authorities”²⁵⁵

Another report confirmed that:

“Violence between refugees of different nationalities crammed together is a persistent problem. Sexual violence remains an issue, with hundreds of cases reported every year. There are also more than 57,000 children in the camp, about 5,000 of whom have no parents. A lack of funding means that services to them are limited”²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum Seekers from Somalia: Op. cit. p. 11

²⁵⁵ JEGEDE John Oluwatosin: Factors influencing Vulnerability of Women in refugee Camps; The case of Dadaab Refugee Camp; Garissa County, Kenya. A research project report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a masters of Arts degree in Project Planning and Management of the University Of Nairobi 2002. P. 22f

²⁵⁶ <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatches/globalpost-blogs/groundtruth/kenya-kakuma-refugee-camp-al-shabaab>

Tanzania was not and is not better than Kenya. In furtherance to my comparison, I surveyed the situation in Tanzania and discovered a similar situation. This experience I decided to share with readers. It goes thus:

“Refugee women and girls in Tanzania experience even less freedom. Violence is endemic in the refugee camps. The country’s Refugee Act, 1998 requires all refugees to live in camps, restricts movement and prevents refugee access to land and jobs. There are over 100,000 refugees currently living in Tanzania. Currently refugees are crowded into a camp (Nyarugusu) designed for half that number. Pressures on housing, security, food and other resources put a strain on relations, fostering violence against women – both within the home and outside. Women are more vulnerable to rape, sexual assault and other forms of sexual violence in refugee camps. Women have fled conflict to escape violence only to face a different type of violence in the refugee camps”²⁵⁷

12.1.3. Kenya and Tanzania Case Study Refugees Policy in the two Countries

The case study of refugee laws, rules and regulations and policies in the two states in East Africa presents interesting and simple evaluations. For instance, the policies introduced by the Kenyan government in the 90’s (see 11.2.5 above) brought in difficulties and drastic changes in the country. While the policies were good for the country, the refugees were placed under cruel living conditions as a result of the laws. The results are as follows:

- a) The country has no refugee legislation,
- b) The refugees lack a clear legal status,
- c) The refugees have no identity cards,
- d) Officials and official bodies in the country tend to have limited interest in the situation of refugees, believing them to be the problem of UNHCR’s,

Politicians, the media and the general public are largely hostile towards the presence of refugees, even when their presence in the two camps (Kakuma and Dadaab) has had great and positive impact on the local economy.

Under these conditions, the truth is not far-fetched that the Kenyan government does not welcome refugees in their country. Some writers see the situation as inhumane. However, we should not forget that, the regional as well as the international laws made provisions for respective countries and member state to exercise the last decision on the conditions by which, they will and can accept refugees in their respective countries. It is important to point out here that the clause in the international law, whereby clauses in the laws provide sovereign states the last right to decide, if it accepts intercontinental laws and or to remain at

²⁵⁷<http://www.womankind.org.uk/where-we-work/tanzania/>

its liberty to implement or not to implement the laws, speak against the fundamental rights of refugees as well as against the intercontinental co-operations. The discourse above speaks against what a law scholar *Harris D.J.* said, while discussing the fundamental roles of international law through which the sovereign states and the international community can be guided, exercise understandings and cooperate with one another to promote world peace. We read as follows:

“But it means that international law is performing a useful and indeed a necessary function in international life in enabling states to carry on their day-to-day intercourse along orderly and predictable lines. That is the role for which states have chosen to use it and for that it has proved a serviceable instrument”²⁵⁸

Having said that, let us treat now the situation in Tanzania. Tanzania has single-handedly immortalised its name as the only outstanding country in the Horn of Africa that, has demonstrated humanity in its dealing with refugees and asylum seekers in the country. She has achieved this with her open door policy for over four decades. This policy conduct has gained her respect and cooperation around the world up to the United Nations and catapulted the country to be centre stage when issues of African refugee matters come in question. These recognitions could be attributed to the following:

“Tanzania has a tradition of providing a safe haven to people who flee persecution and conflicts in their countries of origin. It is for this reason that the system of refugee status determination has been put in place to assist the government to offer the required protection to those who deserve”²⁵⁹

Despite this favourable human policy strategies as applied and practiced by Tanzania, she ended up with the open door policy as a result of so many economic and social problems thus:

“The burden of history on independent Tanzania's outlook towards refugees is highlighted [and] the impact on asylum seekers of Pan-Africanism, Julius Nyerere's humanist philosophy and the remoulding of Tanzanian state ideology after African socialism, and considers the debate whether refugees are economically exploited in the postcolonial setting. [However,] Tanzania's abandonment of its Open Door policy in the 1990s [that] linked to the economic liberalization measures that have had a negative impact on the ability and willingness of the state to host refugees”²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ HARRIS D.J. Op. cit. p. 5

²⁵⁹The United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Home Affairs: The National refugee Policy; see also: https://www.google.at/search?q=Refugee+Policy+in+Tanzania&oq=Refugee+Policy+&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i60j69i57j69i60j69i61j0.13561j0j7&sourceid=chrome&es_sm=93&ie=UTF-8

²⁶⁰ Copyright Oxford University Press 2003: The Politics of Refugee Hosting in Tanzania: From Open Door to Unsustainability, Insecurity and Receding Receptivity

That notwithstanding, it will be academically correct to review the reasons behind this sudden change. What made her achieve this dominance, to my understanding could be found in its refugee policies. For instance, she can get refugees temporarily settled in the country rather than forcing them out of the country believing that, it is a temporarily solution to alleviate the problem and can even consider granting naturalisation to refugees without strong provisions, even though the rules and regulations relating to naturalisation provides qualifications.

In her educational provisions, she made good policy that favours refugee believing that it is absolutely necessary to develop refugees as resource for the labour market to enable them not only secure work in Tanzania, but also when they eventually go home. Very important to the education of refugees in Tanzania is that, their respective country curricula is considered making them fit and easily integrated when they go home. By so doing, Tanzania believes that developing the individual talents of the refugees are very important for the host country as they will contribute to the general economic development of the country and particularly improve their living standards.

Furthermore, the policy foresees and offers opportunity for refugees to undertake entrepreneurship and small income generating activities within and around the camps, where they are located. This policy contributed to a large extent that refugees in Tanzania can engage themselves, earn money and support their respective families. In pursuit of these various policies, Tanzania believes that a world without refugees could be possible thus:

“In working towards the fulfillment of this policy the government will indeed be guided by its long term and cherished vision, which is, working towards the creation of a refugee free world community or at least a world community where refugee issues are handled in the spirit of international co-operation and burden sharing”²⁶¹

Literatures on the political and economic history of Tanzania revealed that she was humane with refugees on the grounding principles of Pan Africanism. Tanzania believes that the causes were mostly due to the struggle for self-rule and freedom from colonial rule. But as events developed and most of the African Nations gained independence, the situation remained unchanged. This assertion is linked to the following:

“Tanzania, over the past four decades of her independence has generously played host to thousands of refugees from neighboring as well as distant countries. Initially, the refugees who entered the country fled their countries of origin as a result of independence struggle. Therefore, it was the belief of the government of Tanzania that the refugee problem was temporal and could be considerably reduced after the liberation of all African countries. To the contrary, in recent years and particularly during the 1990 the refugee problem, a new turn as a result of massive influxes of refugees into Tanzania due to escalating conflicts and civil wars In the Great Lakes Region”²⁶²

²⁶¹The United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Home Affairs: The National refugee Policy. Op. cit.

²⁶² Ibid.

Meanwhile, it is as a result of the above situation that the government of Tanzania eventually gave up its open door policy. This is in addition, to the obvious and known economic meltdown in the country. Tanzania being one of the poor countries not only in Africa, but also amongst the community of nations could no longer bear the burden alone and after the failure of ICARA1 and 11 to convince the northern donors to do more for the burden-sharing failed. She has no other better option than to tighten up and bring its house in order, hence the U-turn in its refugee policies. A publication from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the country on 'national refugee policy' has this to say:

"The National Refugee Policy is a very important tool in the general refugee management and protection services [and] the government is committed to securing for refugees in Tanzania adequate protection as provided for under international refugee instruments. Subsequently, the right to asylum shall be guaranteed. Refugees will not be expelled from Tanzania except on grounds of national security or public order and in accordance with applicable principles contained in the refugees instruments. A refugee expulsion, if necessary, will result from a decision reached in accordance with due process of law. Except where compelling reasons of national security require otherwise, the refugee will be allowed to submit evidence, and to appeal to and have their cases reviewed by competent authorities. The government will apply any justifiable and legitimate measures it may consider necessary for better management of the expellee including allowing him a reasonable period within which to seek legal admission into another country"²⁶³

12.1.4. Ethiopia and Sudan Case Study Spread of Diseases- Experiences etc.

Another case study I chose to discuss with readers is the situation in war-torn zones and how quickly diseases could spread and the effects on the refugees. While I was discussing with a senior aid worker from 'Ärzte Ohne Grenze' she said that every situation has a specific core problem. They focus attention on the resolution of the specific situation in any country. In Ethiopia for example, one of the big challenges was, for example, what to do with refugees who was displaced on the highlands. As a result of the displacement the people lost desirable immunity to *malaria* and when they returned to their homelands, there was an outbreak and increase in *malaria* cases. Being worried about the epidemic cases of malaria, their immediate challenge then was to place and restore health structures before refugee return. This is to make sure that they do not face this problem for their children.

A similar case occurred in Sudan where the organisation met the case of *Kala zar* and *sleeping sickness*. These diseases could spread very quickly because of population movement, which takes along certain diseases with the people on the move. Even when one group of the refugees are cured, and the diseases under control like sleeping sickness. But movement of people from camp to camp got the diseases imported again. So in such specific

²⁶³ Ibid.

situations, they try to concentrate on prevention and control of such health problems that are related to refugee movement.

Throughout my research work, I discovered that out of the five countries in the Horn of Africa that served as my references, only Tanzania was free from production of refugees and it was also only Tanzania that has the most human and best refugee policies amongst the five nations in question. I never know before.

Part III

13. Refugees Problems for Resource Development

The part of the project titled '*the refugee problem for resource development*' will try to interpret refugees not as a problem but as a useful resource for the labour market of their host or receiving countries. In doing so, it will focus attention on quite interesting areas and topics ranging from understanding resource development and the inherent challenges that refugees are confronted with. Thereafter, we will check how the lack of data can affect or has affected resource development in the Great Lake Region of Africa.

Beyond this, we will have the opportunity to reflect on the indisputable role media has played and has been playing towards the lives of refugees in the last five decades. We will survey, review, analyse and present the diversified fundamental roles of mass media ranging from roles as watch dog, as advocate and media as a conduit of messages. Other areas like media playing the roles of agenda setter and builder of public opinion and finally, as truth seeker or interested bystander will be fully discussed and digested.

Subsequent to the aforementioned, we will round up this part with the sub-section termed International laws and the new world order to include globalisation as they affect the lives of refugees worldwide, especially in the developing countries and particularly in the Horn of Africa. These topics will be amongst the major discourse that will be contested. Local and international instances will be cited and emphasised and thereafter, presented to the reading public.

Having carefully introduced this part, let us now forge forward and begin with the first sub-section captioned '*resource development*'.

13.1. Resource Development

Under this subsection of my work, I have taken to addressing the question of refugees serving as resources and making effective contributions to their host country. It is my opinion that if and when refugees are well managed, they will no longer be seen and judged as problems and socio-economic parasites and burdens on their host. Instead, they will be looked upon as human labour and qualified resources that should be tapped and invested in the general socio-economic development of the country in which they relocated as a result of wars, civil unrest and even as a result of natural calamities and catastrophes to mention just a few. The question remains for example, how best to persuade the host states and convince them that refugees as labour providers are good opportunities for them to capture? How can one make this attractive for the host and receiving nations to play along with and become good partners with the UNHCR on one side and how can development aid and assistance be tailored in achieving the expected and targeted end result?

In this subsection, I will review and analyse with instances, things that could be done in reaching these targeted aims. This will lead us to considering those factors and aspects of the life of refugees that can influence resource development. Some of such factors are the total wellbeing of refugees. By this I mean, the health condition of the refugees, the demographic constellation of the total number of refugees in the host country. Others are the educational level, likewise the professional qualifications and the areas of specialisation. In addition, are the question of language, the socio-cultural background and the religious status of the refugees? All these factors play major roles and contribute in influencing resource development of the refugees for the economic and optimal utilisation in any set up. When these factors are well managed, we may be in a better position to present substantial arguments in favour of refugees as positive assets rather than constraints and a setback for the host nation's development and economy.

Finally, there should be comprehensive and universal laws that are practically effective in protecting refugees' rights to work in their host countries. This should be additional laws or by- laws and or treaties to supplement the 1951 Geneva Human Rights Convention. As this subsection unfolds, we will come across where these factors have either contributed progressively or regressively towards that aim – resource development.

13.2. Health Discussed

Having said that, when we speak from resource development and the problematic nature involved in such efforts, one of the things to consider is the general wellbeing of the health of

the person. For this work, it is on the refugees located in the country of their host. If the general wellbeing of the refugees is called into question, then there is no special method that is needed to conclude that it will affect the resources for development that are targeted from the refugees. There is no gain saying that, a healthy and energetic person will perform better work than vice versa and where the majority of the refugees are inflicted with poor feeding, it will affect their wellbeing and or healthy development. Some existing literatures revealed that the health of most of the refugees in the war-torn regions were so poor and has been so poor that it has turned out to be an extra burden to the UNHCR and the host countries. Instead of the host countries to focus attention on how best to tap the availability of labour produced by the presence of thousands of refugees in their respective country. Attention and funds are diverted to the health of the refugees due to disease and infections that came along with the influx of refugees. For instance:

“The main prominent health problems in the Kagera region before the shock were malaria, AIDS/HIV, diarrhea, intestinal parasites and dysentery. The mass migration of refugees could have eased the emergence and spread of existing infectious diseases by food, water and environmental contaminating factors. These effects perhaps were further reinforced through the lack of proper sanitation and the collapse of already scarce health facilities. In addition, the arrival of a large group of people can easily multiply the transmission of malaria in villages with already high rates of infection and poor health and the heavy burden of hosting such massive influx of refugees made it impossible to meet all their critical needs. The conditions of Benaco, the largest shelter opened for the crisis and located in the Ngara district of the Kagera region, gives some sense of the scale of this tragedy. At one point, the camp hosted up to 400,000 refugees and experienced several problems such as water and food scarcity, lack of waste collection, epidemics (bloody dysentery, malaria, pneumonia, meningitis and measles), malnutrition and an increase in criminal activities²⁶⁴”

Despite that, it is quite unfortunate that there is not enough database to lay hands on and make accurate plans for how and the best means to handle the problems that are envisaged or are existing. To bring more light to this, I discovered that:

“Unfortunately, there is not a formal accounting of the amount of food received by the villages in the area under study, but some anecdotal evidence seems to indicate that in general an important fraction of children (both migrants and locals) in refugee-hosting zones often experience severe starvation and malnutrition²⁶⁵”

In furtherance of their argument, *Javier Baez* maintained that the health and condition of the refugees even as it concerns underage children and the ones still in the womb must be taken care of. He maintains that the need for early demographic thinking and projections should be

²⁶⁴BAEZ Javier E and IZA: Civil Wars beyond their Borders: The Human Capital and Health Consequences of Hosting Refugees. Keywords: civil conflicts, refugees, children, human capital, health, Africa. Discussion Paper No. 3468. April 2008, p. 7ff

²⁶⁵Ibid: P.17

considered given the fact that should the children or unborn affected by population shock through their mother and the increased diseases rampant in the camps due to over population. That this may reflect on the general wellbeing of the children in later periods, which will definitely have an adverse effect on the resource development, which it is expected would come from the younger generation. Not only that, he argues that overpopulation can have adverse effects on the further human labour and resource development. And that the impact is established in the sense that children in such overpopulated camps, travel most of the time far distances to fetch water or collect wood. These manual and strenuous physical labour reflect on the wellbeing of the children and disrupt their growth. Therefore, children also share heavy burdens as a result of their plight that stem from civil and social unrest and through warfare activities that have made them into child refugees. For these reasons he concluded by saying:

“Overall, these mechanisms taken together are broadly in line with an intensification of the risks of developing diseases and harming early childhood development, even for those in utero if the health condition of mothers was severely hit by the shock. Poor health at young ages can in turn disrupt human capital accumulation and future labor outcomes (e.g. wages, labor supply) by decreasing the returns to schooling. Even in rural communities with perhaps low returns to education, poor childhood health can reduce middle age and adult labor capacity for intensive livestock and agricultural occupations, by far the most prominent activities in the Kagera region”²⁶⁶

For this reason, efforts should be made to protect the interest of the mothers and children during any unrest and adequate care and attention given to them. The warring parties should bear in mind that the situation could be seen as *‘the winner takes it all’* game ball, in the sense that if any of them damages the future of the children and eventually win the war, he will also inherit these destroyed mental and physically unhealthy children and youth. Should this happen, it will turn into a serious challenge to their country or the host country later in life.

13.3. Equal right of refugees with the Citizens of Host Country

The issue of equal rights of refugees in the host country, same as the citizens of the host country, is the desirable condition provided by the international human rights law, especially the 1951 convention. This law deems that refugees should have same right as the indigenous people of the host country so long he stays in the country and therefore, should be encouraged to live a normal life. This entails that he should be allowed to own and run a business as much as he can. He should be employed just like the citizens of the country to

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

work in the companies and other institutions in the country so long as he is qualified to occupy the position. This is elaborated further in the below citation thus:

“With the release of World Refugee Survey 2004—Warehousing Issue (the Survey), the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) launched an international campaign to end warehousing. The campaign promotes the rights in the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention) of refugees to live as normal a life as possible while they await durable solutions. In particular, the campaign seeks to persuade states to allow refugees to work, to run businesses, to practice professions, to own property, to move freely and choose their place of residence in countries of asylum, and to have travel documents (see “Anti-Warehousing Rights” foldout, Table 7, supra). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights instruments champion these same rights for all persons.”²⁶⁷

The above citation is an indication that refugees can be seen as resource for development instead of burden to host countries. For instance, if refugees are allowed to participate in the labour force of the host nation, they will not only contribute to qualitative and quantitative labour force, but they will also be paying their taxes like every other citizen of the host country. By so doing, they will automatically contribute to the increase in the revenue collection of the host country on one side. And on the other side, the host country will not be paying them the “*daily allowances*” as maintenance fund. When the host country stops doing so, it there means that allowing refugees to work brings in returns for the government. The amount spent each week, month or each year as allowances to refugees, will be used to provide adequate infrastructures that will also be available for the citizens of the host country and the refugees themselves.

The same applies if refugees can be allowed to own and operate businesses. The options provide the refugees rare opportunity to engage themselves instead of looking for jobs in the host countries, which in most cases may not be easy and or may be completely impossible to get. Furthermore, they can equally contribute to labour absorbers by employing either the citizens of the host country and or their colleagues who are refugees. By so doing, they will not only assist the host country in creating work but also contribute in making the economy of the host country strong, since they will be required to pay company taxes that brings big amounts of revenues and funds to the government.

Permission to own properties is what cannot be argued, if one looks into the monetary and social advantages it will bring to the government of the host country, mortgaging or property investment has been one of the key factors to hold the backup the economy of countries around the globe and if refugees are permitted to own and run such entrepreneurships under an organised system, the government is bound to benefit from it. The advantages of this vision are unlimited. For instance it will help to curb:

²⁶⁷SMITH Merrill, Editor: Developing Aid for refugees-Leveraging Rights: In World refugees Survey 2005. P.4

1. Crimes waves, 2. Rapes, 3. Improve orderliness, 4. Harmony and 5. Peaceful living together.
6. Reduce dependency on government 7. Contribute to increase in the wealth of the host country, 8. Meager jobs that indigenous citizens could not do or rejects could be offered to refugees to complement the lagging work force. 8. Illegal work will be reduced to unnoticeable level if not completely stopped, since we all know and agree that illegal labour force dodges taxation.

For instance I discovered that:

“RCK is researching urban refugees’ contribution to the economy and the loss of revenue caused by the government’s failure to license their trade.”²⁶⁸

Meanwhile, to avoid this, the host country should provide a friendly law that will give way to refugees to participate in the work force of the host country. In doing so, refugees will thereby serving as resource for development. The dream philosophy of refugees for resource development can only be realised if the international community through the UN will develop and enforce a law that will be binding to all member states to encourage the utilisation of refugees’ skills, while in their countries. I therefore, call for political will of the respective members of international community. It is understandable that most of the time such laws are not acceptable or accepted and adopted by the member states but failed to secure the confidence of the individual countries and their respective parliaments to pass through and be implemented. In her analysis of the complications, challenging and relevant obstacles inherent to this, *Merrill Smith* has this to say:

“The principal obstacle to refugees enjoying these rights is lack of political will. The 1951 Convention itself has no practical legal enforcement mechanism. Courts in states party to it vary in effectiveness, depending not only on the strength of implementing legislation (often subject to restrictive reservations) but also on the overall strength of the rule of law in countries of asylum. But if refugee protection is truly an international responsibility, the onus does not rest exclusively on host countries. Warehousing also implicates the practices of donor countries and international agencies. The main venue for enforcing these rights is the court of public opinion, internationally and in both host and donor nations.”²⁶⁹

It is in the light of the above position from *Merrill Smith* that, I urge nation-states in the community of nations to come up with a universal regulations and laws to enforce this phenomenon. This should have been overdue by now when we talk and speak about a Global Village in the twenty-first century. There is the need to do this and to monitor its successful implementation.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 26

²⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 4

Nonetheless, it is also recorded that such laws have been in existence even when they were not broadly pronounced. To this end, what the United Nations should do is to ask member states to enforce these laws. The UN can even go to extremes and through the Security Council send strong and clear messages to the members of the nation- states that, by failing to respect and enforce the laws within a given period, they will face some sort of punishment from the world body. In other words, serious measurements must be developed and enforced through the United Nations. For instance, the 1951 Convention on refugees by the UNHCR provides thus:

“Conditionality limits even the most binding terms in the 1951 Convention. Paragraph 1 of Article 17 does not require parties to grant refugees rights to wage employment any greater than those of other foreigners. Paragraph 2 lifts restrictions “for the protection of the national labour market” for those refugees that have resided in the country for three years, married nationals, or have children who are nationals. Paragraph 3, on the other hand, declares that “The Contracting States shall give sympathetic consideration to assimilating the rights of all refugees with regard to wage earning employment to those of nationals”²⁷⁰

Nonetheless, there is the need to record that although:

“No international law prohibits donor countries from subsidizing warehousing or requires them to fund more integrative, rights –friendly approaches to refugee assistance”²⁷¹

The international community through the United Nations should promulgate laws to make it compulsory that donor countries should no longer do that. Furthermore, it is recalled that in about nineteen hundred and fifty-two (1952) during one of its resolutions like the General Assembly Resolution no. 538B (6), allowed the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to appeal to the United Nations for emergency aid. However, with a strong direction that such aid will only be granted, if it is for the promotion of integration of refugees into the respective countries’ economic reconstruction and development. By so declaring, it can be interpreted that even the UNHCR supports that refugees should be seen as resource developers as well as resources to be developed and should also be treated as such.

By the same token, the advantages cannot be over emphasised. For instance, permitting or allowing refugees free entry into the market and labour force of the respective countries where they found refuge will not only make them start to live normal lives again, but will on the other considerations give way for effective competitiveness within the host country, which will strengthen their ability and capability in the international front towards promotion of

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

their own investment overseas thereby increasing the chances of acquiring additional foreign reserves.

On the other hand, it sounds understandable why host countries place hindrances and blockages in favour of their labour market. This is done in the first instance, as protection for their own citizens and in the second instance, it has political effects that the government in power fears not to lose the next election as a result of the liberalisation policy introduced, which has favoured refugees and eventually failed to favour its own citizens. Who may not be strong enough or not prepared to the competitive economic policy? It calls for caution on the side of the government of the host nations. Surveying this issue from any angle, the citizens and the governments of host countries should see refugees' skilled resources as something very advantageous. By permitting the refugees to work, own and operate businesses the indigenous population would have the opportunity to tap know-how from them, especially if the possessed resource is very much in demand in the economy of the host country. Exchange of work experiences and ideas are valuable and surpasses every other disadvantage per se. This by extension improves efficiency, which in other words will mean more turn-over with eventual less input. Looking at the situation from another dimension, when refugees are recognised, seen as resource contributors for development, when they are accepted, accommodated and deployed, it will lead to reduction of the millions of refugee figures that are very precedent in the literatures, most of which overlaps from time to time. This is the main focus of this section of the research project.

Nonetheless, some writers argue that despite all the setbacks host nations might encounter as a result of hosting refugees and asylum seekers, the advantages of such humanitarian accommodation and services if made available to the traumatised persons, should not be overlooked. To this end, we heard something like:

"The link between refugees and the development prospects of their host is thus an essential feature of the "refugee problem". As was recognized at the 1967 Conference on African Refugee Problems in Addis Ababa, refugee self-sufficiency at mere subsistence levels could not be considered conclusive. Formal 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 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 advantage accruing."²⁷²

²⁷²<http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/alldocuments>

The above quotation speaks a clear and straight forward statement and is also in affirmative that refugees could serve as resource developers in their host country, either as asylum seekers or resettled refugees, if adequate integration is offered to them and embraced in the labour force of the country of asylum. Host countries should see the availability of refugee labour force as huge opportunity and should invest in them. They should give them the chances to learn the language of their host country and integrate them into their culture. They should know that for them to tap the valuable resources in the refugees, they should invest in their physical life and wellbeing. Knowing fully well that the investment in them should bring back physical capital that is necessary, healthy to generate their economic growth on one hand and increase the quality of their labour force on the other hand. At the end of the day, both refugees and asylum seekers will be doing work together with the citizens of the host nation, thereby, exchanging professional experiences and knowledge.

The investment made on the refugees should be seen as investment to drive human resources and its development, which would be available after a long term period. As a result, I suggest that the host country should through its legislature develop and pass laws that will on one hand secure their investment on the refugees so that the refugees will not after the training immediately leave the country, and on the other hand providing a conducive atmosphere for the refugees to learn work, languages and other professions and remain for quite a long period of time in country or pay back in whichever form, the fund invested in their trainings etc. This process will not only see the realisation of refugee assistance tied with development aid, but also motivate northern donors to either remain stable in their donations and contributions in terms of responsibility sharing but might even lead to increase in the donor's fund. When the refugees are adequately trained, host nations will have assorted types of man power available for various aspects of their labour market and/or labour force. There will be availability of different skilled labour for the host country to choose. This will lead to general development of the components of the society and for the economy. This kind of investment has been practiced in Australia and it has proven above all reasonable doubt that, it pays to invest in the resource development of refugees instead of turning back on refugees and seeing them as people that need only to be helped. Look at what I discovered in this direction:

“The 740,000 refugees and humanitarian migrants settled by Australia since Federation have had an agreed impact in enhancing the nation's social, cultural and economic life. Their resettlement has played a crucial role in international efforts to provide protection to persons whose life, liberty, safety and other fundamental rights are at risk. It has also enabled Australia to tangibly demonstrate its international solidarity with the mostly poor countries hosting the majority of the world's refugees. [-] Refugees make substantial contributions to their new country – expanding consumer markets for local goods, opening new markets, bringing in new skills, creating employment and

filling empty employment niches. There may be short-term costs as refugees are resettled and adjust to their new surroundings but once successful integration has occurred refugees are able to quickly make permanent cultural, social and economic contributions and infuse vitality, humanitarian values and multiculturalism into the communities into which they are resettled. [---] Australia's refugees and humanitarian entrants have found success in every field of endeavour, including the arts, sports, media, science, research, business and civic and community life. Refugees' stories are extremely diverse; however, there are some commonly mentioned "ingredients for success" including having had community support; feeling motivated to "give back" to society; and having access to training, English classes, mentoring and cultural, sporting and volunteering activities"²⁷³

Going from the above, we have seen that it is profitable in the long run if the host nation can take the *'bull by the horn'* at the initial stages, which is naturally cost effective. I can imagine that the initial investment in getting the refugees resettled and begin either to learn the language of the host countries or to attend vocational schools and or upgrade their certificates to match with the host country and investment in other areas like houses and accommodation are quite huge. However, with the help of development aid and target to development assistance, funding from the UNHCR will surely cover these expenditures or at least take care of most. It is my conviction that what matters most here is the political will of the receiving country. Despite that, it is very important to mention that, it all depends if the refugees have come to permanently stay due the fact that they cannot return home, based on well-known treats to their lives or whether, it is just a temporal relocation for a period of time. But as soon as it is verified and clarified that the stay is long and that they may eventually remain permanently, then there should be long term resettlement in programme to get them absorbed. To this end, I do encourage receiving country not only in Africa but also across the universe to borrow the good practice from Australia.

Pursuant to that, is to see that these various facets of the economic partnerships and or ventures will sum up to buttress the living standards of the country. And as a country with quality and high standard of living. This will in addition, lead to better placement of the Per Capital Income (PCI) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country. As a matter of truth the advantages surpasses that of its disadvantages especially this day, in the time of globalisation, when countries in the world are sourcing for *"best heads"* to hold at, to service and maintain their weak and porous economy. In doing this as analysed above, the host country has given the refugees social justice and integrated them into their homes, either for long term or short time. All these issues could be amicably planned and executed if there is the political will and understanding. Through this, the host country will polish its image

²⁷³ Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship: Economic, Civic and Social Contributions of Refugees and Humanitarian Entrants – A Literature Review 2010. P.3

amongst nation-states and will further serve as good example. In the long run, the country could be invited by the international community to advise them on how they did the miracle, absorbing refugees into their economy. Their experts will even be hired to consult in other countries or the NGOs and humanitarian organisations.

As a follow up to these analyses and evaluations on the need to prove that refugees' area good resources to the labour force that could be tapped as otherwise, I discovered some other key findings, that were made in Australia namely:

- ✓ The resettlement of refugees is not just an exercise in international goodwill. Refugees make substantial contributions to their new country – expanding consumer markets for local goods, opening new markets, bringing in new skills, creating employment and filling empty employment niches.
- ✓ There may be short-term costs as refugees are resettled and adjust to their new surroundings but, once successful resettlement has occurred, refugees are able to quickly make permanent cultural, social and economic contributions and infuse vitality and multiculturalism into the communities into which they are resettled.
- ✓ The profile of the humanitarian intake is also heavily skewed towards the younger age cohorts, with many arriving as children and receiving much of their education in Australia. The young age profile of humanitarian entrants makes a very positive contribution to a labour market in which new retirees now exceed new labour force entrants.
- ✓ Migration and the intake of refugees can diversify and enhance the skill level of the population, increase economies of scale and foster innovation and flexibility.
- ✓ Refugees are often entrepreneurial as they face the need to set up and establish themselves in a new environment. The 2000 Business Review Weekly's annual "Rich 200" list, for example, showed that five of Australia's eight billionaires were people whose families had originally come to the country as refugees²⁷⁴

This brings us to the issue of demographic constellation of the refugees relocated in the country of their host.

13.4. Demographic Nature of Refugees

By demographic nature of refugee, I mean the age distribution of the average refugee residing in a particular country and the categories of skilled and unskilled ones. For instance, if there are 100,000 refugees relocated to a particular host country, how the age distribution looks like is a determinant as well as the skills the refugees have acquired. This is because if the age distribution is in such a manner that for example, twenty-five percent (25%) are children between the ages of zero to fifteen (0-15) and another twenty-five percent (25 %) are women or house wives who either do not have qualifications to work or are currently caring for their babies and therefore prevented from the labour force. It means that from the

²⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 6f

total number of the population, fifty percent (50%) has been excluded from the labour force, leaving only fifty percent (50%). If from the remaining fifty percent (50%) another fifteen percent (15%) are aged persons from sixty years (60yrs) above, this group also fall into the so called consuming population group (CPG). This belongs to the group who can no longer contribute to the economic wellbeing of the host country irrespective of their learned professions and/or who contribute very small. That means that at the end of the day, what we have is sixty five percent (65%) consuming population group (CPG). These are liabilities to the host country because they only cost the country money to care for them instead of bring in money to maintain and keep the economy rolling. The meagre thirty-five percent (35%) is the net labour force from the whole of 100,000 refugees (persons) now hosted by a particular country.

Furthermore, from the remaining net labour force, it has to be filtered again. The distributions into level of academic and profession qualifications, the particular disciplines of study. Even in these breakdowns, consider those who attended only primary schools, those who ended up with secondary and commercial schools and those who attended only technical schools. Others are those who stopped their studies at the bachelors (first degree) level, those that did masters level and of course those who completed their doctorates, in various fields of studies. And finally, whether there are those that are professors in their respective disciplines and eventually their work experiences. All these come into considerations. It might happen that at the end of the day, there shall be only twenty percent (20%) net labour force that can gain employment and can really as well as immensely contribute to the general well-being of the economic and social aspect of the host country. Base on this we are informed that:

“Immigrants should be young, because they have a longer time horizon over which to realize the gains from moving. As we have observed above, this prediction also is consistent with the facts „Skilled persons are more likely to migrate if the difference between their expected earnings in the receiving and source countries exceeds the corresponding gain for the less-skilled.”²⁷⁵

Be that as it may, more appeal is made on the international community to be part of the burden – sharing ideology of the receiving nations especially in Africa. Even when there is no debate that the entry of refugees into a country most of the time increases the welfare, the host country enjoys. For example, like increase in the economic and public infrastructures as a result, which come from the international humanitarian assistance and Non-governmental Organisations into the country. In spite of that, the United Nations is expected to do more in this direction.

²⁷⁵By LALONDE Robert J. & TOPEL Robert H: In Handbook of Population and Family Economics, Edited by M.R. Rosenzweg and O. Stark. Chapter 14, P.805

To that effect, burden-sharing should be focused on assisting the host country to train as much as possible refugees in their vicinity and upgrade their academic and professional qualifications. This should be tailored towards the category of labour force that the country needs. This is an investment that will uplift the standard of living of not only the refugees, but also the citizens of the host country in the long run.

13.5. Educational Qualification of the Refugees

In considering refugees as resource for development and valuable assets to the receiving country, the first consideration is the academic and professional qualification of the refugee in question. This question at the same time handles the issue of areas of specialisation. Existing literatures to date have envisaged that highly qualified refugees and academics have better chances of being considered as the other groups. This is because they are not only paramount to contributing to the general wellbeing of the economy, they are less seen as liability to the country and this is only in short term period. As soon as they are engaged in the work, their liabilities ends immediately. They become producers and contributors instead of consumers. They can adjust and adapt faster in the society of their new homes when compared with less educated groups. This opinion and belief is also shared by the staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without Border)* when she said:

“The more or qualified refugees have better chances of getting employment while in the camps in most cases from the NGOs given to the fact the everybody including the NGOs are interested to use local skills that are receiving refugees if you have a medical doctor there of course we will take him or her to treat his home people rather than bringing somebody from outside and our role is to give and provide them with the facilities they needed and thereby supporting them to improve on them”²⁷⁶

That is to say that they are easily integrated, and within a short time, classified as assets, arguably promoters of refugees as resources to host countries. While the less or uneducated are constraints and require investments to raise them. The educated ones are already exchanging and sharing ideas with their colleagues at work.

But high hope may not be expected as host country government policies may play tremendous roles that may or may not affect the refugees' access to labour market of their host country. This is in any case, one of the challenges that faces the host country. For instance, during my research activities, I discovered a study on *'Educated and unemployed*

²⁷⁶ Interview, *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border)* Op. cit.

refugee Integration into the Canadian Labour Market In this study, emphasis were laid particular on categories of refugees who were in professional and managerial strategic positions before entering Canada. According to the source of my information:

“The study is based on interviews with a sample of 525 adult refugees who were initially resettled in the province of Alberta between 1992 and 1999. About two thirds of the respondents came from former Yugoslavia, the remainder from countries in the Middle East, Central America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Despite the generally high educational attainment of these refugee, the results show that they experience much higher rates of unemployment, and temporary employment than do Canadian – born individuals. A variety of structural factors operating in a segmented Canadian labour market help to explain the downward mobility of these highly qualified refugees”²⁷⁷

Meanwhile, let me pin-point here that the situation varies from country to country depending on the policy priority of any country. But the alarming result revealed that the issue of gainful employment to refugees and asylum seekers in any country of their host is precarious and reflects most of the time on the current prevailing conditions as they arrive in the country. What is obtainable at labour market demands at the time of entry or at the period of stay takes preference. That is to say that possession of high level degree and qualification is not a guarantee that a refugee or asylum seeker obtains job and thereby better integrated as another one that has meagre or low educational qualification. It is a question of economic demand and supply, based on the area that is required. This opinion is supported thus:

“Concerns are often expressed that immigration will lead to higher unemployment and lower wages for the native population. These concerns are especially evident in many European countries, where unemployment rates are higher and the proportion of long-term unemployment is greater than in many non-EU OECD countries. In theory, the labour market impact of immigration depends on how the skills of immigrants compare with those of nationals in the host country. It is difficult to evaluate the size and nature of these effects, since, apart from differences in skill and educational attainment, they also depend on the volume of immigrants, the different immigration waves, their settlement patterns, as well as the characteristics of migrants, such as sex, age, country of origin and legal status. Moreover, the effects are likely to vary over time as immigrants acquire new skills and experience in the local labour market. And as relative wages change, decisions on human capital investment by the native population are also likely to adjust”²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷KRAHN Harvey, DERWING Tracey &CO: Educated and unemployed: Refugee Integration into Canadian Labour Market: In Journal of International Migration and Integration (JIMI/RIMI Vo.1, issue 1; 2000. Pages 59-84

²⁷⁸COPPEL, J., J. Dumont and I. Visco (2001), "Trends in Immigration and Economic Consequences", OECD Economics Department Working Papers, No. 284, OECD. Publishing.doi:10.1787/553515678780. P. 14ff

13.6. Socio-Cultural Background

The socio-cultural background to include language, ethnic and religious background of a selection of refugees who found themselves in another country as refugees play immense role. This is in the sense that, if a refugee find himself in a country that shares the similar religion, language and cultural background, the possibility of quick integration into the work force of the host is very fast when compared with refugee that find himself in a country with opposite prerequisite. In addition, the fastest integration possibility is when the ethnicity is the same as his original home country. Though it sounds impossible and not practicable, but the UNHCR could try to share the view of relocation refugee with similarities. To do this puts the question of availability of adequate and reliable data, especially for the sensitive regions around the globe. At least, going by the established factors from *Bhurgra Dinesch* and *Becker Mathew* who claimed that:

“Culture has an important role in the presentation of illness, and cultural differences impact upon the diagnosis and treatment of migrant populations in part due to linguistic, religious and social variation from the clinician providing care. Additionally, it appears that the incidence and prevalence of psychiatric disorders varies among people of different cultural backgrounds due to an interplay of biological, psychological and social factors, and [that] it is important that cultural differences be appreciated and understood to arrive at a correct diagnostic impression and treatment plan”²⁷⁹

Then, readers will agree with me that socio cultural background of a refugee play immense role and determining factor towards his or her integration in the host country. Despite that, let me carry on with further establishment so as to present a balanced position and prove to some large extent, the claim that similarities in the constellation of refugees with references to language, culture, religion, ethnicity and social backgrounds have immense influence towards integration. In area of language I discovered that:

“The level of state support for new migrants and refugees to learn the country’s language is also indicative of the importance countries place on the successful settlement of new settlers in their country. The government of Australia provides up to 510 hours of free language and social studies classes to eligible migrants and refugees. Similarly, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden provide free language training (of different durations) [and in Australia] The Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) administers the Living in Harmony initiative, and provides one-off funding for community projects that involve people from diverse ethnic, cultural and religious affiliations. Each year, approximately \$1.5 million dollars is made available for this purpose. In 2007, 41 projects out of the total 400 applicants were awarded funds varying from \$5,000 to \$50,000.”²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹BHUGRA Dinesch and BECKER Mathew A: Migration, cultural bereavement and cultural identity: In World Psychiatry. Feb.2005; 4 (1): p.18-24

²⁸⁰Initiative to Improve Social Cohesion: An International Perspective P.8ff. see also: http://hunger.cwsglobal.org/site/DocServer/Refugee_Integration_in_the_United_States.pdf?docID=3923

Looking at the seriousness the countries mentioned in the quotation attached to language teaching for refugees and asylum seekers in their respective countries. Also the amount of funds the government of Australia budgeted and spent each year for immigrant with diverse ethnic, religious and cultural affiliates, one will agree that similarities amongst refugees not only promotes but will as well foster integration and resource development in the host countries. Joining this evaluations and contentions were four University Professors lead by *CEDERMANN Lars-Erik* who claimed that:

“One of the most plausible links between cross-border refugee flows and the spread of conflict has to do with the impact of migration flows on the ethnic balance of host countries. Cultural similarity may facilitate refugee integration, but refugee flows can also foster tensions among ethnic groups. However, there is a lack of systematic data on the ethnic composition of refugee flows, making it difficult to test these claims. Existing datasets, available from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, list refugee host and asylum countries, along with aggregate refugee counts. However, information on refugee ethnicity, religion, language use, etc. is not currently available”²⁸¹

Nevertheless, as they continued in the contributions, they eventually came to conclusion saying:

“However, it is also the case that several ethnic groups span national boundaries, and so, many refugee communities have ethnic kinship ties with one or more local groups (Cederman, Girardin and Gleditsch 2009). Such kinship ties can facilitate refugee integration by lowering language and cultural barriers, facilitating communication, and mitigating xenophobic fears”²⁸²

At this stage of my analysis and evaluation to substantiate fully the similarities in socio-cultural, ethnic and religious background of refugees and asylum seekers either in Africa, Europe or across the world, I have come to the conclusion that there is no gain saying that these factors play enormous roles. These roles goes beyond continental borderlines and across different cultures and civilisations. As a result, even countries in other continents have come to realise the need and importance of them and that it does not only remain on the side of the refugees and asylum seekers, but lies also on the similarities and reflections on the host countries. The ability between citizens of the host country and those to be integrated play dominant roles. For instance, in a western country where the religion, some elements of cultural and mentality background look alike, like third world countries entering the countries of their colonial masters, the indication shows that integration is lighter and easier as otherwise. It is on this note that the European Union (EU) and its member states have paid

²⁸¹Prof. CEDERMANN Lars-Erik, ETH Zürich: Prof. HUG Simon & Co: Project proposal for the Swiss Network for International Studies on “Refugee Flows and Transnational Ethnic Linkages” July 10, 2009. P.1

²⁸² Ibid. p. 5

much attention on the diversity management of the influx of refugees in Europe and the European Union (EU) member states. Pursuant to that we learnt that:

“Integration is a long-term, open-ended process that requires a range of policy actions taken at different stages and directed at a combination of target groups. Many policies address the consequences and impact of migration; and as such they are targeted at migrants and refugees at various stages of the settlement process. Other policies are designed to address racial, ethnic or religious differences, and thus focus on the management of diversity, regardless of its relation to migratory movements.”²⁸³

In spite of the above assertion, the studies carried out in Australia speak a different language and said that:

“The Vietnamese refugees who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s have flourished remarkably after settling in Australia, despite the significant language barriers and cultural adjustment they faced on arrival. Today, the Vietnamese are well represented in the business sector and also play an important role in broadening social, cultural and business relationships between Australia and South-East Asia.”²⁸⁴

13.7. Target Development Assistance

Another issue worth mentioning here is the ongoing discussions in the last decades and even at the current dispensation whether or not targeting development assistance (TDA) could serve and embraces the efforts on refugee problems and its solution. I am on the supporting side of this opinion as long as the host and receiving nations will not abuse the privileges given to them. My adamant support to the ‘*targeting development assistance*’ (TDA) is because:

“The intention of the TDA strand is to incorporate refugees within development assistance programmes in order to improve access to durable solutions by facilitating local integration and return. Although the core group work on a special agreement is so far embryonic, the TDA strand draws upon ongoing practice and pilot schemes that have been developed both within a UNHCR context and by bilateral development aid donors. In the case of targeting assistance to countries of origin, the strand’s work draws upon UNHCR’s prior development of the notion of sustainable ‘repatriation, reintegration, reconciliation and reconstruction’ (4Rs). In the case of host countries of first asylum, it draws upon conceptual tools such as ‘the promotion of self-reliance through development assistance’ (DAR) and ‘development through local integration’ (DLI).”²⁸⁵

²⁸³RUDIGER Anja & SPENCER Sarah: Social Integration of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities, Policies to Combat Discrimination contribution to The Economic and Social Aspect of Migration: Conference Jointly organised by The European Commission and the OECD Brussels, 21-22 January 2003, P.11

²⁸⁴Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship: Op. cit. P.7

²⁸⁵BETTS Alexander: New issues in Refugee research, working paper No. 107; International Cooperation and the targeting of development assistance for refugee solutions: Lessons from 1980s, September 2004. Web Site: www.unhcr.org

It has always been my absolute conviction that though refugees are to some extent a burden to host nations especially the country of first entry, but the burdens can as well be taken care of if there is adequate burden-sharing principles and guidelines. These principles and guidelines should collectively be developed by the international community towards, first, taking comprehensive care of the refugees who are not responsible for the causes of their plights on one hand and second, protecting the interest of the host nations and assisting them to curb the insurgency of the influx of refugees and asylum seekers. It is a natural phenomenon that when war or civil unrest take precedence in a country or region, persons affected either dispersed internally or internationally base on their capabilities and abilities to migrate. They are forced to leave and look for other avenues that they consider conducive to earn their living. When this happens, the international community should assist the host countries to help and accommodate the refugees who have crossed borderline and arrived into their respective country. Since the host nations are not capable to handle the challenge, the question of assistance crops up because first, the host nation cannot do it alone and second, the refugees need to be embraced in the labour market of their host.

This incident brings us to the question of (1) how long are the refugees going to stay in the host country? (2) When will the repatriation begin? And this is in most cases not known at least at the early period after their arrival (3) Are there those amongst the refugees that could be and want to be integrated into the community of their host country? (4) How can the refugees be reconciled with the citizens of the host country where they are sojourning temporary, and how would they be reconciled if they are repatriated in their natural home country and (5) the period of reconstruction in their homeland given the fact that most of the infrastructures in their homeland country may have been destroyed during the civil unrest, war or by other means.

Now we are talking about the `Four R` (4Rs). `Repatriation, reintegration, reconciliation and reconstruction. All these can never be borne alone by the host country because (1) the amount of money involved is so much, (2) the logistics are so complicated and sophisticated that experts in the field are usually needed and some host countries are not in the position to provide all and (3) the diversified and complex interest of stakeholders and key players must be considered because it requires the cooperation of the international community. Pursuant to supporting the `TDA` is buttressed with the following:

“The context of the 4Rs is therefore almost entirely uncontroversial.¹⁶ States of origin rarely pose objections to return, asylum states are keen to emphasise it as the ‘ideal durable solution’, and donor states often have specific economic and political interests in reconstruction. The major bilateral and multilateral development agencies therefore already have long-standing instruments focusing on post-conflict reconstruction. 4Rs simply places renewed emphasis on the need

to incorporate displacement and, in particular, returnees within these instruments. Almost all stakeholders have been receptive to the idea”²⁸⁶.

Based on the above, I call as well as urge the United Nations through the Security Council to develop a more suitable mechanism and provide the UNHCR and other agencies more funds with increased assistance of the donor nations to take the - *bull by the horn*- as we have entered the twenty – first (21st) century. It is not disputable that the world has experimented more than enough in this dimension with serious concerns to the issue of refugee worldwide especially, in the East African region. This is challenging as much as it is demanding and in the time of a *Global Village attitude*, the world is one. All that is required is just the collective political will of the super powers and to embrace a call on the international community – meaning call to the member states to pull resources together. In doing so, efforts should be made to put back states interest behind and place the ultimate goal of proving a sustainable and durable solution to the issues of refugee and make it a thing of the past. This will however, put into consideration the root causes and sustainable lasting agreement established to devoid these problems and challenges with the issues of refugees.

It will be unfair to believe that it will be easy, but it is also assumed that if all the parties involved are willing, ready and able to take far- reaching decisions, the aim will be achieved. Efforts must be made to bring the host countries to understand that integrating refugees into their society has more advantages than the opposite. The host nations should be meant to understand that some good talents and qualified persons exist amongst the refugees that their country can tap into their professionalism that would in turn enhance their productivity. These members of the refugees are more than assets and their contributions to the economy of the land surpasses all the burdens one may think of. Especially when the principle of `burden – sharing` is well articulated, embraced and executed as such. In line with my argument, we were told that:

“In contradiction to the position of the World Bank, its involvement in host states therefore relies upon showing that refugees can be an asset rather than a burden. [---] The conference (ICARA) advanced a new concept of burden-sharing, calling upon donors to commit to bearing a share of the social and economic infrastructural costs of refugee settlement. The recommendations of the conference also alluded to “the objective of getting refugees out of charity situations into a position of integrated development and self-reliance”, advocating training schemes and the promotion of self-employment opportunities for refugees, for example.”²⁸⁷

Towards this end, I hereby add that the position of the World Bank can only be proved right or wrong if their proposal is put in practice. That is, integration of refugees in the host nations and thereby tapping their qualities. At this juncture, I sincerely encourage host countries to

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

put this into practice especially, since the World Bank is ready, willing and has declared its ability to support. The above citations buttress that both the northern donors and the southern receivers have understood the missing links in the discourse after some decades of debates. That is to say that what needs to be done now is, to give it a try by putting it into practice.

Having said that, let me also add that it is not only the World Bank that shares this notion because, it was also registered that the Secretary General of the UN put emphasis on the need to promoting self-sufficiency of refugees within the host nations of their locations, especially through various local integration activities and programmes. For instance, *Siaka Stevens* then Chair of the OAU analysing on this proposal has this to say:

“The assistance of the world community...should aim at helping them [refugees] to help themselves, particularly in cases where repatriation could no longer be envisaged. Refugees should not be assisted in ways which would create overdependence. Rather, they should be guided and enabled to become self-supporting as quickly as possible.”²⁸⁸

I share the opinion of the author of the above citation because (1) if refugees are helped to help themselves, they will automatically become part of resource development in the countries of asylum. They will contribute even in nation building because through their economic independency, they would be able to pay taxes on their businesses or as employees or employers of a company. Furthermore, (2) the taxes paid and contributed from refugees become additional earnings for the government. This will boost its various activities in the development of the country by providing cash flow for the needed infrastructure within the country.

What we have seen in almost all the activities of the UNHCR and all NGOs in the development aid and assistance are only “*short term assistance projects*” that only alleviate the immediately suffering of the traumatised persons but never beyond that. While this kind of assistance is cherished, it is also very important to comment that players involved in the handling of refugees and in searching for durable solutions, should do more than that. What is seen till date is that the NGOs and development aid are provisions and opportunities for the northern donors who are by the way the major donors to sell their products and engage their industries in full production on one hand, and to create permanent employment opportunities for their citizens on the other. These claims are justifiable judging from the number of expatriates involved in all the so called development aid programmes and activities of the non-Governmental and humanitarian organisations. Let me immediately

²⁸⁸BETTS Alexander: New issues in Refugee research, working paper No. 107; International Cooperation and the targeting of development assistance for refugee solutions: Lessons from 1980s, Op. cit.

mention that, I could not find data as to satisfy my hypothesis that workers engaged in the development aid and humanitarian assistance are dominated by the northern donors' citizens. However, contemporary observers are not blind and one does not need to consult an oracle to prove that. Discussions in the print and electronic media focus almost always on the northern officers during their reports, meaning that the southern counterparts are either non-existent or very meagre or maybe engaged only on cheap jobs that serious data never cover.

Meanwhile, I continue to maintain that. While the development aid assistance and humanitarian activities are deployed towards helping refugees on one side, and the assistance provided to the countries hosting refugees on the other side, like burden-sharing are commendable. All these will never bring in, the needed and or expected durability in solution solving situation of refugees' problems, until practical overhauling of the roots of all the evils are tackled, stopped and removed. These factors, I have provided in previous chapters and sections as well as commented on in some areas in the work and need not be repeated.

13.8. Problems of Resource Development

Refugees as resource for development has been a sensitive and controversial discourse amongst nation-states of the international community. The answers to these assertions are also well known. For instance, refugees have not got a good image, refugees are seen in many countries as a social nuisance and a burden to the host country. And they are seen as criminals who only came to rob the countries in which they are located and to enjoy the standards of well-being of the host countries. They are accused of reaping where they did not sow, it does not end here. It has been argued that the presence of refugees are dangerous to the host country because it can lead to dragging host country and their citizens into conflict that is not theirs.

