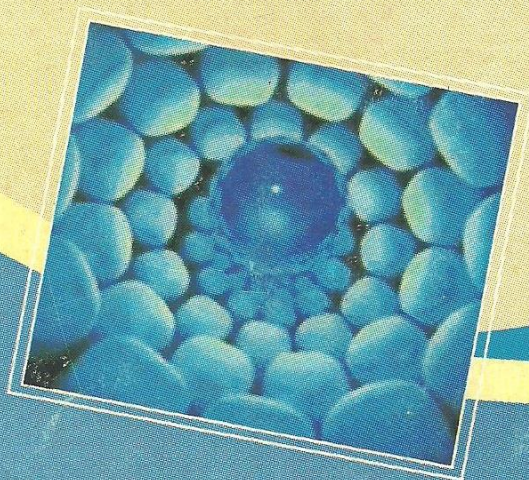


THOUGHTS IN THE HUMANITIES



Editor
R. A. Akanmidu

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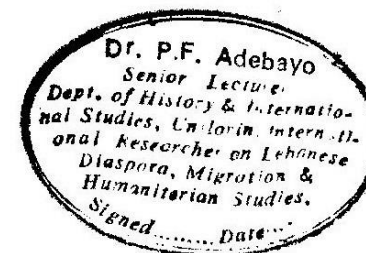
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CHAPTER 35

UNITED NATIONS High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and Africa, 1957-2009

Peter F. Adebayo

Introduction

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. Indeed, beginning with a paltry budget sum of \$300,000, the UN General Assembly was soon urging the office to involve itself with assistance, protection and emergency aid, in order to meet its onerous task of coping with refugee problems.¹ The enormity and the overwhelming problems of the refugees crises especially outside Europe from the late 1950s of the 20th century regarded by Turton as the 'century of refugees' (when it began to contend with refugees problems outside Europe) were so glaring that the humanitarian organization could not cope with it.² The situation was exacerbated by the global economic crisis that began in the closing part of the year, 2008 thus making it difficult for the developed countries and donor organizations to cut off the or renege in their pledges to UNHCR. African countries having about two-thirds of the world refugees and internally displaced persons feel the impact of the cut off of aid by UNHCR and donor agencies as well as International Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

It was therefore not surprising that 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 funds. The offices are those of Ghana,

Mail, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Chad, Somalia and Burkina Faso.³ The Vatican radio also stated that UNHCR had appealed to international and voluntary agencies for fund to cope with the enormity of the ever increasing refugee crises and problems in Africa but funds are not forthcoming.⁴ It however stated that the closure of the offices will not affect its local operations in the aforementioned countries.⁵

The closure of these offices coming so soon after the UNHCR has celebrated its 50th year of existence in December 2001⁶. Of course, this was not the first time that the organization was in difficulty with respect to the funding issue. In May, 2006 UNHCR and its specialized agencies such World Food Programme had to appeal to donors, developed countries and internationally acclaimed individuals that the organization was in need of aid assistance to tackle refugee crisis in Darfur and Chad as well as in other African countries that were harboring refugees and internally displaced persons.⁷ Indeed, UNHCR good will Ambassador Angelina Jolie as well as Actress Mia Farrow who was on a United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) good will mission to Sudan had to plead for international donors to also honor their pledges so that UNHCR can fulfill its obligation to African refugees and internally displaced persons.⁸ In 2008 UNHCR funding issue was exacerbated following the global economic melt down which led to cut down of the agency budget. Writing in the London Guardian Newspaper, Peter Beaumont stated that 'The biggest humanitarian aid agencies which house and feed over 100 million people are facing a deep-and potentially long term-crisis of funding as governments across the globe slash their budgets.'⁹ The cut in budget according to World Food Programme Officer was expected to affect twelve of UN humanitarian agencies and with about nine of the agencies not having donations and were already cutting off food rations in Ethiopia and Zimbabwe.¹⁰ The concomitant effects of the underfunding crisis-closure of some UNHCR offices in Africa in 2002, inability to meet refugee emergencies in Darfur and the aforementioned global economic down 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 and African Union leaders in Kampala, Uganda, October, 23rd, 2009 to deliberate on the issues of funding of African refugees and internally displaced persons. Indeed these funding issues certainly raise a lot of fundamental questions viz : why has UNHCR been finding it difficult to cater for the massive refugees and displaced persons (IDPs) in Africa or mobilize international funds for refugees and related problems in Africa? Are refugees funding issues not related to international politics as contested by Guy Goodwin-Gill, Gil Loescher and Laila¹¹. Indeed, why is Africa (regarded as the continent of refugees) caught in the web of the dynamic of international relief network? Why is it that UNHCR never cries of underfunding when it comes to assisting refugees in Europe, Asia and Latin America How can UNHCR financial assistance be improved upon in Africa.