They can also constitute other dangers or serve as push factors like expansion of a rebellion or a terrorist network that could cause unrest in the country of their host. Others argue that, the spreading of refugees, likewise distribution and hosting of refugees can mean spreading and trading in arms. These ideologies and conservative feelings of majority of the citizens of the host country contribute in making life uncomfortable for refugees who may not even have had a hand in the causes of the ongoing conflicts that forced them out of their birth homes. Some contemporary writers argue that, when many refugees from a particular region or country where conflicts are ongoing are kept together, they could form combatants and gang up under the host citizens to threaten the warring parties due to their personal interest in the war or civil unrest. All these and many more are indicators of not welcomed in a country. All these can be seen as xenophobic and inciting hatred against foreigners and migrants.

Looking at the situation from another dimension, when refugees are recognised and seen as resource contributors for development. When they are accepted, accommodated, employed and deployed, this will lead to reduction of the millions of refugee figures that are very prevalent in the literatures most of which overlaps from time to time. This is the main finding of this section of the research and or project.

Another very good example discussing problem of refugee as resource for development is the complicated ideologies incorporated with refugee taking consideration of the economic and political situations in the receiving countries. Most of the time, refugees are seen and treated with negativity. This was demonstrated by *Shaun Harkin* in his article published in *socialistworkers.org* - A "Sea of Death" for migrants” He appealed to the readers in his analysis to join him and support the ideology, that refugees should not be seen negatively instead could be usefully managed and transformed into resource development to the receiving nations. To this end we read that:

“Over the last two decades, the EU, while encouraging member states to harmonize asylum policies, has slowly been introducing measures to control "migratory movements." But more recently, the EU's approach coalesced into an overall philosophy of "global migration management, " Since the UN warned of the growing demographic crisis in Europe, brought on by an ageing workforce and declining birth rates, there has been a growing recognition within western Europe that immigration is necessary and that refugees might even provide an important source of skilled labor”.²⁸⁹

In continuation of the analysis and survey on the implications and forces against refugees being seen as resource development and labour forces in the countries they eventually found themselves as a result of either man made factors or fate that led them leaving their original homes, let us look at the following case study that focused on the problem of integration of Ethiopia refugees in Sudan. We were informed that *Bulcha*:

“Rather pessimistic conclusions indicate that there is in fact very little interaction between the refugees and local people due to a variety of factors, including language, religious differences, inter-personal and inter-group conflicts”.²⁹⁰

Drawing readers' attention closer to the aforementioned citation, it reminds us the problem of the role of colonial players in African Continent who went ahead to join ethnicities without a common religion and or culture. This also reminds us further of the root causes of refugees in the Horn of Africa amongst other factors.

²⁸⁹<http://socialistworker.org/2013/11/06/sea-of-death-for-migrants>

²⁹⁰NOBEL Peter, Refugees and Development in Africa, Seminar Proceedings No 19, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1987 (121pp, SEK11Q-), Reviewed by Simon Metcalf, General Manager of the Nyaminyami Wildlife Management Trust, Zimbabwe: In Journal of Social development in Africa -1989

Even the European Union (EU) has massive problems due to refugees that are flooding into European Union member states. The almost monthly influx of African refugees from the Sub Sahara entering through the European coastal countries has been giving Europe serious dilemma and sleepless nights. Responding to this, Italy went straight ahead and criticised the European Union for refusing its appeal for help to cope with what Rome warns will be a massive exodus from Libya to southern Europe and *Morani* was quoted as saying:

"The invasion of one million, 1.5 million refugees would bring any country to its knees," Maroni said following a meeting with his European counterparts in Brussels on Thursday. Warning of a "catastrophic humanitarian emergency", he insisted that Italy "can't be left to deal with this on its own"²⁹¹

Thereafter, he appealed and requested the creation of a *European aid fund* to help countries likely to receive large numbers of migrants, notably Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Malta and Spain. These are countries at the offshore of European boundaries with Africa.

Unfortunately, other European Union members reacted vehemently against the request and countered thus:

"Belgium's Interior Minister Melchior Wathélet said the figures Maroni cited were "crazy", while European Commissioner for Home Affairs Cecilia Malström said it was "too early" to talk about an influx of refugees from Libya"²⁹²

The two citations above portray how sensitive the problem of refugees in the international politics and diplomacy appears to be. Countries do not want to accept refugees for several reasons mentioned earlier. In addition, the dynamic factors are very sensitive thereby contributing to insecurity in the receiving countries. These insecurities ranges from social, cultural and economic. These factors contribute to the worsening economic situation of the receiving countries, especially those countries that are going through some sort of economic and structural adjustments. In some quarters it has been argued that refugee camps are first target of source of recruiting warlords for the rebel groups and in the time of terror, it has also been argued that some religions organisations that harbour refugees eventually trains and turns them to terrorist against their opponents especially against the western world. These negative opinions from some self-centred but very outspoken groups in individual countries around the world have made life very difficult for refugees. These biased set of people through their radical utterances have contributed in mitigating against seeing refugees as valuable resources in the country of their asylum. Further to this, one should not overlook the issue of the lack of political will. If the ruling government can demonstrate enough

²⁹¹<http://www.english.rfi.fr/africa/20110224-italy-warns-humanitarian-catastrophe-thousands-flee-libya>

²⁹² Ibid.

political will, honour the right of refugees, this will serve as push factor towards reducing the problem of resource development of the refugees by the host countries not only in Africa but also across the universe.

Despite the ugly situation of refugees, one must not forget that refugees possess economic potentials which if identified, tapped and nurtured will generate economic returns to the host country and even beyond. A very good, fresh and typical example of the degree, amount and value of contributions refugee can make as an impact in country of host is taken from a publication of an Austria Vienna Daily Newspaper called 'Österreich'. The story centred on a young man from Ukraine who left his country in the 90s as a teenager with his mother. As poor family they migrated into the United States of America. He grew up in the USA and with a colleague of his, developed the popular social Media called 'What's App'. He later sold this brilliant invention to Facebook owner *Zuckerberg* at the amount of around 19 Billion US dollars. During an interview, the young man named *Jan Koum* said:

"Wir wollen eine App entwickeln, die eine 60-jährige Oma ohne jegliche Computer –Kenntnisse nützen kann" [Der Veröffentlichung fügt dazu] „vom Sozialhilfe – Empfänger zum Multi-Milliardär“²⁹³

A literary translation of the above quotation says *that "we wanted to develop an App that a 60 year-old grandmother without any knowledge of computers could use" [the publication added] from Social help receiver to Multi-billionaire"*

This is one from hundreds of good examples why it is beneficial when host countries of refugees turns problem of resource development of refugees to valuable labour force. The invention of *Apps* has added more flexibility in the social media and in media interaction, an evolution of the electronic media. Currently, over 450 million users worldwide are connected daily and performing their work with 'What's App'.

13.9. Data Collection and its Effect on Resource Development

While, I was analysing and evaluating '*refugee problems for resource development*', I met good but strong challenges and problems. These challenges and problems were on the issue of data generally. I encountered these upheavals especially when it has to do with women and their labour availability and its application in the development of resources for the labour market of the host or receiving countries. Nonetheless, before I proceeded to discuss the term data and its effects on resource development, the first thing that comes to my mind is

²⁹³Österreich, Friday 21 February 2014, p. 3

what is data? Who requires data and for which purpose. Also why should one think of data? One can even go on to ask, is data important in our life at all or even, where can I get data?

Well, to begin with, who requires data? Everyone no matter at what stage in life or level of education needs data. Even a market woman needs data, she needs it to make comparisons of the prices she bought her goods in order to determine at what price she must sell them, to make profits. A housewife as well needs data information from several supermarkets to guide her in knowing which Supermarkets she can buy foodstuff at cheaper prices. Furthermore, all science disciplines require data for their various experimental and research work. In addition, the politicians, government and leaders occupying high positions in institutions at all level need data for their business strategic and prognostic speculations and plans. Coming to the subject matter on which this research work focused on refugees. The United Nations and its agencies especially the UNHCR requires optimal data for the humanitarian work and other activities towards proper assessment. For instance, assistance and fund distributions for every region of the world where refugees are common. Not only that, world leaders needed fundamental and effective data to control the world.

Meanwhile, one can get data in what we know as *data base or data bank*. Others are data structure, data organisation, hierarchies of data and networks of data amongst others. That is to say that data is more than just very important in our lives. It is used amongst other applications, commonly to describe attributes or properties of some piece of information. To shed more light on the terminology of data, I decided to apply the services of a definition I met during my research activity:

“Data is increasingly recognized as an integral component of a country’s infrastructure. Traditional infrastructure constitutes the basic physical and organizational structures needed for the operation of a society or enterprise, or the services and facilities necessary for economic growth or the provision of social services. Data similarly is increasingly important for driving economic growth and providing services. Specifically, it can help provide”²⁹⁴

Having defined data, the next question is, in which relation do people need data? Especially when we speak on refugees. We need refugee data for scientific work, for studies and for teaching. Also, we need compilations of various and diversified information to store in data bank for the future applications. In addition, refugee data is needed for:

“(1) Early warning to avert or mitigate the effect of crises; (2) real time awareness that accelerates disease surveillance (increasingly important in a hyper-globalized, urbanized, and crowded world), transparency for improving governance, infrastructure functioning, or economic statistics like unemployment measures and commodity prices, and (3) determination of impact of government and donor programs and provide rapid feedback and allow for adaptation of the programs to changing needs. Both gaps in knowledge and time lags can be eliminated to

²⁹⁴<http://www.linkedin.com/today/post/article/20131109224620-15247712-rethinking-assumptions-five-opportunities-to-leapfrog-in-global-development>

improve real-time feed-back and create more effective outcomes, and ultimately, greater resilience.”²⁹⁵

Reflecting on the above, I discovered that, it is very rare to be found reliable data when one needs them to compare gender data. The lack of valuable data for women gender could be reflected on religion, culture or traditions. It is well known that in the whole of Africa, that women have been denied participation in socio-cultural and political activities as a result of cultural or religions back ground. For instance, on religion, most Muslim women are not allowed to come out in the daylight or allowed to walk alone in the day light. They are forbidden from taking parts in some cultural or social events. There may be many other reasons why data on women were not developed when compared with their men counterpart. However, since this work is not oblige to discuss it as a must, it is pertinent to so that, we look at one or two examples where this topic was discussed. Base on that, we heard that:

“This of course is a reflection of the current world information order and the lack of publishing resources in the Third World. Even when Third World writers are published this tends to be through publishers in the First World. And, indeed, a large proportion of the resources in this directory, especially those on which some detailed information is given, are based in First World countries. While the production of this resource directory on Women in the Third World is laudatory, it seems a great pity that we in the Third World can't take responsibility for this kind of data collection and presentation ourselves. In this respect I wonder if the presentation of information could be altered to focus first on the resources originating from organisations based in the Third World, and then move onto the First World support groups and publications. This emphasis would I think show up more sharply the need to deliberately seek information 'owned' by the Third World, highlight the relative paucity of published information of this kind, and be in keeping with the stated political bias of this series of Third World Resource books. This directory of resources is a valuable catalogue of existing resources and publications relating to women in the Third World and should prove to be a useful resource for organisations in both the first and third worlds who are interested in issues relating to women, and to justice”²⁹⁶

While a scholar was discussing the role of women in camps and during resettlement she commented on the challenges of data even when the indication was silent in her analysis, which I noted as follows:

“They are involved in this type of work through projects for the refugee population as a whole (for example, Ethiopian refugee women are receiving loans to establish their own businesses through the ILO revolving funds), but the absence of gender disaggregated data makes it impossible to evaluate the proportion of women benefiting from them. In the case of income-generating projects, it is evident that positive discrimination is necessary to ensure that refugee women's interests are

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶FENTON Thomas P & HEFFRON Mary J (eds): Women in the Third World. A Directory of Resources, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1987: In Journal of Social Development in Africa 1989, Reviewed by Kathy Bond-Stewart, Harare

addressed.”²⁹⁷

The question of unavoidable situation of lack of data or better said enough data for references, while doing a work on refugees in Africa, has been unbearable. During my research work, I also encountered this challenge as I was treating the topic of women refugees and life at camps and resettlement homes. It boiled down that there were series of undocumented figures that would eventually make the work of latter researchers much easier. In the light of this problem, I recorded this:

“Given the disproportionate amount of research done on refugee camps, [---] Moreover, while there is little documentation of the extent to which previously encountered gender conditions affect women's post-flight circumstances, it is broadly accepted that refugee women are highly vulnerable in camps, especially in regards to sexual exploitation. This is partly because family protection and traditional authority structures are less reliable, and new power-relations are created and sustained by the introduction of new rules and material relationships brought about by international relief”²⁹⁸

As a result of lack of data or not having enough, correct and verifiable data, it has posed challenges to host nations to make constructive prognosis on the availability of qualified refugees in their respective country to engage actively in the labour force.

The discourse whether the most burden from refugees are borne by the host country or not left no conviction that it is the host countries that bear the most burdens. What is still being contested is if the host countries are hidden under the leverage of thousands and millions of refugees in their vicinity to collect development assistant aid and humanitarian assistance. As a result, in the last twenty to thirty years, two schools of thought have built up. One argues in favour of providing more funds for the host countries and for burden- sharing, the other against. The former is of the opinion that the international community should make more funds available because the added number of people in the country of host has increased as a result of the presence of refugees. But the latter is against with the reason that host country most of the time divert the funds from the UNHCR and western donors and even use the excuse to divert their own domestic funds.

In addition, the offensive group accused refugees of exploitation of environmental resources like wood cutting to earn a living and farm lands taken away to erect and build camps, thereby contributing to environmental disaster and degradation. The defensive group represents the position that the refugees or internally displaced persons are people like you

²⁹⁷CALLAMARD Agnes` : Op. cit. p.19

²⁹⁸<http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/alldocuments>

and I and that are not to be held at ransom for their situation because neither the civil, social unrest and armed struggle nor natural calamities like famine are their making. Furthermore, they continue their defense that host countries are very poor, that they are also the ones that bear the most burdens and therefore should be assisted:

“The insensitivity of African scholarship to the traumas and deprivation that millions of Africans are undergoing by political events that in the majority of cases are none of their own making, and the reluctance to investigate the impact of a large number of refugees both on the national economy of the country of origin and country of asylum is indeed unjustifiable (Kibreab, 1985). The poorest countries have provided asylum and shelter for almost three quarter of the world’s refugees over the past decade. Less developed countries are both the major source and destination of refugees. “From 1992-2001, 86% of the world’s refugees originated from developing countries, while at the same time these countries were providing asylum to 72% of the global refugee population” (UNHCR,2002)²⁹⁹

The above therefore, justifies the reason why burden- sharing is very unavoidable. The contention is further based that the actual root of the present day civil and social unrest in the Great Lake and the issue of armed struggle stem from the period of colonialism. This inhumane regime was implanted in Africa from the western nations and their allies. Therefore, towards development assistance, the western nations should endeavour to provide more funds to the very poor host nations. This will enable them not only to provide enough protection and social infrastructure and extend same to the refugees, but also help them create and provide employment avenues that can absorb refugees’ available labour force within their countries. Since refugees are human capital and increases physical capital and population growth in the countries of their hosts, adequate data availability is paramount in the optimal application to target human resources brought in by influx of refugees in any given nation.

That notwithstanding, we learnt that:

“Although the development process depends on a complex of socio-economic variables (population, resources, infrastructure, capital formation, trade, political stability, skill level, work ethic, etc.), it is expected that the effects of refugees on a country’s economy will partly be determined by its stage and rate of economic development.”³⁰⁰

Nonetheless, the debate goes on and on and sometimes, one try to see their argument that most of the African nations do not even want the unrest to end because of the assistance

²⁹⁹SESAY Fatmata Lovetta: Refugees in Developing Countries: Burden or benefit? Article p.3f
See:http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/migration/dec05workshop/presentations/Sesay_dec10_2005_CIS.pdf

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

and incentives that they normally receive from the UNHCR, the NGOs and the Humanitarian Organisations that engaged in the work. And because of lack of data or better not enough available data, it becomes an upheaval work for the international community to estimate the number of refugees and internally displaced persons to know exactly what their budget should look like. It is on record that most of the time the only remedy after so much negotiation with the host country on the numerical strength of the refugees in their country is based on speculations and projections that has no strong target oriented results. Instances exist where the relationship between host nations and international community come to loggerhead. This situation most of the time leads to soiling the relationship between host nations and the international community for instance:

“UNHCR’s relations with the Somali government were strained by a ‘numbers game’. Initially, the Somali government claimed that there were 500,000 refugees in the country, while UNHCR estimated that there were only 80,000. After a second influx of refugees in 1981, the Somali government figure rose to two million, while UNHCR, other UN agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) estimated the numbers of refugees to be between 450,000 and 620,000. The entire population of the Ogaden region had previously been estimated to be well under one million. [---] After UNHCR’s attempts to conduct a credible census were thwarted, UN organizations agreed with the Somali government in 1982 on a ‘planning figure’ of 700,000 refugees. This remained the official refugee figure in Somalia until 1985, and all UNHCR assistance to the refugees was based on this figure. This was in spite of the fact that by 1984 UNHCR estimated that more than 300,000 of the refugees had repatriated to Ethiopia. Pressure from the United States, which had its own geopolitical interests in supporting Somalia at the time, was a factor in the continued acceptance by other Western donors of the Somali government’s inflated figures.”³⁰¹

The above discloses to extreme, how difficult it is to deal without accurate or reliable data. Where statistical data is not in existence or haphazard provided, we have a series of calculative and administrative as well as logistical problems leading to unproductive and less target-oriented results at the end. It further showcases to justify the opinion of the critics on the abuse of development and assistant aid from the side of the receiving country, here with focus to Somalia. It went further to indicate to an extent, what could stem from such situation, here the relationship between the Somalian government and the UNHCR was almost gone had it nothing to do with the human beings that are undergoing all sorts of traumatisation. Finally, we could see to which level the superpowers can demonstrate their power to influence decision making in international relations and politics.

Meanwhile, this citation and analysis go beyond any reasonable doubt to portray the effect and influence of lack of data for resource development. It is on this note that one can simply accept that, lack of date promotes corruption, diversion and manipulation of fund and hinders

³⁰¹5 Proxy War in Africa, Asia and Central America, P. 107ff see also: <http://www.unhcr.org/3ebf9baf0.html>

good governance. It goes further to showcase some good level and dimension, why billions and billions of US dollars have been invested and spent on assisting refugees and searching for durable solution. Unfortunately, their situation since over fifty years have failed to improve. Having demonstrated the complicity aspects of targeting development assistance with examples in Somalia so that the country can help the refugees and help its self, it might interest readers to read the aftermath of the assistance given to them within the period. To buttress more on this matter, the unfolding information was supplied by literature:

“The Somali government benefited in many ways from the international assistance which poured into the country during these years. Assistance given by organizations such as UNHCR and the World Food Programme (WFP) to meet the needs of the refugees was but one part of the overall assistance provided to the country. This assistance had a significant impact on Somalia’s economy as a whole. According to one assessment, in the mid-1980s it represented at least a quarter of the country’s gross national product. Between 1984 and 1986, there were further refugee influxes into Somalia. During the same period, a large number of refugees returned from Somalia to Ethiopia. By the late 1980s, however, increasing allegations of widespread human rights abuses being committed by the Somali government led to a dramatic reduction in US military assistance, and in 1989 this was halted completely. In August 1989, in an unprecedented action, UNHCR and WFP suspended assistance in north-west Somalia after the failure of repeated efforts to ensure that it was not diverted. Two years later, President Barre was overthrown and the country descended to a level of violence, famine and population displacement greater than anything it had experienced before”³⁰²

The concluding part of the above, revealed shocking information when it mentioned ‘*the country descended to a level of violence, famine and population displacement greater than anything it has experienced before*’. By extension, it is informing us that the entire fund invested into the country to assist it in order to take adequate care of the refugees and internally displaced persons were wasted. Today after over three decades, Somali is still under siege by rebel militant groups. The civil war is not expected to end even in the next ten years. It has turn for a long period a *completely ruined and war turned death spot in the Horn of Africa*.

In reference to the aforementioned, there has been subjective argument that most of the wars and conflicts in African Continent are tailored towards ethnic groups. We have seen instances in the current South Sudan civil and armed unrest where the ethnic group’s ‘*Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups*’ have divided themselves, each group supporting the leader from their group. The following reference proves this:

“Machar denies there was a coup attempt, and some officials with the ruling party insist violence broke out when presidential guards from Kiir’s majority

³⁰² Ibid. p.110

Dinka tribe tried to disarm guards from the Nuer ethnic group, leading to wider military clashes along ethnic lines.”³⁰³

For interested readers full information could be seen in an article *by Jason Straziuso and Rodney Muhumuza and published by the African Press (AP) on Friday, 27.12.2013*. We also experienced the same line of action on the more dramatic and one of the worst genocide in the history of mankind between the Tutsis and Hutus in Burundi and Rwanda. It was recorded that:

“On October, 1993, not long after being democratically elected, the Hutu president of Burundi was assassinated and the country entered a period of civil strife. The Hutu community responded to the assassination by killing thousands of Tutsi civilians; the Burundian army (still controlled by Tutsis) extended the cycle of revenge with a mass-killing of Hutu civilians. It was reported at the time that between 100,000 and 150,000 people died in the genocide and approximately 800,000 Burundians were forced to flee their homes. The violent ethnic rivalry spread out months later to Rwanda. On April 6, 1994, the airplane carrying Juvénal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntuyamira (presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, respectively) was shot down as it approached Kigali –the capital and largest city of Rwanda– and both presidents died in the plane crash. After this episode, extremist militia groups started the extermination of ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Over the course of three months, between 800,000 and one million people died (more than one tenth of Rwanda’s population) and at least two million people fled into bordering countries.”³⁰⁴

Pursuant to the above, some schools of thought have argued towards this direction to buttress their view that the forceful pulling and bringing together of incompatible ethnic groups into a nation during the colonial period, have contributed immensely to the civil wars and armed struggles in addition, to civil tension in African country in the last four decades. These contemporary writers are therefore, suggesting that such situations should be avoided and by extension be reorganised to represent the true constellation of their ethnicities. Such forerunners have showcased Nigeria as one of the countries in Africa that the United Nations should dismantle and carve out at least six individual or separate countries from the present day Nigeria. This is a country with over one hundred and fifty million (150) population and over two hundred and fifty (250) ethnicities. They are of the opinion that if such exercise is carried out, it will reduce tensions and thereby enhance more understanding and peaceful coexistence amongst same ethnicities or at least amongst few groups of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. On the other hand, the other scholars are of the opinion that religious and cultural background plays more adverse effects in living together. Discussing the problem of lack of data and adequate data we learnt that:

³⁰³<http://news.yahoo.com/south-sudan-government-agrees-end-hostilities-141512894.html>

³⁰⁴ BAEZ Javier E and IZA: Op. cit.p.3

“One of the most plausible links between cross-border refugee flows and the spread of conflict has to do with the impact of migration flows on the ethnic balance of host countries. Cultural similarity may facilitate refugee integration, but refugee flows can also foster tensions among ethnic groups. However, there is a lack of systematic data on the ethnic composition of refugee flows, making it difficult to test these claims. Existing datasets, available from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, list refugee host and asylum countries, along with aggregate refugee counts. However, information on refugee ethnicity, religion, language use, etc., is not currently available.”³⁰⁵

Meanwhile, should there have been available data, it would have helped the UNHCR to determine if the position of those pushing for such opinion that, different ethnic background fuels unrest, which leads to civil wars and eventually produces refugees and internally displaced persons are real or not. In addition, this citation goes beyond the national level within the host countries of refugees up to the international dimension to shed more light on the problematic policy makers and executors encounter as a result of data deficiency. They argued that if such constellation of diversified people from every manifestation is not in place, Africa would have had better days today than what she has. To work towards the elimination of this nature of lack of adequate data, the contestants and social scientists said:

“We propose the creation of two datasets, which will help improve research on the migration-conflict connection. The first is a global dataset which contains information on the primary ethnic group(s) of refugee flows between states, at the aggregate country-dyad level. The second dataset will offer a geographically disaggregated view of these flows, listing refugee point of origin in the sending country and point of settlement in the receiving country”³⁰⁶

Despite that, before we start to ponder on this challenging matter right here, let me refer you to the section “*alternative approaches to refugees problems in the Horn of Africa*” under part four (IV) of this work. We shall now enter the next interesting section of this work. It is the role of Media in relation to the issues that matters in this work – refugees in the Great Lake region of Africa.

14. The Role of Media

First, what are the roles played by media with reference to refugees in East Africa? Second, how did media played these functions in the region under study? Third, to what extent did mass media play these roles? Fourth, what difficulties did mass media encounter during their work in the area of our attention? Fifth, what are the consequences of these roles or how did these roles shape or reshape policies in the region or within the nation-states for the lives of

³⁰⁵Prof. CEDEMA Lars-Erik; Prof. HUG Simon & Co: Refugee Flows and Transnational Ethnic Linkages; Project proposal for the Swiss Network for International Studies, July 10, 2009. P, 1

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

refugees on the list of this project? But are media biased in their functions or do we think that they are unbiased? If biased, what are the reasons for doing so? But are they as a matter of fact supposed to be taking sides at all? If yes, why? Can this hypothesis be justified with proof?

These and many other issues that are components to media roles will be reviewed, analysed, surveyed and evaluated in the course of efforts I shall make. The essence will be to present a good, befitting and eventually acceptable work at the end of the section.

Meanwhile, the outlined points above are the areas we are going to focus our minds on, while trying to give adequate and comprehensive accounts of each of them. But before then, it might interest readers to acquaint themselves with the general overview of media roles in our daily life in particular and in the society in which we live generally. We learnt for instance:

“BURKART (1995) some of the roles and functions of mass media are as follows; social, political and economic. Under social roles of media we have something like – socialization function, social orientations function, recreations function as well as integrations functions. Examples of political functions read as follows; articulation functions, political socialization and training and to a large extent critics and control functions”³⁰⁷

Subsequent to the above, we are informed that:

“While the economic functions of media take us to something like information circulations, distributions of news, other functions like gate keeping, advocating and also watchdog come to mind. It is also of great use to mention here in passing the agenda setting role of mass media”³⁰⁸

Looking at what *Felipe KORZENNY* and Co said, we notice that “*media provides context through agenda setting, begun by McCombs and Shaw(1972)*”³⁰⁹ *MCCOMBS and SHAW* made us understand with their agenda-setting research that mass media forces attention to certain issues, and due to this, public images of political figures are built up. The media are constantly presenting objects suggesting what the individuals in the mass media should think about, know about, and of course have feelings about. This role of mass media (agenda setting) as a communications concept is very useful for study of the process of any political consensus in the modern society

Furthermore, another role of the media I will like to approach is the function as negotiator. This brings us to what *Sara U. DUGLGAS* said in her analysis about media role in

³⁰⁷ BURKART, Roland: Kommunikationswissenschaft, 2.Aufla; Vienna, 1995.p.350ff.

³⁰⁸ OGBONNA, Samuel Ihendu: Diploma Thesis University of Vienna, Wien in May, 1996, p.109ff

³⁰⁹ KORZENNY Felipe & Co.: Mass Media Effects across Culture, International and Intercultural Communication Vol. XVI, Newbury Park. 1992, p. 258.

negotiation for audiences. Quoting her she said *“Media are more than channels of communication; they are actively involved in the negotiation situation and perhaps in its outcomes”*³¹⁰, that is not all, she went further to tell us *“in the dynamics of protest politics, media provides the key to mobilizing additional support”*³¹¹

Meanwhile, to briefly summarise the role of media in our environment irrespective of which aspect of the environment (local, national, international) one focuses his attention, a helping hand came from Sara U. DOUGLAS. She summarised the roles of mass media thus:

*“Party to the conflict, interested bystander, advocate, legitimator, mediator, arbitrator, agent in socially constructing the dispute, revolutionary, conduit of messages, truthseeker, agenda-setter, watch dog, and guard dog”*³¹²

Having successfully laid down the most important and demanding aspects of the roles of media in our day to day activities, it is extremely wise to mention as well as add here that these are the same roles that the media plays at the international level, in international relations likewise in the center of international politics. Instances will be given as this work develops where mass media have played such functions. The occasions that call for these roles will be reflected with focus on its effects on refugee matters particularly in East Africa and generally beyond and at the international diplomatic arena.

Pursuant to the aforementioned analysis and evaluations of the roles of media, we now shift our minds a little bit and forward to focus our attention on how mass media played these inevitable roles in the lives of refugees in the region of Africa under study. This will involve refugees in the region and refugees outside the region but whom we can trace their origin from the Horn of Africa. That notwithstanding, we can now pause and focus on an instance, where media played the role of *‘watch –dog and or pressure group’* towards contributing to the safety of refugees by pushing to stop everything that can ignite the outburst of refugee again in Rwanda.

14.1. Media as Watch – Dog

³¹⁰Ibid: p. 63

³¹¹Ibid. p. 266 f.

³¹²PUTMANN L. Linda & RULOFF E. Michael: Communication and negotiation, Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research Vol. 20. London, 1992.p.250

This incident took place in 2010 as the state of Rwanda was preparing for its presidential election in August 2010. Media revealed to the world that the government of the incumbent president *Paul Kagame* and his political party, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), said that the system of its operation has gradually turned into a dictatorship and that there has been surrounding feelings that *Paul Kagame* has capitalised on the genocide that took place in 1994 to challenge and brutalise any opposition to his government. These existing assertions were reported by three different international organisations through their media departments. Amnesty International in its press release on 18th of February of that year commented on *Paul Kagame's* political ideology and system like:

“a law criminalizing ‘genocidal ideology,’ whose terms are vague and ambiguous, was promulgated on Oct 1st 2008, unduly stifling freedom of expression. The offence is punishable by 10 to 25 years’ imprisonment.” Former President Pasteur Bizimungu, after forming an opposition party, Ubuyanja, was accused of divisionism, thus, was imprisoned and tortured.”³¹³

While, the `Human Rights Watch` commented that:

“[O]pposition party members are facing increasing threats, attacks, and harassment in advance of Rwanda’s August 2010 presidential election.” On February 3rd, Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza, leader of the opposition party United Democratic Forces UDF-Inkingi and Presidential candidate hopeful, and her colleague Joseph Ntawangundi were attacked at a local government office. Ms. Ingabire’s handbag containing her passport was taken and Mr Ntawangundi was beaten. On Feb 6th, he was arrested and charged with genocide crime, and the 16th Ms. Ingabire was questioned by police on charges of “divisionism” and “genocide ideology.”³¹⁴

In its own contribution the AFJN was worried and touched, about the unreported actions of the Rwandan government. How they could work against democracy in Rwanda, a country that has witnessed one of the worst genocides in the history of humanity in the last century. In addition, fears of genocide due to the experience in 1994 still linger on peoples’ faces, especially within the various ethnicities in the country. Should anything of such kind happen again, the outburst of refugees into the neighbouring countries will be overwhelming. Based on that, AFJN states:

“Submitted a document to the Department of State and USAID that included the following recommendations to the Obama administration: to pressure the Rwanda government to open political space to the opposition, immediately allow all unregistered political parties to be allowed to participate in the election process within their legal rights, respect everyone’s freedom of expression and assembly and most importantly make sure President Kagame is committed to holding free, fair, and transparent elections in August of 2010. We at AFJN encourage you to call your representative in Congress and request that they do all possible to hold Rwandan President Paul Kagame accountable for his human rights violations by

³¹³<http://www.afjn.org/focus-campaigns/other/other-continental-issues/80-democracy-and-governance/802-rwanda-where-opposition-means-guilty-of-divisionism-and-genocide.html>

³¹⁴ Ibid.

withholding any funding to Rwanda and push for the independent elections monitors to be sent to Rwanda in August.”³¹⁵

It is on record that through the role of media as watch dog, we learnt that for the present time and in the last two decades despite the series of warfare going on in Africa especially in the East and Horn of Africa, for examples the war in Sierra Leone, the Ethiopia versus Eritrea crises that claimed thousands of lives, put internally displaced persons into thousands and refugees across the border front of the countries to millions. Western media have not shown any massive and long term media coverage on the situation, so that the wider world will get to know what is going on. Some argued that just after few months mostly two to three months of coverage the western media will disappear leaving the burden of coverage to their African counterparts who are not well equipped to handle such long term coverage. To support their argument, existing literatures informed that:

“According to research from media organization Media Tenor, from 1 January 2002 until 30 June 2003, “September 11 has turned the watch back to the pre-1990’s, virtually eliminating all events and issues that are not related to either the United States or its coalition partners—especially when reporting on conflicts...conflicts and wars played the most important role in all analysed television stations in Britain, Germany and the United States. But subtracting from this coverage Iraq and Afghanistan, only 0.2% (n=507) of all reports (N=23587) focused on conflicts in Africa. Wars without the involvement of the Western nations, do not seem newsworthy enough to appear on international TV news agendas, and the little coverage given only focuses on the brutality of the conflict and not on possible solutions.”³¹⁶

Contributing to the contest and discussions on why mainstream western media do not focus much attention to issues that concerns Africa, especially when it has to do with refugees, some contestants agree that it is so while others partially agree that it is not. The latter school of thought is of the opinion that there has been occasional coverage from time to time from the western media. However, insisted that it cannot be equated in anywhere when compared with the volume that is obtainable if there are conflicts or social unrests in the Western region of the world. Instances that quickly come up as references were drawn from the ongoing Syria conflict, the case of Iran, Israel and Palestinians in the Middle East. In addition, I refer to the conflict in Ukraine and Kosovo. All these countries where there are conflicts were given and has been represented very substantially by the western media. But in African issues like that of the South Sudan, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the endless conflicts in Somalia were presented as irrelevant and pushed behind. To buttress and support this, I discovered that:

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ <http://www.globalissues.org/article/84/conflicts-in-africa-introduction#AfricaHardlyAttractsMediaAttentionDespitePressingConcerns>

“The death toll from conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is literally one thousand times greater than that in Israel-Palestine, yet it is the latter that is the object of far greater media coverage ... [and where] the intricacies and nuances of the conflict, political situation and peace process are almost obsessively analyzed and presented.... [African] conflicts are frequently brushed off and dismissed as being chaotic, or worthy of some vague pity or humanitarian concern, but rarely of any in-depth political analysis. But even [when there is coverage of conflicts in] Africa, the death toll has little to do with the levels of coverage. Darfur made a rare appearance on the radar of Western concern in 2004 ... at a time when the known death toll from conflict there was still 80 times smaller than that in the DRC. Similarly, political violence in early 2007 in Zimbabwe resulting in one death and a number of arrests and beatings of political leaders became the object of relatively high levels of attention and indignation in the Western media. At almost exactly the same time, political protest in Guinea was put down by government forces that fired indiscriminately into crowds of protesters resulting in a total of 130 deaths and numerous arrests. Also at the same time, street battles between government and opposition forces in the capital of the DRC resulted in between 400 and 600 deaths, and resulted in the exile of the opposition leader. Yet this violence in Guinea and the DRC was virtually ignored by the Western media.”³¹⁷

The reference above gives the impression that Africa is not important neither for the international community nor for the mass media, whom the common man sees as its speaker and defender when every other means of approach or application fail. This is however arguable but be that as it may, let me share with readers some other aspect of media role with instances, where media served as advocate for the common man.

14.2. Media as Advocate

Elaborating further on the need, the fundamental reasons and the unquestionable need, why it is very crucial for the western media to put enough coverage on issues in African countries even when the cause of the outburst has little or nothing to do with them. Media once again carried its role as agenda setter and advocate of the refugees, to whom the western media network outlet will favour at most and summarised that:

“[1] Background such as the colonial as well as post-World War II history, social and political context, international economic issues and much more are all perspectives needed to help people in the western nations and elsewhere to really begin to understand the present situations and issues in appropriate context. Simplistic views (at their simplest and crudest, they are even racist, intentional or not) offer little understanding of the complexities of causes, let alone a platform from which to form ideas on how to move forward. [2] In international affairs, influential nations, such as many from western countries all have direct and indirect influences

³¹⁷Ibid:

See also: HAWKINS Virgil Hawkins: What's death got to do with it?, Stealth Conflicts, December 12, 2008

around the world, so it is important for such issues to be presented broadly and to see issues such as those in Africa with this context in mind. [3] From a somewhat self-interest perspective (which, after all, most countries prioritize on, in international affairs), things happening far away have an impact on us. For example, J. Brian Atwood, former head of the US foreign aid agency, USAID commented that “failed states” (which included a number of African countries suffering from conflict) “threaten our nation. They cost us too much. They create diseases that impact on us. They destabilize other nations. They stymie economic growth and they deny us economic opportunity in the largest new marketplace — the developing world.” (quoted from Esman and Herring, editors, *Carrots, Sticks, and Ethnic Conflict; Rethinking Development Assistance*, (University of Michigan Press, 2001), Chapter 3 USAID and Ethnic Conflict: An Epiphany? by Heather S. McHugh, p. 54.)³¹⁸

In addition, it is through the media on 15.09.2010 that the world became aware of a low scale of intensive conflicts coming up in the region of the Horn of Africa. This gradual development of armed conflict led to the displacement and dispersing of thousands of people in the region. They were calculated and systematic killings going on in the area around the *Ogaden* town, closed to Somali in the eastern Ethiopia. As the rebels and militants burnt down homes, properties and destroyed the villages. They went further to take over the peoples’ livestock, which is their occupation and source of living. They seized most of the villagers and their belongings and brutally murdered some. Victims of rapes and gender - based abuses were reported, children were either killed or mishandled and there was a total warfare in the region. The people including refugees have no one to speak for them. In the absence of no immediate help from either the government or the international community, the mass media took it upon themselves to serve as peoples’ advocate and solicitors. The media raised the alarm and we were meant to understand that:

“The New York based Human Rights Watch has been closely monitoring the crisis and published a comprehensive study titled *Collective Punishment*. Documented eyewitness accounts detail the crimes committed by the ENDF: intentional targeting of civilians; torching of villages; confiscation of livestock and property; sexual violence such as the gang rape of young girls until they become unconscious; arbitrary arrests and torturing in military custody; public executions by strangling or shooting to terrify people; hostage taking to lure rebels; and the lynching of nomadic herders. Furthermore, Ethiopian troops are forcibly relocating the civilian population to urban areas in order to identify rebels seeking refuge in rural villages.”³¹⁹

The consequences are, through the destruction of the livelihood of the indigenous people and the refugees, they have disrupted the normal life of the people in the region. Also by imposing a trade blockade and by prohibiting commercial traffic in the area and region. They have caused serious and unprecedented food shortages and even medications because, it

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ <http://www.afjn.org/focus-campaigns/other/other-continental-issues/80-democracy-and-governance/874-the-ogaden-crisis-the-horn-of-africas-invisible-humanitarian-disaster.html>

will be very difficult to get, since commercial traffic has been disrupted. Malnutrition will in the extension follow up and people that are seek could not be treated of their ill health any more. These will lead to death occurrences. Subsequent to the above, I discovered that one of the media operating in the war turn region called Africa Faith and Justice Network:

“Calls for the protection of civilians caught between the warring parties as a high priority. The Ethiopian government is obligated to cease attacks against the population and open up the region to allow international relief agencies to deliver aid. The US should take the initiative calling for investigations into the ongoing abuses and pressure the Meles Zenawi’s regime to grant access to media and independent researchers. Moreover, the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa Rep. Donald Payne (D-NJ) has called the Ogaden crisis “by far one of the worst” human rights tragedies. Thus Congress has the duty to guarantee that the requirements of the Leahy Law are completely adhered to by corroborating that ENDF units engaged in human rights violations are not receiving US military assistance.”³²⁰

Furthermore, *Africa Faith and Justice Network*, in its advocacy, was vehement in pursuing for a lasting peace and good governance in Rwanda. With its remaining energy, called upon the Rwandan government with the help of the US and other friends of the Rwandan people to tirelessly work to:

“(1) Promote good governance and open democratic space to all parties.
 (2) Respect human rights, freedom speech and assembly. (3) Hold free and fair elections by allowing opposition parties to equally compete for the office of president. (4) Immediately end the sabotage, intimidation and violence of all kind against opposition members and release of all political prisoners.
 (5) Establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to address the 1994 genocide and thus bringing about social harmony and healing. [---] with additional recommendation [that] Until the Rwandan government complies with these policy priorities, AFJN requests that the US go beyond what the United Kingdom did by withholding any funding to the Rwandan government’s general budget (estimated to 15%), elections and any other financial aid that does not go directly to the people.”³²¹

It is also necessary to mention here in passing that this particular role of media is a combination of its roles and functions as both public advocate, agenda setting and public opinion builder. Other functions as public advocate could be summarised in the following recommendations thus:

- Pressure the Rwandan government to open political space to all views.
- Pressure the Rwandan government to hold free, fair, and transparent elections in August of 2010.
- Call for immediate registration of opposition political parties and allow them to equally have access to media and respect of their freedom of expression and assembly.
- Call for an immediate end to sabotage, intimidation and violence against opposition members
- Ensure transparent balloting process including tallying votes and independent election observers.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ <http://www.afjn.org/focus-campaigns/other/other-continental-issues/80-democracy-and-governance/850-a-call-to-the-us-to-support-freedom-human-rights-and-democracy-in-rwanda.html>

- Ensure security for opposition leaders and Rwandan citizens attending meetings.
- The Rwandan government must stop using the genocide guilt as a tactic to prevent and intimidate innocent members of the opposition from exercising their rights to free speech and assembly.³²²

14.3. As Conduit of Messages and Awareness Creator

Media as already discussed, play the role as conduit of messages or information. What is to be understood here is how mass media transports or transfers information messages from one end to the other. Reflecting on the region under study, the question is whether media has transported or transferred messages from one part of the East African country to the next? Whether media has transported messages as they affect refugees from one government to the other? Whether media has conducted information messages for the benefits of the refugees and if media has brought the situation of the refugees to the general public. To the concerned NGOs, humanitarian organisations and also to the international community? Especially to the United Nations Human Rights Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and beyond. Finally, to the western nation-states so that they can rally round and give support. In an effort to find out if mass media has done so, I consulted the Interview document conducted during a field work in Kenya, one of the countries under attention. Responding to the question, how can one equate the media coverage of the situation in the Great Lake region of East Africa and if in one's opinion, the true picture has been transmitted till then? According to *Mr John Obodi* one of the aid workers, had this to contribute:

“Well, I usually think that in Europe very few and sound news reach the continent and usually they are news concerning their own affairs or tourism or whatever, whether the countries here are safe or not is not clear for them but for those who leave here (East Africa) they know very well that the situation is not peaceful. I think in South Sudan the war is still going on, in the northern part of Uganda by the Revolutionary Army that is against President Museveni. Also in Rwanda fight is still going on in the north of Rwanda. In Burundi it is well known because President Buyoyo is not set for any election and not ready for any confrontation with the Hutus”³²³

Well, to analyse the above quotation, I am not in affirmative with the opinion here that mass media have conducted its function as conduit of messages enough. We learnt from the above that for instance, European Countries do not know or know little about the situation on the ground. The citation portrays skeptical feelings and therefore, made bad representation of media roles. It failed and/ or did not give a passing mark to mass media on the affairs of presenting the African situation, especially on the effects of the situations of unrest at every

³²² Ibid.

³²³ NSYMIMANA Alexis: In an interview conducted in Kenya in the year 1998, during the time Radio Afrika, Vienna Austria conducted a field work in the region

corner in East Africa. Since it has become an established fact, that money is made available either by the government or donors when information and pictures are on the TV screen according to CNN report, then it is paramount that, media would have done better than what was available.

Be that as it may, let me take you to another instance and we shall see what media has done. In drawing attention to the public on the activities of the UNHCR, the African Union and even the Non-Governmental and humanitarian organisations likewise the donors, mass media have from time to time failed, for one reason or the other to carry out its functions. This failure was also noticed by some contemporary writers, and even within the international diplomatic circles. To buttress this point and eventually correct it, an international diplomatic professor and expert noticed and complained that:

“Where progress is being made it should be acknowledged publicly. Virtually none of the major investment guides includes information on Africa. For my part, I intend to hold, in collaboration with the Secretary-General of OAU, regular meetings with senior business leaders worldwide to discuss with them ways of promoting large-scale long-term investment in growth-promoting sectors in Africa. I intend to focus special attention on multi-country infrastructure projects and projects for the exploitation of shared natural resources, as called for in the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. On the basis of those consultations, I will recommend appropriate follow-up actions to be taken by national Governments, the United Nations system and other institutions”³²⁴

As a matter of fact, I see that media has failed to make public such actions as narrated above. It is the role of media to do that since, this is part of the efforts to economically develop Africa. If those sections were well developed by now, there would have been or will be less refugees in Africa maybe. And or less African economic refugees found almost in all industrialised nations of the world, especially in the European Union zone. Some of them in the Middle East, in the United States of America and northern part of America. Nevertheless, if media has failed or could not do much as pointed out in the above citation. It was on record that when there was a great famine in the Horn of Africa in 1984, media was the first player in the field that alerted the whole world of the impending danger coming to people in the region that includes refugees. While discussing the incident of famine and drought that plagued the countries of the great Lake, *Peter Woodward* in his article made us to note that:

“The exposure by the mass media of the conditions of refugees in eastern Sudan and of camps of displaced people in northern Ethiopia in October 1984 first alerted the world at large to the extent of the famine in that area. But clearly the problem is more complex than most people then realized, for in the Horn refugees,

³²⁴ANNAN Kofi: Op. cit. p. 34

famine and politics are inextricably linked. Northeast Africa has the biggest concentration of refugees in the world. The largest single group are those from Eritrea and Tigre living in eastern Sudan, followed by the people of Haud and Ogaden regions of Ethiopia who have sought refuge in Somalia and Djibouti. In Ethiopia there are also opponents of Somalia's government and refugees from the southern Sudan. In addition there are Ethiopian refugees in Kenya, Ugandan refugees in the southern Sudan, and refugees from Chad in western Sudan. The one generalization that can be made is that they are all escaping from conditions in which political conflict is as significant as environmental degradation and famine."³²⁵

In addition, to the above, another interesting role of media is the early warning. For instance, alarming of pending dangers as showcased by AFP Media. These roles were perfectly played in the month of May 2013, as an infectious diseases outbreak plagued the region of the Horn of Africa. In an article captioned '*Global Alert and Response*' (GAR) media reported that:

"The Horn of Africa is currently experiencing an outbreak of wild poliovirus type 1 (WPV1). A four-month-old girl near Dadaab, Kenya, developed symptoms of acute flaccid paralysis (AFP) on 30 April 2013. Two healthy contacts of the child tested positive for WPV1. They are the first laboratory confirmed cases in Kenya since July 2011. Investigation into this outbreak is ongoing. In addition, a case of WPV1 in Banadir, Somalia was confirmed on 9 May 2013. [---] An alert for enhanced surveillance for polio has been issued to all countries across the Horn of Africa, highlighting the need to conduct active searches for any suspected cases. All countries are urged to rapidly identify sub-national surveillance gaps and to take measures to fill the gaps."³²⁶

As a result of the early warning and alert provided by the media, many souls especially that of the refugees were saved. The government in the regions, the UNHCR and the humanitarian organisations that stationed in the area, carried out an immediate and drastic campaign for vaccination and got not less than 440,000 children, most of them refugees were given medical attention. Countries affected for instance are Kenya and Somalia amongst others. To further buttress the function of media, I discovered that on 13/07/2011, BBC came up with vibrating information on the latest situation in East Africa where drought as a result of natural calamity plagued the whole region and Kenya, battling with insurgency of Somali refugees fleeing for their lives as a result of continues gun shootings due to the endless civil war in Somali between the government, the rebel and militant Islamist group Al-Shabab. *British Broadcasting Corporation* (BBC) reported thus:

"A row has broken out in Kenya's government over the huge influx of Somalis fleeing the region's worst drought in 60 years. About 370,000 Somalis are at an over-crowded camp and the government is divided over opening a second camp. One minister said a new camp would encourage more Somalis to cross the border. Another minister, however, said he was "embarrassed" that Kenya

³²⁵WOOWARD Peter: In Refugees in the Horn of Africa- Political Factors Contributing to the generation of Refugees in the Horn of Africa; see <https://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/article/viewFile/21509/20184>

³²⁶http://www.who.int/csr/don/2013_05_22/en/index.html

was refusing to give more help to refugees. On Monday, UN refugee agency chief Antonio Guterres held talks with Kenya's Internal Security Minister George Saitoti to appeal to him to open the Ifo II camp, which is near completion. It has room for up to 40,000 people and would ease over-crowding at the Dadaab camp, near the Somalia border, Mr. Guterres said. [And] Aid worker say conditions at the Dadaab camp - which is made up of three settlements - are desperate, as about 370,000 people are crammed into an area set up for 90,000 people."³²⁷

In furtherance of the media coverage, a reporter from BBC, *Will Ross* in Nairobi the Capital City of Kenya concluded by saying:

"The UN World Food Programme (WFP) is exploring every possibility to increasing its presence in Somalia."³²⁸

In a media release from 24.01.2013, captioned '*Australia gives \$2 million to help feed refugees in Horn of Africa*', by releasing this information to the public by the media, she has not only created awareness and educated the public on the activities of the NGOs in the Horn of Africa. She has also showcased the good and humanitarian engagement of the government of Australia to the quest for solution for the refugee issues especially in Africa. This is in addition, an image polishing for Australia on one side and will motivate Australia as a giver or donor nation to do more. By extension, it will serve as push factor for other nations around the world to join suit and make their own contributions. And finally, African nations will see Australia as good and sympathetic country in the community of nation states. Furthermore, it was recorded that the amount provided will help the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) to feed at least about five hundred and seventy-five thousand (575,000) refugees in Kenya. These are in particular those refugees that have fled away as a result of acute wars and droughts in the Horn of Africa and its suburbs. To prove the hypotheses, I discovered that:

"Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Richard Marles announced the assistance while meeting refugees at the Dadaab camp in Kenya, near the Somali border. Dadaab is the largest refugee camp in the world.[--]"Australia's contribution will help WFP provide food and nourishment to almost 20,000 more people, including malnourished children, pregnant and breast feeding women," [--]"Food is also distributed to schools to encourage attendance and at training centres to assist young people gain essential life and job skills."³²⁹

That is not all, I discovered also that Australia was one of the largest donor countries to the 2011 Horn of Africa crisis, providing more than \$112 million in humanitarian assistance.

³²⁷<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14144893>

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹http://ministers.dfat.gov.au/marles/releases/2013/rm_mr_130124.html

While he was on visit to East Africa, *Mr. Marles* was also discussing with the government and leaders in the region the best way to promoting stability around Kenya and Somali. He also met with the deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kenya, the United Nations Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia, *Mr. Augustine Mahiga* just to mention but a few instances. In conclusion meanwhile, he said thus:

"Beyond our support for refugees in Dadaab, Australia will be closely involved in supporting Somali and African-led efforts to promote peace and recovery in Somalia during our term on the UN Security Council."³³⁰

While, Africa welcomes this good will, she will also like to see other donors to do the same and especially expect that Australia should extend this attitude to making it as a point of duty and challenge to show good political will to tackling the root causes of refugees, which have been identified by the international community. Australia should use its position and good relationships not only with United Kingdom but also USA and other world leaders and convince them to get the African refugee problems in grid. Also, media working as conduit of information broadcasted and sensitised the public on the outbreak and unfolding famine in East Africa, even at the early stage of the natural disaster. This role as information dissemination contributed immensely and induced many non-governmental and humanitarian organisations to come up with some save-serving assistance. With reference to that effect we learnt that:

"As news of the famine unfolded, AmeriCares mobilized a strategic pipeline of shipments to help children and adults living in overcrowded camps in the Somali capital city of Mogadishu, as well as in Kenya and Ethiopia and over 179,000 course treatments of medicines to provide a broad range of primary care services and support surgical procedures. A daily supplemental meal for 8,600 malnourished children and adults in need of nutritional stabilization, Water purification to provide 34,400 people with a two-month supply of clean drinking water [In addition], Infrastructure and medicines to stock a field hospital in the Kambioos refugee camp, located 3 miles from the Dadaab camp in Kenya [and] A grant to help an Ethiopia-based partner equip two semi-permanent mobile clinics treating refugees with acute and chronic illness in the Mekadida and Bokalmanyo camps in Dolo Ado."³³¹

In continuation of the analysis with instances on the media role and or which role media has played and has been playing in Africa as it reflects on the Great Lake Region? Let me present a discourse on agenda setter and builder of public opinion function of the mass media.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ <http://www.americares.org/emergency-response/somalia-famine-horn-of-africa-relief.html>

14.4. Media as Agenda Setter and Builder of Public Opinion

I found media playing the role of mediator and negotiator between the US, the UN and the EU on one side and the Chadian government on the other side. It could be recalled that:

“Since 2007, inter-ethnic violence has gradually been replaced by widespread attacks against civilians including Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), refugees and humanitarian workers by gangs known as “coupeurs de route.” In response, there has been a deployment of international forces from European Union (EU) and United Nations (UN). In 2007, the UN Security Council authorized the creation of MINURCAT, the UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad, in response to the growing levels of insecurity and human rights abuses in eastern Chad.”³³²

As some journalists were reporting and posting their comments for instance, on April 15th 2010, we were enlightened on the reasons and agenda of MINURCAT, the relevance of the body were clarified to the reading public and we learnt the:

“The objectives of this entity included helping reform Chad’s justice system and monitoring the human rights situation. MINURCAT was also mandated to train a specialized Chadian police unit, known as the “Détachement Intégré de Sécurité” (DIS), to provide security in IDP and refugee camps and to patrol main towns in eastern Chad. As of Sept. 2009, MINURCAT had trained over 800 DIS officers. However, permanent DIS posts have only been set up in refugee camps, and patrolling all 38 IDP sites is said to be impossible due to lack of capacity and resources. Furthermore, humanitarian organizations have expressed grave concerns about abuses committed by DIS members.”³³³

But surprisingly, the government of Chad asked the United Nations to withdraw her forces at the end of its mandate that would expire on the 15 March 2010. Though the mandate of the UN forces to stay in Chad was fixed for the 15th of March 2010, but information and indications have shown that all the targeted aims of the UN forces have not been reached despite the fact that much has been done but more is yet to be completed. There was a harsh exchange of words in the dialogue by the government of Chad and the UN as the latter tried to explain to the former that the situation on the ground called for the extension, given the fact that the safety and the well-being of the refugees and the internally displaced persons (IDPs) on one hand has not been fully secured. By and large, coupled with the situation report that many Chadian communities requires humanitarian assistance. On the suspicion that the ‘*hard exchange of words*’ could lead to misunderstanding, which will by extension not only damage the image of either party but will expose the refugees and the

³³²<http://www.afjn.org/focus-campaigns/other/other-continental-issues/80-democracy-and-governance/807-what-about-chad.html>

³³³ Ibid.

indigenous communities to danger, AFJN came in-between to water down the situation, when it cautioned the parties by saying that she:

“See no reason for President Debby to ask for the departure of the UN peacekeeper while there are no appropriate conditions for the return of Chadian Internally Displaced Persons, Sudanese refugees and those from the Central African Republic. AFJN encourages the US government to collaborate with the UN to make sure Sudan-Chad peace talks materialize into peace and that MINURCAT mandate is renewed and receives funding to do its work.”³³⁴

Further to this aspect of the role of media, the staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without Borders)* in relation to the role media could play to set agenda of the work of her Organisation in the war-torn zones in East Africa. She commented thus:

“By raising interest they are also raising money for assistance to these communities and particularly also appealing to political players who are who have the power and facilities to get involve in resolving the conflicts. And as I said, we know very well that it is important for certain issues to be communicated and in such case, media has big role to place. We are trying to be very clear about the points we want to communicate, we try to communicate issues and at the same time be very careful that the information is not harmful to anyone. So it is very useful that the media will let the world know what is going on. In that sense, we see the importance of the media”³³⁵

After discussion on the media role as agenda setter and builder of public opinion, let me share with readers the last function of mass media in my work. The last subsection is selected to discuss is media’s role as truth seeker and interested bystander in our community.

14.5. Media as Truth Seeker /Interested Bystander

An example is traced in the interview conducted by the United Nations Television (UNTV) with *Valerie Amos*, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator. Mass media spread the news of the activities of the UN and its agencies in the Sahel region of Africa. In the interview, she was confronted with the question on the current situation in the region, when compared with a year earlier. This is what she has to say:

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Interview, *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border)* op. cit. p.8

“On one level, we did really well in the Sahel last year. We were all so worried that we were facing such a difficult situation with food insecurity as well as malnutrition that we were heading to a similar situation as the one we had seen the year before in the Horn of Africa, where we actually saw famine in Somalia. We didn’t get to that position, partly because of the governments themselves who, because of early warning, put in place strategies to deal with that, and the support they got from the international community, including the UN organizations. I think we’re all very pleased that we did not reach that very difficult situation. But we still have a situation this year where nearly 10 million people are still at risk because even in a year with good rains, this is a very vulnerable region. And all of that has been made worse by the situation in Mali. We had a coup last year. We had the extremists settling in the north. The French action since January has really helped to stabilize the situation. But how going forward do we really make people in the north feel that they are a continuing part of Mali. So the reconciliation discussions have to start. And how we, as an international community, are able to get them the help that they need, how we can deal with the ongoing insecurity because people fear that many of the groups have just disappeared into communities and will re-emerge once the French withdraw. The role of the UN going forward – what kind of support will the UN give in terms of state-building, elections, humanitarian support, development support, all of these discussions are happening right now. And in the meantime, you have continued displacement inside the country, you still have a refugee outflow, and of course you still have neighbouring countries that are affected by what is happening in Mali.”³³⁶

During the interview, she made us understand that there should not be reasons for the so called ‘*donors fatigue*’ because all over the world there are war fares and civil unrest, including natural disasters and calamities. All centres on human being as a result, not only the donors but every person should endeavour to make a share contribution to assist in helping persons in need, especially those in the war turn regions worldwide. In conclusion she said:

“Donor fatigue and people fatigue too. I think the way that we have to deal with it... yes, there are a lot of crises, but at the same time, each of these crises is about people. It’s about the people who are affected, it’s about the children, it’s about the families, and part of the job that I have to do is to make that real for the world. To make it clear that it’s not just about numbers. It’s not just about the millions, the thousands. It’s about every single person. That’s how you have to do it and you have to continue to make the case. Do the best that you can.”³³⁷

The UNTV did not stop here with their inquisitiveness and with their role of truth seekers as well as interested bystanders. She was further asked, to mention if any, the challenges UN might be facing in its efforts to curb or at least reduce to minimum refugee problems around the world. She rounded up, responded to the questions of the TV station as follows:

“If I had to talk about challenges, I would say that there are three really big challenges. *One* is how do you make our system, our humanitarian response

³³⁶ <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp/www.iaea.org/story.asp?NewsID=46450&Cr=Horn+of+Africa&Cr1=>

³³⁷ Ibid.

system, as effective as possible. How do we collectively do the best we can to reach the people who need the help? *Secondly*, the point about advocacy, which we've already discussed – how do I make sure that the people that we are there to help and support, that their voice is heard and that their voice is heard in a way that touches the hearts of the people across the world so that we can raise the money that we need to raise to give people that support. I think that is a major challenge. The *third* major challenge is how do we make sure as crises are more complex, as there is more politics, if you like, in those crises, as we see in Syria right now, as we see in Mali right now, how can we make sure the work that we are doing on the humanitarian side – work which is about humanity, which is about impartiality, which is really about how do you reach the people in the greatest need – how do we make sure that that work is kept separate from those broader political agendas. And that's harder and harder year each year."³³⁸

The three point enumerated can be contested. For instance, discussing the effectiveness of their work. This discloses that in as much as UN is so big and as the Umbrella of the nation states, is to imagine that there exists many challenges as in any ordinary institution. The problematic with the effective management and coordination of the various activities of the UN present serious burden to its policy makers and its various agencies. The question of advocacy calls again the issue of the media. It is the role of the media to pass the activities of not only the UN but also all other big and small NGOs involved in whichever form, that are conducting functions toward solutions to the causes of refugees and assistance aid provided to them. To spread and communicate these events and activities to the public with various channels, especially in the modern time when there exist many types of social media for example, the first top 10 according to an Austrian Daily Newspaper:

'Facebook, You Tube, Google, Twitter and LinkedIn on one side and Instagram, Pinterest, Tumblr, Vine and Foursquare on the other side'³³⁹

For instance, while I was getting prepared and making my final arrangements to begin my dissertation project, I conducted some personal interviews with some NGOs in Vienna, Austria. One of such interviews was with the General Secretary of *SOS Kinderdorf International* as I mentioned in the earlier sections. To my question, what did you see in Nairobi while you were there for inspection and supervision of your NGO work and activities? He has this to say:

"While I was in Nairobi, I discovered that the situation in the country and around the country (in the neighbouring countries like Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda) were terrible. The life people are undergoing is unbearable. It conforms to the news and information that I got from the media before my travel, and I realised that before the wars and crises in East Africa would come to an end will take some reasonable length of time. Good a thing that nothing happen to the Kinderdorf International there in Nairobi"³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Austria Daily Newspaper (Österreich), Tuesday 28.01.2014, p. 11

Pursuant to the above and in as much as I was very interested to get the in-depth picture of what happened, I put another question and this time in a different way and asked, do you say that the information you received from the media was the same by the time you were there in East Africa? Surprisingly enough, I got additional answer to the first one:

“Well, by the time I was there, the situation was no longer the same and there was no more media coverage of the crises and that is exactly the concern we from the ‘SOS Kinderdorf International’ worldwide has been complaining. For instance when there is catastrophe somewhere at the corner of the World, the media will cover reports over the crises for one or two months and assistant would be given but as soon as the camera (media coverage) is over. All the attentions and help would automatically come to an end, leaving the victims of the catastrophe and those affected in stitch” but we do the opposite it. Even when the crises or the catastrophe is over and media coverage disappeared, we remain and continue to take care of the victims till the time that they would be able to take care of themselves alone”³⁴¹

In the event of the above established theory, I urge the media world, not to stop coverage but to continue until total rescue of the situation is in grid. That is exactly what the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator was wanted to tell the public. Finally, the third case here concerns the superpowers and the international community. If there are good will likewise political will in the first place, the crises will not occur especially when its birth is through arms conflict and civil war. It is the superpowers who produce and or manufacture the ammunitions and sell to the third world countries with which they fight each other and one another. Should natural occurrences through degradations and famine take place, these would be lighter to curb with, but with armed struggles amongst the superpowers base on their respective national and economic interest, I will say that the UN is the one that spoils its work and no other can correct it apart from UN itself.

But has there been a time period when the media refused to work or could not function for one reason or the other? Yes, there has been, a careful study of this work as portrayed, instances where such situations were recorded. Despite that, immediate analysis discloses some of the claimed setbacks or situations when media for one reason or the other could no longer do its work.

One of the problems or concern I discovered during my work concerns media reportage. I discovered that immediately there is an outburst of civil unrest, natural calamities and climate degradations and warfare, media attention will be large either through their engagement from the NGOs and Humanitarian Organisations to secure fund from the UNHCR, donors and from the public private contributors. This attention however, never last long and depend most

³⁴⁰ Mag PICHLER, General Secretary SOS Kinderdorf International, Interview in 1998, Op. cit.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

of the time the nature of the incident on one hand. On the other hand, it depends on the players that are the parties engaged in war fair or the interest of the western world, especially the super powers. The danger of inadequate and short term coverage of any occurrence is that the public interest is diffused, the case turns to be less interesting and the UN will not be obliged with full energy put in dialogue and it then becomes even more difficult to get sponsors either in terms of fund or material assistance for the NGOs and field workers. This situation is most of the time so disturbing, humiliating and torturing, especially when one notices that people are dying and lives are being lost either through violence or through several types of sicknesses and through various diseases that occurred as a result of the calamity. To top it all, most of the time, it is women, children and elderly persons that bear most of the brunt as a result. For example I discovered that:

“When famine was declared in Somalia in July, the world turned its attention to the crisis in the Horn of Africa. Since then, public and media attention has waned, despite the fact that the crisis is far from over. Food production in Somalia will not return to normal levels until the end of 2012 at the earliest. Rising insecurity inside Somalia and Kenya is impeding the delivery of humanitarian aid while greater numbers of Somalis are forced to flee violence and hunger. In the refugee camps in Kenya and Ethiopia, UN agencies and NGOs have responded well to meet the basic needs of hundreds of thousands of new refugees, but protection monitoring and programming remains weak. In Mogadishu, non-traditional donor countries have created much needed new streams of assistance. However, their inexperience in aid distribution and coordination is resulting in vast disparities in the delivery of aid. Informal and unmanaged Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) sites inside the capital have become breeding grounds for waterborne diseases. And throughout Somalia, ongoing violence, banditry, and food shortages have trapped people who have nothing left, and nowhere to flee.”³⁴²

It will be recalled that at the beginning of this work, I asked the question, do media encounter challenges or problem in the course of work? Or does media face challenges? Yes they do and one of such instances is what I want to share with readers now. Meanwhile, in my analysis of the role of media, it is also rewarding to mention that most of the time especially in dictatorship regime, press personals are faced with lots of challenges from time to time. They are censored and or even banned not to publish any information and sometimes their media houses and centers closed down. Let us look at this particular article, which I discovered during my research work. In an article titled ‘*a window for African refugees*’ in which the report on the refugee boat that sank on their escape into Europe near *Lampedusa in Italia* is displayed. A catholic priest told the readers a very sad story in relation to the incident. While discussing the plight of refugees and what caused the outburst of refugees in Eritrean he mentioned the result of long war in Somalia, tyrannical and dictatorship

³⁴²<http://refugeesinternational.org/policy/field-report/horn-africa-not-time-look-away>

leadership in Eritrea, lack of infrastructures faced with social and economic problems. As a result, many people have no work and there is no basis for survival. *Abba Musse* who is a Catholic priest as well as the director of an Agency of a non-governmental organisation called *Abesha* in Rome, touched some of the challenges the media go through in their profession and concluded that:

“And the dictatorship in Eritrea, explains Mussa, is seen by many as the North Korea of Africa. “There is no freedom there in any form - no press freedom, no religious freedom and no right to assemble. These people are looking for a new life, for freedom, for a second chance,” he says.”³⁴³

Despite all said and done, the various evaluations of media roles, during my research work, the time I was conducting interview with a staff of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without Border)*. Wanting to know if media has been doing enough work in highlighting the activities of non-governmental and humanitarian organisations, especially her own organisation. She answered with some reservations thus:

“The role of the media are certainly to let the world know the situation and the suffering of the communities in this world, when the danger exist in which case the world is interested and focusing on one area and forget many other that are still under difficult situation. What we are trying to do is also to point out again and again the situation of the people who live under the circumstances that have not changed over many years like the situation in Sudan where the civil war has almost been going on for forty years and many people have been living under such very difficult and very isolated condition for all these time and nobody is really paying attention to this up till now”³⁴⁴

14.6. Other instances of media harassment and brutality in the Horn of Africa Summarised

Lack of freedom of press:

- In March 2009, the media credentials of Mr. Bonaventure Bizumuremyi, the editor of independent newspaper Umuco, were suspended in Rwanda and he was threatened for publishing criticisms of President Paul Kagame.
- In April 2009, the government suspended BBC broadcasting in Kinyarwanda on grounds of “broadcasting unacceptable speech.”
- In August 2009, government minister Mushikiwabo accused Rwandans working for BBC and Voice of America of producing “programs that destroy Rwanda’s social fabric” and threatened them with suspension warning.

³⁴³<http://www.dw.de/a-window-for-african-refugees/a-17136830>

³⁴⁴ Interview: *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border)* Op. cit.

- In August 2009, the government closed Umuseso newspaper for three months for reporting similarities between the current government and the one in power prior to the 1994 genocide. April 2010, Umuseso and Umuvugizi, two most popular newspapers in Rwanda were suspended on the ground of “violation of the media law and inciting public disorder”
- On June 24, Jean Leonard Rugabage, a journalist was killed in Rwanda because he was investigating the shooting of General Kayumba Nyamwasa in South Africa where he is in exile.
- On July 2, 2010, Agnes Uwimana, the director of a private newspaper, Umurabyo, was arrested on the ground of criticizing the government. She recently served a year in prison.

Other suppressions and intimidations on the media:

- Bernard Ntaganda, leader of PS Imberakuri has been summoned to the Senate twice to answer to charges of "divisionism" and "genocide ideology" and has been threatened by the senate that he will be referred to the judicial bodies and his party registration suspended.
- Pro government newspapers published articles calling Victoire Ingabire Umuhiza IVU (meaning “ashes” in Kinyarwanda language), a demeaning and dehumanizing way, similar to what happens before a genocide is carried out. In his speech of February 8, 2010, president Kagame referring to Victoire Ingabire Umuhiza’s recent return to the country said that when the honeymoon is over, the laws will do its work. It was the day after that speech, Feb 10 that she was summoned to the police and again on February 16, 2010. She was accused of "divisionism" and "genocide ideology"
- A Newspaper report on March 1, 2010 reported a threat received by that Frank Habineza of the Green party that he will be killed in Sixty Days.

Suppressed Freedom of Press:

- In March 2009, Bonaventure Bizumuremyi, editor of and independent newspaper Umuco was force to flee the country after publishing remarks that were critical of President Paul Kagame. His home was raided by police shortly after and his media credentials were suspended in Rwanda.
- In April 2009, minister of Information and spokesperson for the Rwandan government at the time suspended BBC broadcasting in Kinyarwanda supposedly for “broadcasting unacceptable speech.”
- In May 2009, Minister of Information Louise Mushikiwabo dismissed without explanation three editors of private Kinyarwanda language newspapers including Jean Grober Burasa of Rushyashya, Jean Bosco Gasasira of Umuvugizi, and Kabonero of Umuseso during a World Press event in Kigali, an event themed “freedom of information.”
- In July 2009, after raising questions on a stalled investigation of the assassination of an opposition leader, top Umuseso editor Furaha Mugisha was deported on grounds that he is Tanzanian.
- In August 2009, government minister Mushikiwabo accused Rwandans working for BBC and Voice of America of producing “programs that destroy Rwanda’s social fabric” and threatened to suspend them if they do not heed the Rwandan government's warnings.
- In August 2009, the government closed *Umuseso* newspaper for three months for reporting similarities between the current government and the one in power prior to the 1994 genocide.
- In February 2010, three reporters of Umuseso were sentenced to jail for running a story on an extramarital affairs involving two government officials. The government is threatening to close the newspaper for good.
- In March 2010, In connection with General Nyamwasa fleeing, president Kagame ordered the arrest of investigative journalist Godwin Agaba. A critic of the government, Mr. Agaba of 256News has been missing since. *(These instances of media harassment and brutality in the Horn of Africa were recorded by AFJN Media).*

In conclusion therefore, I hereby added despite the aforementioned analysis of the role of media, some other meaningful aspect of media role which do not only speak for the good or positive side of the role of the media, but also for the negative aspect of its roles and activities. These points calls for attention as a neutral observer and for the purpose of pure academic and scientific research project.

For instance, the question of accusation that western media or media at all do not place priority to occurrences on the African continent calls for discussion. This assertion as we read at the beginning of this section needs to be paid attention to. Maybe we should begin to ask ourselves why that is so? What can be done to improve the situation and drag mass media generally and particularly, *Western Media* to focus more and on long term basis to the situation and dilemma of African refugees? Meanwhile, it is on this note that credit should be given to *Mr. Jürgen Schrader* who worked as Media outlet for '*Der Spiegel DE*' (a Germany Media). *Mr. Schrader* spent a period of seven (7) months in Africa and was stationed at *Melkadida*, Ethiopia. Narrating his experience in form of publication, he has this to say:

"While UNHCR and specialized NGOs are very well organized to help people in emergency situations, it becomes quite obvious that in the case of protracted refugee situations like in Ethiopia (many people are living in such camps for several years without an option to ever get back to their homes or anywhere else!) certain demands raise that need to be addressed. In our part of the world we hear and read every now and then about refugees in all parts of the world and due to different reasons from natural disasters to genocide and wars, but hardly anybody ever will imagine what that means to the people of concern. This project will create an application that catches peoples' attention with compelling images and through new technology takes them to places they will hardly ever see in real life. Using interactive 360 degree images that hold hotspots with additional in-depth-information at different levels, will allow people to explore those locations at their individual pace without having to leave their comfortable environment. Which means they can pause and dwell at any time, look around or click hotspots to get more detailed information, or they can just move on to the next place they are interested in. In modern life even remote occurrences come to our attention. But as they're not connected to any personal experience, they will leave us more or less untouched. As more and more parts of the world get connected, these occurrences become an inevitable part of our every-day-life. Thus it is desirable to develop tools that will help us to become conscious and get a deeper understanding even of those remote aspects."³⁴⁵

His suggestion captures my mind because it is quite unimaginable for a common European to think about the detailed information packed in the aforementioned citation, let alone on seeing it. That some people could live in refugee camps for up to twenty (20) or more years permanently without even having the chance of going back home is uncalled for. Not only that, for the past twenty years he or she has been living on the relief aid being rationed at each meal every day at the mercy of humanitarian organisations. I could imagine that if an average western citizens could see the images, it will motivate them to question their country

³⁴⁵<http://journalismgrants.org/showcase/protracted-refugee-situation-at-the-horn-of-africa/>

why on earth should human being be left to live in such depleted life situation simply because he is an African. Even during and after the world war. No European has ever experienced that, what those refugees in the camps, scattered over the East and or the Horn of Africa are experiencing and undergoing each day of their life. All their hope in life has already been buried before they even die. This suggestion as cited above could be one of the new instrument to be used for sustainable media coverage in African region.

After all said and done, mass media could be applied and used as the proprietors, as time and intent demand. For instance:

“In the Great Lakes Region, ICRC, IFRC and IRC used pen and paper, photography and computer technology to reunite thousands of families. [--] In Tanzania, Radio Kwizera offers refugees and host communities a mix of educational, development and entertainment programming. Developed with the participation of refugees, the station broadcasts 40 hours a week in Kirundi, Kiswahili, English and French on topics such as health and nutrition, children’s issues, education and culture. [--] In Burundi, Studio Ijambo, a Search for Common Ground project, produces news items and a popular radio soap opera to stimulate community discussion about sensitive issues like ethnic exclusion, conflict and gender roles”³⁴⁶

Despite these good examples, media can also be applied with dubious intentions and for exploitations as *Machel Graca* recorded:

“A vivid example is Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) during the Rwanda genocide. This radio station used vicious propaganda to fuel ethnic hatred and to incite people to participate in the genocide [and] there are far too many examples of humanitarian workers being complicit - knowingly or unknowingly - while children are exploited for media, publicity and photo-opportunities: demobilised children asked to pose with guns; survivors of sexual violence identified and photographed, among others”³⁴⁷

Supporting the above, we remember vividly how humanitarian and non-governmental organisations applied the assistance to mass media and presented the 2004 horrific tsunami in Indonesia and or in Thailand or even in the case of Haiti and the last hurricane tragedy in the Philippines. Pictures were presented and seen as young children are carrying their wounded younger ones with blood covered all over their bodies. While putting on destroyed clothes and families seen carrying the lost bodies of their family. The whole country, region or state presented as victims of the natural catastrophes. The strategic idea behind this is to raise or draw attention of the masses and win sympathy from the public and indirectly induce them to spend money for them.

That notwithstanding, media can be useful and helpful if applied correctly and well-targeted, during periods of peacekeeping processes in any environment in East Africa or elsewhere. For instance, it can be used to build trust between the operation and local communities, the

³⁴⁶ MACHEL Graca: *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*; In International Conference on War Affected Children, Winnipeg, Canada; September 2000, P. 48

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

host countries and the refugees. Mass media can be very helpful and can be seen and applied as a positive partner to NGOs, Donor organisations, and the philanthropists and by extension to the UNHCR and the United Nations by bringing onto the TV screen and onto the pages of newspapers the good and indispensable work these bodies are doing for humanity.

In the area of peacekeeping and peace-building, repatriation, reparations and likewise reconstruction activities of the African Union (AU). Also, in conjunction with the United Nations (UN) and its arm of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) up to the European Union (EU), the role of mass media cannot be over emphasised. The application of number of social media can go a long way to quicker dissemination of Information as may be targeted than any other means of communication as may be wished. This could led to better education and enlightenment of the public on the duties of the aforementioned regional and world bodies. This can even attracts wealthy citizens and corporations of the world communities to positively respond with material and or monetary donations to assist them.

Having said so, it is not to be forgotten, that what is presented here and the media services that I recommend must be an independent media that shares no interest in any party or group and does not pay allegiance to the regional or world bodies. An independent media can provide reliable information about the conflict and could be used to hold politicians, governments, UN agencies and others accountable for their actions and reactions as the case maybe. Therefore, in any peace-building initiatives, application of mass media is much recommended at any given time, especially at the early start. Players in international conflicts and nation buildings should identify themselves with independent Media Corporations. In doing so, media will feel recognised and in response embrace the work of the agencies and fully support them.

Be that as it may, it pleases me to inform you that with the last comment, I have successfully completed the second but last work in part three of the project. We shall now move quickly to the next and final subsection, which is International Laws and New World Order in chapter fourteen.

15. International Laws and the New World Order on Refugees

I am starting this section with many questions. We are going to study under this part of the project, international laws as they affect refugees. What is international law? Or international migration laws? Why do we need international laws at all and especially when we are concerned with refugees? Is it necessary to put in place laws and for which purpose? What have refugees to do with the new world order or globalisation, which is interwoven with the

former? How do these terminologies applied to relate to refugees? Or what role can these norms play towards refugees, for instance, good roles or bad roles? Are these laws universal accepted or not? Why should nation-states obey and or accept these laws? Is there any reason for refusal to adopt these laws by a particular nation or the other?

Beyond these norms, what comes next? These and other questions will be met in these sections and efforts will be made to present satisfactory and comprehensive answers to them. It is hoped that at the end of these in-depth surveys, evaluations and analysis, readers will have better understanding on how these norms can shape or reshape the lives of people generally and refugees in particular. I further hope to present a good theory.

15.1. International Law and Refugees

Under international law and refugees, let me start by defining the international law as given by some literatures. I will at least or at worst try to present it in a manner that readers will understand what is meant by “*International laws*” based on the refugees’ matters. However, we should keep in mind that when we refer to refugees we are referring to certain set of people who left their original domain or vicinity to move to another place, i.e. people who relocated either regionally, nationally, internationally and or intercontinental. We should also keep in mind that relocation could be as a result of so many reasons because of loss of their homes through floodwaters, climate changes which may has wiped out their livestock. Others might be as a result of political unrest and wars and or belonging to a particular sect or religion. Sometimes it goes further to reflect to the poor economic meltdown of the country. All these apply to the countries under review. When any of these issues happens, people leave for search of a better place to earn a living. They migrate and become immigrants.

That brings me to the issue of migration, which means, movement from one place to the other as a result of what we have just noticed. According to International Organisation for Migration:

“International migration law (IML), which is the international legal framework governing migration, is not covered by any one legal instrument or norm. Instead, IML is an umbrella term covering a variety of principles and rules that together regulate the international obligations of States with regard to migrants. Such broad range of principles and rules belong to numerous branches of international law such as human rights law, humanitarian law, labour law, refugee law, consular law and maritime law”³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ International Migration Law: Developing Paradigms and Key Challenges (edited by R. Cholewinski, R. Perruchoud, and E. MacDonald., T.M.C Asser Press 2007) P.1

The definition for me is very vague. It may or may not be universally accepted by every nation. It is very porous and is not actually binding. It is a law that is left at the mercy of the receiving country. However, it is part of “*International Law*” that obliges states to accept migrants.

15.2. New World Order and Globalisation on Refugees

For readers to understand my work and my mindset in this section of my dissertation captioned ‘*International Laws and New World Order cum Globalisation*’ and Refugees. I meant the effects these three norms – international laws, new world order and globalisation have on refugees. I decided to first by defining each of the three norms and in most cases, I try as much as possible to clarify what one can understand under the definitions on three of them. In defining and or explaining International law, since there are various types of these laws, I will concentrate on laws that have relevancy for refugees. In this regard, I learnt that:

“International refugee law is a set of rules and procedures that aims to protect, first, persons seeking asylum from persecution, and second those recognized as refugees under the relevant instruments. Its legal framework provides a distinct set of guarantees for these specific persons, although, inevitably, this legal protection overlaps to a certain extent with international human rights law as well as the legal regime applicable to armed conflicts under international humanitarian law.”³⁴⁹

Having explained with the above citation, what is to be understood under international law as it concerns refugees due to the intricate nature of the subject matter? Subsequently, and in assumption to that effect, I have selected a citation that reflects on the emerging complex and turning points in the life of people at a period when the world history is being influenced by many factors towards the beginning of the 21st century in our life time. A time when the world found itself almost at a crossroads as fears and doubts covers the faces of scientists from every field of studies. World leaders and governments are in continued discussions and deliberations on what will happen at the end of the 20th Century. Having said that, I invite readers to share with me that:

“We live in a radically changed world. Just five years ago, a “New World Order” was afoot. The United States was flush with its “victory” over Communism. Democracy was breaking out all over. Multilateralism resurged with the United Nations’ defeat of Saddam Hussein in Operation Desert Storm. The Cold War’s end left the United States of America as the only surviving superpower, ostensibly disproving those who had glumly predicted the decline of the Great Power. Today,

³⁴⁹http://www.geneva-academy.ch/RULAC/international_refugee_law.php

the picture seems far bleaker. We see ethnic nationalism in revolt; a world in recession; states fragmenting; failed states like Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, and Haiti. As a byproduct of this tumult, we face refugee outflows that challenge our compassion, tax our charity, and pose political dilemmas for policymakers and legal dilemmas for courts”³⁵⁰

These foreseen and unforeseen happenings therefore, called for new and for special international laws especially as the aftermath of the aforementioned events reflected on refugees worldwide and especially refugees in Africa particularly in the Horn of Africa. This section of my work will look at the laws, bylaws and treaties, put them into analysis, surveys and evaluates them. I will present them and their various roles as they shaped and reshaped and continues to make changes on and in the lives of millions of displaced, traumatised and deserted persons. Humans like you and I. These are people addressed and called refugees according to the UN Human Rights Conventions 1951 in Geneva as amended in 1967: From this point of view, I discovered that:

“The main sources of refugee law are treaty law, notable the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees (*1951 Refugee Convention*) and its 1967 Protocol, and customary international law. Customary international law applies to states irrespective of whether they are a party to relevant treaties or not. Regional Instruments represent a further set of protections, particularly the *1969 Organization of African Unity Convention* (for Africa) and, although it is not formally legally binding, the *1984 Cartagena Declaration* (for Latin America).”³⁵¹

That notwithstanding, prerequisite to the above should be to quickly as possible define, who a refugee is, based on the information and knowledge already received. International legal protection of a refugee centers, on a person meeting the criteria for refugee status as laid down in the 1951 Refugee Convention. Under Article 1(A) 2, the term “*refugee*” shall apply to any person who:

“.... Owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” Thus, according to this provision, refugees are defined by three basic characteristics:

- They are outside their country of origin or outside the country of their former habitual residence;
- They are unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted; and
- They persecution feared is based on at least one of five grounds: race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or a political opinion.

³⁵⁰ KOH, Harold Hongju: "Refugees, the Courts, and the New World Order" (1994). *Faculty Scholarship Series*. Paper 2093. 1994, p. 1000

³⁵¹ Ibid.

It is important to stress that the term “asylum seekers” refers to persons, who have applied for asylum, but whose refugee status has not yet been determined.”³⁵²

[For other terms pertaining to refugee like “*Internally displaced persons*” and the ‘the principle of “*non-refoulement*” see part one, sub-sections 4.1 of this work respectively]

But then, why are laws made and for whom? Laws are made to guide some rules and regulations in the bilateral and multilateral relationship involving nation-states in their international relations and in the diplomatic arena. Laws are very important so that people of different cultures and religions as well as from complex ethnic background can peacefully live together in peace and harmony.

In addition, laws and by-laws are very crucial in international politics more than they are in the local, state and national levels. They help to restrain and stabilise aggregations and misunderstandings in every negotiation in the international fora amongst the international community. Without the presence, availability, application and execution of laws, it would have been impossible to live together in the world and in peace even though there are from time to time differences in agreement which leads to civil unrest and outburst of regional wars. International wars and or world wars and wars within a sovereign state have been witnessed by some generations. To avoid wars of any nature, leaders and nation-states have been “*on and off*” working, searching and inventing new laws and strategies to help keep the world in peace with the ultimate aim of protecting human being. But when the management of the world affairs gets out of control, we have uprising and eventually wars. Remarkably enough, even in the process and middle of wars, negotiation continues underway until a compromise is made amongst or within the warring parties and resolution is passed to end the war. To this end we learnt that:

“The evolution of international law of human rights has been one of the more remarkable features of the development of international law since 1945”³⁵³

But do nation-states in the community of nations recognise and abide by the laws enacted and why? Yes they do and must abide with and by the laws because they are part of the law makers. In addition, because they are part and parcel of the players on the international political stage, they abide with the laws so that they will not be ostracised and out-

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ HARRIS D.J. Op. cit. p. 602

communicated in a multilateral relationship. *I define politics is a game of give and take, it is also a game that is not done in isolation but through chains of co-operations with other members of the international community. It is by extension a game without a permanent enemy and without a permanent friend. But a game with one strong and uncompromising policy – the policy of permanent interest of individual nations.* Furthermore, since life generally entails interactions and in politics whether regional, continental or inter-continental, one must interact with the other partners and players, the need to abide with the laws is precedence in the internationalisation of countries' diplomacies. Not only that, there are so many small and heavy weight partners, ranging from the United Nations and the Security Council, the Superpower Nations, non-governmental and humanitarian organisations to Individual donors, agencies and institutions that are parts or members of international community . As the case maybe, respecting and implementing the laws at the respective national levels through incorporating the laws into their individual domestic legal frameworks and political structures on one side and through executive actions, meaning through legislation and judicial decisions on the other side. These are fundamental procedures that call for no debate. To buttress more on this analysis and discussion, *Harris D.J* told us that:

“ The real foundation of the authority of international law resides similarly in the fact that the states making up the international society recognise it as binding upon them, and, moreover, as a system that ipso facto binds them as members of the society, irrespective of their individual wills” ³⁵⁴

Going by the aforementioned, we shall see as this work unfolds how the nation-states have recognised, accepted, respected, applied and executed international laws and bylaws as they affect the lives of refugees particularly in East Africa otherwise, in the global world. But before then, I will start with the other norms identified above namely *‘New World Order and Globalisation’*. Pursuant to the proposal, I have decided to set the ball rolling on this work beginning with the new world order.

For me, it is very difficult to simply put up a single definition on *New World Order* not because I cannot do that but because it is a norm that just came into existence after the end of the Cold War (roughly twenty five years ago) on one side and by extension because of the complex views of what many contemporary writers and political scientists have said over it on the other side. In addition, specialist and technocrats in international relations in the field of international diplomatic arena have some other feelings and meanings on the phrase *‘New World Order’*. Globalisation on the other aspect is easier and fewer complexes to define and understand but at the same time it has its own sort of complexities as we may see later. We

³⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 10

shall read the complexities and fewer complexities of the two norms, which I personally tag interwoven to each other. I tagged them *'interwoven'* on the grounds that throughout my research work, I came across similarities in both and as scholars or contemporary writers continue to present their respective views on the two norms, the more one reads their inter-relations. We shall apply comparative theory here to analyse and diffuse them.

Meanwhile, having done justice to the meaning and definition of international laws and its effects on refugees from East Africa. I will now focus attention on new world order and globalisation. In the same manner in which I treated the effects and or the *pros and cons* of International laws on refugees so will I carry out my work on new world order and globalisation, but with a shift that will involve comparative aspects of the two political and economic discoveries of the late 20th century, which has been implanted and nurtured from the beginning of the 21st century age.

New World Order is simply and maybe commonly defined based on the Random House Dictionary, © Random House, Inc. 2013, as:

“Any new or alternative global social or political organization or system, esp. referring to that after the Cold War”³⁵⁵

While some other definitions were registered during the course of my research work of, which I wish to share with readers thus:

“A funny, mixed up conspiracy theory that espouses the rise of a totalitarian one world government. It has been associated with a number of other half-baked conspiracy theories. It seems to rise from the Latin inscription on the back of The Great Seal of the United States (displayed on the back of the one dollar bill since 1935). That inscription is "novus ordo seclorum" and translates in English to "New Order of the Ages." A clear reference by the seal designers Jefferson, Franklin, and Adams to the birth of a new nation (the US), and the affect such an historical event (overthrow of a monarch's control) would obviously have on the world stage and future events”³⁵⁶

What is very crucial and important for me with regards to the refugees in East Africa in particular and refugees in the world generally is what the last three lines in the definition portray when we learnt *“the effect of such an historical event [----] would have on the world stage and the future events”* Will refugees have better career conditions in the future or will their conditions becomes worse than ever before? Well, we shall find out as we continue to study this work. That notwithstanding, analysis that followed the definition subsequently said that:

³⁵⁵Dictionary. com's 21st Century Lexicon Copyright © 2003-2013 Dictionary.com, LLC

³⁵⁶http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_the_New_World_Order

"Many gullible individuals have swallowed whole the mistranslation of *novus ordo seclorum* to new world order, however, this failure does not change reality. Henry Kissinger and George Bush have on many occasions referred to this theory as their objectives in the seek for world domination and the policing of it, using the U.S. as the central power and its military to fulfill its prophecies"³⁵⁷

Furthermore, despite the aforementioned two definitions, let me share with you readers two more definitions from some other contemporary writers before I stop with definition matters. In the same token, the sub-sequential part of the definition says in its analysis that:

"The New World Order is a secret society that indoctrinates heads of States, grooms men for presidencies, etc. They meet in a place New York [Northern California] called the Bohemian Grove, which is known for its occultism, homosexuality, and Satan-worship; it is also rumored to be a place of Human Sacrifice. Only recently have women have been allowed to work there, and then only outside, parking cars etc. It is run by the wealthiest and oldest names of America ----- names everyone recognizes. The New World Order is Luciferian Theology wrapped in a thin Layer of Liberal Humanism"³⁵⁸

To shed more light on the analysis, *Jose Barbee* in international relations theory defined it as:

"New world order" is a new period of history evidencing a dramatic change in world political thought and balance of power. In conspiracy theory, "New World Order" refers to advent of a totalitarian world government"³⁵⁹

Looking at the above definitions and clarifications, I am quite sure that readers will share different opinions and also contest them. That is for me okay and that is also one of the aims and objectives of sharing my findings with any person that comes in contact with my work. However, it is left for each reader and scholar to believe and not to believe. I do not contest any of the definitions because from the onset, I do share with readers that I was in strong opposition of the *New World Order* doctrine even when at present it seems that its merits surpasses its demerits. However, after about nearly thirty (30) years of the new political doctrine, it is my philosophy that it is still early but not nearly enough to place judgment. In spite of all, I forge ahead but keep maintaining that I am still to be convinced that at the end of the day it will be good enough for the world.

Before we go fully in the evaluations, surveys and analysis of the roles this has played towards refugees in the Great Lake Region of Africa, let me treat the issue I called *the twin sister to new world order*. That is, let me also do justice by defining and explaining at least

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ <http://www.chacha.com/question/what-is-'the-new-world-order%3F>

³⁵⁹ <http://www.chacha.com/question/what-is-'the-new-world-o...>

what readers should understand under Globalisation. Globalisation is not defined in the Oxford Students' Dictionary, instead what can be seen and read is Global, which means:

*'of the whole world' and furthered it by saying 'of the whole of fact' possibilities etc; a global view of the economic potential.'*³⁶⁰

These is all the dictionary told us about something that is of global nature. Going from this point of view, it means something that has the characteristic of touching or reaching every nook and crannies of the universe. Some sort of universal perspective and or that reaches out to very part of the world globe, meaning everywhere in the whole world. Base on this explanation and analysis, the word Globalisation was coined and could be understood as something with global nature. This can be negative or positive and come from disciplines like political, economic dimensions or even from social, cultural religious or even scientific branches. However, it must possess one single characteristic – affecting the whole world. In the absence of that, it can be defined in many ways and many scholars and contemporary writers have done in one period or the other, as they defined Globalisation. This is sometimes base on their personal experiences and sometimes base on the situations during which time they made their assertions and assessments, but all with some academic views and argumentations. Be that as it may, I have selected one or two definitions discovered during my work to present and share with readers. One from these other two samples of definition and meaning is from *Julie Kay*, in one of her publications she describes Globalisation as:

“A relatively new word that is commonly used to describe the ongoing, multi-dimensional process of worldwide change. It describes the idea that the world is becoming a single global market. It describes the idea that time and space have been shrunk as a result of modern telecommunications technologies which allow almost instantaneous communication between people almost anywhere on the planet. It describes the idea that cultures are blending and mixing and where cultural icons and values from dominant Northern cultures are being adopted in the South, while at the same time unique ethnic differences are being strengthened and local identities are being exerted. It describes that idea that the planet as a whole, rather than individual continents or landscapes, is considered as 'our home' and that some human activities can have a negative effect on people and environments far from their source or have an negative effect on the planet as a whole (UNESCO).”³⁶¹

While, *Jacob van der Westhuizen* in his analysis said that:

³⁶⁰Oxford and Oxford English, Oxford University Press, 1978, 1988, Tenth impression 1995

³⁶¹Take Back Wisconsin, 18 pages is published by SMITHSON Julie Kay, web resource accessed March 21, 2006, see <http://www.takebackwisconsin.com/Documents/Glossary.htm>.

“Globalization can be defined as a process by means of which most of the world's developed countries and some of the developing countries aim to improve *inter alia* the free flow of information, money, ideas, cooperation, detection, exchange, and prosecution of criminals, technology, and trade between nations.”³⁶²

After presentation of two samples, one, the meaning of Globalisation and two, the definition, let me now share with readers other definitions and meanings and try to justify the hypothesis, the definitions and the meanings as claimed. I will do this by citing instances where these definitions and meanings matches and how they reflect on the East African refugee particularly, on the world refugees generally and problems they encounter as a result of its affects. Analysing this, what came to my memory immediately is the ugly situation in a Textiles Industry in Bangladesh as the factory got burned down and thousands of workers were burnt alive to ashes. One of the definitions of Globalisation that fits in here is *Mark Ritchie* definition:

“I will define globalization as the process of corporations moving their money, factories and products around the planet at ever more rapid rates of speed in search of cheaper labor and raw materials and governments willing to ignore or abandon consumer, labor and environmental protection laws. As an ideology, it is largely unfettered by ethical or moral considerations.”³⁶³

It will be recalled that in September 2011, the tragic incident in Bangladesh happened in addition to the almost parallel incident in Pakistan, where Textiles factories accidentally as was claimed went on flame and the factories burnt to ashes and lives were lost. Joining the above definition with the case of Bangladesh Textiles Industry Calamity, it was recorded that:

“OVER the last year, accidents in garment factories in Pakistan and Bangladesh have exposed not only the hazardous conditions in which garment industry workers toil, but also the human price of cheap clothes sold in Western capitals. The list begins with the fatal accident at Ali Enterprises, situated in Karachi's Baldia Town. On Sept 11 last year, a fire swept through the factory, killing over 250 workers. In November 2012 in Bangladesh, a fire at Tazreen Fashion killed over 100 people. In April this year, also in Bangladesh, more than 1,000 workers perished when Rana Plaza, housing several garments factories, collapsed. This is reckoned as the worst industrial accident since 1984's Bhopal tragedy in India. Together, these headline-grabbing tragedies highlight the wretched, slave-like conditions in which employees are forced to work to feed the insatiable demand for global clothing brands. From the rubble of the Baldia factory were found, among others, labels of German clothes retailer KiK, which has admitted it was a major bulk buyer of Ali Enterprises' products

³⁶²WESTHUIZEN Jacob van der, “Globalization and Global Trends in Criminal Behavior”, *Biblioteque: World Wide Society (BWW)*, Bi-monthly Journal, 21 September 2003, see <http://www.bwwsociety.org/feature/criminalbehavior.htm>.

³⁶³RITCHIE Mark, “Globalization vs. Globalism”, *International Forum on Globalization*, 1996, see <http://www.itcilo.it/english/actrav/telearn/global/ilo/globe/kirsh.htm>

since 2007. In Bangladesh, given its large garment industry, labels of various major high street retailers were found. These tragedies also highlight a number of emerging trends in the growing global garments industry in relation to working conditions, workplace safety, labour rights and transparency of supply chains. For example, in recent years the global apparel industry has begun to source its supply from South and Southeast Asian countries, including India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as Vietnam and Cambodia due to rising Chinese labour and export costs.³⁶⁴

What comes to the mind of many coming across this citation is first, why the western garment tycoons must cite their garments Industries in developing countries. Second, who are these western garment tycoons? Three, why should the workers be working under conditions that does not meet the standards of the International Labour Organisation and who approved their licenses to operate under such conditions?

Attempting to answer the questions are easy and sometimes not as such. It is sometimes not easy to answer because of some unknown interests and agendas of the stakeholders. However, one can say that they cite their factories in developing countries because of high rate of labour in western nations and to the second question. It is most of the time very difficult to say who the garments tycoons are, but the citation has given us a clue when it came across 'KIK' a garment Magnet. I shall revisit this particular question later. The question why workers should be working under standards not adhering to the guidelines and laws of the International Labour Organisation is difficult to give, but suffice to mention that due to group interest on one side and the corrupt local partners to include the government agencies of the local government on the other side, such conditions are possible. To an extent, it is also due to the poor standards of the labour market. And because of the poor standards and cheap labour many things go wrong. Workers due to their economic plights are always ready to take up any job no matter the conditions, so long they can earn a cent each day and the western garments magnets are bound to exploit that. At the same time, the corrupt attitude of the local government agencies, that are also determined to collect money and let their citizens die, so long they are living flamboyant lives. So what do they do, they get the working permit or license for the Factory owners approved and seal up the deal. These analysis are some of the issues the aforementioned quotation is trying to reveal. But who are these western garments magnets? I discovered that very many of them fall into the groups discovered during my work, can also be found parallel in the immediate citation and they are:

³⁶⁴<http://www.dawn.com/news/1041744/one-year-after-baldia-fire>

"Two rival agreements that aim to improve safety in Bangladeshi garment factories were launched this week. The Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh's Garment Industry was launched Monday while the Alliance for Bangladesh Worker Safety was launched Wednesday.

The first is backed by a group of 75 retailers, mostly from Europe and the second is backed by 17 companies led by major U.S. retailers Gap and Walmart. While the first is legally binding and guarantees funds to improve safety conditions, the second is voluntary and limits the liability of the retailers. European activists singled out Walmart for creating weaker standards. "Walmart are bringing their discount practices to factory safety.

This is not a price war; this is about people's lives," Christy Hoffman, deputy general secretary of UNI Global Union, said in a press release. Walmart has dragged Gap and a number of other brands down the wrong track. We now urge the Walmart/Gap initiative to think again and raise its standards to those of the accord"³⁶⁵



Image collage courtesy Industriall

A survey I carried out on the salary income of the workers is very revealing as it is very touching. It is not quite unusual, but quite unbelievable, likewise not understandable to believe that in the twenty-first (21st) century western industries are still keeping workers under conditions of slavery. I therefore, discovered that:

"The two agreements will affect the jobs of over four million workers in Bangladesh who earn the world's lowest minimum wage - \$38 a month. The garment industry generated \$20 billion a year for the country last year."³⁶⁶

The analysis above even though it targeted on factory workers, but one can rest assured that the incident may have led few of the factory workers, that survived the fire incident to migrate and in most cases as economic refugees into the western countries, thereby escalating the numerical strength of refugees across the world. There is also no guarantee that some may not have gone into Africa. These are the effects of Globalisation in, which we live in the twenty-first century.

Subsequent to that, one may want to ask what has happened to the garment magnets. Responding to this question, let me share with you that at least 'KIK' has been taken to court and facing legal process as a result of the incident. This assertion is carried by the:

"ORF (Austria Radio and television Services) cable news reported that there has been a legal case against "KIK" Textile Company earlier in the Year"³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵SMALLTEACHER Richard: CorpWatch Blog July 8th, 2013.<http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=15852>

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ORF, Sunday, December 2nd, 2013, Midday news flash

We hope to read the outcome of the court case in later literatures since this work could not cover it because at the time of submission for publication, the court case is still on hold. In spite of that, it might interest readers to know at least how the world reacted to the inhumane incident. To this end, I discovered that:

“The human toll of the Tazreen tragedy has heaped pressure on a country already under fire for poor labour conditions. In December, a group of US congressmen wrote to President Barack Obama’s trade representative, Ron Kirk, calling for a review of trade facilities enjoyed by Bangladeshi exporters. The US gives developing countries a special preferential treatment on tariff, known as the generalised system of preferences (GSP), exporting goods to the US. But Bangladesh could lose the facility if the Office of the US Trade Representative concludes that workers’ rights are not observed in Bangladeshi factories. Industry analysts say the withdrawal of the GSP facility may not significantly affect Bangladesh’s export earnings, as less than 5% of its apparel exports to the US get GSP benefits. But it would dent Bangladesh’s reputation as the world’s second-largest exporter of ready-made clothing, after China.”³⁶⁸

But one of the major challenges facing the developing world to include Africa with the emerging of Globalisation is that, while goods and funds move around, human beings are restricted with a series of legal measures. Goods as we have witnessed above can be produced in far end of the world and marketed at the other end. *The western countries can get their funds retrieved from the materials or goods by means of `Tele Banking, or Online Banking and /or Internet Banking Systems`*, deposit or transfer these funds in any part of the world or bring it back to their countries with little or no problem, while the citizens of developing countries are restricted entry into the western nations through complicated legal measures. Even governments of the developing countries could no longer move money around the globe as was the case before. The monies already moved out by the governments and or the leaders of the developing world could no longer easily be retrieved back again since the leaders are refused entry into the western nations or ordered to clarify how they made so much money within a space of time in leadership position. This positional application of legal instruments to wage Africans entry into western world has called for discourse of the advantages and disadvantages of globalisation and has made developing countries to see globalisation as hindrance and challenge to their movement. To buttress these assumptions some literatures say that:

“Globalization is not a new process. It is an acceleration of changes induced by the post-industrial revolution in transport and communication. The rapid growth of population in less developed countries combines with a reduction in barriers to migration from formerly authoritarian regimes to induce mobility. Economic inequality combines with demographic pressures and environmental crises to generate ethnic conflict and terrorist threats. Wealthier countries are placing restrictions on the admission of those seeking to improve their economic prospects and/or to escape persecution. Despite the number of asylum seekers

³⁶⁸AL- MAHMOOD Syed Zain, Dhaka: In theguardian.com, Thursday 10 January 2013

in Europe and North America, African and Asian countries bear the greatest burden of refugees.”³⁶⁹

PAM Christie & RVINDER Sidhu in their article titled `Responding to Globalisation, refugees and the challenges facing Australian schools` presented four points, which they claimed was put up by another writer named *Castells* (1997) that could be related to the effects of Globalisation thus:

- “the growing gap between rich and poor between and within countries;
- the formation of fundamentalist identities in spaces (regions, countries, places) which are marginalised in the global economy;
- the growth of a criminal economy and 'perverse links' to the global economy through drugs, people trafficking, terrorism, etc.;
- Massive flows of people from poor to rich countries which the latter attempt to stem by police measures which threaten the nature of their own democracies”³⁷⁰

I can only agree with the aforementioned four points generally without reservations as they all associated with the situation of refugees in East Africa. It goes further to buttress my negative position from the beginning of the work under new world order and globalisation that developing economies especially African economies are still not ripe to participate or forced, in the participation of these two international norms. Further attempt to analyse each of the four points reveals that they are all pushers for emerging refugee explosions. That African nations especially those in East Africa are not ripe for globalisation, is no longer an issue for contention. This confirmation is made with the underneath citation and further reassures readers that, I am on the right track and amongst those who oppose globalisation and defenders of African economy. We learnt that:

“Nations on the losing side are also more likely to be involved in the global criminal economy and in many instances, have little political leverage in the geopolitical context”³⁷¹

To buttress this argumentation and eventually throw more understanding in order to sort out issues correctly, another literature reveals that:

“Globalizing processes pose many challenges for the refugee definition and the international regime, with its institutional counterparts. Increasingly, refugees are immersed in mixed large migration flows, making it extremely difficult to discern those who fulfill the requirements of the 1951 Convention from other types of displaced populations. Many argue that the conventional definition does not account for the current reality of displacement, which can result from natural disasters, development-induced projects, or forms of persecution not foreseen at the time the Convention was written. For example, gender persecution is not mentioned on the conventional definition, though a

³⁶⁹RICHMON Anthony H.: *Globalization: implications for immigrants and refugees*, pages 707-727. See also:<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0141987022000000231#.Up-LWtLuLQg>

³⁷⁰PAM Christie & RAVINDER Sidhu: *Responding to globalisation: refugees and the challenges facing Australian schools*, No 21. May 2002.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

growing number of asylum claims are based on sexual and domestic violence. Tighter security requirements, xenophobic policies, and border control restrictions also make it very hard for refugees to reach safe havens and to acquire the documentation required for traveling internationally. " Many have to resort to smuggling or other forms of trafficking in order to try to flee their countries of origin and reach out for protection"³⁷²

Concluding this subsection, let me share with you one other reference from *Alexandra Valiente* published on March 16, 2012 by *Firoze Manji and O' Coill* that pushes us to understand that:

"In the era of globalisation, African states have increasingly lost authority to determine both the direction of social development and also the content of social policy. Externally imposed constraints on health, education and welfare measures and social programmes, tax concessions on profits, liberalisation of price controls, and dismantling of state owned enterprises – all have contributed to widening of internal disparities. And faced with the growing dominance of the multinational corporation in the domestic economy, there remain few legitimate ways for the indigenous capitalist class to accumulate. Their choices are limited either to becoming agents of the multinationals, or turning to crime, corruption, drug trafficking, sex exploitation, illegal migration and illicit arms. As UNDP points out, criminals are "reaping the benefits of globalisation." The deregulation of capital markets and developments in information and communications technologies "make flows easier, faster and less restricted" for drug-trafficking, laundering money and weapons.⁵⁰ As the distinction between social organisation for criminal activities and for political purposes has become blurred in African society, civilians are increasingly being caught in the crossfire or becoming the targets either of armed opposition groups or of the increasingly desperate state machinery. Continued impoverishment, growing conflicts, the state reneging on its social responsibilities, it is into this arena that development NGOs have been plying their trade. Africa's decline contributes to the continued justification for their work"³⁷³

Finally after the analysis, surveys and evaluation as much as the comparison of Globalisation and its dimensional effects on our life, let me conclude this section with a tablet diagram of some other additional *pros and cons* of it. But at the same time, warn and also make a remark that these are inexhaustible as so many *pros and cons* exist. While governments of nations, international organisations to include UN and UNHCR, likewise political and social scientist and diplomatic professionals from time to time and from one occasion to the other defines Globalisation as they chose.