It is against the background of these issues that this paper takes a retrospective outlook on UNHCR financial assistance to Africa refugees and international displaced persons in Africa beginning from 1957 when the first humanitarian assistance were provided to Africa refugees to 2009 when the African Union and UNHCR held its meeting on refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons in Africa in Kampala, Uganda, 23rd, October, 2009.¹² It begins with the contentious issue of defining a refugee and its related problem before discussing the issue of funding.

This study is justified on the ground that historical studies on UNHCR and its funding issues in relation to African refugees are lacking to the best of our knowledge, despite the fact that the organization has been engaged in massive amounts of important humanitarian work, as it has saved and helped to restart millions of lives. The historical importance of the study of UNHCR is emphasized by Hanhimaki who stated that-

But due to its necessarily operational nature and the sad fact that refugee crises never cease, UNHCR remains an institution deeply unaware of its history. And yet, as 'not every refugee crisis is 'unprecedented', history -precedent-

offers many clues to improving present and future operations. This is not to say that history will repeat itself. It is simply to stress that historical knowledge can serve a 'utilitarian purpose' for an operational agency. Knowing history is usually the first step to a proper understanding of the present and improved planning for the future¹³.

And more importantly as expressed by Gould 'refugees constitute one of the greatest but least appreciated and least documented tragedies of present day Africa' This historical study of the funding issue of UNHCR and Africa will certainly add to the literature on refugees, humanitarian and disaster management studies and also be of value to Non-Governmental Organizations, development practitioners.

The Refugee Problem in Africa

The issue of refugee has been existing since time immemorial, but international efforts to alleviate the problem of refugees and the displaced persons began after World I. Initially, the problem of refugees and displaced persons was perceived as an ephemeral phenomenon and all the measures suggested were of temporary nature. Not only that but a consensus on the definition of refugee was difficult to achieve. Until the 1960s Europe and Asia were the major producers of refugees. Although the UN General Assembly gave UNHCR a universal mandate in 1950, its first years of operation were almost exclusively European and later Asia.¹⁴ There were few refugees in Africa. The problem of refugee became noticeable in Africa as from the 1950s when large groups of people fled from liberation struggles due to explosive internal social and political situations in already independent countries. However, the refugee problem had earlier become noticeable in Europe by the end of the Second World War. In fact, it was in an effort to deal with the massive displacement of humanity occasioned by World War II, that the United Nations sought the 1951 Refugee convention to provide a systematic regime of protection for Refugees¹⁵. A refugee was defined

as one who had a well-founded opinion or membership of a particular social group. This definition was however limited to Europe and related specifically to events that occurred in 1951¹⁶. In 1967, a protocol to the convention removed the geographical and dateline limitations and provided a truly universal definition of refugee.¹⁷ The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR), which was established to supervise the application of the convention has subsequently extended its protection mandate through ad hoc resolutions of the General Assembly and its "good offices" jurisdiction to protect individuals who do not meet the technical definition of refugee, but who find themselves in similar situation.¹⁸

In Africa, the Organization of Africa Unity (O.A.U) had specifically provided protection for those who have fled civil strife.¹⁹ According to the 1969 O.A.U statue convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa Art I paragraph 2 reads:

*The term refugee shall also apply to 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 in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.*²⁰

Thus, we have the African definition of a refugee as distinct from that of the UN-European view. This definitional problem makes the issue of refugee a really contentious one. As observed by Kibreab, unlike, the UN Convention, this definition is extended include people flee from war or disturbance and seek refuge outside the country.²¹ A refugee under the OAU Convention is not required to prove 'well founded fear of persecution'. It is enough that his country is subjected to foreign aggression, occupation, domination' or there are events that result in serious public disorder. This is an objective criterion. The OAU Convention does not provide the right of asylum either. However, the principle of 'non-refoulement' which was already laid down in the UN

Convention was included (Art.11 (3) of the OAU Convention). Like in the UN Convention, the OAU Convention also leaves the determination of the status of refugee to the discretion of the contracting state'. (Art 1 (6) of the OAU Convention)²²

Be that as it may, it should be noted that in Africa, the diversity of the refugee problem results in part from the diversity of economic well being and policies preferences of the many different host states. The causes of refugee migrations in Africa vary as do the characteristics and needs of refugee populations. The four broad distinctions usually made among African refugees are between:

1. Urban and rural refugees;
2. Those fleeing colonialism and those who flee civil conflict and repression in independent state;
3. Educated and non-educated refugee; and
4. Those whose groups primarily comprise of women and children, the aged and the handicapped.

International assistance has had to be tailored to respond to population groups, which differ in educational level, age distribution, political involvement, economic activity, ethnicity and size.²³ Thus, the aids vary widely.