³⁷²AGUIAR Carolina Moulin, McMaster University/CAPES Foundation, article published in http://www.globalautonomy.ca/global1/glossary_pop.jsp?id=CO.0072

³⁷³MANJI Firoze and O'COIL L.: Flashback: The Missionary Position, NGOS and Development in Africa Maech 16, 2012: see also: <http://libya360.wordpress.com/2012/03/16/flashback-the-missionary-position-ngos-and-development-in-africa/>

Table 3 below shows the advantages and disadvantages of Globalisation

Advantages	Disadvantages
The Information Age and Globalisation has helped the world economy is linked in a comprehensive global structure based on new information technologies.	It has given transnational corporations power beyond nation-states.
The globalisation process can increase food security by facilitating the worldwide implementation of better technologies and improved knowledge (e.g. irrigation technologies, research on genetically modified food).	It has also weakened any nation's ability to control corporate practices and flows of capital, set regulations, control balances of trade and exchange rates, or manage domestic economic policy.
Food trade has become an increasingly important factor with regard to food security worldwide. At present, however, the developed countries usually subsidise their agricultural sectors. Current liberalisation policies are expected to have profound implications on food trade and, subsequently food security	It has weakened the ability of workers to fight for better wages and working conditions from fear that employers may relocate to other areas.”
Some argue that the resulting free trade will create access to better and cheaper food supplies via food imports and can stimulate more efficient use of the world's resources as well as the production of food in regions that are more suitable to do so	An alarming trend is that alongside the 'traditional' poverties and inequalities of class, race and gender, new marginalisations are emerging, relating to globalisation and new economic, social and spatial reconfigurations (see Luke, 2000; Brown <i>et al</i> , 1997).
Free trade permits food consumption to grow faster than domestic food production in countries where there are constraints on increasing the latter.	The face of disadvantage is changing and a new geography of poverty and unemployment is emerging. New and oldermarginalisation constitute what Brown <i>et al</i> have called 'a new political arithmetic' of poverty and disadvantage.
Accelerated economic growth can also contribute to food security	Globalisation can affect food security by enhancing the knowledge of foreign nations about the usefulness of food aid.
Enhanced knowledge and new technologies will improve the surveillance of infectious diseases and monitoring of antibiotic resistance. Globalisation potentially increases the speed of responses in some cases combination of movement of goods and people and profound changes affecting	Others, however, argue that the forces of globalisation in fact endanger food security and that countries should strive to become more self-sufficient,
The ecosystem goods and services all contribute to increased risk of disease spread; But the WHO argues that globalisation gives rise to obstacles as well	For many countries the increasing dependence on food imports goes hand in hand with a higher vulnerability to shocks arising in global markets, which can affect

as benefits for violence prevention.	import capacity and access to food imports.
It induces changes in protective factors like social cohesion and solidarity, knowledge and education levels, and global violence prevention activities such as the implementation of international law and treaties designed to reduce violence (e.g. social protection.	Many food insecure countries are not able to earn enough with exporting goods in order to pay for the needed food imports.
Globalization has facilitated transport and communications, as well as manufacturing, trade, services and financial transactions, particularly as the process of globalization accelerated in the last two decades.	Global trade and marketing developments drive, for example, the nutrition transition towards diets with high proportions of salt, saturated fat and sugars.
Business travel and tourism are major components of these population movements which is led by the emerging of Globalisation	Another example is the worldwide spread of tobacco consumption as transnational tobacco companies take advantage of the potential for growth in developing countries
Globalisation has led to extensive exchange of highly qualified people between most advanced industrial countries. There is a global labour market for professionals, managers, information technology experts, and scientists in all fields.	The scale of cigarette smuggling poses a considerable global threat to the efforts to control tobacco consumption,
Countries of Europe, parts of Asia, Oceania and the whole of the Americas, including the Caribbean, are now part of a global system of population movement by land, sea and air. South Africa also participates.	Illegal trade in illicit drugs poses similar problem and at the same time, the alcohol industry is almost as Globalised as the tobacco industry
Financial transactions, computer programming, architectural and engineering designing, data processing and TV entertainment can all be provided from a distance.	In addition, the Globalisation process can also result in a 'brain-drain' in almost all professional and occupational sectors as a result of labour migration from developing to developed regions.
Many more countries have become both senders and receivers of international labour migrants. An ILO analysis of migration patterns in 152 countries showed that, between 1970 and 1990, the number of countries classified as major receivers of labour immigrants rose from thirty-nine to sixty-seven. Over the same twenty years, the number of countries designated as major international labour suppliers rose from twenty-nine to fifty-five.	It also influences important risk factors associated with violence such as social exclusion, income inequality, collective conflict, and trade in alcohol, drugs or firearms.

Information on the table above is taken from different authors namely *PAM Christie & RAVINDER Sidhu: Op. cit. and RICHMON Anthony H.: Globalization: implications for immigrants and refugees, pages 707-727. See also*³⁷⁴

Finally, after rich and deep down surveys and analysis on one side, evaluations and narratives of the foregoing section, it suffices to conclude that New World Order and Globalisation have not only left the African refugee problem in the same situation as they found it. These two norms have even contributed immensely for refugee deterioration. What we have been experiences with the utterances of world leaders have been *lip service comments* and nothing substantial has taken place at the corridors of power on the current period of the new stage, under New World Order and Globalisation. Unfortunate as it is.

15.3. Philosophising the New World Order and Globalisation – A Personal View

New World Order means in addition to other definitions before and the ones after here "*One World Government*", with a world court, a global tax, and a global police force. [It is also defined by some social scientist as] "*A conspiracy in which the goal is to create a One World Government and reduce the world's population by 5.5 Billion people*"³⁷⁵

While under Globalisation, we understand that "*Globalization refers to global economic integration of many formerly national economies into one global economy, mainly by free trade and free capital mobility, but also by easy or uncontrolled migration. It is the effective erasure of national boundaries for economic purposes. International trade (governed by comparative advantage) becomes interregional trade (governed by absolute advantage). What was many becomes one.*"³⁷⁶

Imperialism in the Oxford Student's dictionary is defined as "*the believe in a political system of gaining economic or political influence and control over other countries*"³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0141987022000000231#.Up-LWtLuLQg>

³⁷⁵<http://www.chacha.com/question/what-is-'the-new-world-order'%3F#sthash.PZrk9kzX.dpuf>

³⁷⁶DALY Herman E.; "Globalization Versus Internationalization: Some Implications", *Global Policy Forum*, 1999, see <http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/econ/herman2.htm>

³⁷⁷ Oxford University Press, second edition 1988, p. 318.

I decided to bring in here 'imperialism' because it poses some elements from both new world order and globalisation. It may lead to more understanding tracing the origin of the two big norms of the 21st century.

By the time a common man like wise students of international politics and international relations came to realise the meaning of new world order and globalisation, parallel to the realisation of the end of cold war from America. *This is during the period President Ronald Reagan was in white house with their Western Allies.* I was vehemently against this move. I was then against it because I had the feeling that it will bring nothing or at best it will bring very minor positive changes to developing nations especially Africa. Although it was rumoured that developing countries especially Africa were promised that the billions of US dollars being invested in cold war would be shifted and invested in Africa to help develop the Continent. I was not convinced and I told my fellow contestants that at the end, Africa will not get the promised help. I held that opinion because the consequences or after effects of the disintegration of cold war will not allow the Western Nations fulfil their promise. I told them that at the end of cold war that, Western Countries will divert their attentions and resources to what will be the product of the end of the cold war. I was in the sense of opposing the end of cold war even when I could not have stopped or contributed towards stopping it.

Look, during the cold war period. There is this United States of America (USA) with its allies on one side and there is the Soviet Union and its allies on the other side. Africa has options of either go to the West (America and the allies) or to the East (Soviet Union and the allies). Amongst these two big block of the world, the superpowers, most of African nations amongst other developing nations were the so called medium (soft) powers. In this position, they serve as *checks and balances* on the two big power groups, to some extent. Africa then has options and could go to either way to get its problem solved when in need. The erosion of cold war means the erosion of the influence of the *medium and or soft powers* in terms of getting what they want in period of need, or having a say in the world affairs. This research will help me to see if my hypotheses before the cold war ended up was true or false.

That notwithstanding, we have defined and interpreted what new world order and globalisation mean and or what could be understood under these two terminologies. We shall now attempt to do some diagnosis, really deep down to buttress how these norms have shaped the world and the effects they left on refugees problematic.

The killing of *Saddam Hussein* under the pretext of taking part or aiding and influencing *Al Qaeda Terror group* bombing American Twin Towers on the Wall Street was in the name of new world order. At the end of the war, it was discovered that *Saddam Hussein* had no hand

in the issue. Even the *Al Qaeda Terror group* lead by *Osama Bin Laden* that was accused of championing the bombing has been contested and will continue to be contested. Socio-political scientist, contemporary writers, diplomats in the international relations and secret services and criminologists would continue to engage in finding and sorting out the real truth behind the bombing. I foresee a situation where the truth will not be told just like the shooting and assassination of *JF Kennedy* the then American President in the middle of the sixties. *Lee Harvey Oswald* was accused for shooting and thereby assassinating him on November 22, 1963.

Why do I share this opinion? I represent this position because of the fact that USA has failed until this work to present a convincing fact and or theory on the issue. It has failed to prove the hypotheses that *Osama Bin Laden* and his terror group bombed the twin American Tower. The rest is history and I leave the judgement to the readers.

The introduction of finger prints on International Passport and the digitalisation of all passports in the world. The Bio data and scanning of passport copy or other travel document at the point of travel either by air, land or sea are all conducted in the name of proper checking and optimal security. All these and many more are the post effects of new world order and globalisation.

It did not stop here, for instance, the request and submission of people's data like, resident addresses, names and death of birth by cash payment with "*pay in slip*" at the banks and other financial institutions with example in Austria, are all brought to us with the introduction and implementation of new world order and globalisation. All these are carried out under the pretext of maximum security and protection. To cap it all, it is applied in the name of fighting terror globally. These instruments to my mind are nothing but a sophisticated, targeted and systematic method of control mechanism of the superpowers, championed by the United States of America (USA) and their allies.

To this end, *Prof. Chinweiz* in his paper titled "*Build African super power now or perish*", presented during an event that was organised in his honour at the conference and seminar multi-purpose "*Agip Hall MUSON Centre*", Lagos by the Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) and the Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas Limited (NLNG), published by *Chuks Nnabuiife* had this to say:

"AFRICA seats dangerously on the receiving end of the new world order. The only solution to check the imminent extermination of the black race is for the continent to rise now and take its fate in its hands. The formation of a new and strong Africa, equipped with industrialisation will serve as bulwark against Western and Arab exploitation of the continent and its peoples"³⁷⁸

³⁷⁸Guardian Newspapers Limited, Tuesday, 21.2.2006

Pursuant to the above and in an attempt in buttressing his points, which subsequently sheds more light on this work we learnt that:

"One: The 20th century has been the most disastrous for Africa and the worst century, so far, for black Africa. Two: The problem of the 21st century is the problem of the African continent. And the third issue is that we must note that Lugardism is the root cause of Africa's current problems. [And]By 'Lugardism' the don meant the continued effect of western and Arabian imperialism, colonial mapping of the continent as well as the Wes-tern and Eastern deliberate pauperisation of the black race through religious, cultural brainwashing, trade policies and neo-colonialisation. He observed that since the 12th century AD, Europe and the Arab worlds have consistently dealt devastating blows on the black race through wars, conquests and annexation; trade, deliberately lopsided international economic policies, as well as slave trade, forced labour and the spread of health epidemics of which HIV/AIDS is the most current symptom. [-----] The bloody drive of these races to gain more economic grounds for their nations, get cheap labour for their industries as well as their genetic biases (including hatred, superiority complex and phobia for the people of black skin) have kept Africa in doldrums even when the entire universe pay lip service to globalization"³⁷⁹

If one has to put early judgment based on the two citations above, then readers should stop and conclude that the new world order and globalisation have not done anything good for Africa. Despite that, I will ask for your indulgence to wait until the end of the evaluations and surveys. But we recalled that in mid-January 2011 in Tunis- capital of Tunisia, there was a revolution, as a result of which the president was overthrown and power was transferred to the interim government. Political instability has led to economic recession. As reported, earnings or returns only from the tourism industry of the country in January 2011 decreased by 40 percent. That was the effect of new world order and globalisation.

That notwithstanding, it is the new world order and globalisation that gave birth to the end of Apartheid South Africa in 1990s *De Klerk* released *Nelson Mandela* and acquitted him from prison after about twenty-seven (27) years. He later contested and worn the first ever conducted free racial general election in South Africa Republic in 1994. It is the new world order and globalisation that led to the fall of Old Yugoslavia in 1990 through NATO led war against the country under the then President *Slobodan Milosevic* who was latter brought to the International War Court in Hague. The immediate citation taken from a cover page of a quarterly magazine confirms this proposition:

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

“Punishing War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia: A Critical Juncture for the New World Order”³⁸⁰

In addition, it is the new world order and globalisation that paved way to the fall of “*Berlin wall*” in 1989 and subsequently, the unification of West and East Germany in the later years. That is not all, within 1989 to 1991, new world order and globalisation inspired the explosive breakage of great Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991. It is the new world order and globalisation that served as push factors to peaceful separation of former Czechoslovakia to present day Czech Republic on one side and Republic of Slovakia on the other side in the year 1992-1993. It is the new world order and globalisation in the same means that produced the Romania Revolution in 1989. And it is the new world order and globalisation that open ways or roads and doors of Western and Central Europe to the previous East-Bloc Nations as well as into International Communities.

Furthermore, it is the new world order and globalisation that slowly pushed Cuba to liberalise its Communist System of Government. Currently, the citizens are allowed to buy and own mobile or cellular phones. Now they can call their relatives outside Cuba and discuss freely with them, especially relatives in the United States of America (USA) and the citizens can now apply and own International Passport and can even travel outside Cuba.

In continuation, it is the new world order and globalisation that really gave way to democratisation of the nation states of the world community, which promoted better dissemination of information in the world. Credit should also go to new world order and globalisation for promoting the free use of the internet as civil and social networks world-wide and subsequently the development and modernisation of over one hundred and fifty other social media like Facebook, Google, Yahoo and Hotmail. Others are Gmail, Twitter, Apps and Instagram or Xing just to mention but few. For instance, it is recognised that:

“The greatly accelerated rate of change brought about by technological advance (the revolution in communications being a salient example) has made possible closer linkages and interdependence in many areas. Incidents occurring in one place trigger a chain of events the effects of which are felt in countries far removed from the source”³⁸¹

The new world order and globalisation have not only encouraged intercontinental migration but have also promoted it. The effect of new world order and globalisation did not end there. It championed the stabilisation of continued peace in the world. It eventually cleared way to

³⁸⁰PAYAM Akhavan: In Human Right Quarterly (15 Hum. Rts. Q. 262 (1993)

³⁸¹VALTONEN Kathleen reviewed: Global Apartheid: Refugees, Racism, and the New World Order by Anthony H. Richmond: In Refuge, Vol. 14, No. 6 (November 1994)

the election of *Barrack Hussein Obama* as the first ever black president of the United States of America (USA). It did not end here, the election or choosing of the first Pope (the head of Roman Catholic Church in the world) outside Europe comes very close under these two phenomena.

It is argued that the new world order and globalisation are good or even better for the world. Why, I do agree on one hand because as a defender of democratic principles, majority of the world regions are doing fairly good and better with the help and assistance of these two political, economic and socio-cultural instruments. While I disagree on the other hand because Africa which is the main focus of this work has not benefitted much from it. Even when other scholars may put up argument on the principle of democracy that majority of the world has benefitted or are benefitting from them. Just for the fact that democracy promotes the principle where majority support or opinion are deemed okay and accepted, but I disagree on the same principle of democracy, which says that the interest of the minority must be protected. The question remains whether the interest of the continent of Africa is dully and fully protected? It is unfortunate that in the time of economic and environmental challenges facing Africans on one side and the period of political, social as well as psychological factors on the other side. These series of challenges have pulled together and forced or caused refugees to move and seek asylum in other countries of their choice. Just at this moment in time, countries around the globe have introduce all sorts and kinds of barriers and policies to keep them out of the reach of entry. It is on this claim that, I discovered for instance that:

“The imposition of visas, or the use of interdiction, may increase the reliance on illegal methods, forgery, the use of “people smugglers” and other clandestine means of evading controls. The recognition of “legitimate” refugees, and their resettlement, creates social networks and leads to the establishment of chain migration, including relatives and friends of the first wave. The investment of resources in education and the economy, to improve living standards in developing countries, may raise expectations and actually promote proactive migration by those whose skills and experience are valued in more developed countries. [Even] The example postulates the effects of building a hydro-electric dam in a developing country, but similar consequences could follow oil exploration, pipe-line building, or the exploitation of uranium, diamonds or other Valuable minerals, as well as natural disasters such as an earthquake. The linkage between environmental factors, population displacement and war is well documented (Richmond 1994 p.75-88; Homer-Dixon 1999)”³⁸²

Given the fact that, the assumption has been proved with the above quotation, it goes forward to solidify my position that Globalisation and New World Order have not favoured

³⁸²RICHMOND Anthony H.: CRS Working Paper Series No. 1 Globalization and the Refugee Crisis, ©2005, p.8; published by Centre for Refugee Studies York Lanes, York University 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, Ontario, M3J 1P3

African Continents and its inhabitants. For me it is not, for others, I leave the judgement for you and them!

Be that as it may, after evaluations and survey on analysis of these two ideologies, it is good to ask, if new world order and globalisation brought anything bad or not? If yes, what are these things or areas one can point out or point at and say here have new world order and globalisation failed mankind, apart from the earlier presentations I made. With references most particularly to people or region or even the continent that is most affected from the wind of new world order and globalisation?

Going from the above questions, a scholar of contemporary studies and writer in his discussions contributed by saying thus:

“We live in a radically change world. Just five years ago, a “New World Order” was afoot. The United States was flush with its “victory” over Communism. Democracy was breaking out all over. Multilateralism resurged with the United Nations’ defeat of Saddam Hussein in Operation Desert Storm. The Cold War’s end left the United States of America as the only surviving superpower, ostensibly disproving those who had glumly predicted the decline of the Great Power. Today, the picture seems far bleaker. We see ethnic nationalism in revolt; a world in recession; states fragmenting; failed states like Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, and Haiti. As a by-product of this tumult, we face refugee outflows that challenge our compassion, tax our charity, and pose political dilemmas for policymakers and legal dilemmas for courts”³⁸³

The citation portrays the failed states as a result of the new world order and globalisation, pointing out Somalia and Rwanda in Africa and that he called “*as a by-product of this tumult*” outflows of refugee for an example in addition to other neighbouring countries.

Indeed like everything and in whichever form, there exists at least two faces if not more. Even though I have made some instances previously on the bad effects of New World Order and Globalisation, let us now shift our minds far more from the good sides of the subject matter, look beyond and focus on the disadvantages or the bad side of them. I have decided to put them under the following method. For instance, these two ideologies did not and have not allowed Africa to:

- a) Secure a permanent seat at the United Nations (UN) Assembly,
- b) Rewriting or at least amendment of the Constitution of the United Nations (UN), which came into existence after the second world war to replace the “League of Nations”. When this Constitution was written, debated, accepted and implemented no Africa country participated actively. The only Africa Country on seat as Observer is Ethiopia,
- c) Have not allowed free trade participation between African Nations and the rest of the world, instead Africa has become more than ever before dumping ground and warehouse it has

³⁸³KOH, Harold Hongju, "Refugees, the Courts, and the New World Order" (1994). *Faculty Scholarship Series*. Op. cit.

served for centuries ago for the west and industrialized nations and marketplace to sell their products.

- d) Under new world order and globalization resistant in any form to the West from developing nations including African nations becomes difficult than ever before unlike during the period of Cold War,
- e) Any strong resistance to the wish or interest of the West is captioned and or interpreted as "TERROR" and or "DICTATOR" and immediately uprooted. If it comes from a particular person or leader, the person or the regional leader is either removed from power, if his life is not taken away. This is one of the reason why Muammar Gaddafi was killed. Look at this:

"Gaddafi was planning a single African Currency doe Africans and also selling Gold on Gold Dinars and these the Western World especially the world powers did not like"³⁸⁴

- f) The destabilisation of great Yugoslavia and the subsequent killing of the then President *Vladimir Milosevic* by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners as mentioned previously. It was understood, questioned up till late and will continue to be questioned each time the issue arises whether there was justification for the NATO lead war against Yugoslavia. From exclusive information with an EU member of parliament claimed that Western Nations were afraid of Yugoslavia and if peace is to be preserved and nurtured as well as sustained in Europe for good number of decades or years ahead of time, then Yugoslavia must be destroyed after the fall of Soviet Union. Until the time of conclusion of the research project, no tangible reason or reasons have been rendered by the NATO and from the study of event in the contemporary international diplomacy no convincing reasons will be in place.
- g) Under new world order and globalization, third world or developing countries around the universe have become production homes for the industries of the west at very cheap labour. These labourers are under very bad and terrible working conditions, despite millions and billions of profits being made at the expenses of these nations and their respective citizens where they located their industries and factories.
- h) Goods are produced in these nations in Asia, South America and eventually in Africa at minimal cost and sold in the West at exorbitant conditions and prices.
- i) Transfer of technology and know-how to developing countries so that they can produce for themselves at their various countries is an issue of the past. That has contributed the lead that the West continued to maintain the command of the International market situation and the normal free market competition is defeated.

Thereafter, one can agree that the post-colonial system and imperialism are what is being applied to keep the developing countries under economic arrest. For instance, if the transfer

³⁸⁴<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NzMx5FzYAgA>

of technology and know-how were promoted and empowered by the West, the developing countries especially Africa, would and or may have developed, established industries and factories and have had strong economies to fight and or address the causes of refugees. This would have brought down the escalation of refugees at the Horn of Africa very low. To buttress this point there came an advice that:

"We must start from awareness... In bringing about change the first thing is awareness (of African cultural, religious, intellectual and scientific advancement)... we must churn all the 'isms' - capitalism, socialism, Islamism, Christianity et cetera... "Like China did too, industrialisation is the key"³⁸⁵

It is quite understandable and acceptable that, migration and refugee have been part of mankind right from the existence of the earth.

For instance, migration has been as old as the existence of human beings. Right from the time of marriage amongst families, people get married and migrate as a result from one family to the other. People change residence and migrate to the next. Furthermore, people migrate from one town to the other and from one region to the next and vice-versa. The reasons for all these kinds of migrations from the creation of man and woman on earth remain the same. Other reasons for migration of refugees have been treated in the earlier section or part one sections five (5) page 42ff.

The difference is that the possibility and mobility of current migration is modern, quicker, and faster and the distances and lengths of migration are longer unlike before. Today people migrate in addition, with the assistance of Ship by Sea, Aeroplane by Air and Vehicles by Land unlike before when people migrate with the help and application of horses and camels and of course with the natural human motor (legs and or feet).

However, under this section of my work, I have intended to treat migration under Refugees with focus on East African refugees. I decided to do this with reference to the modern day migration and reflecting to the provisions with understanding to globalisation. How do they migrate? Reasons for migration? And consequences of migrating will be touched.

Here too, migration was traced amongst the Nomad people and Cattle Farmers. They migrate from one place or from one region to the next or from one sub-region to the other. Whenever they reached, they settled there for sometimes, from three to six (3-6) months or more as the case maybe. Most of the time depending on the availability of green pastures and vegetation, on which to feed their cows and or cattle. In doing this, they do from period to period face resistance from the indigenes or earlier settlers because the first settlers does not want to share the available green pastures and vegetation with them to feed their

³⁸⁵Guardian Newspapers Limited, Tuesday, 21.2.2006; Op. cit.

respective cows and or cattle. This is more or less the same or equivalent in the modern time like foreigners officially or unofficially entering into a particular country to look for work. As a result, faces all sorts of barriers in the new country.

Relating the above analysis to East Africa, it is discovered that the region is lagging behind in terms of development, their economies are very low and their per capital income is nothing to write home about if compared with their counterparts in developed countries.

It therefore means that if the countries of the region of Africa, are economically strong, it then becomes easier to fight the factors of refugees as narrated under types of refugees in the earlier part of the work. People will gain employment because industries and factories are existing or will be in existence and production will be ongoing. The industries and factories will be paying taxes and government will have enough monetary power to tackle the problems facing the need of their people who are in one way or the other devastated due to hunger, climate and natural disasters. These problems are dominant and well noticed and seen in East Africa to mention but a few.

Currently, we see huge influx of refugees from Africa especially from East Africa into Europe and other part of the Western Nations. Many of which are economic refugees and many coming from war torn zones in Africa. If the countries in such region like Horn of Africa are economically strong, these economic refugees will not happen or the number will be very remote that no one would care. Through this forceful migration to look for green pastures, many died on the run. For instance, we learnt that the boat of many fleeing refugees from Africa cap-sized in the Mediterranean Sea and many died as confirmed below:

“Italian rescue workers began to search for illegal African migrants whose boat overturned on its way from Tunisia to the island of Lampedusa, reports BBC News. According to recent figures, 48??People were rescued in the water and found 15 dead bodies. About 150 Africans reported missing. Shipwreck occurred 70 kilometers from the Italian island of around 4 am local time. After receiving a distress signal, the rescuers on several ships and helicopters rushed to the scene”³⁸⁶

Let me point out here immediately that, the mention of Tunisia has no value in terms of the countries of Great Lake Region of Africa where this work takes precedence, but Tunisia has very big value even though in North Africa. Tunisia serves as point of entry by sea (boats and ships) into Italy and further to any other European Country. That is to say that, many of all the refugees in the Continent of Africa pass across Tunisia on their process and journey to Europe.

Meanwhile, after all said and done, whether one is for it or against it, irrespective of from which school of thought one comes from, for me it should be universally acceptable that new

³⁸⁶<http://newspepper.su/news/2011/4/6/in-the-mediterranean-sea-overturned-boat-with-200-migrants>

world order and globalisation have contributed and will continue in the present and in the future period immensely to peace, harmony and stability in around the globe. And therefore, surpasses to the disadvantages the two philosophical ideologies have brought into play. Even though, when a particular continent is dramatically and badly affected than the other. For instance, Africa Continent, which is facing strong hardship as buttressed aforementioned. However, one thing is certain. The players in all these roles, in every nook and corner of the world. And the application of any method to achieve any sort of aims and obligations, whether in efforts to defend ones right or ego have affected refugees in one way or the other?

Part IV

16. Alternative Approaches to Refugee Problems in East Africa Countries

The title of part four as indicated above, automatically means that this part of my dissertation project is the heart of the whole work. This involves topics like International Politics, International relations and Diplomacy. And it touches almost all the International agencies ranging from the United Nations Security Council, the United Nations, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Other International bodies to mention here are the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the humanitarian organisations both local and international. As I selected this theme as my project research field, little did I know that it is such a challenging aspect of the *'all and sundry'* in the matters of refugees and their always unresolved solutions. However, I did not entertain any doubt after realising that it is going to be very herculean in nature. I promised myself to do all I can, to present not only a good work but also a research that will not only be accepted but that may live the taste of the time. If this happens, it will eventually contribute even if only one durable and sustainable solution to problems.

That notwithstanding, readers will have the privilege to read issues like reflections of the existing solutions. I decided to do that, believing that reviewing existing literatures will give better picture and gain me deeper insights on what has taken place in this area before I dabble into new alternative approaches. In doing that, I also decided to revisit ICARA 1 and 11 since these two International conferences were absolutely staged for the only aim of finding durability and sustainability in challenges of refugees in the Continent of Africa. I have chosen to do that firstly, because these two conferences have remained the only two attempts to looking into and solving the problem of refugees in African region and secondly, because the two conferences at the end of the day and after decades, have failed to produce the miracle for which they were organised. But surprisingly enough, similar international conferences like the one staged in the Central American countries were successful. Why was that the case?

I will finally before leaving the section, present what I termed *'new alternative approaches to the problem of refugees'* I am very optimistic that I may be able to contribute just a bit to alleviating the huge burden that refugees bears but also the international community. I hereby invites you (reading public) to share with me what I have discovered during the course of my research. I hope they will be of immense interest for you.

16.1. Alternative Approaches to the Problems of Refugees

One of the major push factors that galvanised me to pick up this area as my major is because of searching for alternatives. This is simple because, the attitude towards curbing refugees and migration problems have been a dilemma for nation states amongst

International Communities since the existence of mankind, especially after the first and especially the second world wars. Furthermore to the above, I am a fellow that see challenges as something positive and looks for alternative to turn negativity into positivity.

Meanwhile, in searching for alternative approach or approaches to the problems and or challenges of refugees, I have decided first to review the existing laws or solutions. For instance:

“The legal conditions — refugees should be guaranteed freedom from arbitrary arrest or persecution through clearly defined legal decree or ordinances, which precisely define the status of refugees on their return home. An amnesty is an example of such a decree permitting free return” ³⁸⁷

This is followed with the question, how far have the international legal parameters affected the refugees? In addition, another legal practitioner countered with his mind set thus:

“The real foundation of the authority of international law resides similarly in the fact that the states making up the international Society recognise it as binding upon them, and, moreover, as a system that *ipso facto* binds them as members of the society, irrespective of their individual wills” ³⁸⁸

Given the fact that I am still at the middle of the work and at the beginning of this subsection, it becomes impossible to fortify or verify if the two aforementioned citations are in conform or have done anything special to guide law makers and stake holders involve with refugee issues. It will be at the end of the work, that clear picture will be presented.

Second, in treating this subsection, I will visit and evaluate the ICARA one and two (ICARA 1 and 11). Third, I will see to what extent I will succeed in presenting lasting alternatives or at least something that will hold the taste of time as solutions to these challenges and problems, inherent with refugees. It is also very crucial to ask why previous attempts or approaches applied failed or was half-hazarded successful? What was or were the reasons why the expected results were not reached? What could be done in future policy decision making to improve on the failed attempt?

16.2. Existing Solutions

In tackling the challenges and finding solutions on the problematic nature of refugees worldwide, there are four generally agreed solutions which has been worked out by the United Nations High Commissioners for Refugee with the donor western nations and

³⁸⁷ NOBEL Peter, Refugees and Development in Africa, Seminar Proceedings No 19, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1987 (121pp, SEK11Q-), Reviewed by Simon Metcalf, General Manager of the Nyaminyami Wildlife Management Trust, Zimbabwe: In Journal of Social development in Africa -1989

³⁸⁸ HARRIS D.J. Op. cit. p.10

eventually with the understanding of the Non-Governmental and Humanitarian Organisations and the receiving Countries. These are ‘*repatriation, reintegration, reconciliation and reconstruction*’ when they go home. These are known as the popular ‘Four R’ (4Rs). In the middle, directly or indirectly amongst these four norms is Targeting Development Aid and Assistance.

The proponent of these four solutions claimed that they are the only available and durable solutions for the eradication of refugee problems. However, after decades of the applications, events have proved that the durability in terms of refugees’ problems are still far away. The realities on the ground has proved these four norms false, though some success could be claimed in some areas. In relation to development, I learnt that:

“In the interests of equity in development, the local population must be involved in the development initiative, as indeed refugees themselves should. Development is seen as consisting of three essential factors: direct, practical assistance, the participation of people at every stage, and finally guarantees for their safety and dignity. In general, we are informed that a genuine respect for human, or people’s, rights is essential if ‘development’ is to be worthwhile, either for local people or refugees. It is difficult to be at odds with such worthy sentiments”³⁸⁹

Reflection on the immediate quotation, the question is whether Targeting Development Aid ‘TDA’ as one of the well acclaimed supportive factor for durable solution has done justice to this assertion or is yet to do so. In any case, if it has been practically successful, the question for new alternatives could not have arisen. In continuation on the discourse of the current solution, it is argued that:

“In the first face which lasted roughly from 1954 until 1985, the solution of resettlement was promoted in practice, even as voluntary repatriation was accepted in principle as the preferred solution [...] Resettlement was seen as the most appropriate solution to the refugee problems”³⁹⁰

That is not all from *B. S. Chimni*, still on the contention of whether the “4R’s are the most appropriate solutions it was noted thus:

“Indeed, all though it was evident to IRO officials that the cost of repatriation per refugee was a fraction of the cost resettlement, this argument never appeared in the discussions of the general Council” In so far the Northern States accepted the solution of repatriation as the ideal solution in principle, they strongly supported freedom of choice even though 1,000,000 refugees were involved”³⁹¹

³⁸⁹NOBEL Peter Op. cit.: In Journal of Social development in Africa -1989

³⁹⁰CHIMNI. B.S.: From Resettlement to Involuntary Repatriation: Towards a critical History of Durable Solutions to refugee Problem: In Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3, 2004, p. 55

³⁹¹Ibid. p. 57

Meanwhile, after due research work conducted on the existing solutions, this project sees the need for a complete new alternatives or at least a complementation to the existing ones if the problems and challenges posed by refugee issues considering its magnitude is to be eliminated or at least drastically reduced.

Given the fact that the existing solutions to refuge problems have been identified, considering the fact that the solutions after decades have outlived its expectations, it suffices to mention this at this juncture that, they have not been useful enough and therefore could not solve the problems of at least the present day refugees. As a result, I stop here so far and will come up in the later part of the work to present and discuss the new alternative applications that I am of the mind that, if given attention, considered and equally implemented by the stakeholders, may contribute to solving the huge problems faced with refugees worldwide and especially in the Horn of Africa.

16.3. ICARA I and II

The movement of people is an inborn character which has been as old as the human being themselves. People move from village to a new village, they move from village to town and visa Vis. Furthermore, they move within a locality or within a region and sometimes they move beyond the regional sphere and eventually they move across the borderline of one sovereign state to the other. Thereafter, until they started moving from continental borderlines to the next.

Nonetheless, the reasons for these movements are diverse. People move around for good and for bad. They move around because they are inquisitive and wanted to discover new things. They move about simply because they wanted to start a new living in a new place and they move about because their natural habitual place or places has and/or have been destroyed either through natural calamity like environmental degradation or from steady outburst of over flow of water and or due to inter-tribal or inter-ethnic wars. In addition, they move about because they wanted to conquer other races. This was one of the reasons for the Europeans to move outside European Continent in search of mineral and human resources to tap for their use, which took place in the late eleventh century AD or even earlier than then. During the industrial revolution Europeans moved wider into the world and conquered other races or ethnicity, looted their mineral and human resources for their industries.

The consequences of this conquer led Europe to colonise some countries and continents around the world for instance Africa. Some countries in Asia and Middle East and Australia

belonged to the British Empire and or Colonies. While United States of America colonised most of the countries in the southern and or Latin American and Caribbean. It is on record that, these colonisations were carried out with forced measurement and brutality which later on produced refugees as people could not withstand the unrest. Due to Civil and Human rights abuses and challenges that came up, people ran away and relocated in quest for safety and survival. All these sorts of movement have been baptised with the new word of migration and immigration.

Shortly before the end of the twentieth century, United States of America invented the '*New World Order*' as political tools to fight Cold War.

As I was not satisfied with this vague meaning, I rather moved further still to figure out the in-depth meanings and to make some comparisons. I discovered some other definitions and the writer claims that the New World Order is a term first used and coined by American President George Bush Senior not his son, but he addressed the latter as the greatest president ever, (George W) and said that:

"It is a culmination of illuminati mysticism and world banking control. A one world religion and one world government. The illuminati believe that control should be given over to them, as man is too dumb to decide things for himself. They believe that by having complete dominion over man and earth, they will save us from ourselves. The Bible says that Satan will use this time of one World Government to bring forth his spirit into the earth and have people think he is Christ returning.....and have the world worship him"³⁹²

After the fall of the '*Iron Gate*' in 1989, the New World Order was complemented with the slogan '*Globalisation*'. How is globalisation defined? What do we understand by the terminology globalisation? Efforts to give substantial answers to the two questions above are not easy as I discovered that different scholars and social scientists have shared different views on the subject matter. That is to say that there are many definitions on globalisation however, suffice here to share with you one of the definitions I fancy as I came across many. Other definitions and understanding of the terminology can be found in section fourteen etc. (15.2-15.13) of this work where it is given full and exhaustive attention and analysis. Meanwhile:

"Globalization is a process that has been going on for the past 5000 years, but it has significantly accelerated since the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. Elements of globalization include trans-border capital, labor, management, news, images, and data flows. The main engines of globalization are the transnational corporations (TNCs), transnational media organizations (TMCs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and alternative government organizations (AGOs). From a humanist perspective, globalization entails both positive and negative consequences: it is both narrowing and widening the income gaps among and

³⁹² [Http: //www.chacha.com/question/what-is-'the-new-world-order'%3F](http://www.chacha.com/question/what-is-'the-new-world-order'%3F)

within nations, intensifying and diminishing political domination, and homogenizing and pluralizing cultural identities.³⁹³

Colonisation produced several Guerilla groups and nationalist leaders who were fighting the white dominated regime in their respective countries. They were demanding the independence of their nations for instance, in Africa. Through the series of fights and anatomisations, the issue of recognised refugee first raised it head in Africa and has remained in uprising since independent of all the African Nations. This was as a result of the power struggles amongst the nationalist leaders of the respective African Nations. They were fighting amongst themselves and these fights produced civil wars and unrest in all the nook and crannies of Africa on one hand, coupled with insinuations from the colonial master who continued to wield high influence in their former colonies on the other hand. In addition to the aforementioned, was the Cold War between the super powers and the influenced of the cold war deepened and destroyed the African unity and traditions as African countries allied with their respective former colonial masters. The former paying allegiance as a sign of respect with fears and the latter weighing powers over the former for their individualistic sovereign interests. All these activities led to the production and outburst of the uncontrollable refugee problems in Africa and of course in other parts of the world. But what did African leaders and governments do? They carried feasibility studies on the causes and roots of refugees in African and thereafter made an international attempt to look for ways and means and to draw international attention to the catastrophically and distorting images of refugee on their continent and we learnt that:

“Many observers credit the 1967 conference on the Legal, Economic, and Social Aspects of the African Refugee Problems, which was convened in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, the Organization for African Unity (OAU, now the African Union or AU), the UNHCR, and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, with providing the first big step towards an integrated approach to refugee assistance. The desire to link refugee assistance to the development needs of the host country was implicit in the final recommendation, which called for a zonal development approach based on the sharing of responsibility by host governments, UNHCR, UNPD, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)”³⁹⁴

Years after the first attempt was carried out, it was no longer bearable to discover that the efforts made were not forthcoming in terms of its expectations not only the Africans themselves but also from other stakeholders and partners to the first attempt. It is on this note that African leaders and government after some years of efforts to suppress the presence of refugees in the continents and through their mind search came to the conclusion

³⁹³TEHRANIAN Majid, “Globalization Texts, Concepts and Terms”, University of Hawaii, compiled by Fred W. Riggs, May 13, 1998.

³⁹⁴<http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/alldocuments>

once again that the fight against refugees' maniacs across the Continent of Africa cannot be handled alone by them, if the problem is to be quenched.

It is therefore, on this ground that the first and the second International Conference on Refugee in Africa (ICARA 1 & 11) were called amongst other things:

"The first International Conference on Refugees in Africa (ICARAI) was eventually convened in 1981 by UNHCR, the UN Economic Commission for Africa, and the OAU Committee of Fifteen on Refugees. But only with ICARA II in 1984 were integrationist projects given something of a new boost."³⁹⁵

Scholars, contemporary writers and observers in international politics and diplomacy exchanged views on the assertions for staging ICARA 1. These agitations led to some heated argument as it is recorded and confirmed by another scholar *Alexander Betts*. In his work, he made us to understand the main reasons behind the calling of ICARA 1 by the initiators. According to his surveys:

"ICARA I was therefore, to a large extent, an African-led initiative in which the relatively newly independent African states came to the international community in a spirit of Pan-Africanism to call for new burden-sharing. The conference, held 9-10 April 1981, had three stated objectives: 1) to "focus attention on the plight of refugees in Africa"; 2) to "mobilize additional resources to assist both refugees and returnees"; 3) to "aid countries of asylum in bearing the burden imposed upon them by the large number of refugees".²⁷ Its focus was therefore largely on burden-sharing and it was primarily a pledging conference, setting out few ideas, principles or guidelines. Funding commitments were also relatively short-term in focus. Bearing in mind the neglect of increasingly protracted rural and border settlements, much of the focus was on meeting basic needs such as food provision."³⁹⁶

Be that as it may, I have treated how the idea came up and why? And as I continue to develop this section, other reason for instance, when was the conferences stated, and were they were staged? Will be unfolding. This section will usher in some interesting issues that were discussed and debated upon during the conferences and even thereafter. We shall also be privileged to read the '*pros and coos*' and the question on failures and successes of the two conferences will be touched.

The endless quest to search for durable solution to refugee problematic and the unbearable burden on the host countries and the international community as well as the failure of the ICARA1 gave birth to the second attempt by the African governments. In collaboration with UNHCR to stage ICARA11 (International Conference on Assistance to Refugee in Africa two). To buttress on the reasons and aims of calling for a second conference with the purpose of searching for during solutions to curb Africa of the refugee maniacs, two instances called for my attention thus:

³⁹⁵ Ibid

³⁹⁶ BETTS Alexander: Op. cit. www.unhcr.org

"ICARA II was called for partly because ICARA I had not raised enough funds for infrastructure projects (Kibreab 1991). Its purposes were defined as threefold: (1) to thoroughly review the results of ICARA I; (2) to consider providing additional international assistance to refugees and returnees in Africa for relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement; and (3) to consider the impact imposed upon the national economies of the concerned countries and to provide assistance to strengthen their social and economic infrastructure to cope with the burden of refugees and returnees."³⁹⁷

While *Agnes` Callamard* in her analysis told us that:

"One of the most important events in refugee assistance and development was the second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II), which convened in Geneva in 1984 and considered - the continuing need for assistance with a view to providing, as necessary, additional assistance to refugees and returnees in Africa..., the impact imposed on the national economies of the African countries and to provide them with the assistance required to strengthen their social and economic infrastructure so as to enable them to cope with the burden of dealing with large numbers of refugees and returnees."³⁹⁸

In addition to the several issues deliberated upon she also summarised the topics thus:

"During the conference, strategies were devised that aimed to (a) "free refugees from dependence on relief" (through self-help activities, food production, participation in local activities to improve economic and social infrastructure, training projects); (b) implement (in addition to the country's ongoing development programs) development-oriented projects that would generate long-term employment for refugees and local people? The concept of RAD is therefore based on reformulating the design and implementation of refugee assistance so that it encompasses development and provides uprooted populations with durable solutions. With regard to refugee women, the question is whether it benefited them."³⁹⁹

This work is therefore to look into the ICARA 11 and diffuse how it handled the issue of gender amongst other issues. It will further look into other areas like how refugee could best be freed from dependence on relief or assistance aid. It will also touch other areas like development programmes and long-term refugee employment in the host countries. Meanwhile, during the conference the issues concerning gender as it affected the women were summarised below:

"The funds devoted to RAD projects for refugee women remain small in comparison with "broader" **RAD** projects such as PRODERE or the Pakistan project. Assistance to refugee women is therefore perceived as necessitating relatively modest capital investment. While it might be true that the immediate goals of such projects (improving health, nutrition, etc.) can be achieved with small capital, it also shows that the issue of refugee women remains peripheral to the funding process and to the interests of donor countries.

Policy documents make a claim for refugee women on the basis of their needs and vulnerability (such as sexual and physical abuse, sexual discrimination in the delivery of goods and services).^{1°} Projects for refugee women aim to provide solutions to this vulnerability, but the matter is addressed in isolation

³⁹⁷ <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/alldocuments>

³⁹⁸ CALLAMARD Agnes`: Op. cit. p. 18

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

from its root causes and from the specific problems facing refugee men, such as their inactivity, loss of status, etc.

RAD projects for refugee women are often limited to domestic activities, such as nursing, caring, feeding, etc. (training midwives, for example), or to activities that will benefit the settlement as a whole, such as energy-saving techniques

Projects for refugee women encompass all aspects of reproduction in that they facilitate childbearing activities (through the training of birth attendants) and ease the household workload of women (by providing water facilities, for example).

There are very few income generating projects specifically for refugee women as was presented and discussed during the conference. In the case of income-generating projects, it is evident that positive discrimination is necessary to ensure that refugee women's interests are addressed.

To borrow from Deniz Kandiyotifs assessment on assistance to rural women, RAD assistance to refugee women and broader RAD projects and policies seem to come from different sources. The former still uses the language of "basic needs" and "self-reliance," whereas the latter distinguish themselves by a strong market orientation.

Experience gathered during the conference (ICARA I1 principles for action), it looks as if refugee women ought to "free the refugee population from dependence on relief," while refugee men ought to be engaged in development projects. Given these characteristics, the main question is whether projects for refugee women strengthen or weaken the position of women *visa-a-vis* refugee men, local authorities and the state of asylum, and whether the focuses on essentially domestic activities emphasize refugee women's vulnerability and subordination.⁴⁰⁰

Pursuant to the summarised as above, we learnt that:

"Studies on women in development have shown a positive relationship between women reproductive works and women subordination. Lourdes Beneria has argued that subordination and domination between the sexes is rooted in child-bearing, cooking, cleaning and other domestic responsibilities. She indeed demonstrates that women's biological function has been the basis for their domestic labour and concentration on household work, which, along with the structures of production, explain their marginal status and participation in non-domestic activities and ultimately their subordination."

While, I agree to some leverage with the above citation, it is my opinion that efforts should be made to empower every woman especial those that are interested, able and capable to undertake more strenuous and high positioned and challenging responsibilities.

It is quite unfortunate that refugees' self- sufficiency and economic integration especially amongst women gender in host countries in development areas have not been noticed unlike their men counters in the past years. Despite that, literature has revealed that women have been so helpful in household. Interview I conducted shortly before the beginning of this work with NGOs who were engaged in field work in Tanzania and also in Kenya confirmed that gender is only one determining factor in the successful reconstruction of the refugee household and not considered in higher responsibilities like in administration and management of the camps, instead men dominate these positions.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

The unprecedented marginalisation of women despite the fact that they are the most vulnerable in time of war or social unrest, followed by children cannot be over emphasised. These group of refugees have been targeted and subjected to harassment, social abuse like forced sexual intercourse, molestations and beaten amongst other inhuman treatments ever. The extremity of the danger of exposures women gender in the period of unrest undergoes were also documented by *Force Migration Online*:

“When evaluating the broader social and economic effects of assistance patterns on refugees, long-standing concerns with "dependency" have since the 1990s been joined by the realization of the considerable implications that modes of assistance have for refugee women and children. These issues have moved to the forefront at least partially because, as noted above, a larger proportion of assisted refugees tend to be women and children (Crisp 2002) and because increasing attention to their conditions has revealed a number of glaring cases of abuse and exploitation in camp settings. The public discovery of widespread sexual exploitation in the refugee assistance programme in Guinea had the dubious honor of pushing these issues to the fore, and similar cases have been documented in Tanzania and elsewhere. While there is ample evidence that the incidence of sexual and gender-based violence is not confined to camps – a study on the situation of refugees in Congo Brazzaville in 1999 noted 1,600 cases of rape reported between May and December 1999 from the hospitals of Brazzaville, highlighting "the high prevalence of sexual violence directed against women and girls during migration" (Legros and Brown 2001) – the perversity of a system of protection that undermines its very ambition has caused much debate within policy circles.”⁴⁰¹

Watching the above citation, one is left with the ultimate question of what can be done. If something has already taken place in this regards, the question is, how it is done and or could it be better done than earlier? And or who is responsible to making changing policies that will favour gender gap? Well, to my mind, we, the masses can do something through public gender-gap opinion. Through this, policy makers will be provided with some far reaching agenda that will force them to consider closing the gender- gap where it exist. As far as there are materials to do so (capable female to take up the positions), effort should be made to address such. The media has much more role to play here, by sensitising the public and spreading the public opinion far and wide so that it will reach to all corners doors and land on the desk of the decision making bodies. This should not only be at the national, regional but also to the international and world bodies.

Having noticed that, I was of the opinion that women refugees are marginalised in key leading positions, which the aid worker absolutely confirmed. A scholar of contemporary writer in her article shares to a large extent this mind search and said that:

⁴⁰¹<http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/alldocuments>

“Whether or not African refugee women have access to development projects outside the settlements might not be as crucial a factor as whether or not refugee women participate in the administration of the settlement as equal partners with refugee men, local residents and officials. The study of the functions of refugee women, and of the projects aiming to address their "vulnerability," should be integrated within the broader analysis of the African civil society- and state-making process, and especially of the role of rural communities in fostering or preventing this process..⁴⁰²

It is therefore very crucial to address the issue of marginalisation of women worldwide especially in Africa or developing nations. Commenting on African women and their situations, traditional role of women are still very dominant in the towns and villages of the countries. The society is dominated by the men’s world and power struggle. But in the period of Globalisation, in the 21st century, we have seen some kind of evolution on emancipation of African women. In the primary and secondary schools, even up to university level the gender dominance from men has become the story of the past. Women are marching forward and with time, women will have similar or equal leverage with their men counterpart. As good governance, respect for human rights, accountability of public offices and performances and respect for equality are gradually capturing the mainstream of African political field. Things are changing for better and in favour of women gender.

Nonetheless, let me add that refugee assistance and development projects especially in Africa involving refugee women, to my understanding has failed. It could not translate the possibility offered to them because of ignorance of the political dimension of their engagement and the community constellation, where they live especially, with reference to power structure amongst the two genders. Men have been too dominant.

From the other aspect of evaluation, the refugee assistance provided for refugee women has given them moderate coverage and helped them to carry out some of those essential roles of womanhood from the natural creation of women aspect, down to the traditional dimensions of the role of women. By this, I mean the role of securing and insuring the existence and reproduction of the community. Even though these have served as hindrances and against their chances of gainful position in the administrative and leadership ladder in the refugees’ community. However, we should not forget that the worst and hardest task of administration and leadership coaching, falls into women gender circle. By this I mean, *‘Bearing and Raising up Kids’* and there is nothing more valued as these in any community that transpires to survive and hold its demography stable. Despite that, we have come across in some settlements where there are creation of some sort of women Organisations that are being led by women, thereby exposing them to leadership and political career preparations. They also

⁴⁰²CALLAMARD Agnes’: Op. cit. p.20

engage in some Entrepreneurship activities to earn a living and support their respective household in the settlement. For example:

“Taking advantages of their mobility, women also became involve in livestock trade, travelling in small groups to other villages and encampments to buy sheep and goats for resale. [...] Somalia women slowly expanded their range of activities, which now includes pretty trading in the nomadic areas, where they sell sugar, salt, grains and son on”⁴⁰³

Despite this analysis and prove, I am of the mind that the world have not deployed and made good use of women talents, professions and expertise and as such, more should be encourage for active participation in the public affairs. Especially where peace and matters of great women importance are required. We have seen in many TV debates or even in the national parliaments of nation states from north to south and from east to west that women have been marginalised. The numerical number of participants and or discussants of men are always almost more than that of their female counterparts. I therefore urge that this should be changed and the northern donors should show good examples in their respective countries so that the southern receivers will emulate them. This could also be presented to the southern receivers as one of the *conditionalities* for the development assistance and or aid. Look at this what the author said:

“With the exception of a Palestinian woman representative in the current Middle East peace talks, female figures are noticeably absent from current attempts to reach cease-fire agreements, provide assistance to displaced persons and organize repatriations. In international politics, mediators and conflict makers are male.”⁴⁰⁴

Going by this assertion, one could see why international diplomacy in problem solving has eluded the world in the recent years. The recent cease fire conference last week, in the first quarter of this year 2014 in Geneva on Syria after over three years is one good example, how men dominated world politics has not been the best. The warring parties and the international community failed to arrive to acceptable resolutions to seal a cease fire pact. That would have eventually led to the end of the Syrian civil war of Assad led government and the opposition groups. I therefore suggest as alternative, the involvement of female gender in such high level diplomatic constellations. There is no gain saying that because of the natural role and gift to women like childbearing and their traditional home and as domestic managers, they respond to dispute better and offers even long lasting and acceptable alternatives. This also reminds us that while the western nations accused developing world of not respecting and not working hard enough towards gender gap reduction, they also more often than not failed to lead by example. Another strong argument

⁴⁰³SORENSEN Brigitte: Women and Post- Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development; Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies; Geneva, June 1998, P.31 Occasional Paper No.3

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. p.21

for more women participation is that women and children make up about two third ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the most affected refugee group everywhere in the region. They are the most vulnerable and most traumatised. That means, they would be in position to understand the danger of unrest or dispute of any kind.

It is therefore, my belief that since women and children are always more in number, common sense will accept that more women should be required to manage the settlement and involve in the resettlement process. There is no acceptable argument to convince me that when it comes to matters that are absolutely gender issues and privacy especially in terms of confiding issues that relate to women affairs. It is expected that women will always entrust their follow women. And since they are more in number, it is to be assumed that such situation will often come up. They will cooperate within themselves because it is women gender issues, and easily strike agreement. In addition, when it comes to children, it is always the women that takes responsibility and cares for the wellbeing of the children. Even though men provide fund.

Despite the tremendous efforts made to step up efforts with ICARA 11 with reference to ICARA 1, and boast the last attempt to raised large amount of fund most widely need for the eradication of refugee problems and its challenges in the Horn of Africa. The organisers regretted that it failed to deliver the purpose for which it was called for. The UNHCR was left with doubt if she can get control and handle African refugee problematic, while African government were most disappointed that the western nations especially the northern donors have blatantly refused to make more donations to support the aims and objectives of the conference. This is because they felt that their individualistic interests were not secured. Dichotomies were registered in difference quarters, each accusing the other for the failure of the conference. This failure was attributed and recorded by some literatures and contemporary writers as follow:

“ICARA II stands as the last large and visible attempt to organize concerted action for RAA. Among the reasons for its failure, Kibreab notes the actors' divergent interpretations of the ultimate aim of developmental refugee assistance and a failure to guarantee the principle of additionality ("additionality" refers to the idea that any investment in RAD should be supplementary instead of substituting for development aid) as guidelines for pledges made for ICARA II projects. Furthermore, divisions and rivalries among the assistance agencies, NGOs, and host-government departments, as well as a failure to set out a framework for their co-ordination, played a role (Kibreab 1991). Gorman also points out that great famine in sub-Saharan Africa converged to focus donor and media attention on emergency relief”⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵<http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/alldocuments>

After the review of the two conferences (ICARA 1 and 11), I discovered that there are lots of missing links, which the conference participants could not agree upon and that was the reasons for the total failure. Analysing these missing links, I came to conclusion that, the refugee regime has been characterised by '*collective action failure*'. Even though it was argued that refugee protection constitute and remains an issue of global concern. I discovered that the northern players in the conference were not ready for the collective burden-sharing. For instance, there were many areas where conferences could not make any break through including raising enough fund for the planned projects thus:

“When the conference met in July 1984, it aimed to raise \$392m to meet 128 aid schemes in the 14 African states over a period of three years and the Chair, Leo Tindemans, proclaimed the event a success. However, the ultimate consensus is that ICARA II was a failure. Loescher, for example, writes that “ICARA II was no more successful than ICARA I”. Indeed, in the aftermath of the conference, the Unit failed to attract the requested \$392m to meet the schemes’ needs. Donor expressions of commitment at the conference were contingent upon ensuing feasibility studies. The cause of failure was primarily a north-south polarisation in expectations and interests, and a lack of commitment on the part of both donors and recipient states. [----] Stein suggests that there was a north-south division in the understanding of the purpose of the conference. While the African states wished to focus on burden-sharing, the donor states wished to focus on the durable solutions focus reflected by the conference theme, ‘A Time for Solutions’. He suggests that while donors did not reject the notion of expanded burden-sharing *per se*, an increased economic commitment needed to be directly linked to expanded access to durable solutions other than voluntary repatriation. In other words, they wanted ‘results’ rather than “an open-ended claim on their resources”.⁵ It is in part for this reason that the donor response was less than overwhelming. Most donors had regarded ICARA I as a major commitment and were highly suspicious of African motives for convening a second conference.⁵⁹ This also made achieving concrete partnerships with development agencies extremely difficult. With few new resources forthcoming and host states concerned about diversion, ‘additionality’ became a stumbling block for the engagement of development partners. For example, despite UNDP’s active involvement in negotiation, their representative, Orlando Olcese, made clear that the organisation could not commit additional resources, stating, “Present UNDP resources do not allow for any additionality. Host governments are not willing to allow use of present UNDP resources for refugees”⁴⁰⁶

The diversities in their respective positions of argument were very dominant as it was eminent in their positions having, claimed that the majority of the world’s refugees comes from developing countries and especially from Africa. They see it as the responsibility of the southern receivers to cater and to bear full responsibility. They exhibited actions and reactions of not being ready to carry any burden-sharing responsibility on one side, and the African countries have no bargaining power to bring their northern counterparts on board without *conditionality politics of the North*, when it comes to development aid and assistance. Unfortunately, there was no clear definition of the positions on burden-sharing between the northern donors and the southern receivers, which was the central issue of the conference participant apart from rhetoric statements. And since there was no clarity, there was also no

⁴⁰⁶BETTS Alexander: Op. cit.

solid framework and UNHCR was left alone for its initiatives without solutions. In relation to this, I discovered that:

“The second ICARA held in July 1984 in Geneva concentrated on projects related to the presence of refugees in the country of asylum also failed. It failed because the concept of the linking refugee aid to increased development co-operation was relatively new and has not yet been accepted by the donor community.”⁴⁰⁷

This led UNHCR to tackle the issues raised during ICARA conference, looking for some other linkages and assistance on durable solution for refugee protection, which the conference failed to establish in order to attract more or extra development assistance to the benefit of citizens of the hosting countries in Africa. Conference on ICARA11, which is also known as convention plus was a big disappointment not only for Africa, but also for the UNHCR, because of the linkages that were not forthcoming from the northern counterparts. It is to be mentioned that the European Countries were not interested in issues of African concern. The political will coupled with diversified interests were the major hindrances.

Meanwhile, ICARA11 was also categorised as a failure because, it failed to promote successful cooperation between the north and the south in the collective burden-sharing and betterment of the lives of refugees towards durable and sustainable solutions. The international institutions could not respond because of diversified interests in the world community. *Adebayo Peter* in his analysis attributed the failure and said:

“This is despite the fact that the first and second ICARA conference on Assistance to refugees in Africa, which were held in 1981 and 1984 respectively in Geneva, were totally failures in terms of raising substantial fund for Africa refugees. The first conference was conceived as an exercise to finance UNHCR projects whereas what African leaders needed were additional resources for the development of their Infrastructures.”⁴⁰⁸

For instance, in the case of ICARA 1, the issue of refugee protection was largely addressed in isolation from other issue-areas and few linkages were made. There were claims by northern donors, the international community and even stakeholders in the deal that there was little awareness created towards the preparation before it was staged. As a result of that, participants were skeptical on the whole issue, especially on the real aim of the conference and therefore were not keen enough to give it befitting support. Based on this, contemporary scholars and even the African organisers themselves agreed that there was not enough lasting legacy when one speaks on the conference. It therefore, turned out to a big

⁴⁰⁷ ADEBAYO Peter F. Op. cit. p.588

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

disappointment to many African nations, especially the government and leaders in East Africa and by extension to the donors who could not identify themselves fully with the conference.

The limited additional financial contributions made in relation to refugees in the Horn of Africa and Southern Africa, however, were based on the US's linked interest in supporting certain groups in exile in the context of the proxy conflicts of the Cold War, while in *ICARA11 - Convention Plus*, linkages were explicitly recognised by UNHCR as a means to facilitate North-South agreement on a framework for global burden-sharing. Despite all said and done, comparing the two conferences (ICARA 1 and 11), one will figure out that, while ICARA 1 was mainly on Africa and also on Convention Plus which tends to focus on multilateral process in the global world. ICARA11 was meant to treat the issue of lasting, sustainable and durable solution: This is what the conference proclaimed could only be arrived at if, there is enough understanding and improvement on burden-sharing ideological position of the southern receivers who are mainly countries in Africa, that serves as hosts to refugees and asylum seekers.

ICARA 11 in addition, tried to handle the matter of promoting and encouraging local integration as one of the best means or alternatives in searching sustainable solutions. Much effort was developed and discussed on how the capacities of the host countries could be protected and strengthened. However, in reality, there were few successful linkages.

To this end we learnt that:

“Although limited fund were realize in the first ICARA in 1981, nevertheless it succeeded in broadening world attention beyond the horrific plight of the indoctrinate “boat people”⁴⁰⁹

Let me again present other clarifications on the two conferences because, it is very important to note that despite all the debates, whether the conferences brought anything or not, the bottom line is that the organisers of the conferences had aims and targets to get and to reach and in some dimensions these were also achieved. For instance:

“ICARA II was seen by donor states as needing to be, in the words of the Austrian Ambassador, more of a “think tank” than a “pledging conference”. The second conference benefited from far greater planning time than its predecessor, with Mr. Jessen-Petersen being appointed the Head on an ICARA Unit, which coordinated the Steering Committee and Technical Teams from 1983. He noted that the need for the second conference was the failure of the first in terms of capacity building: “It fell short of meeting the expectations of the African Governments for support towards strengthening their institutional capacity to receive refugees...Hence, resolution 37/197 calling for the convening of ICARA II”. The objectives of the conference were set-out as to: 1) “thoroughly review the results of ICARA I and the state of progress of projects submitted to it” ;) “consider the continuing need for assistance with a view to providing, as necessary, additional assistance to

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

refugees/returnees in Africa for the implementation of programmes for their relief, rehabilitation and resettlement"; 3) "consider the impact imposed on national economies of the African countries concerned and to provide them with required assistance to strengthen their social and economic infrastructure to cope with the burden of dealing with large numbers of refugees and returnees". The central theme was "Time for Solutions", which the High Commissioner explained represented "a joint responsibility for all participants...I am thinking particularly of the relationship between relief and development aid, and the primacy of durable solutions". This reflected the 1983 ExCom resolution on durable solutions which "recognized the importance and timeliness of ICARA II in connection with the pursuit of durable solutions to refugee problems in Africa"⁴¹⁰

Again, primacy of durable solution is not a lasting and sustainable solution to remedy any issue, problem or sickness. What are required are secondary durable solutions, which implies uprooting the push factors of the causes of refugee. When doing this, it will entail stepping on the toes and affecting the interests of some of the stakeholders. In either way, that is one of the most durable and sustainable solution that will work. Applying what *Mr. Jessen-Petersen*, the head of the ICARRA Unit which is '*primacy of durable solution*' in his comment for the need of ICARA 11, is exactly like where a medical doctor is giving a Malaria fever patient tablets meant for the treatment of pneumonia. The patient will never be treated and just a question of time, the patient will die. That is to say categorically that, if the western world do not want Africa to die, the right tablets should not only be provided for her but should be given to her.

But let us shift our attention to the linkages behind Western Nations and the options that led to a Northern commitment to support greater protection in the South. These were on the basis of European States' concerns with migration and security. The desire to promote refugee protection as a means to limit the onward movement of asylum seekers from the South. The use of linkages has therefore, been a significant factor in determining the extent to which burden-sharing has taken place. To enhance refugee protection in refugees' regions of countries of origin. However, Europe must understand that if there is continuous lack of adequate burden-sharing measures, the influx of refugees and asylum seekers from Africa especially from the Great Lake will continue to present and paint Europe as enemy and unreliable partner to Africa.

As a result of its interest in Cold War, the United States of America contributed during the ICARA1 because of its influence in Africa on the basis of Cold War and its selective interest in the countries East of Africa. The only basis for the linkages that underpinned the highly selective contributions of the US were based on its Cold War identity, with the US contributing selectively to ICARA on the basis of its concern with specific proxy conflicts in the Horn of Africa and Southern Africa. Base on this, we can conclude that, since the end of

⁴¹⁰BETTS Alexander: Op. cit.

cold war, the situation of refugees in Africa especially in the Horn of Africa has deteriorated and will continue to deteriorate.

The two attempts for African leaders and governments to engage the international community to everlasting solutions to refugee problems in African Continent remains an illusion as international community turned its back on Africa. This situation has forced some writers to conclude that the solution for African refugees will not be found. But apart from that, are there other lessons learnt from the conferences? The answer is yes. Few of these lessons could be summarised as follows. (1) With the organisation of the two conferences, African leaders and governments must have realised that, they need to team up and work together in order to bring to a stop, those factors that cause and lead to refugee outbursts. (2) It opened their eyes to know who is who when it comes to serious assistance needed to bring to an end very important issues affecting their continent and must have given them the opportunity for a rethink. (3) It also made them to know who is really a friend in need and not just in pretext and finally, (4) that African problem lies in the hands of Africa to solve. In continuation, let me share with readers another success of the conferences according to my findings that:

“Despite the failure of ICARA 11 useful lessons could be drawn from it. It categorically noticed that an end to the African refugee problem will come only if the international community at large and the African governments in particular address themselves to its root causes.”⁴¹¹

That notwithstanding, *Alexander Betts* in his analysis and evaluation of the two conferences on the attempts to finding durable solutions to refugee problems in Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa shared his opinion and said:

“Tanzania was deployed as ICARA II’s success model for its achievements in promoting self-sufficiency. In other words, ICARA had just about all of the elements and language of the current TDA debate (at least in terms of the elements that deal with host states).”⁴¹²

Going by the last aforementioned citation, it is to be assumed that some hopes do exist to finding the eluded solutions on African refugee problematic. At least the former quotation threw light on the discourse and made everyone to understand that if the problem is to be solved, *all hands must be on deck*. The problem must be collectively tackled by the northern donors and the southern receivers and that the international community through the power of the Security Council, the UN and its agencies like the UNHCR, the UNDF, the ILO and the UNESCO down to the thousands of NGOs and humanitarian organisations. The latter

⁴¹¹ADEBAYO Peter F. Op. cit. p.589

⁴¹²BETTS Alexander: Op. cit.

citation, presented Tanzania, as one of the host nations in East Africa, as a *case study* and model where with the help of ICARA11 success was established.

Finally, it will be pertinent to point out that though ICARA 1 and 11 failed and left little legacy from the high expectations put on them. They opened a discourse and exposed the competitive interest between northern donors and southern receivers. The aftermath of the conferences go further to suggest that there is urgent need to strike a deal or better, to reach a middle point of agreement on the best move to resolve the stagnation and lift the deadlock if the durability of a solution to the refugee problem is to be realised. There is the need that both donors and receivers make some changes in their demands, responds and considerations without delay. They need to do that, realising that human beings are at stake in the discussion and that these persons could not be hold at ransom for being refugees because, no one wants to be addressed or be treated as refugee.

16.4. New Alternative Approaches to Problem of Refugees

From the history of mankind, the quest for alternatives comes into play almost and always when an existing norm of a society (*in this case the solutions being applied for resolving refugee problems*) can no longer serve the purpose for which, it is provided. When this happens, the natural human instinct, urge and desire to improve for the benefits of itself steps in. As a result, others things take control and the quest for alternative becomes a challenge to human being. This is the situation here. The world has discovered at the moment that discussion on the complexities with refugees around the universe has gone out of control. The general effects as a result of burden-sharing has deeply affected the whole world. These burden ranges from social, cultural and religious, while others extend to economic and political challenges.

That is to say that the search for alternative and durable approaches has been challenging as it is useful if durable and sustainable solutions to refugee problems could found. Scholars and social scientists, likewise students and professors of international politics and diplomats in the day to day engagements with international diplomacy have been making tremendous search to get it better over the last five decades. All these efforts have been invested in this discipline with little or no positive balance. If judged by the volume of funding provided and invested in this area, it is alarming and at the same time discouraging. Despite that, one should not fail to commend the United Nations and it agencies, like World Food Programme

(WFP), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the World Health Organisation (WHO). Others worth commending are, The Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNCHR) as well as the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC), the International Federation of Red Cross Societies (IFRC) and the International Organisation for Migration. Most important one is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and finally, the thousands of non-governmental organisations, ranging up to six hundred and fifty (650,000) thousands or above. All these agencies and world institutions have performed unprecedented work towards alleviating the problem of refugees worldwide, especially in the East African region.

Without minding their roles, one may ask, why is it that after decades of budgeting and spending so much funding that runs in billions of US dollars in combating refugee problems, the fights seem to be dwindling? And despite the hundreds of thousands of NGOs and human materials involve in the fight, no tangible breakthrough has been registered? The answers is simple, even when it may not be understandable for some readers. There are two answers I can offer here. (1) Like we have identified, there is lots of money involved in the business, and (2) it is more or less a lucrative source of making big money by some interest groups.

Nevertheless, existing literatures have not painted them as having found durable alternatives to stop the over-rising challenges facing all the aforementioned agencies to date. While much successes have been recorded. Many unsuccessful results have also been registered in spite of the huge amounts of money involved.

It is on this note, that it becomes imperative that this section of the project is reserved to look deeply beyond the existing results and see to what extent, new impulse and of course alternatives and effective new measures could be discovered. In doing this, I have discovered the existing solutions which authors before now and even the institutions and agencies in this field have confirmed and accepted to be the solution. These are namely local reintegration, resettlement and finally repatriation and reconstruction. Whereby, the issues of forceful and un-forceful repatriation have been a serious issue, being contested by contemporary writers. I also noted in addition that:

"Most recently, High Commissioner Ruud Lubbers revived some of these ideas when talking about the "four Rs" (repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction) in his vision for „UNHCR 2004"⁴¹³

⁴¹³<http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/alldocuments>

Until now, as this work was completed, the world is still battling with the “*four Rs*” which is supposedly to be the vision for “*UNHCR 2004*”. Ten years thereafter, nothing has changed, the situation of refugees continues to worsen contrary to getting better. This is a clear indication that something otherwise must be done. Either to repair the application of the “*four Rs*” and or do a complete experiment. This calls for further research for better alternatives.

Throughout this work till now, we have come across sections and areas where the four identified solutions have been elaborated and discussed. We have also noticed the setbacks and the interwoven with the four norms, especially as there were witnessed and applied in East Africa where this project covers. Therefore, I will not repeat these four norms again but you are referred to those sections above. I will focus and concentrate on looking at what could be best described as sustainability, acceptability and durability (*SAD*) for handling the problem of refugees. I tag it *SAD* because if there will be genuine political will and the players with their stakeholders adopt my alternative approaches, they have to give up their individualistic and collective interests. And when, they do not drop them (giving up), those that would have benefited from it will continue to be sad.

Let me quickly point out that these proposals are my own contributions to eradicate completely refugee problems in the Horn of Africa or at least bring it under manageable control. In addition, these can only work, if the aforementioned international institutions and agencies in-charge for fight against refugees would be honest on one side, and be supported with honesty and truth from the international community on the other side. Whereby these two or three tier bodies fail to do the right thing at the right time, it will fail like every other one before now. It requires open hearts to accept them, the freedom to choose them, and the political will to implement and execute them. Furthermore, it demands the complete cooperation and acceptance from the world ruling body – the United Nations totally and honestly backed up by the Security Council. That is the reason why, I tagged it *SAD* (Sustainability, Acceptability and Durability).

Having enumerated and pledged the supports of all those in charge, from the highest authorities - the Security Council, the Secretary General of the UN down to the UNHCR and by extension to the NGOs and the least aid workers. Let me gradually begin to present, discuss and survey those points or alternatives I feel could make changes if well handled. On the other way, while I analysed these points as I try to buttress the urgent need for its acceptance and implementation. Let me quickly point out that some of the remarks and or suggestions I will make may have been discussed by other scholars. Nonetheless, I will

share with readers my ideological view on them. It may interest readers and scholars of international politics and many others that some of my points and proposals might sound very critical, controversial, maybe irritating for many and anarchistic simply because, I will rather go deep down, than romancing the points with words because, I am of the mind that if really the world wants to put to stop refugee problems, it could have been done well before now.

Discussing alternative approaches, though it has been argued and accepted that voluntary repatriation is a durable solution. Events in East Africa have disclaimed its durability. Persons or refugees are voluntarily repatriated today, within a short period of time sometimes less than six to twelve months another outburst of migration from the group just repatriated will occur. This outburst is more often than not, traced to the same factor that caused the first forced migration. Factors like climate changes and natural catastrophes and or civil unrest that threatens the lives of the people reoccurs again and again. For instance, I discovered that:

“By mid-1983 consideration of the ‘gap’ was emerging in UNHCR’s thinking. In representing the organisation at a Symposium on African Refugees in Tokyo, Mr Chefeke noted that while the “most ideal solution” for refugees was voluntary repatriation, “there are, unfortunately, also situations where voluntary repatriation is most unlikely” and these require “local integration” and “self-sufficiency”⁴¹⁴

Base on this, while local integration and self-sufficiency are welcomed where and when possible. I suggest that the best durable solution and effective approaches should be to place priority on those factors that push the outburst of refugees. That is the root of all the evil that has to do with refugees in whichever form. When these problems are satisfactorily treated, nursed and or carefully prevented, we shall then experience what we term durability. With that I have decided to put to stop this introductory phase of the last part of my work and focus attention on the next important issue that will definitely lead to secured alternative approaches, to solving and or resolving the ailing situation of refugees in Africa. By this I mean, the political stabilities and dividend of good government, which have not been able to secure firm stand on the political dimensions and/or landscapes of African politicking.

16.4.1. Political Stability and Dividend of Good Governance

⁴¹⁴BETTS Alexander: Op. cit.

The United Nations must stop tyrannical and authoritative government not only in East Africa, but also in all the regions in Africa. This includes undemocratic regimes in the continental of Africa. Conflicts are, of course, a threat to food security and it is expected that food security in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, will not increase without the establishment of political stability. It is now widely accepted that economic success depends on considerable measure on the quality of governance a country enjoys. Good governance comprises the rule of law, effective state institutions, transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs, respect for human rights, and the participation of all citizens in the decisions that affect their lives. Certain practices clearly do not constitute good governance by any definition or ramification. The establishment for this position could be backed up with an extract taken from an interview *Mag. Alexis Nshynmimana* conducted in Kenya in the year 1998, during the time *Radio Afrika – Vienna Austria* conducted a field work in the region - the Great Lake of region Africa. The question thrown to one of the numerous NGOs (*The Jesus Refugees Service*) working there to tell the public what can be done to reduce if not to eradicate the new outburst of refugees in Africa? And she has this to say:

“As long as the Government of African do not boost of enough social standard, enough and standard social structures, in addition fair judgement in their dealings with their people and as long as the minorities are discriminated and the different ethnic groups continue to fight one another, it is most likely that the problem of refugees will continue to worsen”⁴¹⁵

Furtherance to the quote, I do agree with the answer. It confirmed my position that authoritative and undemocratic regimes in the region must be removed. To crown it all, if there is going to be a durable solution, this must be done and the United Nations through its security council can do this if they want because they have what it takes to do it. That is to say, that one of the durable solutions is political conditions, which includes, securing political settlement, which is required in order to end insecurity for refugees on their return home and to ensure their physical safety. But the question is, are they ready to do that? I leave the judgement to readers.

That notwithstanding, I took an in-depth look behind the corridors of power and over the curtains of policy makers and wanted more than the above answer. As I posed and conducted another thought on the whole region under study, I simply threw the question, but could the refugee problem in East Africa be completely eradicated? In my efforts to dig deeper in the world of existing literatures, I was going through, I landed on the same

⁴¹⁵ NSHYNMIMANA Alexis: interview conducted in Kenya in the year 1998, during the time *Radio Afrika – Vienna*, Op. cit.

document on the field work operation conducted by Radio Afrika Vienna Austria. I got a bit of a shock when an answer to the question do you think that the problem of refugees can be solved in Africa? Reacting to this one *Mr. Bera* said:

“We believe the problem of refugees will never end as far as the constellation of refugees in the Horn of Africa do not change. And if the Organisations dealing with the problem of refugees think that if and when the problem of refugees are solved they would become jobless, then the whole situation will continue to be messed up. As I took up this job some few years ago, a colleague asked me if I feel that there is working guarantee for me and I replied with the following statement, the worst that can happen to me is that there is peace in the region and all the refugees go home so that we will not have new outburst of refugees. That was in 1991 and since then more than ½ a million refugees have arrived here from Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, and later from Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire. Sometimes we look at the map of Africa and after the study we can say where the next refugee flow would be coming from”⁴¹⁶

Incredible, unbelievable, however, the aim of this section of the work is to present an alternatives to the problem of refugees in the Horn of Africa. As I started this research, I was full of hope that the situation could be controlled and eventually a durable and sustainable long lasting solutions made. Despite the response from one of the NGOs in the region, I am still optimistic that if the problems are not completely eradicated, they can at best be reduced to manageable number.

16.4.2. Stop Corrupt Leaders and Governments to Contest any Elective Position

The United Nations must also stop any corrupt government in Africa especially in the Horn of Africa under study. This could be done by many mechanisms like sanctions and even with legitimate force since New World Order and Globalisation have erased sovereignty of nation states. The issues, the nature of sovereignty and the question of governance as two necessary dimensions of globalisation in relation to the Africa refugee crisis must, be examined. In connection to this assertion we learnt that:

“Sovereignty is no longer a legal absolute. Instead, it is been chipped away by growing number of laws, creating treaties that limit actions of pervasive impunity of states within the global context”⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ ESENE *Matthias*: Globalization, The Obama Phenomenon and Africa Refugee Crisis; Published at <http://ezinearticles.com/?Globalization,-The-Obama-Phenomenon-And-Africa-Refugee-Crisis&id=5917705>

Going by the above citation, to a very large extent, there are no more grounds why the United Nations cannot wage the forces of the tyrannical and undemocratic governments in Africa region and curb *once and for all* these maniacs that are making human beings look and be treated like animals. If this is or was possible in Iraq under *Saddam Hussein* and also possible with old Yugoslavia under *Slobodan Milosevic*, why should it not be possible in Africa? Readers can agree with me that the principle of *"Divide and Rule"* is being applied when it comes to African issues. One may argue that there is no existing treat to the international community or to the superpowers from this continent as were established with the case of *Saddam Hussein* or *Slobodan Milosevic*. Therefore, there is no danger on one hand. On the other hand, one may present the feeling that the respective national interests of the superpowers are not endangered as a result, it does not interest any one to act or react. If we have to judge from the last two positions, then one should ask, why do the world need globalisation or also the introduction of the new world order? Despite whichever pose from any school of thought, I maintain the view that Africa is part of the world and that what is good for *"the geese is also good for the gander"*

16.4.3. Ban Super Powers/Nations from Arm Deals with African Governments

Pursuant to the immediate, United Nations must ban the superpowers from *'arm deals and struggles'* with African Leaders, Heads of States and Governments. It should be clearly recorded here that, there is nowhere in Africa where weapons of any kind is manufactured and produced. All weapons and Arms production are in western countries and Arms deals are mainly the exclusive rights of the superpowers. If the United Nations fails to do this, one wonders how the war and arm conflicts in Africa will stop, bearing in mind that these two scenarios contributes to fifty percent (50%) to factors of migration and explosion of refugees in the Horn of Africa and in Africa in general. When this is done, they corrupt leaders will and cannot fight with their hands. To buttress the call to ban world powers from arm deals we were informed thus:

"The US and USSR gave political and military support to the various African independence movements in a bid to exert influence. The most direct means of exerting influence was through assistance to refugee populations, which contributed to the establishment of semi-permanent settlements across the continent. Superpower engagement became much more following the withdrawal of the Portuguese from their colonies in the mid- 1970s and the escalation of conflict in the Horn of Africa. By the end of the 1970s, through to the mid-1980s, the renewal of East– West tensions, superpower rivalry and external manipulation of civil conflicts resulted in massive refugee flows. The superpowers played an

important role in conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and the Horn of Africa – either by proxy in an attempt to bolster regional allies, or by expanding regional and ethnic conflicts into ‘internationalised’ civil wars. Moscow and Washington backed either established regimes in the countries of origin or, more typically, exiled fighters seeking to overthrow those regimes. Superpower engagement accelerated local arms races and prolonged the conflicts, dramatically increasing the number of refugees in Africa, which rose to over 4m by 1980. These refugee communities became entrenched for political purposes, as their camps and settlements benefited from significant material assistance intended to support one or another faction in the conflict”⁴¹⁸

Having said that, if other scholars argue that this proposal may not be in the interest of the United Nations and or that the Security Council of the United Nations will not support it, then it goes beyond to prove right, that the notion of many other contemporary writers and political scientists that the idea of the “*New World Order and Globalisation*” are nothing more than the elongation of imperialism.

16.4.4. Preventive Measures against Commitment of Genocide in Africa

As a follow up to the immediate subsection is the issue of genocide. One should first ask himself how genocide does begin. When one tries to answer the question, a lot of possible answers will crop up. Issues like absence of good governance, tyrannical and corrupt leadership and dealing in Arms Transactions will come up. Others factors like ethnic diversities, power struggles and domination and control of source of economic earnings of the country play to some extent undeserving roles. The instances could be drawn from Rwanda and Darfur in Sudan in East Africa. These two issues are very well in the memory of contemporary writers and scholars of International political diplomacy. On the other side, the Biafra genocide committed by the Nigerian Federal Military Troup against the attempted secession of the Biafra’s from South East of the country in 1967- 1970 civil war in Nigeria has been left unattended by UN and the international community up till date. May be there is now the need that the United Nations should setup a commission to look into that case. But what is genocide and how is genocide defined? The United Nations define genocide as:

"any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:(a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸LOESCHER Gil & MILNER James: Op. cit. p. 156

⁴¹⁹<http://www.countercurrents.org/janson291113.htm>

This definition since its existence has been recognised and adopted by more the 142 nation-states of the United Nations. There should be a need to put any African leader or government who committed such barbaric actions or attempts or even attempt to commit such under severe UN trial and punished as well. In almost all the civil wars and unrest both during the fight against colonialism and thereafter, have got something that relates and indicates the operations and practices of genocide.

To demonstrate the magnitude and consequences of such inhuman exercise called genocide. Twenty (20) years after the incident in Rwanda, the wound has not been healed especially as the country continue to point at their colonial conqueror France. During a recent commemoration of the sad incident, the president of Rwanda has this to say:

“Rwandan President Paul Kagame took a thinly-veiled swipe at France today, saying it was impossible to “change the facts” about the genocide 20 years ago. The passage of time should not obscure the facts, lessen the responsibility, or turn victims into villains,” he said in a speech during commemorations marking the 20th anniversary of the genocide”⁴²⁰

It did not end there, the officials of the government of France including the Ambassador of France to Rwanda and the Foreign Minister were barred and refused entry into the national Stadium where the commemoration and remembrance event took place:

“Earlier today, France ambassador to Rwanda said he has been barred from attending events marking the 20th anniversary of the genocide, amid a major diplomatic row surrounding France’s controversial role in the events of 1994. Yesterday night the Rwandan foreign ministry telephoned to inform me that I was no longer accredited for the ceremonies,” the French ambassador, Michel Flesch said”⁴²¹

It will be recalled that Hutu nationalist government was in charge of government in Rwanda prior to the 1994 killings and murder of 800,000 ethnic Tutsi. France was accused of participation in the rampage and to have supported the nationalist government in power as at then, even though France has denied this accusation up till date. One of the lessons that could be drawn from this diplomatic row and from such an incident, is the aftermath of it. There is no gain saying that this particular incident will hold the two countries at *arm’s length* for many years to come. It is to be registered here that the other world powers Britain, USA, China and Russia including the United Nations of America were accused for sleeping over the incident. This accusation was registered because they could not do anything but stayed aside and quietly allowed the greatest human molestation and abuse of the 20th century took place.

That implies that genocide has contributed at least up to thirty percent (30%), to influx and out-flux of refugees in the region under focus. Either internally displaced or across the

⁴²⁰ <http://nigeriacamera.net/rwanda-president-hits-out-at-france-during-genocide-commemorations/>

⁴²¹ Ibid.

borderlines of the neighbouring nations, and subsequently to transcontinental levels. If the commitment and prevention of genocide can be regulated and eventually eradicated, problem of refugees will go down even when it may not stop entirely because of other factors. Supporting this argument, we were informed that:

"From April through June of 1994, at least 800,000 people were slaughtered in Rwanda, in what one commentator called "the most efficient mass killing since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," a genocide that proceeded at three times the rate of the Holocaust (Gourevitch 1998, p. 3). During the slaughter, another "first" in modern history was witnessed: On April 28, more than 200,000 Rwandans crossed into Tanzania through a single border post in one 24-hour period, a deliberate mass movement of population that fieldworkers called the "fastest and largest exodus of refugees in modern times (Wilkinson 1997, p. 5). More refugees followed in the coming months, most settling only a few miles from the Rwandan border in massive camps the likes of which the international humanitarian community had never seen before. The international community, so glaringly absent during the genocide, rushed to the assistance of the refugees as TV cameras and reporters documented for the world the appalling conditions of the refugees' "hell on earth."⁴²²

16.4.5. War/Economic Inequality/Demographic Pressure & Environmental Crises

Economic inequality combines with demographic pressures and environmental crises do generate ethnic conflict and terrorist threats. Wealthier countries are placing restrictions on the admission of those seeking to improve their economic prospects and/or to escape persecution. To buttress and contest this assumption, *Essene Matthias* argues:

"As mentioned earlier, globalization does not inherently contain the politics of balance of power and economic advantage. Globalization can only afford to create a platform where nations can determine the side to which the pendulum of economic advantage must swing. In fact, those states that are moving from the periphery to the core are driven by strong political will and good governance. Whereas, the continent of Africa, especially from the early 80's to the late 90's was plaque by an overwhelming refugee crisis. And this was based on internal arm conflict caused by unbridles corruption and pervasive political interest by the political class"⁴²³

Refuting this presentation, it calls to mind that western nations were indirectly responsible that Africa lagged behind in this process. Western World has done this by instigating the arm struggle in Africa in order to sell their weapons on one side, and refused to open the free market to Africa products on the other side. While I respect any ideology individual scholars

⁴²²HAMILTON Heather B.: Refugee Women, UNHCR and the Great Lakes Crisis, 1999
See: <http://www.freewebs.com/hbhamilton/Women%20Refugees%20Great%20Lakes.pdf>

⁴²³ESSENE Matthias: Op. cit.

will represent on this matter for the sake of academic performances and excellences. I am absolutely against it, because for a medical doctor to perform accurate treatment to his patient, he must carry out comprehensive medical diagnosis to find out first, the root and causes of the sickness before treatment will come, as second instance. Keeping that in mind, if one carries out findings on the reality on the ground, one will quickly agree with me that finger is pointing in the direction of the western region of the world for the current and eventual future African dilemma.

While I admire *Essen Matthias* minds feelings, especially when he said:

“Africa developmental and Refugee crisis are purely due to poor governance. Most Africa states have been grappling with good electoral process. Instead, Africa politicians are engage in a perverse political struggle. [.....] And until Africa political elites begin to respect the sanctity of the ballot or there is a systemic revolutionary effort by the civil societies, Africa may remain a continent on the brink of collapse”⁴²⁴

I appeal that he should support other scholars and contemporary writers that Africa should be involved in the process of globalisation.

Give Africa a chance and embrace Africa into the world free market, and you will see what Africa can do in the next decade, starting from the point of entry into the free world market economy. Africa should be approached as equal partners in the conformity of nation states in theories and also in practices and should not be seen as *‘dogs that feed from the rest that falls from the master’s table’*. We have seen much of contradictions, rhetoric and manipulations of words and tactics in the global stage amongst the global payers when issues of Africa interest enters the ring and or lands on the table of discussion

This is also in line with the spirit of globalisation, because it does not only champion the establishment of good governance and liberal democracies but goes further to eliminating international and intercontinental barriers. However, two points should be looked into namely:

- a) Despite the number of asylum seekers in Europe and North America, African and Asian countries bear the greatest burden of refugees. UN, EU etc. must now take it upon themselves to resolve the situation.
- b) Temporary migration, business travel and tourism have added to the numbers crossing state boundaries, making effective control difficult. It is concluded that recommendations made by the Commission on Global Governance should be implemented without delay.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

16.4.6. Growth Control Especially in African Developing Countries

The rapid growth of population in less developed countries especially in Africa must be stopped. The United Nations and EU must do something to end up the attitude of reproduction in Africa. A well planned, organised and result oriented campaign must be done to enlighten the government and people in third world countries the acute need for less birth rate. The world health Organisation (WHO), must work out a system and serious campaign to encourage and educate Africans on the need for sexual intercourse with preventive measures and creation of awareness. Preventive measures to encourage the use of pills and other contraceptives must be encouraged. It cannot be true and acceptable that the head of the world Christian churches "*Pop*" will be preaching against the use of contraceptives during sexual contact in the developing nations, while in the developed countries he preaches nothing or keeps quiet over the issue and or even encourages the use of it.

16.4.7. Call for New or Review of the Statute of the United Nations

It is my absolute position that the time has come in the civilisation of mankind especially in the first quarter or before the first quarter in the 21st century will be over. For, *the powers that be* to sit down with *less powerful* of nation-states within the enclave of United Nations (UN) and readdress the issue of power sharing. Decision making and its implementations in the context of the New World Order if, the world is to exist for the next fifty years from now. Without which the outbreak of the third world war may not be ruled out. The various civilisations, old and the emerging cultures must be considered, accepted and adopted after due considerations and given positions in the determination of world affairs. All cultures, religions, races and ethnicities etc. must be involved if we are to safe our world. This attribution has been shared by some other contemporary writers namely:

"dismissing as anachronistic all previous plans and programs. The whole system must be rethought in global terms and along the lines of international cooperation. Short-term self-interest must yield to policies promoting the long-term interest of all concerned, including the so-called developing countries, whose people must participate actively in making decisions that concern them.[---] The author presents an extensive empirical analysis of the configurations of the present-day catalysts of social, economic, and political change that are at the root of regional instability and migration pressures: the legacy of colonialism, economic disparities between developed and developing countries, political confrontation between

the superpowers, recent changes in Eastern Europe (the disintegration of the Soviet Union), the international arms bazaar⁴²⁵

For instance, the representation at the Security Council of the United Nations in terms of permanent membership must be taken serious. Many scholars before me have done great work on this topic, pointing out the necessity to conduct a referendum on the issue of new UN Statute and many contemporary writers that will come after, will continue to stress the need for this to take place without further delays. The continents or better say, the regions of the world nations are not equally and/or evenly represented in the permanent membership of the United Nations. If the world believe in the new world order and globalisation, which were coined by the American leaders and first supported by the Russians, then there is no need not to recognise the need for a new Constitution of the United Nations. For instance, Africa has no permanent member just like there is none from the Middle East or Far East. Australia has none as well, as a continent. Since the United Nations is the center of the affairs of the global politics and the permanent members in the Security Council are the referees that have the final say to issues that matters in the world, it there means, that at least each continent and to some leverage region of the world must be represented. An equal representation at the Security Council is the best that can happen to peace in the world and or peace to the world.

Furthermore, it should boil down to the minds of the leaders of the world especially the super powers that the United Nations as it is today, has outlived its life span. With the arrival of the new world order and globalisation, which have brought in diffused powers and reshaped the sovereignty of nation states. It there means that something stronger than United Nations must be put in place. Just as OAU has been transformed to AU, and the then League of Nations metamorphosed into United Nations after the Second World War and the European Economic Region (EWR) into European Union (EU) and several others at the intercontinental and regional levels. It is on this view that *Anthony H. Richmond* in his analysis and contribution on Globalisation, as it affects immigrants and refugees has this to say:

“Labelling asylum applicants, and others fleeing persecution and civil war, as 'really' just economic migrants is based on misunderstanding and prejudice. Unfortunately, the UN Convention on Refugees, signed in 1951 and amended in 1967, is anachronistic and needs to be replaced. Originally intended to meet the situation created during and after World War II, the Convention no longer addresses the crises that have occurred since the end of the 'Cold War'. Its interpretation varies widely from one jurisdiction to another. The distinction between persecution and systemic discrimination has become blurred. New international laws are needed that will protect all migrants, including contract

⁴²⁵VALTONEN Kathleen reviewed: Op. cit.

workers, against discrimination, and facilitate temporary and longer term asylum and protection for those who face persecution in their own countries.⁴²⁶

So do we expect United Nations to make a shift and reform itself? If there is equal representation at the Security Council, each continent and region will have a say to the affairs of the world and misunderstanding will be narrowed. It will further, encourage more and quicker consensus on issues that concern the global village as we address the challenges facing the world today.

For instance, in a Russia Television (RT), the foreign minister of Russia was interviewed on the ongoing Syria civil war and recent peace initiatives going on with USA, EU, members of the super powers and Russia, and he has this to say, one (1) *“The refusal of Russia to US and its allies to step into Syria sovereign state, bomb, killed and topple Assad regime is nothing but defense of international laws. He went further and said that they did this with the application of international diplomacy, channeled their positions and advices through the conduction of two Geneva Summit on Syria and were able to make United States of America and other super powers and their partners in the NATO, to understand the need not to force or push for regime change in Syria and the consequences that will arise as the aftermath”*. In continuation he claimed that, two (2), *Russia also tried and secured the supports of the nation states to draw a roadmap to reconciliation within the region of Middle East including the peace of Israel and three (3), that they stroke a deal and reach agreement on Syria Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) and that it is also another breakthrough in the efforts to stop its proliferation in Geneva ii (two) Conference.*⁴²⁷

What are the lessons from the interview and from the statements from the Russian Foreign Minister *LAVROV Sergei*? As a matter of fact there are many, but let us concentrate on the most aspect for me and for this work. We understood that Russia is speaking on behalf of the Syrian government because Middle East has no permanent representative at the seat of the Security Council. Should there has been any from that part of the global village, that country would have been better positioned to step up and step in to speak for Syria. The supposed country per se that share the same culture, tradition and religion would have been better placed to understand the case with Syria. It is quite unfortunate that, the super powers still believe that they understand every countries mentality and continue to present democracy as the best administrative tool, than any other system in the world. Well, it is not the work of this

⁴²⁶RICHMOND H. Anthony: Op. cit.

⁴²⁷LAVROV Sergei at Interview on RT (Russia Television) with FM journalist at 23:00 hours on Tuesday, December 24th, 2013

project to contest which political system is best but western world must now understand that in the new era of globalisation, things have actually changed and being a super power alone is no longer enough and will not solve issues. If the super powers continue in its current dynamism of handling the states of the world, I am afraid it will not go well and will lead to catastrophically challenging situation as a result.

Map1: Syria and Neighbouring Countries⁴²⁸



Syria occupies political and economic strategic position in Middle East and is located in the centre with Turkey in the north, Cyprus and Mediterranean Sea in the North West. Iraq and Iran in the southeast and east respectively. While Jordan and Egypt in the south. While Israel is found in the south west and Lebanon is located in the northwest. That means, if Syria explodes, all the regions will be in dilemma and the most important *sea transportation* through the two most important seas in the region, Euphrates and Tigris will be affected. This will mean that all the sea transportations in the region will be isolated. The economic

⁴²⁸ https://www.google.at/search?q=syria+and+neighboring+countries&espv=2&tbm=isch&imgil=a_usG31eDMS3eM%253A%253Bhttps%253A%252F%252Fencrypted-

condition of the Middle East will be affected, which will also affect the world economy due to oil rich nations around her, like the Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran. Not only that, the stride of explosion of refugees in the region will be uncontrollable and the influx into the Western Nations would have been unbearable.

In addition, the fear of the civil war from not spreading or spilling over to all the borderline countries cannot be guaranteed by any one. Even the United Nations and the super powers could not predict what will be the next. The whole region may be in total warfare and battle ground that may lead not only between the Shia (Shiites) ethnic group and the Sunni group but to others too. This may even pave way to religious war between the Moslems Arabs nations and their Christian counterparts in that part of the globe. Subsequently, all the neighbouring countries would surely be dragged into the civil war because of differences in their national interest in Syria. For instance, Turkey has been in control of Syria water of Euphrates since the nineties (1990), fighting against Kurdish folks that are attempting to secede from Turkey. The separatist Kurdish group are supporting the rebel opposition. On one hand, Iran which is in strong economic relationship with the Syria government are being supported by the Hezbollah and the Hamas, on the other hand. Furthermore, the Iranian government is dominated by the Shia (Shiites) ethnic group and they are for President Assad, while Sunni group are in favour of the opposition in Syria. Not to say the least, one should not forget that Israel is officially still in warfare with Syria 1948, 1967, 1973. Also against Lebanon in the civil war 1975-1990 and over Golan since 1967. Even when Israel has not official declare if she is supporting any group, but we recalled that, in recent times, not quite long that she bombed the ship that was supplying weapon to the Hezbollah. This is a good instance to say that Israel will be dragged into the war by the slightest means available for any of the warring parties. That will mean an invitation for the United States of America, to officially declare its engagement to the war. Russia will natural not wait.

On the case of effect on refugees, we have already at the moment the following numbers as they are located in different camps on the borderlines and inside their respective host nations. For instance, in Jordan there is about one million (1mio) refugees. Since the civil war started in March 2011, at least about 70.000- 120.000 people have been killed as a result, and over 1,5mio refugees with many undisclosed internal displaced persons (*"Krone Bunt"* (An Austrian Newspaper) from Sunday 12.01.2014, p. 10f)

Nonetheless, it is important to note here that Russian peace diplomacy has something to do with its national interest in the Middle East especially with Syria. Syria is in arms deals with Russia and the two countries share some religions similarity when one realises that Russia has huge number of Moslems likewise Arab Islamic blood at home, which makes up a large

number of its citizens. Here religious and economic Russia interests seem to be of utmost important for Russia. In either way, it is remarkable to give a pass mark for waging the war as she stands up, defended and protected international laws as she claimed.

At this junction, readers may be waiting to come to a place where this section dealt with, that is alternative approaches. All the analysis till now has serve one major purpose in addition to others. It has given us an in-depth view of how complicated issues of national and international dimensions can be. We have learnt that there is need to view issues very well before declaring action and have also learnt that if the world had listened to America, war in Syria would have long escalated the consequences nobody would have been able to imagine. While the foreign Minister of Russia was answering questions from the Journalist, he was asked that Assad regime was being accused of not being democratic and that the tyrannical and persecution system of his regime has led to outburst of refugees. Responding to the question he said that:

“Democracy is necessary to help stop the outburst of refugees in practical form not on white paper, however, application of democracy must be with the respect of rule of law and the respect of Human Rights and that alternative solution in handling the problems of refugees is to look at the root causes of what produce them, otherwise other treatments are just in pretence and lip-services efforts to apiece the time without any effective result. This application is best compared to “serving a financial debt account, but not paying back the monthly or quarterly rate as may have been agreed in the contract”⁴²⁹

16.4.8. World Market should be open to Africa

The integration of most national economies into one global economy at least, based on the principle of globalisation cannot be over emphasised. Referring to countries in Africa, this opportunity has eluded them as none of the nations in Africa is in direct trade with the world market. The Africa continent should be welcome and integrated into the world economy. There must be free market economic participation of African nations because the advantages are enormous. Through this measure, African nations will be given the golden and long expected equal right to pull their products together and enter the free market to compete with other continents of the globe. The global market will bring in lots of advantages for African nations. They will for instance, be able to trade directly without intermediaries, they will earn hard currencies which will help to push or beam up their foreign reserves. Meanwhile, with the gains made, it will be reinvested to their respective economies, providing the failed

⁴²⁹LAVRON Sergei. Op. cit.

infrastructures in every joint of the respective nations. In addition, the citizens in these countries will gainfully be employed as jobs of all kinds will be created and more gains will be made. The surplus gain will be deployed to fight against most of the causes of refugees. Through the competitive possibilities, African will improve the quality of their products. For instance I discovered, that:

“The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that there were 38 protracted refugee situations in 2003. These situations accounted for a total refugee population of 6.2m. With a global refugee population of 9.6m at the end of 2003, over 64% of the world’s refugees were in protracted refugee situations. UNHCR also estimates that the average duration of major refugee situations ‘has increased from nine years in 1993 to 17 years at the end of 2003’. These figures indicate that protracted refugee situations are both growing in number and lasting longer without being resolved”⁴³⁰

The above is an indication that unless the economic situations in Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa are put in order, the problem will continue to mitigate. I begin to nurse the feelings that taking care of refugees has become a permanent job for Humanitarian Workers and Organisations than just a temporary intervention to stop a siege of sufferings from people as a result of either war battles or caused by natural disasters. Furthermore, since job creation in industrialised countries are becoming or has become a threat, sending their citizens away in the name of humanitarian services and providing them jobs with the NGOs and donor organisations serving as substitutes and creating work becomes a potential alternatives for them. Imagine when one will be engaged by an NGO for seventeen (17) years and may eventually be extended for another seventeen (17) years. That is a total of thirty-four (34) working years. He or she may change to another similar humanitarian organisation or NGO and put up again ten (10) years of services. This brings the total service added together to a good forty-four (44) years. This means that he or she has comfortably completed the number of active working years expected from every worker to qualify for pension, and in some cases even more than required. For instance, if he or she starts at the age of twenty-five (25) and worked for forty-four (44) years. If the time period of services and his or her age are added together, we have sixty-nine (69) years. Going by this and going by the new pension law in Austria for example. No matter the circumstances, he or she has completed the years for full pension. Personally, I assume the endless development co-operations, development assistance and services, Humanitarian services and Aid and Non-governmental work are alternatives ‘*window working opportunities*’ for the citizens of the western nations. They are estimated to be over eighty percent of the labour force of Foreign Institutions that have been engaged in the Humanitarian services as it is claimed to be.

⁴³⁰LOESCHER Gil & MILNER James: Op. cit. p. 155

16.4.9. Payment of Reparations on African Slavery

This point may sound awkward to some readers, but the truth remains that if one keeps the mind on retrospective motion and reviews the roles western nations especially, Holland, Britain, France, Portugal, Italy and Spain. Others are United States of America, Australia and even Germany amongst other nations played during the time of industrial revolution and the subsequent slave trade that featured and dominated the labour struggle from the countries mentioned above. These struggles lasted for over five hundred years, one may agree with the reparations ideologist for opting for 'slavery reparations'.

For this reasons and others, on American Thanksgiving Day 2013 as was published on 29. November 2013, some groups of Caribbean nations are nursing this opinion demanding reparations from western nations for the wrong doing. Based on this, *Jay Janson* recorded the quest and said:

"Seeks to put a price on enslavement centuries ago a group of 14 Caribbean countries are planning to take legal action against former colonial powers Britain, France, and the Netherlands, demanding reparations for the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The New York Times reports that some Caribbean nations have already begun assessing the lasting damage they suffered, ranging from stunted educational and economic opportunities to dietary and health problems"⁴³¹

Now the question is how did that affect Africa? What is its relation to refugees in Africa? Africans to include the African people and their respective government in the modern time have argued slave trade, as major hindrance or blow that kept them undeveloped. They argued that the effects of slave trade during which millions of able bodied men from Sub Sahara were taken away into western countries, as matter of fact from every nook and cranny of the black continent, millions were taken away. These were periods in time they, would have used for self-development. During this period, Africa was conquered and subsequently forced and taken away to work in the industries of the western nations.

They argued that this has had devastating effect on their lives and the lives of their children and by extension other generations thereafter. They argued that, that was the period for them to also build up their own nations through selfindustrialisation and commercialisation of their trade. They would have built up and stabilised their respective economies. They argued that it was the period they would have used to lay the foundation for total development in the continent of Africa for later years and generations. Well, if those claims would have emerged

⁴³¹<http://www.countercurrents.org/janson291113.htm>

"all things being equal" could be debatable. The fact is that this black continent was forcefully conquered and their wealth in all facets were looted.

The publisher of the article from where the aforementioned citation emanated, did not stop there, in his essays, surveys and evaluations, he went further in the analysis and questioned saying:

"Again: Reader, check your degree of involvement! Have you believed in silly but vicious fairy tells of colonial powers being democratic and seeking democracy's spread? North America was stolen from its indigenous natives, Africans enslaved for their labor; half of Mexico raped away, a million Filipinos butchered for their land? Democratically? World Wars financed for such immense return as to make Wall Street the single world superpower"⁴³²

Buttressing the foregoing, another scholar in his discussion on reparations for the people of Sudan elaborated extensively on the needs and urgencies for reparations to be paid to Sudan by the Arab World and also for the early rulers of the Sudanese countries. Meanwhile, I quoted him thus:

"The United Nations Conference Against Racism (WCAR) held in Durban in 2001, was part of the growing movement for reparations, for the enslavement of Africans and for colonialism in general. The Declaration of the NGO Forum of the World Conference Against Racism held in Durban dated 3 September 2001, makes specific reference to the on-going enslavement of Sudanese (e.g. trans Saharan and trans Indian Ocean) which it categorises as 'crimes against humanity' (para 73). The Programme of Action of the NGO Forum supports reparations as redress in such instances. The NGO Plan of Action urged Sudan, amongst others, to abolish slavery and give reparations to the victims of slavery (para 235). The Plan demanded Arab nations amongst others, which participated and benefited from slavery, establish an international compensatory mechanism for the victims of these crimes against humanity. The World Conference Against Racism and its NGO Forum have added to the growing demand for reparations for African slavery. Already there exists legal documentation on this issue. In 1993 in Nigeria a Pan-African meeting on reparations, chaired by Ambassador Dudley Thompson was convened. As Harring argues, the current discourse on African economic Towards Reparation for the People of Sudan recovery is premised on the understanding of a quid pro-quo from the developed countries to Africa for the past super-exploitation of Africans"⁴³³

Since this is possible, why can't Europe and America borrow a leave from that and do same to African Continent, whom they colonised and traded as slavery for over five hundred years. Why I am of the mind that reparations should be adequately considered and paid to Africa and Africans, some other contemporary writers have another search mind on the issue and as a result we read that:

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ BANKIE Forster Bankie: Towards Reparations for the People of Sudan: In: Copyrights Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd: African Renaissance: Vol 1. No.3 Nov./Dec.2004; P. 116ff

"The 'costs' of colonialism and slavery in the 'Borderlands' might be described as 'incalculable' – thus presenting a barrier to these claims."⁴³⁴

In the light of the above, if proven correct, my suggestion would be that a consensus should be reached to get things done and reparations paid to African countries from the western nations (those who participated in the business of slavery). I do make such proposals based on the fact that there are some reasonable and undeniable arguments in favour of such demands. It is to be expected that such payment will help to alleviate the suffering of the indigenous Africans and limit refugees cross – continental migration. Payment could also be made in another form by helping the African Nations to get their economy in grid. It is to be ascertaining that if the living conditions of Africans are upgraded, the influx of refugees and economic migration into Europe and or other Western Countries will be reduced if not completely solved. In addition, Europe as the nearest African neighbour sets to benefit immensely if that happens.

In the light of this assumption, let me share with you my findings during the work. It all centered on the article titled: *EU to push for world without poverty*. This concerns the worlds' biggest ever summit in September 2000 in, which about 180 leaders from different countries across the globe attended. The agenda of the summit was review on the UN developing goal popularly known as the *Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*, meant to halving poverty globally come 2015. During the summit, it was shocking to many participants that the targeted aim would not be achieved. The concern of the delegations and participants across the nation states is, what will happen beyond 2015. Some major aim of the MDGs was that by 2015 at least half of the world population will have access to food, water, education and healthcare. But it turned out that the target has been miss-targeted. In the evaluations the EU Commission's President, *Barroso* had this to say:

"EU Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso also set out his development vision post-2015. He said the progress made so far was encouraging despite all the setbacks. „For the first time ever, we have what it takes to eliminate poverty in our lifetimes, and to ensure sustainable prosperity within the boundaries of what our planet can provide," he told delegates at the Development Days. Europe, he said, certainly will not stand in the way, but "will be at the forefront" of efforts to fight poverty. Barroso promised delegates to press EU member states to push to fight climate change and global warming"⁴³⁵

That is not all, in furtherance of his statement and to buttress the seriousness and in conclusion we learnt that:

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ <http://www.dw.de/eu-to-push-for-world-without-poverty/a17257224>

"Barroso emphasized that achieving the millennium goals was important for Europe too. He mentioned the deaths of hundreds of African refugees off the coast of the Italian island of Lampedusa. "Recent events like the tragedy off the island of Lampedusa make it painfully clear that the world's misery and lack of hope unavoidably affect Europe as well," he said. „I've visited Lampedusa myself...and the shocking things saw will stay with me forever. I see them as another appeal that global problems demand European engagement, a forward-looking development agenda and true, international cooperation." Around 70 percent of EU citizens believe that fighting poverty in developing countries affects Europe in a positive way. Almost half of EU citizens are prepared to pay more for food if the profits made benefited producers in developing countries"⁴³⁶

The above shows how important the situation looks like, indicated and contested deeply that Europe will be the first to benefit if Africa is liberated from its economic and technological down drain. This is evidence with the statement and position of the European Union Commission's President at the summit. I really do not want to over-flock the issue but will want to shed more light on the question of, if western nations will pay reparations or not. In addition, I want to use another example to buttress that western nations have much blames to share as long as civil unrest and inter-ethnic wars are concerned. Let me draw your mind to this citation as presented below:

"The 1980s, despite warnings by Africa specialists, human rights groups and humanitarian organizations that continued American aid to the dictatorial government of Siad Barre would eventually plunge Somalia into chaos. US poured in more than \$50 million of arms annually to prop up this disastrous Barre dictatorship while offering virtually no assistance that would have helped build a self-sustaining economy which could feed Somalia's people. In addition, the United States pushed a structural adjustment program through the International Monetary Fund severely weakening the local agricultural economy. Combined with the breakdown of the central government, drought conditions and rival militias disrupting food supplies, there was famine on a massive scale, resulting in the deaths of more than 300,000 Somalis, mostly children" [-] On February 23, 2007, the New York Times reported that the US government had been secretly training Ethiopian soldiers for several years, in camps near the Ethiopia-Somalia border. Support for Ethiopia's invasion began after a failed CIA effort to arm and finance Somali "warlords"⁴³⁷

At least two lessons are established with the citation above. One of such lessons on one side is the question of aid. Then we have on the other side Structural Adjustment programme. These are two strong economic instruments that have ruined African economy and development in the last decades. Existing literatures as we have come across in this project proclaimed that:

"Raymond Williams (1975:340-341) has noted, concerning the entire concept of 'aid', which is supposed to lead to development that "it is ideologically overlaid by the abstract idea of 'development': a poor country is 'on its way' to being

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ <http://www.countercurrents.org/janson291113.htm> Op. cit.

a rich one, just as in industrial Britain, in the nineteenth century, a poor man could be seen as someone who given the right ideas and effort was 'on his way' to being a rich man, but was for the time being at a lower stage of this development"⁴³⁸

If this is actually the aim of the concept „aid” which the western communities has systematically imposed on Africa, one can confidently say that the concept of aid has not conceptualised since its introduction, at least on the side of the receiving countries. Why Britain was able to develop as cited by *Raymond Williams* in his analysis, Africa has not. The question is then, why has Africa not being able to develop as was intentioned? Many factor come into considerations as militating against African development. We have in the course of this work learnt that some of the factors that have contributed to underdevelopment of Africa lie with social unrest, the continued civil wars. When one war ends in one area or region, a new one will erupt in another region. The non-homogeneous nations as they were enforced by the colonial administrators and joined and or amalgamated, the roles of NGOs and foreign influence. At the end of colonial regime, came Structural Adjustment Programme. This destroyed what was left of the white rule to underdeveloped Africa. On the adverse effect from Structural Adjustment programme we learnt that:

“Today, most commentators agree that the neo-liberal reforms the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank imposed under adjustment programmes in the 1980s actually caused much of the growth in poverty and inequality we have seen in Africa and Latin America over the past two decades. Externally imposed constraints on health, education and welfare measures and social programmes, tax concessions on profits, liberalisation of price controls, and dismantling of state owned enterprises – all have contributed to widening of internal disparities. Several studies have linked adjustment programmes to deteriorating health conditions in Africa and Latin America, pointing to increases in the incidence of child malnutrition, in the growth of infectious disease and in infant and maternal mortality rates”⁴³⁹

Despite that, let me shed more light in the discussion by sharing with readers also the other effect of structural adjustment programme. I call this, “*the economic killer*” because of the effect it had on the economies of Africa even when it was claimed that it will help Africa to restructure and restore its economic regression and development. Contrarily, the undisclosed idea behind it goes thus:

“The indebtedness of African nations gave the multilateral lending agencies the leverage they needed to impose their neo-liberal policy prescriptions, in the spirit of universality, across the board. The Bretton Woods institutions

⁴³⁸ ILLIFE Johan; Review of the African Poor: a History African Studies Series 58, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1987 (387pp: In Journal of Social Development in Africa 19898 Bock Review Kay Muir-Leresche

⁴³⁹ MANJI Firoze and O’COILL Carl: Op. cit.

(with the support of the bilateral aid agencies) became the new commanders of post-colonial economies. Through the myriad structural adjustment programmes they initiated throughout the continent they could determine both the goals of development and the means for achieving them. Adjustment legitimised their direct intervention in political decision-making processes. These institutions soon came to determine the extent of involvement that the state should have in the social sector, and insisted on the state imposing draconian economic and social measures that resulted in a rise in unemployment and the decline in real incomes of the majority.³⁹ The result was to transform and restructure the social basis of power in African countries, strengthening those forces or alliances that would be sympathetic to the continued hegemony of the multilaterals and of the multinationals in the emerging era of 'globalisation'⁴⁴⁰

16.4.10. Education Empowerment of the People of East Africa

There is *no gain saying* that a standard level of education plays immense and indisputable role in life and influences one's general behavioural attitude. The higher someone is educated, the better chances in getting good job. In contributing to the general development of his or her country and the more comfortable he or she is with life and with events especially around him and or her in the vicinity of his or her residency, just to mention but few. One may go on and forth expanding on this but, suffice to say that with good educational qualification, life is better off and management of personal life becomes easier. In the light of this, let me share with readers my finding towards preparing for my dissertation. Like I mentioned in the introductory part of this work, I conducted interviews with Non-Governmental and Humanitarian Organisations that are direct and on ground in East Africa and in different countries under review. I did that because I wanted to hear and get exclusive information from *people that matters* in this field. These are people who are confronted daily with the burdens and assignments with refugees and Government agencies in the regions. One of such Organisations is *SOS Kinderdorf International* and *Doctors without boundary* in Vienna, Austria. During my discussion with the general secretary of the former Organisation *Mag. Pichler*. I asked him what he think could be a solution and or alternative to the whole problems of refugees in Africa? Listen to and or read what he said:

"From our statute (the Organisation), it is a non-political Organisation. Our job is therefore non-political, children who are in need to help independent of the situation that lead to his bad condition, children in need and helpless. These could be as a result of poverty, wars or from mental poverty. Especially when the parents even when they are well to do could not adequately take care of them due to emotional recklessness. We cannot offer help en masse to everyone or undertake any political activities and make political statements. But the biggest problem in Africa is the economical one. For instance, every child born will one day become matured and expect that he will have a basic standard of living from where he can start off for the rest of his life. He must have the chance of a living. That is where we have to do a lot of work. Here, it does not concern Africa alone, it concerns the whole world. So, it is very necessary that our

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

children when they are educated and qualified for one job or the other will also reciprocally find adequate job. Contrary to that today in the whole world, for one job vacancy await up to ten people and more for it. We must have to see that the youths are well educated and in spite of all, also have a basic standard of living. In many countries today, it is so that one can only as a subsistence farmer and small trader survive"⁴⁴¹

By projection, what strikes my heart most is the content of his statement where he mentioned that the problem is not African problem alone "*it concerns the whole world*" What he is trying to portray here is that both black and white, red and blue coloured race. Whether industrialised or underindustrialised should come together and get Africa out of the uncalculated refugee maniac plaguing that continent. He went further and pointed out another major problem that has contributed to refugees especially in the Horn of Africa- *too many people chasing too less jobs*. By extension, he is saying that even if one has got sound education or career, searching for job or fitting job that will merge or reflect with the field of specialisation is also a challenge in the global world. Propagating on his minds search, you may agree with me that he is calling for collectivity world responsibility. Since the new world order and globalisation have made the universe a global village, one may find truth in his fantasies and feelings of the heart and mind.

After all said and done, I discovered from my discussions with the *SOS Kinderdorf international* that, economy is the basic solution. It will be durable and sustainable, if the nations of states in the international global village want to make '*a stop to challenges of refugees*' not only in Africa but, around the globe. Economy is the cornerstone for salvation of African refugees and economy in this context is a strong *economic Marshall plan for Africa*. Economy is indispensable in this issue. Pushing further to see if he can give me a clue on what could be an alternative solutions from his personal point of view, he had this to say:

"As we experience it worldwide, we do have two kinds of refugees. These are on the one hand political refugees, and on the other hand, economic refugees. I think that these two kinds of refugees somehow interlinked. If the people in the country do have what they need for their living, there will be much less potentials for civil unrest. This is why we try to educate our children (in the Kinderdorf village) so that they could be able to run their lives sufficiently and independently too. That means that they would not be in a position to fight violently for something. This is because they have learnt a profession and can also apply it for their daily living and thereby care for themselves and their people. We from 'SOS Kinder International' being a non-political organisation cannot certainly change the politics Worldwide. Time and again civil unrest will crop up, but we can with our limited contribution try to make people think first whether there is need for civil unrest. We work through children and it is a very long term approach. It can take 20 years; it can also take 25 years or more until a child grows and comes off age and moves into the society; but we strongly believe that the child will one day make a difference in the society. We know that this contribution is not enough and we can therefore

⁴⁴¹ Mag. PICHLER: SOS Kinderdorf International, Op. cit.

not claim to have changed the world, but we can show the world that there are some muddles in the world where the children are living together peacefully. They can respect each other and they might be from different ethnic groups, but they learn to live together respectfully, treat each other as human beings and with this knowledge and experience when they go out they could multiply"⁴⁴²

But that is not all, he forged further and concluded thus:

"On the other hand, as long as the basic conditions necessary for development are not available and the economic factors needed to accelerate development are lacking and the overall economy continues dwindle the situation will continue to be the same especially when one thinks about the 'economic refugees' from and around Africa" To stop this, the international community as well as the western World including the multi-national and multi-international concerns should rethink. And adjust their policies towards African nations and help her develop those urgently needed infrastructures for the liberation of African from its economic, social as much as its political calamities"⁴⁴³

A retrospective attention to the aforementioned took me to another higher dimension of philosophical mind search. At first, I thought he might be insane but after sometimes, I posed and realised that he was being honest but unfortunately, I doubt. I believe that, many contemporary writers and social scientist will agree with me that globalisation and new world order have not added Africa in their agenda for good. I tend to admit that no amount and strength invested in international diplomacy and international politics will break the Iceberg. At least not for the next two decades if not more. With this position, I call for and welcome challenges if one has another position or consideration.

Pursuant to the issue of education in Africa, many scholars have written and criticised the degradation of the quality of African education standard with international comparison. Instances and reasons have also given to justify the dilemma that African educational systems are suffering as the higher schools and universities in Africa continue to flush out at the end of each academic year, thousands of graduates with certificates and degrees that are questionable in international standard. It is as a result that we learnt:

"There is a close relationship between levels of education, especially in terms of efficiency and quality graduates. The quality of education at the secondary level affects students' ability to study at the university level. An example is given from Nigeria, where in one year 72 per cent of all those who sat for the West African Certificate failed, especially in Science and Mathematics, necessitating the introduction of pre-degree science courses. [--] Universities in Africa have failed to deliver the goods especially in terms of producing technical professionals, and science and mathematics teachers Furthermore the high dependency on expatriates in most African countries; continues, even in those countries that have been independent for twenty years. The product of these universities does not justify their high cost"⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ HINCHLIFFE Keith: Financing Education in Developing Countries — an Exploration of Policy Options, World Bank, Washington DC 1986. Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Croom Helm Ltd, 1987; Reviewed by Rudo Gaidzanwa, Dept. of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe: In Journal of Social Development in Africa 1989

The above underlined reveal one of the systematic method the colonial masters applied to hold Africa at ransom. The type of education, syllabus and discipline of study introduced by the western world to Africa during and after independence are systems that better describe as “*NOT TO SUCCEED*”. These educational stuffs were not target oriented and were more or less superficial and not tailored. As a result, the stuff learnt in the studies at the universities and the secondary schools were only producing non-technical and non-science students and graduates. Even though most of the graduate studied sciences in which they cannot compete with their western counterparts. In Africa at that time, succeeded till date, schools and institutions were built or are built without thorough equipment in the science and laboratory departments. Students are taught mainly only theories up to eighty percent (80%) and only twenty percent (20%) techniques and sciences. This has led and is still leading to mass production of graduates from the African Universities without basic knowledge of the disciplines they have graduated upon. Just ten years ago, there were still in some remote African countries where a graduate student of Computer Science throughout his graduate study touch computer only three to four times and yet graduated as computer science student of a University.

The ideology behind this is to produce African graduate that will not be able to manage the science and technological branches of the economy on one side, and on the other side, it is to create the opportunity to get western graduates employed in Africa to manage those economic strategic positions. Another deeper logic with this system of education is to get Africans out of the reach of control of their raw materials. And entrust these raw materials in the hands of the imported white graduates colleagues, who are sent to mismanage the branches so that instead of setting up industries in the indigenous African states to make use of the abundant raw Agricultural materials, mineral resources and create jobs for Africans for their graduates. The white graduates stationed at the strategic administrative and management positions will pay Africans a token amount and export these raw materials to their countries in Europe and America to feed their factories and industries. This contributed to the underdevelopment of Africa scenarios. Base on the above, *Tandika Makandawire and Nacer Bourenane* concluded that:

"While it may have taken 100 years to put colonialism on a sound footing in Africa, it will probably take twice that time to eradicate its effects on the continent"⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁵MKANDAWIRE Tandika & BOURENANE Nacer (eds); *The State and Agriculture in Africa*, CODESRIA (Dakar), London, 1987 (385pp, Reviewed by Brian MacGarry, Silvierra House, Harare: In *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 1989

The aforementioned citation suffices to demonstrate and support the argument that colonialism is one of the causes of underdevelopment. The same could be said on refugees in Africa especially in East African Nations. The quotation goes further to challenge the ideology of entrenchment of colonialism by asking what next after white paper gainful independence? It tends to force readers to ask if at all most of the African nation states were ready at the time they gained sovereignty? This question is justifiable when one take closer look at all the independent African countries. One will find out that just few years after independent, all the social infrastructures will collapse as none is further maintained and or care for.

What the above demonstrated is that colonial regime introduced faceted systems in order to hold Africa stagnantly. To socked the best part of the continents for centuries for their advantages and conveniently laid hundreds and thousands of years' foundation for the perpetual and general destabilisation and destruction of the continent. The uncontrollable outbursts and streams of refugees on the surface of African Continent and beyond Africa whose genesis is traced from Africa is the aftermath of the whole coup. In addition, experiences have proofed that majority of those African graduates who studied and graduated in African institutions of higher learning, on getting to Europe and other western countries as economic refugees cannot defend their professions. Either because of the poor educational trainings or because after studies they have wasted many years without practice and a result find it difficult to adjust.

It is on this remarkable analytical account that I urge the European Union, the United Nations and the rest of the International Community to revert and apply alternative approaches and repair that continent. Further alternative approaches are, the total overhaul of educational systems in the whole of Africa. The new system must be tailored towards the need of the African countries in the period of new world order and globalisation. This can only be achieved if the western community will frankly assist. The assistance must be genuine and truthful with practical involvement of indigenou African scholars from different professions. These African scholars that have studied and gained various professional disciplines, could be gotten from all parts of the world where they are scattered in quest of greener pastures. Also, this assistance must be without conditions.

An alternative approaches should be applied in a manner that each country in Africa adopts a particular strategic policy that best suits it, instead of copying from another country or overseas. In addition, another scholar contributed by saying:

“First, that Africa's food crisis is deepening and not reducing, so that agriculture and food production must, of necessity, take top priority in the development strategies of these countries; Second, that African governments need to adopt pragmatic and realistic policies that will address this critical area of their economic activities; Third, that government officials and other state functionaries find themselves strait-jacketed by political, social and other extraneous considerations in the process of policy formulation. This often leads to ill-conceived or inappropriate policies being adopted in their efforts to tackle the issue of agriculture and food production; Last, that colonial economic superstructures inherited at independence have proved more resistant to change than was apparently expected, forcing most governments to maintain the status quo”⁴⁴⁶

What is showcased above is not only the challenges facing African nations, which has dramatic effect, disruption of the socio-economic development of the continent, but has also manifested in every part of the lives of the people. The last being an additional proof on what, I said after the former quotation that, the colonial administration never laid solid foundation for the stability of African economy but implanted artificial and cosmetic programmes for Africa.

Meanwhile, education of youths cannot be easy without a good foundation. The foundation must be tailored at their childhood and teenage period. It is this group of children especially the refugee children I will now turn to.

16.4.11. Education of Refugee Children for better Educational Opportunities

What are the implications of this agenda for the education of refugee children? Firstly, I propose that the most appropriate approach would be the development of a broad policy framework within which local solutions are possible. Policies that reflect the socio-cultural background of the children. This would enable specific issues to be identified in relation to specific needs of refugee and asylum seeker children. These could be targeted for action, and tracked through the system. Secondly, in all cases, it is essential to draw out implications across the wide agenda set out above - curriculum, teacher development, and support services and so on. Also to ensure that funding is secured for these agenda. Unless the agenda is specifically analysed and interventions targeted and backed by funding, it will not stand the test of time. Any proposed changes run the risk of not being implemented. Clearly, second language provision is a key issue to be targeted for policy action. Other initiatives of vital importance include trauma counselling, programmes, which link families and schools, and links to out-of-school support for children and families. As mentioned earlier, many of

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

these inter-agency initiatives already take place to some extent. However, their funding and provision is often uncertain and is not secured by government policies."⁴⁴⁷

Looking at the aforementioned suggestions, one realises that African nations especially in the Horn of Africa:

- a) are not economically strong to provide and run such measures,
- b) The international community is also not ready to pump money into the region because of the reasons we have come across in this work before and
- c) Finally, the NGOs are claiming doing more than is necessary and cannot do more than what they done to date.

Despite the reluctant preservation of the NGOs and the international community, it is my keen belief that there shall be the need to develop an overall policy framework and funding agenda which acknowledges the complexity of the multiple systems involved in educating refugee children, if symbolic rights to education are to be translated into actual opportunities. In addition, there should be affordable and meaningful support for teacher - professional development because of the crucial and professionalism role it plays especially, in some specific situations. Its implications for an education agenda for refugee children who are most traumatised in war zones are very necessary. These proposals may not be completely new but efforts should be made by the concerned agencies right now if the situation and conditions of refugees are to be under control in the next decade. The right time is now before there will be over explosion of refugees across the globe.

16.4.12. Approach to Durable Resettlement

It has always been my position that the major alternative to solving refugee problems and its sustenance is only through economic development. By extensive imagination, it remains for me an indispensable as well as favourable component for solving and resolving the refugee dilemma. For me, if the economic aspect is grounded, it automatically implies that displacement of refugees is as well grounded.

However, let me put on record that the international community has gone so far by recognising the fact that economic factors have played some roles and still have roles to play in causing displacement. But that is not enough. The international community should look further to find out and differentiate between internal and external economic factors that are influencing the situation. Hasty deployment or employing the so called *Quick Impact Projects* (QIPs) in the name of rendering quick assistance to the returnees are humane, but not

⁴⁴⁷PAM Christie & RAVINDER Sidhu: Responding to globalisation: refugees and the challenges facing Australian schools, No 21. May 2002. <http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/MotsPluriels/MP2102pcrs.html>

justified if the authorities in this case the UNHCR fails to project what might happen in the long term conditions. For instance, when it comes to returnees' aid, economic factors or development are generally not given thorough considerations and definitions for whatever maybe the reason. The scope of returnee aid is delineated with the objective of establishing minimum material conditions in which the return of refugees can be promoted.

The disadvantage of QIPs is that it is very important "*emergency development*" projects but does not take into consideration and or account the long term problems of recurrent costs and sustainability. The question is whether the mandate given to the UNHCR covers long term costs and sustainability? My experience says no, it doesn't. It then turns out that since she has limited resources, she can only tackle short term projects that could give the returnee the immediate and effective assistance.

To that effect, I urge the international community under the pivot of the United Nations and by extension the Security Council to look into this and eventually expand the time scope for such returnee programmes. Long term and at least to medium term period will be more target oriented. This will give the returnees ample time period not only to just return, but further to reintegrate themselves in their old habitual homes and villages or towns as the case maybe.

Also, the international economic factors should not be overlooked because it is responsible for the unrest in the countries of origin of the refugees. These factors created the climatic situation that caused and promoted displacement.

16.4.13. Gender and Participation of African Women in Leadership Positions

Avotri Doris in her contribution to seeking for durable solutions to Africa problems which implies seeking for alternative solutions to refugee, she blamed African leaders for not utilising available resources within the culture of the people (Africans) but resort to seeking solution and assistance from the Western Nations as first step. She argued to my understanding that men have dominated the leadership position of Africa before, after the colonial and post-colonial periods. She further, blamed the system that has given men this domination where valuable cultural capital that are readily available as means of resources remain untapped and said:

"One of these resources is the African concept of womanhood as endowment of positive values of life-giving creativity, truthfulness, goodness and the joy for life, which endows the woman a noble and unique role and responsibility, for the avoidance and resolution of conflicts, the development of permanent peace [---] This article, culled out of a doctoral thesis, suggests the rediscovery, articulation and transmission of authentic African cultural capital relating to the concept of

womanhood, for educating especially the youth in values and principles of truthfulness, faithfulness, patience, understanding, mercifulness, love and enthusiasm of joy for life and peaceful co-existence. Though the formation of the youth is the responsibility of all the society, the woman's role in African culture as the foremost responsible person for the bearing and rearing of children, makes the education towards conflict resolution and peace her primary responsibility"⁴⁴⁸

Meanwhile, it is on this note that I support the resolution in South Africa for more or equal women participation at all sections and at all top leadership positions in the African affairs. From local government to the federal or central government as the case maybe and in all the three tiers of government –Local, State and Federal Government. I therefore urge the men dominated African leadership to implement this, nurse and grow it as part of changes that will contribute to better leadership and governance of African nation-states. The African Union (AU) must turn every stone to see to the successful realisation of this womanhood vision for Africa.

When we talk of women's involvement and participation especially in the leadership positions, we should not forget that women are naturally grassroots mobilisers as a result of their natural roles as women. This role should be tapped through empowering them to actively participate in the economic nation building activities. One of these economic nation building ventures is focusing on entrepreneurship areas. Here, it is my opinion that small scale businesses will go a long way in holding the families together especially in the Great Lake Region where farming has drastically gone down due to climate changes, drought and land devastation.

There should be need to campaign that women must be given recognition and equal rights just like their male counterparts. That is to say that all kinds of discriminations against women must be fought against in Africa. The respective Governments of African Nations must recognise the need to avail women the same rights and opportunities as they do for men. This will not only lead to a competitive atmosphere, which promotes and increases competitions in services and subsequently promotes development but also make women discover their talents and capabilities.

Indeed, there should be the need to enable women to participate in economic development starting from the grassroots. By this I mean the introduction and application of small scale enterprises going on in developing nations and also in Africa. This is very recommendable. Through these means, women have been provided opportunity to economically emancipate, thereby contributing to the overall development of their respective countries. The chance to secure small loans has helped many women to gainfully secure employment even when they

⁴⁴⁸AVOTRI Doris Dzifa: African Womanhood and Conflict Resolution: In Copyrights Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd: African Renaissance: Vol. 1. No.3 Nov./Dec.2004, p. 84ff

are self-employed. These self-employed small economic projects have helped a lot of women to save their families from starvation and has enhanced growth not only in the families but also in the countries. This is achieved through the small resources that are pulled together and has formed large economic sectors of the national economies in the Horn of Africa. To this end, during his contribution he hinted us and concluded by saying:

“However, all of us involved in small economic projects should realise that a present a very wide range of agencies from, left to right, are promoting small enterprises. The Right see them as a necessary part of development as a tranquiliser making the situation of women from low income groups a little better so that they are not provoked to challenge the deeper inequalities in the economy. Those of us which believe in development leading to transformation, think that to empower women from low income groups, training should involve economic, political and cultural; information and analysis, as well as practical skills. So it is not enough to look at the practical skills needed for one enterprise, rather women need to examine nation; strategies to promote their economic rights as well”⁴⁴⁹

The above leads us to pause and think of the question of human rights and especially survey to see if the rights of women in Africa have been fair enough. That means governments should through legislation improve the rights of women and the executive arm of government must enforce them. I urge as alternative approach that every African country must take the gender quota very seriously. I further recommend that, the United Nations through the African regional Organisations and the African Union, monitor those governments in Africa not only to recognise this but also to implement and practice it.

16.4.14. Marshall Plan for Total Development of Africa

Since I started this work, I have come across so many insinuations and abuse of language used by some writers to describe the economically depleted Africa. These ranges from something like, can Africa be saved? What is wrong with Africa? There is no solution to African refugees. The black continent will never survive. Africa is a forgotten continent, and the black continent has gone bankrupt. Others suggest a total overhauling of Africa politically, Socio-culturally, economically and otherwise. These are some of the pictures that one sees on and reads in the literature books and hear from electronic media. Despite that, international community has pumped in so much money into the African Continent than in any other part of the world in terms of development aid. Yet, there is no sign that things are

⁴⁴⁹KINDERVATTER S & RANGE M; Marketing Strategy, with (eds), OEF, Washington DC, 1986 (US\$12, 50, 96pp): In Journal of Social Development in Africa 1989. Reviewed by Jonathan N Moyo, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

getting better or will ever get better. This assertion has been shared by several writers and politicians, likewise economic observers. *Kofi Annan* also embraces this position when he said:

“In Africa, long-term international aid programmes have not achieved the development goals for which they were established. Dramatic cuts in assistance to Africa have been registered in recent years. This trend has hurt rather than helped Africa’s efforts to implement the difficult economic and political reforms which are now under way across the continent. Appropriate and effective aid levels need to be established. In conjunction with this, development assistance needs to be restructured, focusing on high impact areas and on reducing dependency. Attention should be directed both to the means for transmitting assistance and to its ends. It is worth noting, for example, that because urban water supply is given preference over rural services, less than 20% of aid for water and sanitation services goes to rural areas or to low-cost mass-coverage programmes”⁴⁵⁰

He did not only end here, he continued his presentation by saying:

Because higher education is given preference over primary schooling, less than 20% of aid expenditures for education go to primary education. Because urban hospitals are given preference over primary health care, only about 30% of aid for health care goes for basic health services and facilities. The manner in which technical assistance is provided also needs to be critically re-examined. Technical assistance as it was originally conceived was designed to close the technical capacity gap between industrial and developing countries by accelerating the transfer of knowledge, skills and expertise, thereby building national capacity. In some cases this has been done but, in many others, technical assistance has had precisely the opposite effect, reining in rather than unleashing national capacity. It has been observed that today, after more than 40 years of technical assistance programmes, 90% of the US\$12 billion a year spent on technical assistance is still spent on foreign expertise—despite the fact that national experts are now available in many fields”⁴⁵¹

I am left with one question with reference to the above citation. The question runs simply like this, why should such amount be spent on foreigners when we talk of development of Africa? And if we are speaking from effective and target oriented development and by large alternative and durable solutions, one will understand that the opposite would have been the case. These literary pictures, with numbers and figures do one major thing. It reveals to the readers that something is wrong some way and somehow. This goes further to prove that after all said and done, the so called development aid, development assistance, NGOs and humanitarian work and services and what you have, are all regularly creating further super jobs for the citizens of the donor countries and donor country institutions. It does not matter what it is called or whatever phrase is used to express these kind of assistance.

⁴⁵⁰ ANNAN Kofi, Op. cit. p.36ff

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

I am left to further ask, are NGOs really helping to develop Africa through their work and presence in the African region with donor aid or not? Two outstanding writers with their contributions offered us the answer thus:

"While the vision of 'development' appeared to offer a more inclusive path to 'progress' than had previously been the case, in fact the discourse was little more than a superficial reformulation of old colonial prejudices. As Crush puts it, "development is fundamentally about mapping and making, about the spatial reach of power and the control and management of other peoples, territories, environments and places". The discourse of development provided a means of subverting popular aspirations for radical change in the context of independence struggles while legitimating the continued marginalisation of non-Western peoples. After independence development worked to undermine popular mobilisations and to limit an expanding communist ideology, both of which threatened to obstruct the continued growth of Euro-American capitalism in the former colonies. And it achieved all this while providing very little in the way of tangible benefits to non-Western people. There was no Marshall plan for Africa. The limited assistance post-colonial countries received in development aid was usually tied more directly to short-term Western interests"⁴⁵²

The above buttresses to all reasonable doubt, that the system of absolute control by West over Africa was the same. It is the same and will continue to be the same, until Africa realises that, and joins hands defies western ideologies in all nooks and crannies and by every legitimisation and manifestation to pursue its course and discourse alone.

That notwithstanding, it will be expected and appreciated and even human if donors strive to ensure that at least 50% of their aid to Africa is spent in Africa. And also to make information on the expenditure of aid funds more transparent. In addition, I propose and appeal that Media should be more *up and doing* to disseminate the activities of the development agencies. Especially on how the financial aspect of the aid are distributed amongst other things. The advantage cannot be over emphasised. One of such advantages is that, it will give access to the donors to witness how their money is spent. In addition, it will encourage them to make more donations if the previous ones are well utilised and accounted for.

Despite all of the above, it is my feeling that Africa needs a *Marshall Plan* just as was the case after the Second World War in Europe. In view of the depleted constellation of the economy if it is to get out of the current and unchanging conditions and developed. If this is not done, western countries can continue to raise and pump in billions of US Dollars and Euros for the next hundred years and Africa will continue to suffer and will remain as it has been since the last hundred years. But another question comes in my mind. Do western nations actually want Africa to get out of its present predicament? My opinion is no and I say this with every audacity. Furthermore, I say it based on the existing literatures which I had the opportunity to read during the course of my studies and especially during the time I carried out intensive research collecting information for this work. As I was turning every

⁴⁵²MANJI Firoze and O'COILL: Op. cit.: p. 567-83

page of a book one after the other, and was listening to radio and TV discussions by world leaders and experts in this field. I am happy that there are also some scholars that share same view as me even though this constitutes maybe a minority of people. Look at this:

“As the post-War reconstruction effort began in earnest in Europe with the implementation of the Marshall plan in 1948, mass suffering and starvation were no longer an imminent threat in Europe”⁴⁵³

With reference to the above, readers can without further doubt agree with me that Africa really needs a Marshall Plan. To stamp and seal the contention we were briefed that:

“Development, it seems, has failed. In many post-colonial countries real per capita GDP has fallen and welfare gains achieved since independence in areas like food consumption health and education have been reversed. The statistics are disturbing. In Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole per-capita incomes dropped by 21% in real terms between 1981 and 1989.1 Madagascar and Mali now have per capita incomes of \$799 and \$753 down from \$1,258 and \$898 25 years ago. In 16 other Sub-Saharan countries per capita incomes were also lower in 1999 than in 1975.2 nearly one quarter of the world's population, but nearly 42% of the population of sub-Saharan Africa, live on less than \$1 a day. Levels of inequality have also increased dramatically but worldwide. In 1960 the average income of the top 20% of the world's population was 30 times that of the bottom 20%. By 1990 it was 60 times, and by 1997, 74 times that of the lowest fifth. Today “the assets of the top three billionaires are more than the combined GNP of all least developed countries and their 600 million people”⁴⁵⁴

16.4.15. Indigenous Human Resources

Qualified Africans within the African periphery and beyond that are in diaspora, should now be involved in sourcing solutions and sorting out issues where mistakes have been made. In these modern times, there are no professional qualifications in human resources that is not obtainable in Africa or found in persons of African origin across the globe. The issue is that these experts should be attracted to join the wagon of change in Africa by African leaders and government for them to turn up. There is no gain saying that if the international community really wants to assist in development of Africa, then involvement of qualified Africans must be made a priority on one side and collaboration with African exiles in the diaspora should be well considered on the other side. Events have proven that implantation of foreign ideologies in the developing nations has not been the best way, especially without the consideration of the constellation of the particular environment. Giving assistance or

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

helping Africa with a complete non-involvement approach of the Africans themselves is like telling someone how he should ‘make *his bed and lie in it instead of supplying him with bed materials and allowing him to make the bed himself*’. As a result of this contention *Harrell Bond* in his contribution has this to say:

“Although many voluntary humanitarian aid agencies have rallied to help in instances of tragic involuntary mass movements of people, the assistance offered in such cases has rarely been questioned. Usually, questioning such seemingly necessary aid could be regarded as inhuman, since one would be asked whether one would rather see death due to hunger than humanitarian aid. What is being questioned in this book is definitely not the advent of aid itself, but how it is delivered and the extent to which the recipients are involved in decisions that affect their lives”⁴⁵⁵

The above is a supportive contention that Africans are not involved in humanitarian NGOs work especially in the high positions like at the management and administrative levels to partake in the decision making that affects them or their people. The question that first comes to mind is in the last three lines in the statement. Why it is that, Africans are not involved in the decision that affects their lives? Are there no qualified Africans who can take managerial and administrative positions? The answer is no. This incident goes further to support my position that something is wrong somewhere in all the development and assistance aid that have been in place since over eighty years and still Africa is yet to be developed. Contributing to the topic of development aid, another scholar and contemporary writer made a strong and loud warning when he said:

"Development, how many crimes have been committed and are being committed in thy name?"⁴⁵⁶

Speaking on the African debt, a brilliant and shocking revelation was made. It was discovered that:

“In 1995, Africa’s external debt totaled US\$328.9 billion—of which approximately 45% was owed to official bilateral sources, 30% to official multilateral sources, and 25% to commercial lenders. To service this debt fully, African countries would have had to pay to donors and external commercial lenders more than 60% (US\$86.3 billion) of the US\$142.3 billion in revenues generated from their exports. In fact, African countries as a whole actually paid more than 17% (US\$25.4 billion) of their total export earnings to donors and external commercial lenders, leaving a total of US\$60.9 billion in unpaid accumulated arrears”⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁵HARRELL-BOND B.E.; *Imposing aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees*, OUP, Oxford, 1986 (440pp): In *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 1989- Book Review.

⁴⁵⁶NOBEL Peter, *Refugees and Development in Africa*, Seminar Proceedings No 19, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1987 (121pp, SEK11Q-), Reviewed by Simon Metcalf, General Manager of the Nyaminyami Wildlife Management Trust, Zimbabwe: In *Journal of Social development in Africa* -1989

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

As part of efforts, which contemporary scholars and writers have been mobilising long before the end of cold war. Joined by political scientists at local and at the international level. Coined at the diplomatic level within the international relations, *Kofi Annan* made a painstaking and useful contribution that could assist in the call for face lifting of African depletive economy, which I captioned “*Marshall Plan for Africa*”, he said:

“During the cold war bilateral and multilateral loans were often linked mainly to geopolitical priorities, purchasing political peace and stability in areas of interest to the super-Powers or their principal allies [---] I urge all donors to strive to ensure that at least 50% of their aid to Africa is spent in Africa”⁴⁵⁸

What this learned gentleman was saying is that, there is need for super powers to make a reverse and review their interests in Africa and instead of wasting money or loans for something that will only promote disorder or something that is prone to cause havocs in the near future. They should pull their resources to meaningful assistance like nation-building and promotion of good governance.

It would be recalled that efforts to end the Cold War was not smooth. During the negotiations on how best to tackle the process, rumour has it that Africa was asked to support it and that at the end of Cold War, the huge resources that was being used to fight Cold War on one hand and the resources that were being used to defend it on the other hand, would be pulled together and used to support development in Africa. During my research work, I met with an African diplomat whom I was fortunate to know during one of the periods we went to the United Nations Centre in Vienna for a student seminar project. I confronted him with this issue and he confirmed that it is true, but warned me not to quote him. He went further to tell me that African leaders have been asking USA to come up with proposals as was agreed but as I was discussing with him in 2012, nothing was forthcoming. Many years after United States of America made that promise, Africa has not seen any proposal. It is on that note that *Kofi Annan* in the last two lines of the citation called on donors to see that at least fifty percent of their aids are spent in Africa. Other reasons will follow up as we go deeper and deeper with this work.

Be that as it may, I have simply quoted the above statement from an African personality who had the opportunity to serve as Secretary General of the United Nations to buttress my position on the issue of donor money and contributions. In addition to generousities expressed by world citizens to make contributions at any time when natural catastrophes overcomes human capability and ability. An example is what we saw in the December 2004 Tsunami or the Haitian Earthquake, or the Philippines floods or even the 2013 Germany floods. I clearly

⁴⁵⁸Ibid: p.38

maintain that, sometime is not correct in the endless efforts to rescue Africa and its refugees. If nothing was not fishy, the former Secretary General wouldn't have made the above statement and further advised as he did. Furthermore, because of his position during the time he made the statement and even in future matters, one would not have expected more than that from him when he takes pains to comment on world issues. Despite that, he borrowed the American slogan "*if you see something, say something*". How he has chosen to say it or have said it, remains to be contested.

Now let us discussed another good example why, it is necessary that donor money should be spent in Africa for which it is donated. On the ongoing civil strife and unrest in South Sudan and the escalation which has led to gun shootings between the group loyal to the president and the other militant group loyal to the orchestrated and unseated vice president. Thousands of refugees and internally displaced people have been the result of the whole issue. As a result, UNHCR, the AU, NGOs and Humanitarian Organisations have stepped in and stepped up assistants to the refugees and internally displaced people. Food aid and other likely assistance like provision of medications and sanitations. Also provision of water in the camps has been on increase. A publication in the Newspaper carried a picture of a young man carrying a bag of relieve aid and on the bag is written "*ICRC and Genève*" and some other words not clearly seen. Below the photo is the statement:

"Unloading food aid in Awerial, South Sudan. Humanitarian workers say hundreds of thousands of displaced people in the country are in urgent need of assistant"⁴⁵⁹

What is the implication of the cited statement? And why is it necessary to discuss this? The implication is that there is civil unrest in South Sudan, which will eventually lead to civil war and this has produced internally displaced people and these people need assistance. By extension, it implies that the UNHCR with the regional organisation like the AU and others, in conjunction with humanitarian agencies have stepped in to assist. However, it is necessary to discuss it because it shows exactly how donor's money meant for Africa are used and spent in other countries. In this case, spent in western nations. The bag shown which may either be rice or floor meal is not produced in Africa. As we have read, it is most likely to be produced in Geneva or in any other western country and thereafter shipped or flown down to South Sudan.

What this strategic operations reveal is that the money donated by institutions, agencies and philanthropists who are mostly from the western part of the world, are used to buying this food aid. This food aid is produced in the western nations since no African country produces that, or as claimed can produce that. What this further means is that the industries in the

⁴⁵⁹International New York Times; Monday, January 6, 2014, p. 5

western universe are kept on hold and in full productions. The Staff and or Workers in these industries and factories are provided with secured jobs and by extension, the logistics to get the products down and its distributions are controlled by the citizens of the same western countries. That finally means that at the end of the operation, over ninety percent (90%) of the donor's money as we have read are spent in the western continent. The country or the continent for which the donors made available the funds are left without anything apart from *eating and just eating*. It is very crucial to point out here that Africans are not only good at eating. They are also good at working and must be given the chances to work. After all, biblical book tell us that:

“For even when we were with you, we gave you this command: if anyone will not work, let him not eat”⁴⁶⁰

That notwithstanding, *Kofi Annan* continued and appealed to the industrialised nations in the international community to do the following:

“First, I call upon all creditor countries to convert into grants all the remaining official bilateral debt of the poorest African countries. Second, I call upon the international financial institutions to significantly ease and quicken access to facilities for heavily indebted poor countries, and to provide countries with sufficient resources to enable them to attain a substantial and sustained pace of economic growth and social development”⁴⁶¹

While, I do agree with the most respected African international and professional diplomat and winner of Noble price for Peace under his leadership as UN Secretary General, I can only support his proposals on the basis that the leaders of those African countries he is appealing on their behalf will commit themselves not to accumulate such debts in future, if their debts are written off as requested by *Kofi Annan*. Experience has shown that some Africa leaders have not been able to use those loans and aid with humility, while others have misused and abused that opportunity, few have used them wisely. Despite that, it is my opinion that special efforts are needed by the developed economies to ensure access for competitive African goods, even in the face of domestic political lobbies, resisting increased competition for one reason or the other.

It is not only *Kofi Annan* that has voiced out with anger and diplomacy, other writers have also contributed in one way or the other. They have been pulling resource ideas together to fight and search for durable solutions and alternatives to African economic and refugees problematic. In the light of this, I discovered that:

⁴⁶⁰The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version, 2nd Edition of New Testament A.D. 1971: Thessalonians 2, chapter 3, verse 10

⁴⁶¹ANNAN Kofi: Op. cit. p. 39

“In a document, *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* (summary in 9/03 *Atlantic Monthly*), the World Bank reviewed 52 such conflicts from 1960 to 1999. The study concluded that the roots of civil strife are more economic than ethnic: in a given five-year period, a low income country has a 17.1 % chances of falling into civil war. The risk of conflict drops to 12.3 % if an annual 2 % of economic growth rate of 2% is sustained for a decade. Economic diversification is also an important factor reducing risk. If primary-commodity exports (oil particularly) account for 10% or less of the GDP, the risk is reduced to 11 % but rises to 33 % when such exports exceed 30 % of the GDP. Similarly, societies with dominant ethnic groups are more likely to fall into civil war compared to those so diversified that no single group can dominate”⁴⁶²

Yes, I quite agree with the above citation. While I quite agree with the three UN findings, I hereby propose that the UN through its Security Country can decree to pave way for Africa as multilateral or on unilateral basis to be integrated in the free market of the world economy with conditions namely: Good governance, respect for human right and rule of law, corrupt free states, continuous paving ways for rule of multi-party democratic experiments in majority of the African countries if not in all the countries. Others conditions and support are deconstruction of obnoxious social and gender practices, organising transparent periodic elections, promoting fiscal accountability and enforcing anti-corruption legislations are some of the crucial areas where African countries desperately need to help themselves. It is my amply believe that if Africa can come up to such level, request for the support of the international community will surely be granted. This is construed on the principle *‘if you need help, first help yourself’*.

A close look at the citation also revealed that Africa really need *Marshall Plan*, if the world want to salvage her otherwise, I am afraid that the exploitation will continue for the next fifty years if not more. One thing must be noted and taken serious. This is the acute economic danger in place. Without strong and practical assistance in place, Africa will not be liberated from its depleted socio-cultural, economic and political scenarios. It is on this contestation that another scholar contributed by saying:

“Urgently, lasting solutions must be found for the refugee crisis in Africa. This clearly transcends merely providing for the food, sanitation and health needs of refugees, a formidable task in itself, the underlying issues must be resolved. We believe that political reform and peace accords are necessary and should be vigorously pursued to ensure lasting peace and conflict resolution. Pan-African organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at the continental level and ECOWAS, Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), the Arab League, etc. at the regional level should be empowered not only to keep peace at the continental level and in

⁴⁶²GOMES Solomon: Op. cit. p.45

their respective regions but also to prevent escalation of political violence and conflict”⁴⁶³

Another scholar made some impressive contribution and concluded thus:

“Chiefly, African states are urged to ratify the applicable international conventions and to embrace equity while the international community is urged to be ‘more compassionate and god fatherly’ (my emphasis) through debt-forgiveness, elimination of cumbersome trade barriers, and extension of development and technical assistance to African states. To be sure, these proposals are too well-known and well-meaning, but in terms of real and strategic added-value to solving Africa’s problems, we might still have to read them in the bookshelves for many years to come. However, reading into his mind, presuming I could, there is no doubt in my mind that the SG means well for Africa. He has articulated a brilliant treatise capable of taking Africa forward only to the extent that the contending social forces and relevant strategic interests in and beyond Africa are prepared to permit”⁴⁶⁴

It then means that the solutions and or alternative approaches for African refugees particularly and Africa generally are just at the fingertips of the hands of UN and Security Council. Waiting only for the political good will of the big powers to sign and seal it, for immediate implementation. I therefore contribute by saying, that only and only when the western world, especially the super powers are ready. This is because Africa cannot do it their way, if the international community and *Supra-powers lobbyists are not willing*. This is where Africa is now. At the cross roads, may be nearing the center circle where “*the games of power play are staged*”. The question is, for how long will Africa wait?

That notwithstanding, I have come across issues that concerns the United Nations with other regional organisations like AU, EU and or even with its agency like the UNHCR. It is to believe from the information that these institutions claim that they have been doing excellent work to curb Africa’s epidemic refugee problem. However, recorded literatures have also criticised or at least pointed out from time to time that, these efforts sometime do not work as it would have been. This depends most of the period where the several interest groups involved in the implementation. Each organisation is trying to outplay the other. Sabotaging is also not ruled out even when it has not been officially accepted or established. On this note we learnt that:

“Several EU governments have sought to find ways both to contain those flows and to return failed asylum seekers, if not directly to Somalia, then to Somaliland or Puntland where conditions are slightly better. Somalia has also been the target of UN arms sanctions, which have unsuccessfully tried to curb the flow of small arms from Somalia across the region. Thus, there exist strong incentives for EU and North American governments to support a combined political–humanitarian initiative to resolve the problem. Yet the

⁴⁶³KALIPENI Ezekiel and OPPONG Joseph: Op. cit. p. 1650

⁴⁶⁴OMEJE Kenneth, Discussant: The Causes of Conflict and Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa By Kofi Annan: In Copyrights Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd: African Renaissance: Vol 1. No.3 Nov./Dec.2004, p. 102

overall response of international policymakers remains compartmentalised. Security, development and humanitarian issues are discussed in different forums, each with their own theoretical frameworks, institutional arrangements and independent policy approaches. Neither the UN nor donor governments have adequately integrated the resolution of recurring regional refugee problems with the promotion of economic and political development, conflict resolution and sustainable peace and security”⁴⁶⁵

Judging from the above, one will have the impression that though efforts are summed up and some measurement worked out to be jointly executed or implemented. But then, the groups end up not achieving what they have mapped out to do. It is therefore easy to conclude that, application of remedies alongside interest groups and group agendas have ruined international combatant efforts to put on place sustainable approaches to solution solving mechanism. The best would have been that efforts would be better placed in such a manner that a particular group is given at least specific period to work and if after the period, the group is unable to make a breakthrough in putting up a consideration resettlement and sustainable results, then they would be asked to cease work and the next group would be allowed to step in. It is my position that international involvement in nation-building, reconstruction and rehabilitation in war-torn regions is very unavoidable. But it is unfortunate that it is still being seen as piecemeal and under-resourced. There is a pressing need to develop a policy agenda that extends beyond conventional boundaries and seeks to integrate the resolution of chronic and recurring regional refugee problems with economic development and security issues.

In addition, I urge for concerted efforts and application of non-self-interest attitude, while formidable discussions towards better mechanism will be made as I suggested. If this is not done, donors will continue to donate huge revenues and these revenues will only be lavishly spent without the targeted positive dividend.

Despite the alternative approaches, echoes that we read from the pages of print media and listen to electronic media houses, it is sometimes something one should pause and ask the simple question: Is there really hope for Africa and African refugees? This is because of some of the utterances read and noticed from period to period especially, when these utterances come from leaders of some of the world powers. Especially from whose circle Africa heavily hoped and relied on. An instance for such utterances was captured by one contemporary writer *Don Kraus* on a paper titled “*A step towards getting Peacekeeping Right*” and in discussing this article, *Ibiyanka Solarin* who happens to be a Professor and Co-coordinator at the Department of Political Science, Texas College, and Tyler, Texas quoted president Bush:

⁴⁶⁵LOESCHER Gil & MILNER James: Op. cit. p. 170f

“After all, President Bush upon assumption of office said Africa is of no strategic interest to the United States and his aversion to ‘stability operations’ is not exactly a revelation”⁴⁶⁶

If one goes by this, one may seem to agree that the problems of African refugees are not of strategic importance to the western people. That means by extension that western regimes are not interested in seeking for a durable solution for Africa and African refugees. It means then that, Africans are left to tackle the plague of their problems alone. But in the current era of globalisation, is that possible?

16.4.16. Recognition of Climate Refugees

The need for the United Nations to recognise climate refugee and by extension to finally accept Internally Displaced People as refugee has been over-emphasised. Many scholars have made impressive contributions in this avenue. Despite that, the United Nations has till now paid lip-services and unimpressive efforts to this corner. On the other hand, there are dozens of instances around the globe and especially in Africa and largely in East Africa that climate changes and natural happenings have led to production of people who are forced to leave their original homes for safety and migrate to another place or region as the case maybe. This is one of the unforeseen factors that have been pushing the continuous presence of refugees in Africa. In spite of all these efforts and catastrophic reoccurrences of climate changes and its effect, UN and International community continue to keep adamant concern to this. To shed more light on this we read that:

“Some of the possible reform options— extending the definition of refugees under the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or giving responsibilities to the UN Security Council—are less promising and might even be counterproductive. A better solution appears to lie with a new legal instrument specifically tailored for the needs of climate refugees—a Protocol on the Recognition, Protection, and Resettlement of Climate Refugees to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, supported by a separate funding mechanism, the Climate Refugee Protection and Resettlement Fund. The broad predictability of climate change impacts requires and allows preparation and planning. It is crucial, then, that this protocol not be framed in terms of emergency response and disaster relief but in planned and organized voluntary resettlement programs”⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶SOLARIN Ibiyanka, Discussant: A Step Towards Getting Peacekeeping Right By Don Kraus: In Copyrights Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd: African Renaissance: Vol. 1. No.3 Nov./Dec.2004, p. 106

⁴⁶⁷BIERMANN Frank and BOAS Ingrid: PROTECTING CLIMATE REFUGEES; The Case for a Global Protocol: In ENVIRONMENT VOLUME 50 NUMBER 6, November/December 2008, p. 15

Be that as it may, in searching and discussing durable alternative approaches to refugee problems especially in Africa and most especially in the Horn of Africa, though it has been argued and accepted that voluntary repatriation is a durable solution. Events in East Africa have disclaimed its durability. Persons or refugees are voluntarily repatriated today, within a short period of time sometimes less than six to twelve months, another outburst of migration from the group just repatriated will occur. This outburst is more often than not traced to the same factor that caused the first forced migration. Factors like climate changes and natural catastrophes and or civil unrest that threatens the lives of the people reoccurs again and again. The United Nations should therefore, recognise persons displaced by art of climate changes and the likes for instance, drought and provide for their cares and wellbeing. A major alternative to restore this ugly situation and to assist develop the drought regions is by investing in such projects that will see to the end of the causes of drought and severe climate occurrences.

Instead of positive thinking, the climatic problems like drought in east Africa, is seen as something that has no remedy or could not be approached. But still in our living memories we have seen countries like Dubai where desert was turned into *Monte Carlo City* in *Europe* with oceans, seas and boat ports, while in Libya, deserts were turn to green land and/or green vegetation. However, in such a situation, what comes quickly to mind is the issue of finance and who bears the cost. It is very unlikely that any country especially western countries will be ready to invest and pump money in the region (Horn of Africa), where no mineral resources like oil & gas or any other metal in commercial quantities like in Dubai exist. Exemption is in any case Sudan/ South Sudan, where Oil and Gas deposits are available in commercial quantities. Explorations and extractions are ongoing. Here again, the interest of the western regimes is not to develop the country but to get out with the resources and leave the country as they found it. Despite all said and done, it will be gainful not only for the East African Countries but for the world if the healthy nations will look into the situation and respond positively by putting machineries that will solve or dramatically reduce the drought situation. This will pay off better, instead of lavishing billions of dollars on refugees. For instance, according to TIME, I discovered that:

“Fahad Bin Mohammed Al-Attiya has been tasked with the seemingly impossible: turning Qatar’s food import ratio on its head, meaning that instead of importing 90% of the country’s annual food needs, as it currently does, it will produce them locally. Within the next 12 years. [---] To balance his country’s diet, Al-Attiya envisions nothing less than the complete re-engineering of Qatar’s environment, both physical and social. From new desalinization plants to a total upending of how Qatar uses energy (using the country’s abundant fossil fuels only for export), greenhouses that cover square miles instead of acres and a social revolution that will elevate farmers while regulating them closely, Al-Attiya’s quest to turn Qatar into a nation of locavores knows no limits. [---]That includes, apparently, financial ones. Getting exact figures on the country’s plans is about as easy as finding arugula in a desert, but Al-Attiya says the Qatari government is backing the initiative with about \$25 billion. (He argues that the private sector will be investing several times that on major infrastructure projects once the project gets off the ground.) Al-Attiya has the

unenviable task of convincing Qataris, and the world, that a home-grown meal is not only possible, but essential for the Mideast country's national security. If Qatar can succeed in feeding its populace with the fruits of its own soil, it will be a prescient investment in the future of food security in one of the most food insecure regions. If it fails, it could well go down as one of the most ill-conceived and arrogant white elephants in history. [---] When the purpose-built desalinization facilities are completed by 2025, Qatar will inject additional water into the depleted aquifer, to be used as a strategic reserve in case of crisis (the current reserve, stored in man-made tanks, would last 1.8 days at current consumption rates). But desalinization isn't cheap, not economically, and certainly not environmentally. Each cubic meter of desalinated Gulf water produces 45 kilograms of salt. All told, the byproduct of Qatar's projected desalinization scheme will produce some 157,500,000 kg of salt per day, enough to fill 4,620 shipping containers. For the moment Qatar pumps the resulting brine back into the Gulf, as does Saudi Arabia, the Emirates and Kuwait⁴⁶⁸

Base on this, I suggest that the best durable solutions and effective approaches should be to place priority on those factors that push the outburst of refugees. That is the root of all the evil that has to do with refugees in whichever form. Be it in Africa, or else way. We have seen that civil unrest, civil war and power struggle as we are witnessing in Syria right from 2011 has been the major reasons that lead to over three year old war that is still onto this year 2015. This war has led to the death of over 150,000 people. It has also caused and produced over three million refugees around the borderline of neighbouring countries as I have treated in one of the sections of this work. When these problems are satisfactorily treated, checked and or put under control and or carefully prevented, we shall then experience what we will term durability.

16.4.17. The Call for ICARA III

Still on the quest for the best durable and sustainable solution to refugee problems in East Africa. After the review of the International Conferences on Assistance of Refugee in Africa (ICARA 1 and 11), I discovered that there were issues pending and clarifications on the side of African leaders and governments. Issues like (1) the best way for burden – sharing, (2) making the international community realise that the beginning of the refugee problems were initially their very own making and therefore, should be focused on and taken serious, to solving the matter, (3) Concretisation of the measurement to be taken since it is now apparent to the world that Africans alone can never solve the challenges without the assistant of the global players. In addition, (4) international community must realise that the period of dichotomy of the north and south politicking during the time of Cold War has ended. As such, the debris of Cold War must not be left in the hands of Africans alone. (5) Western Countries must realise that we are now in the twenty first century and that the emerging of

⁴⁶⁸TIME the Middle Eastern Country: In <http://science.time.com/2012/11/19/desert-dreams-can-the-middle-eastern-country-of-qatar-learn-to-feed-itself/>

New World Order and Globalisation have reshaped the world. As such another perspective in burden – sharing of global problems must take a new precedents and dimensions. (6) Issues such as global refugee challenges and problematic should be collectively handled because, the above two mentioned norms have completely reduced the individual sovereignty of nation states and cross border migration cannot be controlled as before.

Therefore, for the fact that the first and second ICARA conferences on Assistance to Refugees were not successful enough, after over twenty years since the last one, there is the need to make a review, painstaking accountability process and, proposal for better and acceptable conditions. This is in view that, the international community has realised within the last two decades that, the solution cannot be left for Africa alone. For instance, where many issues were discussed in both the first and second ICARA on how burden – sharing could be best implemented, it was noted that:

“Increased economic burden-sharing is intended to increase the willingness of states to consider the viability of local integration as a durable solution. This notion is explicit throughout Convention Plus, in which burden-sharing by northern states is identified as bringing ‘leverage’ in securing durable solutions from the south in a mutually beneficial partnership. This type of linkage is implicit in ICARA II in the desire of northern donors to secure durable solutions through financial burden-sharing. Secondly, there have been attempts to secure partnerships with development agencies. In the case of ICARA, UNDP was cooperative at a technical and negotiative level; however, more concrete commitments in terms of resources or methodological changes were elusive. The work on TDA has similarly involved seeking such partnerships. It is too early to judge whether these will move beyond a headquarters level.”⁴⁶⁹

ICARA 111 will have the privilege to address all the loop holes that emanated after the first and second one as was evidence in the above quotation. In addition, issues like (a) establishing a clear line between the needed increased burden-sharing between north and south and durability solutions could be well discussed, agreed and implemented (b) It is my opinion that there should be need to avoid the danger of personalisation of interest and selection or what some call *selectivity in action plans* (c) The southern receivers should come up with a detailed and comprehensive presentation of the contents of the ‘*additionally*’ as they perceive it and the northern counterpart should find the mechanism to accommodate it (d) Also, there should be need to overcome the problematic and hindrances eminent in the inter-agency co-operations with the development agencies and the NGOs. Clear definition of responsibility between receivers and donors on one side and between the role of the agencies and the governments of the receiving states must be defined agreed and also accepted on the other hand (e) The principles agreed upon must be followed and finally, (f) The projects for momentum action and projects for long term activities should be well defined

⁴⁶⁹BETTS Alexander: Op. cit.

and should not be matched together. In doing this, is to limit misunderstandings that could arise as a result and, (g) the lack of political will from the participating nations especially from the western donors, which we all agreed was one of the precedential remarks to the failed conferences, call for most attention. Furthermore, (h) the question of perfect leadership in the coordination of the responsibilities must be well addressed without fear, favour or compromising (i) The question that the donor nations should be given flexibility in determining how their funds should be distributed and allocated call for serious surveys. This must be taken into considerations by subcommittee meetings and conferences prior to the ICARA 111. These and other issues as lessons learnt from the first and second ICARA call for the third one.

Subsequently to the aforementioned, one of the alternative approaches would have been to allow the receiving countries to determine themselves if they do need the services and assistances of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). This is one of the areas where to my understanding, the northern donors and international community have been making precedential mistakes. Providing assistance with conditions, in this case one of the known conditions is the involvement of the UNDP in the programme. And in most cases the funds provided for the receiving nations in East Africa for instance have no control over the fund because the fund has been entrusted in the hands of the UNDP. It is on this note that most African contemporary writers and observers of the activities and efforts being made in this area have been asking for total free hand of the receiving countries instead of involvement of NGOs and humanitarian Organisations in whichever form. Should the receiving countries need assistant from the UNDP or any other agency or NGOs, it is their responsibility to request for that at the time they need it. Can decision makers in this field make a rethink? Tying assistant with conditions has never helped throughout the history of development programmes and where it has helped, the help has been very minor. This is simply for the fact that the conditions that are tied with the *aid* are only favourable to the western donors. As a result, many observers have built the opinion that *development aid* in any form has contributed to under-development of African nations. If the situation continue as it has been till date, I foresee a situation where it will not take long before the third world war will erupt. However, I do not pray for that to happen. *LAVROV Sergei* did not end his statement in the TV interview without commenting on this as stated previously, he went further to warn that:

“Forced democracy from outside influence only produces unrest and civil disorder which in turn produces refugees. This is the danger of external intervention”⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

It is on this note that, I called on “*the powers that be*” in Africa and outside the continent no longer to force Africans into what they cannot do or are not ready to start. From the statement of the Russia Foreign Minister *LAVROV Sergei*, I can only say that at least Russia one of the super powers has realised that most of the unrest of all the political and economic problems facing Africa today are as a result of a false system of administration, forced and imposed by the Europeans and their partners, like the United States of America during the epoch of slavery and slave trading. The causes are traced to the root and accusing fingers are on Europe and America and to some extent, to Arabs. Europe and America bear the highest blame.

A brief account of the Syria as a case study revealed that, there is much than enough in placed that if *Bashal al-Assad* Syria is toppled, the whole Middle East would have been in dismay and will lead to unbearable situations in and around Syria and even throughout the middle East.

17. Conclusion

In the introductory part of this work, I defined and analysed precisely *Refugee* and what should be understood when one hear or speak on refugees. While part one focused on the types and categories of refugees. I also discovered that there are some conflicts on the term refugees and the IDPs – internally displaced persons. This conflict goes beyond international discourse and as a result, the United Nations (UN) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have also accepted the definition of refugees from the points of view of the African Countries under the Umbrella of the African Union (AU), as at then, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), as they defined refugees during the meeting in Addis Ababa in 1969. To refresh our memory lines, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines refugees:

“As persons who have fled their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group and who cannot or do not want to return (UNHCR, 1993). On the other hand internally displaced persons are those who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, because of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or human-induced disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country”⁴⁷¹

Commenting on the above citation, it is on this note that scholars of contemporary writing, scientists in the international circle and diplomatic arena have displayed lots of respect and commendation on the United Nations and its agencies like the UNHCR for defending and saving human souls through legalisation of international laws that will create conducive

⁴⁷¹KALIPENI Ezekiel and OPPONG Joseph: Op. cit. p. 1641

situations for people of diverse cultures to live together and respect one another. Contributing to the discourse we learnt that:

“The evolution of international law of human rights has been one of the more remarkable features of the development of international law since 1945”⁴⁷²

Other definitions have been taken care of in the section and subsection in the introduction of the work. Furthermore, I discussed comprehensively on the causes of refugees, which includes both internal and external factors.

Throughout the period of my work, I discovered that unaccountable amounts of billions of United States of American Dollars (US\$) and Euros (€), are pumped year in, year out for the past fifty years and even beyond. Since one of the parts of the work is focused on alternative approaches I continue to look for alternatives. I came to ask the question, why is it that in spite of millions of US dollars and Euros being spent to train homeless children, assist the refugees especially in Great Lake area of Africa and other billions of dollars spent on ‘*development assistance aid*’ to help for Africa, it seems that the future is still not bright? I have during the course of my studies surveyed and evaluated so many existing literatures and could not find reasonable or truthful answers to my questions.

As a result, during discussion with the general secretary of *SOS Kinderdorf International* I did not waste a second to throw the question to him. He made a quick pose and said:

“As I said earlier, in many countries not only in Africa but also in Asia and Latin America the solution is just small institutions, small business organisations and dealers in whole sale and retail jobs (those in the middle class) and when the young people are self-reliance, self contend in what they have learnt, it does not matter whether they are carpenters, shoe makers, welders, electricians or linguistic. It is our responsibility to give them adequate and necessary support and assistance that involves some years of grace` (tax free period) in the business life so that they would be fully engaged in the various field of their specialisation. So, when that is achieved, it will go a long way in alleviating most of the problems”⁴⁷³

Judging from what he said, it is easier to notice that he used the word “*the solution is just small institutions*”. What I could make out of that, is that the money involved is too much on one hand, but just small institutions in the world cannot put up a reasonable fight to tackle

⁴⁷² HARRIS D.J. Op. cit. p. 602

⁴⁷³ Mag. PICHLER: Op. cit.

this refugee epidemic in Africa and around the globe on the other hand. That is also to say that the distribution of the huge amounts of funding involved is not clear. Since the money involved in fighting refugee problems are so huge, and it has not been possible for the international community to put up, in order to hold the situation of refugees under control if not completely solved, the challenges will continue to linger . One continues to wonder why nation-states are not capable or not willing to put up such a huge budget into better use. In my efforts to give appropriate responses, it is my opinion that the international community and the UNHCR, prefer giving just little *to pay lip- service* to the problem instead of active involvement.

Not being satisfied, I confronted some of my colleagues in a neutral discussion during which time we had a pause in the seminar period. We were discussing development co-operation and assistance to African countries as partners. I clearly requested from any of them to (1) tell me why in all the development projects and by non-governmental organisations in Austria, one never see any Africa in diaspora working in any of them. Not even as part time job or summer job and (2) why do these Organisations and Institutions prefer going to Africa and employing field and/or aid workers direct from the villages at the refugee camp instead of taking one African in diaspora in their respective country down to Africa?

Surprising enough, none amongst about twenty colleagues could give me convincing answers to my questions. Then, I simply told them that the reason is because Europe does not want an educated African who studied in Europe to come into the circle of what is going on with the whole money being provided yearly. That they are just afraid that the secret of what happens to the fund so budgeted will be disclosed. It is not a secret in the modern times that just very little from the so called *development aid* reaches Africa. A high and respected officer of one of the NGOs whom I happened to meet during my studies at one occasion told me with confidence that for instance, one hundred million Euros (€100.000.000) is provided for a particular aid for a particular project in Africa, About thirty percent (30%) goes for paper work alone, another fifty percent (50%) goes for salaries, cars for the workers and staff in Europe), and only twenty percent (20%) goes to Africa. That is not even the issue, the true

position is that from the twenty percent (20%), ten percent (10%) comes back into Europe to special bank accounts through the back door. What is left at the end of the day is ten percent (10%) and this amount will be distributed on that project as the case maybe. So, at the end of the day from the one hundred million Euros (€100,000,000) that was officially provided, celebrated on the front pages of national newspapers of the country only a meagre amount of ten million Euros (€10.000.000) landed on the project and how that ten million Euros (€10,000,000) is distributed or will be distributed is to be contested. Surprisingly enough, as I revealed these findings to my colleagues, they never believed me.

Second scenario, I quickly asked then to tell me why after sixty years of spending and donations for development activities in Africa, Africa today is as bad as it was sixty years ago? For many of them, I was to them like a person from another and unknown planet. Yes of course to some degree they were correct. While, I am not from unknown planet, I am from another continent and to worsen the situation from the black Continent – Africa. I tried to share with them my experiences in this direction and said that there is no need to be spending again to any African development projects because these spending and donations go in similar way just like in the aforementioned first scenario. I even tried to educate them that *development co-operation or development aid* does not only mean co-operation or aid given to Africa or made in Asia. I told them that development co-operation and or aid takes place even within a nation. For instance, if two or three states in Austria joined hands together and make a donation of about five hundred thousand Euros (€500,000) to build for instance, “*a day care school*” in a fourth state, it is also development aid. That is to say that all the money collected as sponsor, donation or money spent by citizens for development assistances and aid are not only spent for Africa or third world countries but also within the country in question.

But as fate would have it, one of my professors passing by *overheard me* and invited me to his office. When I went to meet with him, he called me ‘*colleague*’ and addressed me by my first name. He told me that he promptly called my attention to inform me first, that what I was

telling my fellow students was simply the truth, but that it is a truth that must not be told. As inquisitive as I was and as curious as you could imagine, I asked why?

He told me that if there is no more non – government and humanitarian organisations in existence, not only in Austria but in the whole of Europe, the following things will and are mostly likely to happen. First, there will be uncontrolled unemployed workers in Austria, if Austria is taken as an instance. Second, there will be social unrest. Third, the government will not have enough money to provide the social infrastructure that are mostly and commonly needed on a daily basis and/or to support the social beneficiaries.

And I asked again why? He said that those money (monies) people spent or donated in the name of helping Africa are partly used (a) to provide job for its citizens, (b) to provide as I earlier mentioned social infrastructure for its citizens and (c) the money helps the country for budget projections. Lastly, he warned me that I must forthwith stop such information dissemination otherwise, I might in the process face obstacles with strong indication that may cost me something that cannot be replaced.

I have decided to share my experiences with anyone who may read this dissertation in continuation to search for solutions and alternatives for refugee problems. It is my innermost believe that these set of people are traumatised and must be helped if we are really living in a global village, which is claimed in this twenty-first (21st) century. Meanwhile, my analysis boils down to portray the issues that matters. I call everyone's attention to make some academic contributions that may force the world policy makers to change their minds for the benefit of mankind irrespective of where one is born or brought up. While I do agree with that, it is because no amount of effort no matter how collective it may sound and billions and trillions of Euros or US dollars pulled together and pumped into waging wars against the refugee problem will be adequate. But I sincerely believe that, the nation-states can bring it drastically low and within control.

It is pertinent to mention also that the complexity of refugees and its management is quite uncontrollable, given the fact to the difficulties (1) identify who is a refugee and who is not and (2) who is from one country and from the other. I discovered that it is extremely difficult most of the time to control the *in and out-flows* of refugees across the borders of the countries under review. To shed more light on this, I provided a reference as a clarification and to convince readers the dilemma I went through in the course of this project:

“One interesting phenomenon that emerges from a closer examination of the refugee flows is that countries that receive and harbor refugees from neighboring countries are usually exporting their own refugees to these other countries, an ironic exchange of the persecuted. For example in 1992, Sudan, one of the top refugee generating countries, harbored more than 730 000 refugees from surrounding countries (i.e., 700 000 from Ethiopia, 7000 from Uganda, 21 000 from Chad, and 2000 from Zaire). Simultaneously thousands of Sudanese refugees sought safe havens in Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, and other surrounding countries. In West Africa while Liberia hosted 100 000 refugees from Sierra Leone, thousands of Liberians flocked to Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, and Guinea in search of safety”⁴⁷⁴

The above may go a long way to give insight why it has been very difficult for refugee management processes to curb this endemic sickness. Further research pointed out the root causes of such mixtures of people from different ethnic groups and religions to the colonisation period when the missionaries and western colonial lords without consideration of their differences, merged them together.

17.1. Foreign Influence

It is very important to mention in passing that one of the best alternative approaches is the avoidance of the push factors for uprising of refugees. This happens especially when a new country gains independence. In the whole of Africa with roughly exemptions from two to three, I discovered that after attaining independence within a space of not even up to one

⁴⁷⁴KALIPENI Ezekiel and OPPONG Joseph: Op. cit. p. 1642

year to three years and longest six years, civil unrest – civil war will break out. The most appealing side of the causes of this war and unrest is most of the time traced to western world. The interest of the superpowers in who controls or takes upper-hand in the new nation comes in the middle points. Through this, leaders of the new country are instigated by each of the vying superpowers to cause problems.

Such is to be seen in South Sudan, immediately after independence, even though they have been at war within the circle of Sudan, it become clear that the interest of USA and China especially the latter, who has been playing host to old Sudan went ahead to influence situations on the relationship of old Sudan and South Sudan.

17.2. Case study - Southern Sudan

While, I was treating the issues of factors of refugees in section four (causes of refugees) on this work. I made mention of external factor and influence of Western governments in developing countries. One of the countries in the Great Lake of Africa under my studies is Sudan, by and large South Sudan.

In variable, South Sudan, which break away after a peaceful referendum in 2005⁴⁷⁵ to become an independent nation and the youngest member of the United Nations, serves here as a super example . Once again, nailed down the assertion that, Western influence has done more harm than good in Africa from the onset of mankind. The notorious geopolitical and geo-economic interest of the western world especially the world powers is therefore, by extension the major root of the causes and problems of refugees in the Horn of Africa. To establish this hypothesis above any reasonable doubt, I record thus:

“In the competition for oil and other precious resources in Africa, interests external to Africa continue to play a large and sometimes decisive role, both in suppressing conflict and in sustaining it. Foreign interventions are not limited, however, to sources beyond Africa. Neighbouring States, inevitably affected by conflicts taking place within other States, may also have other significant interests, not all of them necessarily”⁴⁷⁶

In this particular regard, China, USA and India are competitors in the quest to have some part of control over the *South Sudan Rich Oil Republic*, even if it is not possible for a complete control. It is no secret that before the breaking off of South Sudan from North Sudan, China are major investors in Sudan followed by India. United States of America has had no influence. As a result, China and India have been controlling the oil economy of

⁴⁷⁵<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmis/referendum.shtml>

⁴⁷⁶ANNAN Kofi: Op. cit. p. 12.

Sudan easily. United States of America has to do everything under its power through the United Nations and lastly through the United Nations Security Council to support the breaking off and the subsequent emergence of South Sudan as a sovereign state. For this effort USA made, South Sudan has to compensate USA by giving it access and control over its oil through undisclosed deals. Just after almost two years of independent, and by December 15th, 2013, political and power unrest reared its ugly head up in South Sudan and led to civil war between armies loyal to the president and its former vice president as we have already read at the introductory part of this section. This has been followed with thousands of refugees.

But then, it is necessary to elaborate that the struggle to control the oil in Sudan is paramount. It is also not to be ruled out that, the western countries that are involved in the unrest and their allies are financiers of the arm deals. Without ammunitions, the disputed parties cannot sustain their fight or war as one may term it for a long period of time. This is what makes it different from the negative roles neighbours of the warring countries play. The neighbours can only benefit from the spillover of refugees into their respective countries and through the affordable assistance they will receive from the international communities and humanitarians organisations as host countries to the refugees from the warring country. While the neighbouring countries are minor players to the unrest, the major players are the big nations in this case of South Sudan and North Sudan. The USA, China and India who through their activities fuel and continue to fuel the militarisation.

According to *Kofi Annan*, the former Secretary General in his writings on wars and conflicts in Africa with the interesting question, *Will Africa Ever Know Peace?* While he was analysing the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, he pointed out that '*economically motivated interests*' of the developed and industrialised world and the super powers as a serious concern and says:

"Despite the devastation that armed conflicts bring, there are many who profit from chaos and lack of accountability, and who may have little or no interest in stopping a conflict and much interest in prolonging it. Very high on the list of those who profit from conflict in Africa are international arms merchants. Also high on the list, usually, are the protagonists themselves. In Liberia, the control and exploitation of diamonds, timber and other raw materials was one of the principal objectives of the warring factions. Control over those resources financed the various factions and gave them the means to sustain the conflict. Clearly, many of the protagonists had a strong financial interest in seeing the conflict prolonged. The same can be said of Angola, where protracted difficulties in the peace process owed much to the importance of control over the exploitation of the country's lucrative diamond fields. In Sierra Leone, the chance to plunder natural resources and loot Central Bank reserves was a key motivation of those who seized power from the elected Government in May 1997"⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁷Ibid: p. 13

What can we learn from the above? Much, but suffice to mention just few lessons. The writer mentioned that it is the *arms merchants* who benefits most. The warring parties have no weapons they personally produce. That means to say that, the super powers behind them supply those weapons and arms with which to kill themselves. The deal is arranged in such a manner that oil will be used to pay back since the parties to the fight, lack finance. Even though, they are managing a rich country endowed with mineral resources. Second, the parties to the war will then destroy their country and demolish even their buildings and houses, economic, socio-cultural and political strategic areas. Three, by so doing, they will produce thousands of cross border refugees and millions of internally displaced people (semi-refugees). As a result of the conglomeration of the sum total of all the effects, the country or countries engaged in wars and fights have been programmed for life perpetually. The external partners who have funded and sustained the war will later be paid. In most cases, they will be forced to overpay because the whole deal will be overpriced (weapons purchased and supplied during and after the war). The super powers and the industrialised nations will come back after the war to take over the billions of United States Dollar contracts to rebuilt and refurbish the destroyed strategic areas pointed out previously. Then UNHCR will set in with its collaborators and partners like the NGOs and humanitarian organisations to take care of the refugees and arrange for repatriation and settlements. All these financial, socio-cultural and economic burdens are to be borne directly and indirectly by the conflicting parties. By so doing, a perpetual life-mortgage has been planned and executed. These will be hanged upon the countries in question. This will run into centuries ahead and underdevelopment of the new state is programmed.

To further shed light that United States of America is strongly involved in the secession of republic of South Sudan from old or North Sudan, I discovered that:

“The secession of South Sudan from Sudan to gain Independent is engineered by the United States of America (USA) single handedly. The interest of the US being the “*Black Gold*” in South Sudan, which controls up to seventy-five (75%) of oil reservoir in the whole of Sudan. The secession has even produced more refugee crises in South Sudan than when South Sudan was still under old Sudan”⁴⁷⁸

During my research work, I found also some similarities in some aspects of opinion of many different writers. For instance, one of the most traumatic experiences during outbreak of war and warlike incidents that lead to outburst of migration and people trying to change or leave their original habitual homes is the living conditions of those affected. This is the issue of vulnerable group of people and those mostly affected. On this topic, there is a generalised standing that, the effects on these groups of people are different. The group of refugees that

⁴⁷⁸See report at 23:00 hours from RT (Russia Television) news on 24th December 2013. Op. cit.

suffer most during any kind of unrest in East African country was summarised by a medical aid worker of *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctor without Border)* I had some discussions. She has this to say:

“Again this can depend on the different kinds of situations sometimes different groups from the population can become target. Generally, it is easy to say that children will be the most vulnerable because they are most likely to catch disease, they are most likely to respond to those extra ordinary strange situations, and they are also able to show that kind of strenuous weakness after facing very difficult and very traumatic experiences during the war or during the flight. And after the children, it will be the women who are exposed to vulnerable situation as well. Just imagine women with pregnancy in such situation where they do not have proper homes and maybe, where they are not used to and no proper medical care for delivery. In the last number of years where women and civilians are increasingly involved in a lot of violence, situations where there was a lot of violence against women were recorded. Young girls as well as women are likely to become victims of wars and different kinds of sexual abuse and violence. Young boys very often have had bad experiences as soldier or teenage soldiers and that will sometime affect their future lives as well-being”⁴⁷⁹

17.3. Sacrifices pay by African Countries for Hosting Refugees

While I was treating the sections and subsection in part two of the project, I discovered that the issue of refugees and the problems posed on host countries and their citizens vary from time to time. On one hand, the host countries and their citizens demonstrate concerns, sympathise and help the refugees in their countries and on the other hand, reject and victimise them. Instances were given for example, in Tanzania where refugees were given some portions of land to cultivate and instances where it was given, where the government refuses to care for them. A good example is in Kenya.

That notwithstanding, African countries have been playing tremendous roles in alleviating the suffering of refugees from their hardships. The countries in the Horn of Africa have been fore-runners and have demonstrated humilities in line with the course of sourcing solutions to reduce refugee problems in their regions and boundaries. In doing this they have also faced significant exposure to dangers. This is either direct from warring parties or from militant groups and to some extent from crime waves in their countries. For instance, Kenya and Tanzania have raised significant concerns about the direct security threat posed by long-standing refugee populations. Kenya’s porous borders and its position as a regional diplomatic and commercial center made it a target of international terrorist attacks in 1998, with the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi. In 2002, with attacks on Israeli interests in Mombasa. As a result, we learnt that:

⁴⁷⁹ Interview *Ärzte Ohne Grenze (Doctors without border)*: Op. cit. p. 4

“After 13 years of negotiations, the Mbaguthi Peace Process in Nairobi resulted in the November 2004 election of Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as Somalia’s new president. The composition of a full cabinet was finally agreed in early 2005. The formation of a new government does not, however, promise stability. Somaliland does not recognise the new government, and there appears to be substantial opposition from the Islamic courts and rival clans. As a result of this opposition and prevailing instability, the government has not been able to sit in Mogadishu, but remains in Kenya. Proposals for an African Union stabilisation force to provide security for the new government are contingent upon the establishment of the government in Mogadishu. There is little likelihood of such a deployment in the foreseeable future”⁴⁸⁰

Kenya suffered a big setback as a result of full involvement and as a result some Islamic terrorist group loyal to the opposition government. This terrorist group laid ambush at the Kenya Mall and killed many people at the Mall Complex. Properties and goods worth millions of US dollars were damaged and or stolen. This is a good example of dangers and challenges that countries serving as host to refugees and or exile governments for a part of the warring groups, suffers. On twenty-first September two thousand thirteen (21.09.2013) Kenya Westgate Shopping Mall was under siege by unidentified gunmen. We read that:

“Kenyan security forces remain locked in a slow and bloody operation to clear Islamist militant hostage-takers from an upmarket shopping mall in Nairobi, as plumes of black smoke pour from the complex and sporadic gunfire and occasional blasts can reportedly be heard. More than 48 hours after a heavily armed group from the Somalia-based al-Shabaab organisation killed at least 62 people in the Westgate centre, which was packed with shoppers and families, little is known about the situation inside. The confirmed dead now include four Britons, along with nationals from another dozen countries, as well as Kenya. Al-Shabaab, which is demanding Kenya pull its troops out of Somalia, has said it will kill hostages if Kenyan security forces, who are being assisted by Israeli, British and US experts, tried to storm the mall”⁴⁸¹

Finally, statistical summary of the raid was presented to the public by Wikipedia as

Follows:

Table 4. Shows

September 2013	
Location	Westlands, Nairobi, Kenya
Date	21- 24 September 2013
Attack type	Mass Murder, shootings, hostage crises, siege
Weapon (s)	AK- 47s, grenades
Deaths	Total number 72 killed (61 civilians, 6 security

⁴⁸⁰LOESCHER Gil & MILNER James: The Long Road Home; Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa: In Survival vol. 47 no. 2 summer 2005; The International Institute for Strategic Studies, p. 169

⁴⁸¹The guardian.com, Monday 23 September 2013

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/23/nairobi-attack-kenyan-forces-mall>

	personnel, 5 attackers)
Injured (non-fatal)	175
Perpetrators	Al – Shabaab

Information for the table was taken from⁴⁸²

This kind of surveillance from warring and terrorist groups has been one of the major factors of setback. This happens most of the time when and where there would have been a breakthrough in peacekeeping, hosting and sustainable repatriation of refugees in war-torn zones in East Africa. My approach as alternative is that the international community led by the United Nations and the UNHCR should provide adequate security to the host countries and the workers of the humanitarian aid agencies in such areas where rampant and uncalculated shootings can occur. This measure can contribute to sustainable and long term stability. It is unfortunate that despite every effort, insecurity remains rife simply because many leaders of warring factions continue to profit personally from conditions of instability. As a result, most aid agencies have pulled out of the country. Intermittent fighting among rival clans in central and southern Somalia has caused scores of deaths and injuries. There is no hope that even after going to press, that the insurgency will be better.

17.4. On the question of Integration of African Economy through Trade Liberalisation

Despite all said and done, it is legitimate and academically correct to point out that on a regional bases, some regions have worked very hard and are very close to breaking the iceberg and getting themselves fully integrated in the international trade unions. I discovered that West African Region with fifteen (15) countries, which is known as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been working over the decades to seal a balanced deal to get themselves integrated with the European Union (EU) and remove the blockage and trade barriers that have been holding them back for decades. This agreement if successfully comes to fruition will go a long way to bringing into Africa hard currencies. To buttress more light on the process that it is almost in conclusion we learnt that:

“Although the countries agreed a deal in principle, they postponed formally signing the EPA after Nigeria expressed concerns about how the deal would impact on its industrial sector if it drops tariffs on certain EU products, according to Reuters. Under the free trade deal the EU would give the 15 members of ECOWAS and non-member state Mauritania immediate full access to its markets. In return, ECOWAS would gradually open up 75% of

⁴⁸²http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westgate_shopping_mall_attack

its markets to Europe over a 20-year period. This would give Europe increased access to the 300 million consumers who live in the 16 African states. Under the deal, the EU has agreed to give ECOWAS a €6.5 billion package over the next five years to help ECOWAS meet the costs of integrating into the global economy”⁴⁸³

The above incident took place during its 44th summit meeting held in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire as ECOWAS leaders were due to finalise the deal at the summit, ahead of the 4th African-EU summit in Brussels, which started on 2 April 2014.

In my contribution to the whole issue, I urge Nigeria not to withhold its support and commitment instead to pursue further and secure a better deal within the ECOWAS Economic Union as well as bargain much better against the EU. While I support the initiative, I see the ECOWAS members stand firmly on their demand to secure the best deal for the West African states. This was also the opinion of the chairman of the Bloc:

“Ghana's President John Mahama, who took the bloc's rotating chairmanship at the two-day summit, said: "We need to negotiate an EPA that is beneficial to our sub-region and will contribute to the prosperity of our people. We can only do that united as a sub-region.”⁴⁸⁴

For recorded purposes and to refresh the minds of some readers who may no longer be aware of the countries that make up *West African Countries*, they are thus:

“ECOWAS includes members Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Niger and Togo”⁴⁸⁵

Furthermore, I also urge other African regions to borrow a leaf from the West African story and do the same. It will then be easier at a later period for all African regions as a central body to enter into a super economic agreement with European Union. This is an access that will benefit both parties and catapult Africa into the mainstream of the global market.

17.5. OSCE and AU

Still under part two, section 11.2.11.; Doing a work on topic like Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe no matter in which aspect or from which dimension, is not an easy task. Trying to offer alternative to what the Organisation has been doing for the past 27 years for instance, becomes still a hard nut to crack.

⁴⁸³ All Africa 3 April 2014: In <http://allafrica.com/stories/201404031393.html>

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

The above statement is not far-fetched judging on one hand, from the qualities and the experiences of its experts and personals and on the other hand, from the years of its experience as an Organisation even during the period of Cold War and thereafter. In spite of that, I still believe that there are still issues no matter how irrelevant one may take them to be, that still serve either as factors to prevent peace, crises and conflicts and vis-à-vis and factors to promote them. Despite these difficulties, efforts would be made to see that, at the end of the work, something that would be substantial will emerge.

I would like to begin to seek for alternative approaches with the issue of African refugees at the shores of Europe.

In terms of refugees and illegal migration, efforts should be made by the OSCE participating states to reduce those factors that influence and encourage refugees and illegal migration. Most of these factors are basically found in the MPC, s countries. These are something like, lack of job or inadequate existence of job in the African partner states. The issue of corruption and economic mismanagement, which has paralysed most of the government officers of the MPC, s members, whom OSCE has been dealing with. Others are lack of factories and firms that can offer gainful employment to its citizens. Abuse of powers by the leaders or rulers of the countries under review. I have not said that if and when all the aforementioned factors are eradicated, refugees will no longer step into the soil of Europe, but at least, the rapid stream would drastically be reduced. As long as Europe including the members of OSCE continues to pay lip-service in pretext that all is well or that what is happening in the countries of the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation or even in the whole continent of Africa are less interested or not even their concerns, the situation would continue to spread.

On the other hand, the modern philosophy that the world is becoming “*a global village*” may serve as push factor for such movement of people from the continent of Africa to Europe.

Unfortunately, throughout the period of my research work on this seminar, efforts made to secure more information in order to have exclusive information were denied. Today I can say that the OSCE has not boldly treated the matter in its various efforts to make Europe “*free trouble zone*” despite the fact that, the inflow of African refugees to Europe poses great danger to the economic and social security in the OSCE member States. Such dangers are identified as, crime wave, unemployment and under-employment as well as danger the labour market. Others are social disorder and prostitution just to mention but few.

The following quotation will go a long way in shedding more light on the situation thereby, giving fresh insight of what my ordeal was like. It runs thus:

“For the past two years, the OSCE Secretariat and the Chair of the

Mediterranean Contact Group have organized a Workshop for Experts to provide the opportunity to focus in an in-depth manner on specific topics of mutual concern⁴⁸⁶

Surveying the above quotation, one understands that a workshop for Experts was organised to look into specific topics of mutual concern. The question that may follow up might be, what are the “*specific topics of mutual concern*”? Under this condition, one might go on and on trying to find out what “*specific topics of mutual concern*” could mean. In the conclusion, one realises that only those experts involved had the privilege of the right information.

Throughout my research work on the seminar, all efforts made towards getting some in-depth answers were helpless. A similar example could be derived thus:

“On 19 and 20 October 1998, the annual OSCE Mediterranean Seminar took place in Malta. The topic was; The Human Dimension of Security, Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law; In addition to representatives from twenty-eight OSCE participating States, the seminar was attended by representatives from Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Tunisia. Korea was also represented. Representatives from of five international Organizations, namely the Council of Europe, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, NATO, WEU and the Mediterranean Forum, also attended the event⁴⁸⁷”

That was all. Nothing more or less was possible to get. Since one could not read the results of such seminars, how the decisions were taken and how it was applied in the field. One will not even know, what the results were and or are after applications. It becomes very clear that one would not be in position to alternatively present what could be seen as other possibilities. The same applies to me.

It is understandable that the OSCE is according to its name a “*security organisation*” that means that most information might not necessarily be made public. In this regard, I am of the opinion that alternatively, some or what could be called “*moderate literatures*” to the mechanism of the work of OSCE and access to some tangible decisions be made available at least for students of international relations as well as those from international politics. The argument to support this suggestion is that some of these students might at the end of their studies eventually start their respective profession with the Organisation. That means to say that some insight of the real working mechanism of OSCE would have been very rewarding as foundation phase.

One amongst several efforts I made towards getting more information or even getting officers of the mission of the OSCE in Vienna for consultations and interviews were not fruitful. At the same time, I was given some limited materials which could not be enough even to fifty

⁴⁸⁶ OSCE: Op. cit. P. 2

⁴⁸⁷ OCSE Annual Report 1998, P. 56

percent (50%) of what I proposed to them. An extract from the enquiry letter for assistance to *Dr. Roditi-Rolands* the Intern Assistant to the Head of External Co-operations in September 2002 reads thus:

“Once again, thank you so much for the documents you mailed me in June shortly before the summer holiday. I was really able to make my presentation as a result of your assistance. However, after the presentation, my professor has requested me to carry out further research in the following areas of co-operation between the OSCE member states and its African counterparts (MPC)”⁴⁸⁸

Another area of interest that worth mentioning in this last section of the work that comes to mind is the “*overlapping interest of the MPC, s members of the OSCE and its effects within OAU*”

It is well known that all the members of the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation to the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe apart from Israel and Jordan namely Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia are members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and also members of the Arab League as well as members to the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). As a result that, one would naturally expect that some overlapping interests should exist in whichever form and to whichever extent.

Experience I gathered during the course of my master’s degree research work unfolded some interesting things on how the OAU North African or better say Arab members States react to “*issues on table*” during different kinds of OAU meetings and conferences. These states are mainly, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Others are Mauritius and even Libya and Egypt just to mention a few. My research work revealed that these countries almost always align together during decision making and voting. They do vote against the interest of OAU as soon as they realise the decision will either not favour any Arab member state or even the Arab League (this is an organisation purely for Arab and Muslim countries). My work unfolded that they play loyal to Arab League and prefer to deal better with the issues concerning Arab and Muslim countries than to issues and matters that concern Africa and OAU even though they are African states. A case study of *retired General Ibrahim Babangida* during his period in office as head of States and *self-made* president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria serves here as interesting as never before. To that effect I quote thus:

“He [Babangida] has been anxious to make the right noises, to keep as many interest groups happy as possible – with slipping on banana-Skins like O.I.C. counterbalancing the surer thrust on Southern Africa”⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁸ Letter to Intern Assistant to the OSCE Head of External Co-operations in Vienna

⁴⁸⁹ OGBONNA Samuel Ihendu: Op .cit. P. 80

Another area of interest that worth mentioning in this last section of the work that comes to mind is the “*overlapping interest of the MPCs members of the OSCE and its effects within OAU*”

Unfortunately, during the time of this seminar work and during the period of the research I made, it was not possible for me to get convincing information as to this analysis.

Nonetheless, as a Nigerian, born in a country with over 160 million people, a country with Muslims in the North and Christians in the South. A country that has refused either for political reasons, economic reasons or otherwise to date, to conduct a reliable national census as to determine whether the number of Christians surpasses that of the Muslims or otherwise or even to determine the actual number of Nigerians, amongst several other reasons. I personally know that the overlapping interest of the Muslim north and that of the Christian south to any national debate sometimes even escalates to civil unrest. The issue of the OIC and Nigeria as a member of the Organisation nearly tore the country to pieces. During the period of a military dictatorship regime of *retired General Ibrahim Babangida* (from the north and a Muslim), Nigeria joined the OIC as full member after many years of participatory and observatory statuses. The issue was nation-wide discussed without any consensus reached. Today whether Nigeria is really an official member is not clear and the Federal Government of Nigeria during the period of *Ibrahim Babangida* and after has not taken a clear position to that. To throw more light on the argument, readers can digest the follow up thus:

“Nigeria’s long association, spanning a 15 –year period, with the O.I.C. during which the country played an observer role was normal after such a long association for the Nigerian government to decide to seek full Membership of the organisation”⁴⁹⁰

In addition to the above, I commented in the work thus:

“Well, after surveying the whole issue involved in Nigeria’s full membership of O.I.C., human rights leaders, organisations, journalists, including social scientists and observers of foreign affairs concluded that the action of the government of Nigeria was a breach of “the People’s Rights”. The inalienable rights of the people of Nigeria, especially the southerners where Christian religion is in existence has forcefully been denied”⁴⁹¹

I decided to borrow the aforementioned three instances relating them to the issue of overlapping interest of the MPC,s member states of OSCE and the OAU even though they are outside the scope of my analysis. This is done to enable me elaborate more on the nature of the overlapping interests that maybe existing amongst member states and member

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, P. 81

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

organisation within the frame work of OSCE. Especially in a situation where it was so difficult to obtain literature that give deep insight of the working mechanism of OSCE.

Suffice to mention here that during a chat with a high ranking officer of the Nigerian Government on visit to Austria, I confronted him privately on the issue of existing understandings with the Arab nations within the frame work of OAU. I was astonished that he told me that *“they are only managing to avoid separation, but it is tough”*.

In addition, it is important to share with readers that the OSCE Mediterranean Partners have on numerous occasions proposed that OSCE should exchange its experiences with the regional organisations to which the MPCs belong, such as the Organisation of African Unity/African Union (OAU/AU), the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and other organisations. This is a confirmation of my earlier analysis. In spite of that, it remains unknown as to what extent the exchange of the experiences should go or for which reasons and to some extent the interest behind such proposals.

That will also impose some other obstacles to the relationship and loyalty between the MPC, s members states from African Continent to OSCE as to whether their interest would be coordinated by the Arab League or the OAU since everyone wants to coordinate and nobody wants to be coordinated.

One other overlapping interest amongst the MPCs members and its effect on the OAU and within OAU could be derived from a statement made during a visit to the office of the OSCE in *Hofburg* Vienna by one of the officers of the Vienna OSCE. During her lecture she told us that *„countries in Africa are not willing and ready to carry out exchange of military measures with OSCE“*. I refer to this statement just to show how difficult it is to measure the extent of the overlapping interest within the MPCs members and its effect within the frame work of OAU.

The question that comes to mind is, why do African Countries (MPCs members not excluded) refuse to carry out exchange of military measures with the OSCE? Answers like because they do not want is too simple, or because they want to protect their national military interest or because they do not want a fellow African country to have an insight of its military capability could also be given!

To my mind, I think that many African Countries have not realised that a strong regional or continental organisation like that of OAU could only be built on *strong-trust* amongst member states. That also involves not only the exchange of economic and political wisdom, but also military experiences and military experiences can only be exchanged and received through common interactions.

In the present Africa, fear of economic and military domination of one another amongst nation-states continues to occupy the minds of the states' leaders. Instead of them to team up as one strong body and present themselves with one voice at the international level. In addition to that, the individualistic interest of each state leader against his opponent sums up and is carried along up to the group's interest. Eventually, this goes a long way in weakening the common interest of the OAU in practice. For instance:

"CSSDCA provides an inter-state mechanism for various issues i.e. Development and defence. Further within the framework of CSSDCA, a number of performance indicators have been formed, after acknowledging that the main challenge to African politics comes from democratically elected leaders"⁴⁹²

Pointing accusing fingers either to the MPC members to OSCE or to African states alone regarding to what extent the overlapping interest of individual players, could affect not only the work of OAU but also to that of OSCE to its relationship. Either the MPC, s members or to the OAU, is half treated without surveying the reaction of OAU to others. As a result of that, some explanations quickly come to mind. A report I read on the visit of *Dr. Adissa*, Head of the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) in June 2002 reveals that OAU has also for one reason or the other or because of its own interest failed in some number of ways and has therefore, made its relationship with others especially, with the OSCE not very smoothly. To elaborate further on that, permit me to bring in here a similar case as an example of how OAU has in one time or other made issues complicated if not difficult. A quotation runs thus:

"Dr. Adissa also claimed that the OAU is the sole political organisation dealing with elections monitoring in Africa, however, whenever the electoral outcome in a country is predictable then the OAU will not participate, for fear they will provide legitimacy to fraudulent election"⁴⁹³

From the above, it is easier to realise that African Union (AU) as a continental organisation had been expected to react much better and it is also expected in future to appropriately react strongly. African Union should be in a position to condemn in Africa what is politically incorrect irrespective of which country is involved to whichever incident. As a sole political body in Africa, one would hope that more seriousness to its relationship with other bodies should be more vigorous. This will be appreciated. That is on one side, on the other side, one should not forget that reactions to issues depends on, which kind of issue and depends also on who is at the head of control. That is, who has the last say within the AU Assembly at any given time? One should also not forget that here, overlapping interest comes to play depending on who has which interest in events in the continent of Africa. In such

⁴⁹²OSCE: Op. cit. P. 2

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

organisation, diverse interest is predominant and diverse reactions could be applied at any given time to suit the situation. By and large, what is called „*political decision*“ could be applied? It is difficult to say.

17.6. Evaluation of the Result of the Roles of OSCE

At this stage of work, I deem it necessary and beneficial for readers to share with me the extent I have gone so far on one hand. On the other hand, to see the results of the roles the partners in question played. The strong features or benefits enjoyed by partners as well as the failures or weak features of the cooperation or the partnership. In doing so, I want to place on record and comment that; it was agreed that at the upcoming OAU Summit in July 2002 in South Africa. Pre to the summit in, which the African Union was launched, it is also envisaged that the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) will become operational. Therefore, the Workshop was organised at a timely moment – *the OAU Secretariat was deeply interested in experiences gained by the OSCE.*

Since 1996, the OAU has been invited to attend the annual OSCE Mediterranean Seminars. It is to be ascertained that, the experiences gain in the number of years contributed in no small measure in the changes in African Nations especially in terms of politico-military intervention which has drastically gone down in recent years. Efforts in stabilising the democratic principles of the various African states are yielding positive dividend. Also in the socio-economic aspects or areas of the countries are gaining momentum as a result of the various stages of co operations.

17.7. Plans for Future Co-operation between OSCE and OAU

Different literatures revealed the proposals for regular exchange of information with the OSCE, in particular with the Secretariat and ODIHR. In addition, are plans and arrangements for joint workshop on election observation co-organised by the OSCE and the OAU in the second half of the year? Workshops on CSBMs and SALW were also discussed for the second half of 2002. Some of these decisions and cooperative agreements are also being gradually implemented. Funding could probably be arranged through Embassies/donors in Addis Ababa or elsewhere. I would like to comment that these proposals are very welcoming. In terms of fund, I hope that there shall be good and transparent management on how the fund could be raised through making use of the embassies. Future cooperation with OSCE, OAU and the MPC, s is a juncture that is indispensable in today's global village life and commitments of nation-states. The questions that still open or may then be open would be the implementation and application of the experiences and expertise that the MPC members

would assume to have received from their OSCE member partners either in unilateral or multilateral forms.

At the Lisbon Summit held in December 1996, at a Ministerial Meeting of the OSCE-Troika and the Mediterranean partners for cooperation to evaluate the state of co-operation between them (OSCE and MPC), as well as to discuss the security model and exchange views on other issues of common interest were on agenda and discussions taken. The result of that meeting was not published and I could not figure out what the participants or the organisers called "*issues of common interest*"

But then, from 3 to 5 September 1997 another meeting was held in Cairo, Egypt. During the meeting, it was recognised that the OSCE could play an important role in the Mediterranean area. In particular by assisting in the promotion of the rule of law and the development of confidence-building measures in relations between the Mediterranean partners for co-operation and devising co-operative strategies for dealing with common concerns such as terrorism.

The linkage between security in Europe and that of the Mediterranean has received added impetus through the Plan of Action on Combating Terrorism (adopted at the Bucharest Ministerial Council Meeting, December 2001). It makes reference to the fact that participating States and the Secretariat will broaden dialogue with partners outside the OSCE area. Such as the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation and Partners for Co-operation not only in Africa but also in Asia. For instance, the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation, the Conference on Interaction and Confidence- Building Measures in Asia. Others are the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, the Arab League and the African Union. These are laudable efforts which to my mind will enhance the appropriate means to control and fight against terrorism. This is a fact since information dissemination amongst the members and within the organisation will be simpler.

Intensified dialogue with those states (African countries) bordering on the OSCE area to exchange best practices and lessons learned in counter-terrorism efforts for application within the OSCE area will be beneficial to both partners. Increase efforts and cooperation on border guide will lead to optimal control results.

It is important to note that areas like Immigration and Migration were not well taken care of or were even silenced throughout the work and from the member states. A lot of illegal migration and refugees into the OSCE member states have been a big concern. For instance, during the EU meeting in the second week of June 2002 in Seville-Spain, some suggestions were made that those African countries who have failed to cooperate with EU on the struggle to combat refugees and illegal migration should be punished. This will be done through the means of no longer extending "*development assistance*" to them. Although

majority of participating states voted against it, it indicates that the issue has become a big concern to OSCE and EU participating and member states. For instance, majority of African refugees into Europe gain access through Spain, Italia and France. Unfortunately, throughout the work, I was unable to find tangible position of the OSCE members as to what could be done to reduce the number of incoming African refugees to Europe. It is unfortunate too, that most of the African refugees to Europe are from the MPC members.

Having looked deeply in the work of the OSCE and its cooperation with African countries, I hereby urge them to look into its efforts to combat the problem and inflow of African refugees and or migrants from the Horn of Africa into Europe through its co-operation with MPC, s

17.8. Few words on the New World Order and Globalisation Again

The New World Order and Globalisation have deeply effected African Countries especially those in the Great Lake area. For instance, one amongst the major challenges of clear categorisation and grouping in East Africa is that the refugees also engaged in a perpetual cycle of migration due to cross-border economic activity and pastoralist traditions. Cross-border migration in Africa also represents an important source of livelihoods but increases the danger of ecological and economic downturns. This is a situation where the interception of the international community under whichever name, for critics because the peoples' right of free movement in the region has been put to question. While some schools of thought argue for it, others are against it. Both groups have their justifications. While one group is called conservatives, the other is named modern. However, the major issue lies on the main intentions and objectives of the International communities.

For experts that are against new world order with its twin sister globalisation, while globalisation makes inter- nations, inter-regional and to a large extent intercontinental movement possible. Time has revealed that the ideology behind it is nothing less than another method of colonisation in the twenty first (21st) century. The period of colonial and neo-colonisation have come and gone. For the western nations to continue their economic looting of developing nation's wealth, these ideologies were thought out, encouraged, born and nurtured. It has given the developed nations free hand and access to penetrate into any part of the world in the name of globalisation to get out what they want.

At the end of my research work, I discovered that it was right with my assumption that the new world order and globalisation were not necessarily good and that African nations were not prepared for the adventure. After the fall of the "*Iron Curtains*" western region, especially central Europe went ahead to develop Eastern Europe. This is formerly the Eastern Bloc.

While USA went further to develop central or Middle American Countries. These are called the Latin Americans. In addition, they increased their attention in the Middle East and Afghanistan. Africa was abandoned with its economic challenges and social disorder.

Despite that, in Africa Continent, we have witnessed good results as a result of new world order and globalisation. This is the likes from the formation of NEPAD! Even though some hardliners and critics are suspicious over its formation and intensions. And efforts on the establishment of some regional economic blocs, like East African Community for common trade union. We learnt that:

“The integration of the East African Community (EAC) is moving full speed ahead and is receiving goodwill and support from Member States, especially towards the implementation of the Common Market Protocol”⁴⁹⁴

Not only that, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has intensified its activities from liberation fight. Since all the countries in the region have gained self- control (independence). Now building forceful blocs to promote Economic ties and as a result changed its name to African Union (AU)

Also, a typical example is the Intergovernmental Authority on Development’s Regional Migration Policy Framework, which was developed with the financial and technical support of IOM. The mixed migration movements of Ethiopians and Somalis to the Gulf States and Southern Africa as both asylum-seekers and economic migrants have reached record levels.

Furthermore, the West African Economic Council (ECOWAS) has introduced a universal Travel document in form of Bio Passport that is universal to all West African Countries). With this sort of International Bio- Passport, West African Country Citizens will not only travel in and out in the West African Countries without Entry Visa for at least ninety days (three months), but are no longer faced with rigorous controls at the entry point according to an article published by *Amadou SySenior*, Fellow at Global Economy and Development, Africa Growth Initiative:

“In the area of labor mobility, ECOWAS has made the most progress. ECOWAS grants 90-day visas to members and has a regional passport to facilitate the movement of ECOWAS members. Benin, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal have converted to the ECOWAS passport. [7] The EAC passport is reportedly held by a small number of people within the EAC, but is scheduled to be ready for full roll-out by 2016. SADC and COMESA members offer 90-day visas to members, while CEMAC members have plans to roll out a 90-day visa. Rwanda has adopted an open door policy and started issuing entry visas to all African nations, not just EAC or COMESA members, on January 2013”⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁴Africa and Middle East: International Organization for Migration (IOM):Op. cit.

⁴⁹⁵<http://www.brookings.edu/research/testimony/2014/01/09-african-economic-community-sy>

Globalisation and new world order primarily preaches for freedom of almost everything. These include, the end of cold war practice, end of communist regime as well as tyrannical and dictatorial government. It went further to encourage economic free trade liberalisation and amongst nations and free movement of people from one country to the other called migration. Believe it or not, the intelligentsia and promoters likewise, sponsors of new world order and globalisation discover that the years or centuries of colonisation and neo-colonisation has finished. They discovered that there is need for them (the western nations) to continue their control over the so called third world countries. They discover that more or less all countries in the world have gained self-rule (independent) and they wanted to continue their economic and political control. So the *think tank* group of the super powers developed official instrument with which they can continue holding and suppressing the developing countries and tag it *-new world order and globalisation-*. With their instrumental mechanism like, United Nations (UN) The North Atlantic Organization (NATO), the regional Organization like European Union (EU) just to mention but few. They propagated and sowed the seeds, watered it to germination and nurtured its growth. With their economic, military and political might, forced these two ideologies to the world body (The United Nations). Little did the developing countries know where they were heading to and how much of what they would meet. Unfortunately for them, before the day was to be over, it was too late and they only succumb and accepted their fate. Like always before.

But then, what happened thereafter, the western communities as a result of their solid economy, seized the opportunity to enter into all the nooks and crannies of the developing nations. They transferred and or deployed their industries in cheaplabour nations around the world. They upgraded their economic and political blocs and systematically created barriers against developing nations and their citizens. They built up systematic walls through different laws to hold developing nations' nationals entry into their continents. For instance, European Union (EU) member states, where they have systematically curbed other continents, especially African nationals from entering into its members states. For instance, under General Schengen Visa requirement and under Procedural Advices and Legal Notice at paragraph one and four said:

“There is no guarantee that a visa will be issued and no rights can be derived from the information obtained in the general Schengen visa requirements”
 [And] “Entry into the Schengen territory: The possession of a visa is only one of the prerequisites for entry into the territory of the Schengen state. Should the Schengen State’s border authority refuse entry, no claim to reimbursement of the visa can be submitted. The border police at your Schengen destination may request the presentation of sufficient funds, a letter of invitation, hotel reservation and proof of medical insurance. Failure to present said funds/documents may

result in entry being refused”⁴⁹⁶

Analysing the above citation, one will discover the several series of systematic barriers locked with first, the process of application. Second, even if one is lucky to secure visa may be stopped at the point of entry by security officers and refused entry. Pursuant to the immediate paragraph and in synonym of the analysis I discovered that:

“In addition to visa policy, there are several other mechanisms by which European nations, and now the European Union, attempt to control the arrival of ‘irregular migrants’. The best documented of these are a consequence of Carriers Liability legislation that was first introduced by some European states in 1987, following the lead of the United States, Canada and Australia. Such legislation most often requires the carrier (usually an airline or a shipping company) to pay a fixed fine, in addition to any other possible detention or readmission costs, for any passenger that arrives with incorrect papers or visas. The UK, Belgium and Germany were the first EU members to introduce these fines at a time when the number of asylum claims had started to rise significantly. In 1990, carriers’ liability became a requirement of the Schengen Convention (under article 26). To avoid paying these fines, carriers have taken a series of proactive measures. As well as the training in detecting fraudulent passports and visas offered by Governments and the International Air Transport Association (IATA), some airlines make specific arrangements with specific EU member states. For example, as of January 1998, 46 carriers at 163 operating locations world-wide had registered with the UK Government’s Approved Gate Check (AGC) system which waives fines provided that a series of rigorous pre-boarding checks are routinely followed by airline staff. The data kept by airlines on passengers (‘passenger profiling’) is sometimes used to determine ‘irregular’ migration routes, even when there is no threat of carriers’ liability being applied”⁴⁹⁷

In the name of new world order and globalisation Iraq was targeted by USA, supported by most of world powers and western world. Bombed, demolished the country completely destroyed, and *Saddam Hussein* of Iraq was eventually arrested and hanged. *Naom Chomsky* in the article titled ‘*preventing war the supreme crime Iraq: invasion that will live in infamy*’ has this to say:

“It has been immaterial that no credible evidence was provided for the alleged link between Saddam Hussein and his bitter enemy Osama bin Laden and that the charge was dismissed by competent observers. Also immaterial was the only known connection between the victory and terror: the invasion appears to have been “a huge setback in the war on terror” by sharply increasing al-Qaida recruitment, as US officials concede”⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/south_africa/documents/schengen_visa_requirements_en.pdf

⁴⁹⁷MORRISIN John and CROSLAND Berth: Op. cit. P. 41f

⁴⁹⁸ From: ZNET august 11, 2003; this article has been published in English also by LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, issue August 2003) September 2002

Still under this monster ideology, the Arab spring started in 2011 with Algeria and swept across the Arab world. Libya was encroached, the same thing happened to the nation. *Muammar Gadhafi* was killed in a war slot led by France and other western nations with their marionette in developing countries including those in Africa. The reasons amongst others for the elimination and fall of *Muammar Gadhafi* has been treated above under the subsection captioned '*Philosophising the New World Order and Globalisation – A Personal View*'

In addition to the immediate above and unconfirmed rumours, despite the fact that a very high African and Western diplomats during an international conference held in Vienna informed me during a Coffee - break in private discussions that *Muammar Gadhafi* was removed and killed by western military action because of his plans to building a strong economic bloc in West Africa. *Gadhafi* was intending construction and building a joint Mega Railway Transportation Network that will connect all the major cities of the Economic Community of West African States. This would when completed, boast quick economic, social and political emancipation, protect and promote trade within this region of Africa. The rumour continued to say that the western community did not appreciate this and the best thing to do was to remove him before he would start this twenty-first (21st) century prestigious project. A professor of international relations in one of the TV Stations (BBC) during a late night discussions confirmed that. Although I could not substantiate this claim because of losing the document but let me say that on several occasions, *Ghaddafi* never played down his love and inspiration for the rise of Africa in world affairs. For instance in 2008 he was caught saying:

"We want an African military to defend Africa, we want a single African currency, we want one African passport to travel within Africa," after being declared king of kings by African traditional rulers in Libya"⁴⁹⁹

In addition, in one of his various interviews to BBC, South Africa's Nobel Peace laureate *Archbishop Desmond Tutu* has this to say:

"He [Gaddafi] had this wonderful dream about a United States of Africa - like [Ghana's post-independence leader] Kwame Nkrumah, but I think we are going to remember what happened in the latter days of his rule when he actually bombed his own people"⁵⁰⁰

In the same way, Egypt under its four decades of autocratic leader President *Mohammed Hosni El Sayed Mubarak* was toppled. A democratic election worn by the leader of *Muslim Brotherhood* was toppled after one year and the Western World kept quiet because the regime of the *Muslim Brotherhood* did not favour them, especially the USA. Also, in the holy

⁴⁹⁹ BBC published on 21 October 2011 see: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15392189>

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

names of new world order and globalisation, USA under President *George W. Bush*, USA started the twenty first (21st) century colonisation, this time in the Arab world.

Despite these disadvantages of new world order and globalisation, it is also pertinent for this academic work to look into the advantages of new world order and its inherent globalisation. *These could be summarised thus:* End of the Cold War, official end of communist regimes even when China, North Korea and Cuba are still practicing communist systems. But they have actually liberalised the system as a result of globalisation and or new world order. The splitting of the Eastern Bloc into countries in Europe and parts of Asia, like the fall of great Soviet Union. Global free intercontinental movement and more, continued multi-lateral and unilateral relationships amongst nations and amongst intercontinental Non – governmental organisations and international communities.

In conclusion, it is very crucial and pertinent to say that there is no single definition of the term new world order even though many scholars and political scientists likewise from within the diplomatic arena have from time to time defined it or at least explained it to fit whichever purpose and situation they found themselves. It all centers on the best way forward after over fifty years of global peace. That is, free from war even though from period to period one continental or conventional wars has existed. But what I mean here is world war. The world is afraid to fight another world war simple to be called “*Third World War*” since it is a typical war that involves all the continental of the globe, fighting against one another and or one group fighting the rest of the other continents or even the continents splitting into two zones and fighting the other group or each other.

In the absence of all the definitions of new world order, the most important thing for me is the efforts being made by the superpowers and the international community on one hand and the contributions from international relations, international science scholars and international diplomatic circles on the other hand. To cage a safe way that produce favourable conducive atmosphere whereby people of different cultures and civilisation can live together in peace and harmony and under a global village with less civil unrest and confrontations of any sort. These efforts may eventually lead to a global village, free from threat or as the current American president *Barack Obama* put it ‘*a world free from atom threats*’

17.9. Data Variations

Another major problem that I came across during the cause of my research is the case of data. Throughout the work, I was faced with the burden on how to manage the situation. Most of the time, the data are so confusing that it becomes difficult to decide, trust and use one or the other of the data. This challenge is not experienced by me alone, some existing literatures confirmed this. It is also a challenge to the United Nations or its agencies like the UNHCR just to mention one. For instance, report on country information established thus:

“Sources vary significantly on the number of refugees reported UNHCR at the end of 1994 gave the world-wide number of Somali refugees to be 535,900 [---], whilst at the same time the World Refugee Survey estimated the number of Somali refugees world-wide to be 457,400 [---]. Moreover, the World Refugee Survey estimated the number of Somali to be internally displaced at the end of 1994 to be 500,000”⁵⁰¹

The quotation above is an evidence of the dilemma of those involved with refugee matters at least in East Africa. You can see yourself that even the UNHCR and the World Refugee Survey, two strong and world-wide recognised by the international community in matters concerning refugees presented different figures on the same report and at the same time.

I discovered that the Sudanese government provided first asylum to refugees in their country, but then no figures were available. In comparison, Somalia did not even have provision for first asylum. For instance, I discovered that:

“Security issues and large-scale displacements caused by conflict and environmental factors, the need for migration policy frameworks and migration data for evidence-based policies and programming purposes are some of the challenges having an impact on the region?”⁵⁰²

Notwithstanding the above analysis, let me further revisit the issue of defining data. Data is defined, as *“Information in raw or unorganized form (such as alphabets, numbers, or symbols) that refer to, or represent, conditions, ideas, or objects. Data is limitless and present everywhere in the universe”*⁵⁰³

Furthermore, it is also defined as: *“The quantities, characters, or symbols on which operations are performed by a computer, which may be stored and transmitted in the form of electrical signals and recorded on magnetic, optical, or mechanical recording media”*⁵⁰⁴

Finally for my purpose in the project it is philosophically defined to mean: *“Things known or assumed as facts, making the basis of reasoning or calculation.”*⁵⁰⁵

It is very important in any calculations or projections. It is an instrument or means to positive end result. Even at individual daily life and personal budget, one applies data to basically start off any assignment more especially when it involves figures. Nations, international organisations, agencies, regional and national as well as local bodies all needed not only data, but also accurate data in order to work. Where the data is not accurate and current, it

⁵⁰¹ UNHCR – Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum Seekers from Somalia: UNHCR Centre for Documentation and Research Geneva, October 1996, 3/12/97. p. 4

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/data.html#ixzz2yPxQ4oBc>

⁵⁰⁴ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/data>

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

must be fairly current, fairly comprehensive and fairly reliable. In almost all these elements what is also not available is 'data on refugees' in the country under study. Throughout my research, I discovered that lack of data in some cases and total absence of data in others has contributed to unnecessary delay in efforts in the search for durable solutions to refugee problems.

The matter of data collection and its effects on resource development can therefore, not be over emphasised. If and when one attempts to use refugee as an alternative to substitute or improve human resources in those receiving countries in East Africa, a lot of things come into play. First is, to know the accurate number of refugees in a country. Second is, to know the accurate number of them who are educated and third is, to know in which professions they vary. The case was the opposite of what I met. Each institution presents its own data most of the time on the same incident with variations in alarming dimensions thus:

"In reply to a parliamentary question in May 1993, Jackson Kalweo, Minister of State in the Office of the President, said that 7,113 people has been displaced. Opposition Member of Parliament Martha Kalua noted that the parliamentary select committee report in 1992 had estimated the number of displaced persons at about 100,000. The NCK estimates that it is feeding 130,000 displaced persons in the Rift Valley, while a team from the United Nations Disaster Management Team in April-May 1993 estimated a current total of some 110,000 displaced"⁵⁰⁶

Looking at the above example, one discovers that four sources of information all with different figures was given. At least two from it reported in the same month, same year with different figures, while we can imagine that the other two reports occurred during the same period. In such a situation, readers could see why, it has not been easy to claim until the modern times that refugee problems will be solved in the near future.

However, some writers argue that due to benefits enjoyed by some heads of governments and some NGOs in the countries under study, data are either manipulated or not made available for research workers. For instance:

"In special situation however, such as in Sudan, governments were successful in diverting a portion of the aid to their own accounts through manipulations, for instance an especially unfavourable rate of exchange for foreign NGOs"⁵⁰⁷

The issue of data collection and how it affects resource development cannot be over stressed. . In almost and or everything we do in our life, be it private and otherwise, data is required. We do calculations and additions each day in our work. We are confronted with figures and numbers for projections on a situation in the future for a particular issue. In the

⁵⁰⁶ Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 13, No.1 spring: Op. cit. p. 43f.

⁵⁰⁷Development Cooperation 1 1994. p. 19

laboratories, chemists, physicians, biologist on one side require a particular data or the other to work with. Political scientist, like other social scientists need data for their daily professions. Not only that, these data must also be accurate or ninety- nine percent (99%) for it to be applied.

In any kind of developmental work or simply in any kind of work, accurate data is unavoidable for any worker to arrive at a reasonable, reliable and acceptable result at the end of the work. Like I mentioned earlier, politicians rely on data for their prognosis and to make propagations and work on their strategies during elections and campaign periods. So do governments and institutions of all types and companies like wise, small business managers deal with data each day? As such, the effects of data availability and collection for resource development cannot be over-emphasised.

Coming to the region or countries under focus, I found out that the challenges of lack of data has been a canker-worm or an endless problem. An incurable epidemic for over thirty decades if not since the creation of the countries. Little did one wonder why the problem and challenges of refugees' solutions in the regions has not taken any meaningful shape over the decades? I am going to share with readers under this section of my work the experiences I met during the course of my work. For me it is an alarming situation and very challenging. Suffice to give a representative example to cover each country (Ethiopia, Kenya, Somali, Sudan, and Tanzania) under study. To this end we were told that the Ethiopian returnees from Saudi Arabia as a result of forced repatriation from Saudi Arabia government exceed projections. Read this:

"Addis Ababa —the number of illegal Ethiopian immigrants returning home from Saudi Arabia has more than doubled from initial projections, the ministry of foreign affairs said on Sunday. After Saudi Arabia recently launched a crackdown against illegal immigrants, some 23,000 Ethiopians surrendered to police and Addis Ababa projected that they would have to repatriate some 30,000 undocumented citizens who had been working in the oil-rich state illegally. However, the ministry said citizens are returning in unexpectedly large numbers forcing the East African nation to double its daily flights between to Saudi Arabia and Ethiopian capital from six to 12 so as to hasten the repatriation operation. "Although we first projected to bring back home maximum 30,000 but citizens seeking return is increasing" foreign ministry spokesman Ambassador Dina Mufti told Sudan Tribune." The number of Ethiopians flown home has so far reached 70,000 since Ethiopia began the repatriation operation on November 13th" Mufti added. Mufti said the exact figure of Ethiopian expatriates in Saudi awaiting repatriation is hard to verify as they are being sheltered in dozens of different temporary holding centers and as a result it has been very difficult to easily identify them"⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁸Article by TEKLE Tesfa-Alem: In AllAfrica Media, December 1. 2013

Another author contributing has this to say:

“The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 1996) estimates that between 1945 and 1992, there were 149 major wars throughout the world, killing 23 million people and displacing millions of others. Although precise refugee statistics are necessary for research and planning, accurate statistics are hard to collect for obvious reasons. The data differ significantly by the source reporting the information. Therefore the numbers given below should be seen as crude estimates that are probably underestimates of the true picture”⁵⁰⁹

In the light of the aforementioned situations as identified, one is only left with the question, how can the respective countries tackle appropriately the challenges of refugees in their homes? How can the NGOs make their projections to know how much is needed for optimal solution to any given situation where they are engaged? How can international organisations like EU, UNHCR, donors and humanitarian organisations or even the AU contribute to assist? The situation as a matter of fact looks precarious. Is there any remedy to the situation? If yes, how does it look like or why has the remedy not solved the problem for the past decades or do we have some alternatives? If yes, what are these alternatives? Are they implemented or not and why? Can we put an alternative to the remedy and get rid of the ugly situation?

These are some other questions that were left unanswered or partly answered, which I hope will be taken care of by other scholars and contemporary writers in this field of study.

17.10. The Failure of ICARA I and II

On the failure of ICARA 1 and 11, I have already registered that it failed because of lack of linkages. The northern donors accused the southern receivers of not putting clear structures on the ground especially on how the funds would be best managed. That there were no valued resources and rules over how the fund will be managed and accounted for. Furthermore, that the roles of the stakeholders and key agencies were not considered in the structuring of the process. The northern donors were not able to fulfil their individualistic and collective pledges simple because of lack of interest. The European donors were not delighted in providing fund for refugees in Africa. Comparison with the Latin American and Central American countries, we saw more coherences and co-operations as well as understandings that existed between the northern donors and the Latin American countries. It is on literatures that the western partners were more interested in developing Latin

⁵⁰⁹KALIPENI Ezekiel and OPPONG Joseph: Op. cit. p. 1641

American nations than focusing attention to Africa. The bottom line is just the fact that they see this region as better economic trading partner as the latter (Africa). Thus position is also confirmed thus:

“In CIREFCA, the predominantly European donor states contributed to funding durable solutions for refugees and protection initiatives because of their linked interests in Central America’s wider interest in the region’s post-conflict reconstruction and development, which was in turn a means to foster improved trade relations with the region. In the Indo-Chinese CPA, the United States was prepared to offer significant resettlement opportunities for the Indo-Chinese ‘boat people’ largely because of a range of foreign policy concerns related to the legacy of the Vietnam War”⁵¹⁰

In Africa, the issue of refugees were treated in isolation from other essential matters like really contributing to durable, sustainable and general well-being of the refugees. Western world especially the United States of America, the Chinese and or the Russia former USSDR had their interest centred on the cold war issues. USA was and could only attach its funding to countries where its national interest was at stake. To buttress more on this, the following citation called for attention of readers:

“The only basis for the linkages that underpinned the highly selective contributions of the US were based in its Cold War identity, with the US contributing selectively to ICARA on the basis of its concern with specific proxy conflicts in the Horn of Africa and Southern Africa”⁵¹¹

Analysis of the above citation will lead readers to begin to nurse the feeling that the situation of refugees may not have an end. As a result of this one can as well conclude that since the end of cold war, the situation of refugees in Africa especially in the Horn of Africa has deteriorated and will continue to deteriorate. This situation has forced some writers to conclude that the solution for African refugees will not be found.

Another area of comparison is the area of peace and provision of conducive atmosphere for development. While there were some good and lasting peace agreement within the warring parties in the Central American Region, the opposite was the case in Africa. These and other factors made it easier for post conflict reconstruction and development initiatives to gain momentum and attracted the northern donors in Central American region. While in Africa and especially in the Horn of Africa the opposite was the case. These are some of the reasons

⁵¹⁰ BETTS Alexander (University of Oxford): International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Regime; the Role of Interconnections.

See:[https://www.google.at/search?q=BETTS+Alexander+\(University+of+Oxford\)%3A+International+Cooperation+and+the+Global+Refugee+Regime&oq=BETTS+Alexander+\(University+of+Oxford\)%3A+International+Cooperation+and+the+Global+Refugee+Regime&aqs=chrome..69i57.1530j0j4&sourceid=chrome&espv=210&es_sm=93&ie=UTF-8](https://www.google.at/search?q=BETTS+Alexander+(University+of+Oxford)%3A+International+Cooperation+and+the+Global+Refugee+Regime&oq=BETTS+Alexander+(University+of+Oxford)%3A+International+Cooperation+and+the+Global+Refugee+Regime&aqs=chrome..69i57.1530j0j4&sourceid=chrome&espv=210&es_sm=93&ie=UTF-8)

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

why ICARA 1 and 11 failed. It failed because there were and are still lots of difficulties and different kinds of bureaucratic that were involved. These are particularly for the two milestone conferences conducted on African refugees and beyond. There were also some conflicts of interests amongst the stakeholders and agencies involved. This is unfortunately shocking and alarming that after so many years with huge amount of funds spent for fighting refugees' problems not only in African soil, but also around the globe the problem of refugees have not been solved or highly reduced.

In the light of the immediate analysis, let me say that there is an absolute need for better alternatives if the challenges involved with the problem of refugees in Africa is to be halted and drastically reduced. This efforts should be championed by the European Union Members states in particular and European Continent in general. To buttress more on this we learnt that:

“Rapid economic development in Africa would stem this migration pressure. Over the last 20 years structural adjustment programs (SAPs) launched in a number of countries by the international organizations like the World Bank have aimed to doing that. Assessments of the results vary. While, some observers claim that they have seen some success, others are less sanguine. In any case the effects on labor demand seem to have been modest”⁵¹²

In further analysis of the above citation, what is important for this project is that there is need for rapid economic development in Africa if the world stake holders really want African refugees to vanish or at least to be drastically reduced. There is no gain in saying the fact that currently the African economy can hardly grow alone without the international community lifting or removing its series of trade barriers for goods, products and services from Africa to come into a free and open market. Trade liberalisation should be one of the alternative approaches for the elimination of African refugees. Nation-states can do this in many ways like applying other measurement by assisting Africa to develop its technology know-how. When I speaks from technology transfer and implementation, I mean for instance, active and joint technological and economic projects like training and provision of equipment to African experts and technicians with machines, instruments and amenities right in Africa especially, in the East Africa Countries. When these are in place, it will help African experts to practice what they have learnt. The current situation portrays a different picture whereby, the trained Africans when they go home have no equipment in their respective fields of expertise to practice with. By extension what I am saying is that Africa needs a “*Marshall Plan*” just like some other countries in history. In the 20th century such was given for instance to Austria

⁵¹² HATTON, Timothy J.; WILLIAMSON, Jeffrey G. (2001): Demographic and Economic Pressure on Emigration out of Africa, IZA Discussion paper series, No. 250, January 2001

after the Second World War. Furthermore, *Hatton, Timothy J.; Williamson, Jeffrey G* argued that:

“If the income gap between Africa and the OECD continues to increase then this will add further fuel to out-of –Africa migration pressure, pressure which may continue after those driven by demographic forces have ceased”⁵¹³

Meanwhile, it is pertinent to make it clear here that Europe and European Union is bound to gain or lose depending on whichever direction their policy makers will take. This is just the simple fact that Europe is closest to Sub-Sahara Africa than any other industrialised economy in the universe. In the light of this, Europe stands to gain if she can mobilise other industrialised nations to rally round and present a *'Marshall Plan'* for the total overhaul of African economies and political constellations far better than what is presently obtainable. In the era of globalisation, this responsibility cannot be overlooked and also considering the huge exploitation Africa went through at the hands of Europe during the epoch of slavery. Should the EU decide against it, one can rest assured that the *'forces of evil'* will strike sooner or later? The paradise in Europe, which Europe is protecting and defending at the expense of one or the other continents and or countries will be put in question quite soon.

17.11. Bold steps taken by the European Union - EU

It is bold enough to mention here at the end of this work that the European Union has done something very extraordinary in search for alternative approaches that may lead to durability. Some best examples newly adopted or alternative approaches to problems of refugees is taken by the European Union. This refers to an agreement reached on evenly distribution of refugees amongst the members of European Union. Even then, it has not been enough to solve or resolve the issue amongst nation states of European Union because of reasons of inequalities amongst them for instance, this inequalities are located in terms of differences is in the wellbeing of each member state. The respective economic and social capacity of the countries differs from one another. The point of entry of the refugees or asylum seekers differs from country to country. For instance, Italy has been the major entry point into Europe and especially into the member states of European Union. This has been a case between Italy and its other member states of European Union. While other members of European Union argue and quarrel with Italy for not solidly closing its borders. Especially through

⁵¹³ Ibid.

ocean transportation and as a result will not participate in the intake of some refugees. Italy on the other hand argues that as a member state of European Union, it is obligatory that they take along some refugees. Even then, the distribution among nation-states of European Union varies from country to country.

While some European Union country members are rich with strong economy like Germany and Austria, others like Greece and Spain for instance, are fighting to put their economies in shape. This is as a result of their respective economic meltdown in the recent past. They are now faced with austerity measures.

For instance, the Germany Chancellor during the 2013 parliamentary election during a TV discussion said:

“That Germany is about seven percent (7%) of the world population and contributes about twenty-two to twenty- three percent (22-23%) of the world economy” [And] The Social Democrats are pressing precisely for measures such as a minimum wage which Brussels -- but definitely not Merkel -- believes is necessary to boost German domestic demand to the benefit of all. The figures show Germany chalked up another record trade surplus at a seasonally-adjusted 18.9 billion euros in September. Germany has also had a trade surplus equal to 6.5 percent of Gross Domestic Product in the 2010-12 period, well above the 6.0 percent EU ceiling requiring notification and remedy. With European Parliament elections also looming large in May next year, the EU's Economic Affairs and Euro Commissioner Olli Rehn stressed that the new push was not about "criticising" Germany's success. Rather it "will provide a valuable contribution to debate on economic policy and reforms in Germany" which ultimately, in boosting domestic demand, could benefit all, he said⁵¹⁴

Even the Commission President of European Union realised the over- strong Germany economy and appealed with doubt to Germany and said:

"The issue is whether Germany ... could do more to help rebalance the European economy, "The biggest problem in Europe is unemployment, "Barroso said, describing it as "an enormous challenge"⁵¹⁵

That is to say that Germany is an economic power house of European Union and the European Countries. It goes further to justify the issue of who takes more refugees and who takes less. That means to say that distribution is never even.

One may argue that European Union is not amongst the country under study. This argument carries no weight for the fact that I did mention in the introductory part of the work that should the need arises, I will go beyond the countries under study and borrow instances to buttress my theories. In addition, the role of European Union in combating the problem of refugees falls into the areas this work covers. Furthermore, the world and the problem of refugees is

⁵¹⁴ Wednesday 13th November 2013 <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/eurozone-economy.re9>

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

interwoven and has gone not only beyond international and regional but also intercontinental challenges.

In the Horn of Africa where this work focuses attention, the problem is not better. The similar problem or even worse than that, is the order of the day.

Another striking discovery I made during my research work on this project is that of definition. The question and the argument who is really a refugee or not on one hand and the question of which criteria should be applied in the classification of refugee on the other hand. This plays a determining role and very paramount in solving the problems as well as finding a durable acceptance on the term `refugee` for instance. The common and generally accepted definition is the 1951 Convention definition or the then agreed definition, but other schools of thought have over the years argued for the redefinition of the status of refugee and as a result they argued that:

“A refugee has proved inadequate in the light of other human rights abuses occurring since the end of World War II. A broader definition, that recognises flight from violence and conflict, was adopted by the Organization of African Unity and by some Central American countries. Some countries, such as Canada, have recognised the refugee claims of women subject to genital mutilation, homosexuals experiencing persecution, and others simply fleeing a war zone”⁵¹⁶

This contention did not end here. By the year 2005 a terrible Hurricane, Katrina swept a region or a state in the United States of America (USA) and left them with unbearable damages. It opened up a new discussion on the term and its application of who is a refugee. We read that:

“The lake in New Orleans broke out as a result of Hurricane – Katrina and the whole city of Mississippi, Alabama and ---- were over flowed and sunk into water. The President Mr. Bush declared a state of emergency and called for whoever that could help to offer assistance. People living in the affected cities were drawn, dead bodies were seen floating in water around the cities. The Mayor of New Orleans called the disaster as “American Tsunami” Thousands of living gathered in the “super bowl” sports center” waiting for assistance, There were bandits and lootings were carried out by American citizens in efforts either to find something to eat or used the opportunity to secure some materials things that they could not have owned under normal circumstances, The situation show that people most of the time commit crimes as a result of hunger, Experts and analysts called the people refugees – even though they were displaced in their own cities not even in their own country”⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁶RICHMOND Anthony H.: Op. cit.

⁵¹⁷AP - Associated Press, Wednesday, 07 September 2005

The irony here is that experts in their analyses and publications over the incident and the magnitude of the damages caused, referred to the affected habitual residents in the region as refugees. Even those in the diplomatic and those occupying strategic positions share the same view that the inhabitants of the regions so affected are refugees. As a matter of truth, going by the decision and definition of universal refugee definition, the people from the region were not refugees but internally displaced Persons (IDPs). This is because they have neither crossed international border or crossed intercontinental region of the world. What made this incident ironical is that if the western world should called victims of *'Katrina Hurricane'* refugees, what debars them from accepting the displaced victims of African refugees in East Africa as refugees too? The discourse went wide and length of the four corners of the world and especially in the USA. While some schools of thought claimed that they are better being described as refugees, the other schools of thought in defence condemned the application of refugee to the American citizens in the region, pointing out that no one should refer to any American citizen or group of Americans as refugees. The Afro-Americans felt insulted being referred to as refugees since statistics showed that the occupants of the region under siege by Hurricane Katrina were mostly Afro-Americans. Interesting as the case may sound, no one surprisingly used the word displaced persons but instead went straight ahead to use the word refugees to identify them.

Furthermore, and as shocking as it may sound, when the Chief Editor and the authorities at AP (Associated Press) were consulted and requested to explain why they preferred to use the word "*refugees*" to describe the affected residential persons in the region. They were found to say:

"The AP is using the term 'refugee' where appropriate to capture the sweep and scope of the effects of this historic natural disaster on a vast number of our citizens," said Executive Editor Kathleen Carroll. "Several hundred thousand people have been uprooted from their homes and communities and forced to seek refuge in more than 30 different states across America. Until such time as they are able to take up new lives in their new communities or return to their former homes, they will be refugees."⁵¹⁸

You have read the defence as put forward by the Executive Editor of AP as she maintains that, the use of refugees to elaborate and describe the imagination of the weight of the damages caused by *'Hurricane Kathrine'*. Based on this, I quickly came to conclusion that not only the AP media, but also all other mostly western stakeholders uses and applies the word 'refugees' differently from time to time and depending where in the world such occurrences can be or happen. They apply it also as much as they could at any given time to satisfy their wants, pride and ego and pleases their intensions. It goes further to establish or re-establish the motions that as long as bad occurrences within the globe does not affect the

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

western community, all is well, so long as the third world especially Africa will suffer from such natural unforeseen incidents or circumstances.

In addition, this example goes further to buttress the complications inherent with the handling and management of refugees across the world. It portrays how human beings are treated unequal and the degree of understanding to help and be helped if an occurrence takes place that involves western citizens. It is on this ground, I support the demand from contemporary scholars that the definition of refugee as given at the 1951 Geneva declaration of Human Rights at the UNHCR convention should be revised. Just as every law or constitution could be reviewed after decades of its existence, so shall the United Nations Human Rights Convention 1951 be reviewed and upgraded in the new era of New World Order and Globalisation. A definition that will stand the taste of the current time is therefore highly unavoidable.

Given the fact that I have in the introductory part of this project pin-pointed out the causes of refugee around the globe, especially in Africa and most especially in the Great Lake under study. It suffices to summarise it. In addition to the already enumerated causes of refugees, the modern time refugee are far beyond the classical root causes of refugees: These old and new predisposing push factors can be presented in accordance with *Richmond* philosophy thus:

- a) "The inequality in distribution of wealth within and between countries,
- b) The ethnic nationalism,
- c) Militarism
- d) The global arms trade,
- e) Political instability,
- f) Super-power intervention,
- g) Corporate exploitation of resources,
- h) Structural constraints include the control of borders by sovereign states,
- i) Lack of resources by potential migrants; Precipitating events may include the
- k) Overthrow of a government,
- l) The out-break of war,
- m) An environmental disaster, or other life-threatening events. Enabling circumstances include
- n) The intervention of outside agencies- international and nongovernmental organisations, as well as
- o) Clandestine bodies offering to smuggle people out of crisis situations."⁵¹⁹

In the light of all the ups and downs eminent with the challenges of refugee across the universe, in addition to all the billions of US dollars being invested from year to year in the past fifty years. We may be forced to ask the question why, have the policy makers, the diplomatic circle, the United Nations with its agencies like the UNHCR and the UNPF to include the likes of all the Non- governmental and humanitarians organisations with all the best experts in the field could not up till now find durable and sustainable solutions to refugee problematic? I discovered as I have mentioned in some subsections of this work that the stakeholders and interest groups in-charge of refugee issues worldwide know and

⁵¹⁹Richmond 1994: 58-67. (See Chart 3)

understand the challenges and the solutions, but for whatever I have speculated in some passages and maybe for some other reasons best known to them. The western world to include the security council of the United Nations have decided against suitable, sustainable and durable solutions to refugee problems. The reasons might be that they are not only as contributing factors, they are also directly or indirectly beneficiaries of refugees problems. In the furtherance of efforts to shed more light to the background and eventually give appropriate answers to the question above. Reflecting on these questions, a contemporary writer and professor in this field has this to say on the root causes of movements of refugees:

“Politicians and policy makers pay lip service to the idea of addressing “root causes” of population problems and the refugee crisis. However, in the case of reactive migration, this oversimplifies the situation, and fails to recognise the complex relationship between predisposing factors, structural constraints, precipitating events, enabling circumstances and the feedback effects on the world system of particular policy responses”⁵²⁰

Meanwhile, judging from the immediate citation, even if we do not know much but we can understand that there are some policies which militates and mitigates against the durability solutions for refugee matters. It then means that not until the *‘powers that be’* agree to put up policies that will make an impact to end the *issues and matters* nothing changes. That is the main key point I raised here for further discourse and to share with the reading public.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

Part V

18. Attachment

18.1. Abstract

The challenging danger of the issue of refugee world- wide has overcome the managerial power of the International community, especially the UNHCR. The dangerous nature of refugee explosion over the past twenty years for instance has been tremendous. It has passed the classical push factors of refugees on one hand, due to attainment of independence of developing countries across the globe and on the other hand, as a result of the end of the 20th Century cold war, the emergence of the New World Order and Globalisation. How true or legitimate are the above hypothetical statements?

It is on these notes that this work amongst others takes up the challenging research on refugees in International Politics with the topic "*Alternative Approaches to Refugee Problems for Resource Development in International Politics in the Great Lake/ East African Region*"

The introductory part, covering the classical refugee definitions and its analysis, while concentration was on the various types of refugees to include the IDPs. Hypothesis for instance, *Africa has the highest number of Refugees around the globe* was researched, proved and provided. Controversies as a result of problems of refugees to host countries, to international community as well as to the roles of institutions that are confronted with the challenges in refugee problematic were highlighted.

Refugees as resource development was treated. The analysis of the challenges and problems, surveys and evaluations and the controversial implications of not only receiving refugees into a particular nation but also its maintenance called for serious attention in the changing world. Following this, I presented my view on what I called an '*alternative approaches to Refugees problems in the Great Lake of Africa*'. Fundamental issues involved with the management of refugees were looked into and diagnosed, thereby giving substantial answers to the hypothesis and questions raised in the previous sector of the Research. For example, is refugee burden to the receiving nations? If yes, which measures could be applied and why these measures?

The methodology applied in this work is partly centred on the field activities carried out in the Horn of Africa, interviews conducted in Austria with experts like NGO staff who are on daily bases confronted with the problems and challenges of refugees as well as discussions in Seminar workshops and with some diplomats at the international organisations in Vienna.

Themes like, New World Order, Globalisation and their respective effects on the life of refugees were discussed. The discourse was not limited to East African Sub-region but also globally since refugees are seen in international dimensions as a universal issue. The roles of supra-powers and supra-organisations for instance the USA, Russia on one aspect and the EU and OSCE on the other way called for particular attention. In addition, the AU, the UN with the Security Council, UNHCR are brought to focus. The legislative and systematic means of building walls against developing countries especially African continent by the developed world opens another platform for contemporary writers and many more.

The issue of geo-political powers at the United Nations Security Council and the effects of inequality of power distribution is discussed in relation to refugees. The unbalance economy in the world and its unprecedented circumstances in the 21st Century called for serious attention of the reading public. The role of Austria in the geo-political power struggle through its membership of EU and OSCE in the context of peace around the globe were enumerated.

New alternative approaches in the 21st Century (Millennium period) were brought in, given the fact that previous applications to getting rid of refugees problematic could not sustain the desired goals. Answers are provided as to why the former approaches failed its durability and therefore failed its sustainability.

The work is good for Students of international politics and social scientists, likewise for international policies and diplomacies. It is a good material on comparative theory. While the cold war period and the time thereafter were discussed and compared, I draw conclusion that the relevancy of the third world countries diminished as a result the emergence of the new world order and globalisation. It is my opinion that this research could be useful to everyone.

Furthermore, this work will go a long way in helping stakeholders in world affairs and straightening the role of NGOs that are specifically managing refugees through the office of the UNHCR. Not only that, the research covers the interest of contemporary readers who want to be abreast of the circumstances that surround refugees generally.

In conclusion, it is my opinion that the problem of refugees world-wide may best be reduced, but not eradicated despite the huge amount of billions of US Dollars being pumped out each year from the international community due to the strong interests of the unseen forces behind the cloud. Refugees are a booming business across international borders for many reasons.

18.2. Abstract –German Version

Flüchtlingsmanagement ist in der heutigen Zeit eine Herausforderung und ein weltweit sehr heikles Thema für die Internationale Gemeinschaft, besonders für UNHCR. Die Explosion in der Anzahl von Flüchtlingen ist in den letzten zwanzig Jahren enorm geworden. Dies resultiert aus einer Kombination von klassischen Flüchtlingsfaktoren und neuen Faktoren, die entstanden sind, zum Beispiel die Entwicklung der *Neuen Weltordnung* und der *Globalisierung* führt zu anderen Arten von Flüchtlingen und einem neuen Gesicht der Flüchtlingsproblematik, nachdem weltweit viele Entwicklungsländer ihre Unabhängigkeit bekommen haben.

Diese Dissertationsarbeit beschäftigt sich mit Flüchtlingen in der internationalen Politik. Das Thema lautet *Alternative Ansätze zur Flüchtlingsproblematik: Ressource Development in der internationalen Politik in der Große Seen / ostafrikanischen Region*.

Die Einleitung enthält und beschäftigt sich mit klassischen Flüchtlingsdefinitionen und Analysen der Problematik. Die verschiedenen Arten von Flüchtlingen und IDPs werden definiert und es wird untersucht, warum Afrika die größte Zahl von Flüchtlingen in der Welt hat.

Diese Dissertation behandelt das Thema Flüchtlinge im Rahmen des Ressource Development, indem es Flüchtlinge als Arbeitskräfte sieht. Die Probleme und Belastungen, die Flüchtlinge für das Asylland darstellen, werden aus dem Blickwinkel untersucht, die Maßnahmen herauszustellen, die verschiedene nationale und internationale Institutionen ergreifen können, um diese Probleme zu bewältigen. Grundlegende Normen des Flüchtlingsempfangs, der Unterbringung und Verpflegung, und der Administration werden angesprochen und evaluiert.

Die Forschungsarbeit bearbeitet Themen wie die *Neue Weltordnung* und die *Globalisierung* und zeigt die verschiedenen Auswirkungen politischer und sozioökonomischer Instrumente im Leben der Flüchtlinge. Die Diskussionen sind nicht auf Ostafrika beschränkt, sondern überschreiten die Grenzen zur internationalen Ebene, da Flüchtlingsprobleme mit ihrer internationalen Dimensionen als ein internationales Problem zu sehen sind. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit gilt der Rolle der Supermächte, wie der USA und Russlands, und der supranationalen Organisationen, wie der EU, OSCE, AU und der Vereinten Nationen mit dem Sicherheitsrat und der UNHCR. Die legislativen und systematischen Methoden, mit denen eine Mauer um die Bürger der Entwicklungswelten gebaut wird, werden unter die Lupe genommen.

Die Frage der Verteilung geo-politischer Macht innerhalb des Sicherheitsrates und deren Auswirkungen für Flüchtlinge und die Problematik der Verteilungsungleichheit in der Weltwirtschaft werden in dieser Dissertation aufgegriffen. Interessanten Diskussionsstoff bieten dabei die österreichische Rolle in der EU und OSCE und die österreichische geo-politische Machtausübung im Kontext von Friedensschaffung, Entwicklungshilfe und Nachhaltigkeit.

Der alternative Ansatz zur Flüchtlingsbewältigung wurde in der Millenniumszeit (21. Jahrhundert) aufgegriffen, weil die bisherigen Methoden die Erwartungen nicht erfüllt hatten. Diese Dissertation identifiziert Mängel in den bisherigen Ansätzen und Vorschläge für Lösungen und Verbesserungen, die zu Nachhaltigkeit und Durabilität führen können.

Die Methodologie dieser Forschungsarbeit basiert auf Feldarbeit im Horn von Afrika. Es wurden auch mehrere Interviews und Befragungen mit Experten und Mitarbeitern von NGOs in Österreich durchgeführt, die täglich mit Flüchtlingsbetreuung und den Problemen von Flüchtlingen zu tun haben. Es wurden auch Seminarmaterialien von Workshops und Diskussionen genutzt, die mit Diplomaten von internationalen Organisationen in Wien gehalten wurden.

Die Arbeit richtet sich an Studenten der internationalen Politik und Sozialwissenschaften, aber auch der internationalen Diplomatie. Sie bietet sehr gutes Material für vergleichende Theorie, denn die Periode des Kalten Kriegs und die Zeiten danach werden diskutiert und verglichen. Diese Forschungsarbeit kann auch für Entscheidungsträger auf nationaler und internationaler Ebene und für andere Stakeholders der Weltbühne nützlich sein, vor allem für die NGOs, die tagtäglich mit Flüchtlingen konfrontiert werden, und die UNHCR.

Eine Schlussfolgerung ist, dass die Flüchtlingsproblematik höchstens halbiert werden kann, aber nie komplett abzuschaffen ist. Trotz der Milliarden von US Dollar, die jährlich von der internationalen Community für Flüchtlingsbekämpfung ausgegeben werden, wird man das Problem nicht in den Griff bekommen, weil es viele starke Interessensgruppen gibt, die unsichtbar sind. Flüchtlinge sind ein blühendes Geschäft, das aus vielen Gründen die internationalen Grenzen überschreitet.

18.3. Curriculum Vitae with Focus on the Scientific Career

Lebenslauf mit Schwerpunkt auf den Wissenschaftlichen Werdegang

Mag. phil. Samuel Ihendu Ogbonna

Education

University/ Preliminary Studies

- | | |
|------|---|
| 2015 | Promotion to Doctor of Philosophy (Dr. phil.) Doctorate Research (Project) on: Alternative Approaches to Refugee Problems for Resource Development in International Politics in the Great Lake/ East African Region. Specialisation in International Politics, International Relations and generally on Refugees etc. Supervisors: Univ. -Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Univ. - Prof. Dr. Otmar Höll. |
| 1996 | Admission at the University of Vienna for Postgraduate study (Doctorate Study) |
| 1996 | Graduated as MSc. Master of Social Sciences, - Magister der philosophie (Mag. phil.) Topic of my thesis (Diplomarbeit): Media Reflections on Nigeria Foreign Policy 1985-1993. With specialization in Public Relations (PR), Advertisement and Marketing. Supervisor: Dr. Wolfgang Duchkowitsch (Univ.-Prof. Dr. Wolfgang R. Langenbacher). |
| 1991 | Started my studies as a regular student at the University of Vienna Study areas: Journalism, Communication & Political Sciences |
| 1991 | Successfully completed my preliminary Studies at the University Preliminary School. |
| 1989 | Gained admission at the University of Vienna for graduate study with Advance Level Certificate –West African Examination Council and studied additionally at the University of Vienna Preliminary School as irregular Student (Vorstudienlehrgang als ao.Hörer AHStG) <i>Ludohartsmannplatz1160 Vienna, University of Vienna.</i> |

Research work, Workshop and Interview Discussions

- | | |
|------|--|
| 2014 | Research work on fifty years Nigerian Students Union in Austria: A Chronological Demographic Analysis & Integration of Nigerian Migrants in Austria submitted for publication on (www.nuns-austria.at). |
| 2004 | Africans in Austria: A demographic development of African Migrant in Austria. Published at the time on www.opopao.org . |
| 2003 | Bundesamt für Fremdenwesen und Asyl Sicherheit: Seminar Discussion on Food and Eat habit of African Refugees at 1100 Wien, <i>Favoritenstraße 211.</i> |
| 2002 | UNHCR. Seminar Workshop on Country Information in Africa on Refugees at UNHCR Office <i>Wagramer Straße5, 1220 Vienna.</i> |

- 2002 Doctors without Borders (*Ärzte Ohne Grenze*) Vienna Austria
Josefstädter. Straße 19, 1082. Interview Discussion with Senior Staff/
Field work Supervisor on the general life of Refugees in the Horn of
African Countries: Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Tanzania.
- 2002 Participation at OSCE Seminar/ workshop at the Hofburg in Vienna,
Austria on 24.06.2002, on the activities & work of OSCE.
- 2000 Events Management& Consultancy Services -Socio Cultural, Media
& Political matters to include Asylum and Refugees Counselling etc.
- 1998 *SOS Kinderdorf* International, 1190 Wien, *Billrothstraße 22.* Interview
Discussion with the General Secretary in Vienna Austria. Countries in
the Great Lake: Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Rwanda,
Uganda and Zaire.
- 1997 Co-sponsored Radio Afrika Vienna Austria to conduct field work at
Refugee Camps in the Horn of East Africa. Countries visited: Ethiopia,
Kenya and Tanzania.
- 1996 Panel Discussion on challenges and solutions to Integration of African
Migrants in Austria with Minister of Interior and his Services Chiefs at
Afro-Asia Institute *Türkenstraße 3, 1090 Wien, Austria.*

Other Qualifications

- 2014: Management Course: Institute for Economic Development of the Austrian (FH Campus
Wien) Chamber of Commerce Vienna with Diploma in Product
Management. Diploma Project: Marketing Plan on *SunDrops-*
Mobile Solar- Energy for Free Electricity at every Location (An Agric.
Equipment) [www. Sundrops.at](http://www.sundrops.at). Diploma Academic *Fachhochschul*
(Professional School) Title - FH
- 2013 Biz. Training Course: EBC*L Studies ENTERPRISE: The International Certificate
for Commercial and Entrepreneurial Thinking; Level 1, 2 & 3.
EBC*L – European Business Competence Licence (WIFI)

Other Engagement

- 2004 - Date Administrative Management: Organisation for Protection of Old People
of African Origin. A Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) for
Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Austria.
- 2004 – 2008 Managing Chief Editor- “OPOPAO News Magazine” in Austria (News
Magazine for Immigrants in Vienna
- 1996 – 2002 Co-founder & Radio Journalist „Radio Afrika in cooperation with Radio
1476“Medium Wave, 1040 Vienna, ORF(Austria Radio & Television).
Contributions to Migrants, Asylum and Refugees integration in Austria.

Socio-Political Engagement

2008 - 2015	Chairman People's Democratic Party Nigeria -PDP Austria Chapter.
2008 - 2015	National President <i>Ohaneze Ndigbo in Austria</i> (ONA), an Igbo Apex Socio-political Organization World-Wide.
1995 - 2013	Executive President National Union of Nigerian Students' in Austria (NUNSA).
2008 - 2010	Founded: Established <i>Ohanaeze Ndigbo in Austria</i> (ONA) -An Umbrella Association for all Igbo Organisations and Igbo people in Austria.
2009 -2010	Consulting & Campaign European regional Coordinator for Ambassador Dr. Jerry Sonny Ugokwe for Anambra State Governorship Election 2010.
1999-2008	General Secretary PDP Austria Chapters.
2004-2008	Chairman Igbo Cultural Society Austria.
2006- 2007	Consulting & Campaign Manager for Mag. Dr. Adedeji Aganga-Williams, Gubernatorial Candidate for Lagos State, Nigeria Governorship Election- General Election 2007.
1999- 2003	Co-founder & First Secretary General National Association of Nigeria Community in Austria (NANCA).
1999 -2000	Cofounder of PDP Austria Chapter.
1998- 1999	General Secretary Pan African Forum Austria.
1992-1993	Vice. President, National Union of Nigerian Students, Austria.
1991-1992	Ass. Gen. Sec., National Union of Nigerian Students, Austria.

19. Glossary

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