But the involvement of UNHCR assistance in Africa became noticeable as from/began in 1957 as earlier stated when the Tunisian Prime Minister Habib Bourguiba requested for assistance from UNHCR over the 200,000 Algerian refugees that crossed into Tunisia²⁴. The UN General Assembly had no hesitation in recommending that the High Commissioner "continue his actions on behalf of Algerian refugees in Tunisia on substantial scale and...undertake similar action in Morocco"²⁵. 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 Burundi²⁶. 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 influx 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 \$1million by the UNHCR for the construction of reservoirs and pipelines to bring water to the villages where the refugees were to reside.²⁸

However, the "the dramatic refugee influxes of the refugees and internally displaced persons in the early 1960s' occasioned by 'Liberation struggles' strained the national economics of most African countries who had earlier generously provided assistance to some refugees in Africa."²⁹

Table 1: Refugees and Displaced Persons by Regions

Region	Refugees	Internally Displaced Persons	Total	Percent of total.
Africa	3,589,340	2,735,000	6,324,340	50.0
Asia and Oceania	1,994,500	170,000	2,164,500	17.1
Latin America	189,600	50,000	239,000	1.9
Middle East & South-East Asia	1,962,200	1,600,000	3,563,000	28.2
Europe	354,600	--	354,600	2.8
Total	8,090,240	4,555	12,646,040	100.0

Source: Adepoju, Refugees in Africa, Problems and Prospects, 1984

In fact, the statement of Uganda Minister of Planning that 'we can no longer dip our own hands into our pockets at all, because the bottom

of the pocket is hollow³⁰, shows the urgency with which African countries needed international assistance for its refugees.

The UNHCR on its part provided material assistance through the Emergency Fund Special Trusts and Operations, or the General programme. The summary of its financial assistance programme from 1961-67 is provided below, while that of subsequent year is also included.

UNHCR AFRICA PROGRAMS(Ayouty,1965:281—291) 26
SUMMARY ANALYSIS (1962—67)

BURUNDI.

PROGRAMS AND ADMINISTRATION.

The programme in Burundi was carried out by the Government, through the International Association for Rural Development Overseas (AIDR). Apart from UNHCR the following agencies are participating in this programme, United Nations Development Program(UNDP),FAC, International Labour Organization (ILO), World Food Programm and OXFAM of Great Britain.

Name of Settlement	No of Refugees/Country
Congolese	25,000(The majority of the Congolese refugees in Burundi are living outside settlements.
RWANDESE	
Muramba Kayonzi Kigamba	Settlements established in 1962 by the League Of Red Cross - Societiesand consolidated under the ILO Development plan (1964/66) 19, 000
Mugamba	Established in 1965 27, 300
The remaining 7, 700 Rwandese refugees live outside settlements.	

Prepared by the United States Committee for Refugees.

Financial Assistance From UNHCR

In the years 1962-1967, \$2,300,000 was allocated for assistance to refugees in Burundi through UNHCR.

Central African Republic

Programs and Administration

The Government has undertaken responsibility for the programme and has asked the League of Red Cross Societies to coordinate international aid. Food provided NCWC/CRS until mid- 1967 and thereafter by the world food programme. Drugs and other assistance C.W.S.

COUNTRIES/SET TLEMENTS	FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM UNCHCR
CONGOLESE	The 16,000 Congolese refugees are living outside settlements. Approximately 3,000 of them were receiving marginal assistance from the League of Red cross Societies. It is believed that conditions will soon be favourable for a voluntary repatriation of the Congolese refugees.
SUDANESE	Banbouti, established in 1966, has 28,000 refugees. The remaining Sudanese refugees are living outside settlements in Obo, Djema and Ouaida Djalle.
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	In the years 1966 and 1967, a total of \$1,050,000 has been allocated for assistance to refugees in the Central African UNHCR.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO	In the Congo, there is no overall administration of the refugee work as a whole. In the Kivu province of the Congo, the Rwandese refugees (total 25,000) are benefiting from the ILO integration and zonal development project, in which UNHCR is participating financially. The projects, covers two refugees villages in the Kalonge area, in Central Kivu, and the two settlements in North Kivu. For the refugees from Angola, assistance is been provided by voluntary agencies and religious missinons, with marginal financial assistance from UNCHR. Pending the resettlements of the Sudanese refugees (24,000) in the northeast of Congo from the border areas to the interior of the country, and the establishment of a land settlement programme, the Congo Protestants Relief Agency is implementing a relief programme, with the financial assistance of UNCHR and with food provided by Church World Service and NCWC/CRS.
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COUNTRIES/SETTLEMEN TS	NUMBER OF REFUGEES
RWANDA/ANGOLA	The Angolans (300,000) are living outside settlements in the west of the country.
Bibwe	4,700
Ihula	1,800
Kalonge Area (two villages)	800
Sudan	Not available but the Sudanese

	refugees were at that time situated near the Sudan /Congo frontier in the northeast of the country.
--	---

Financial Aid through UNHCR

In the years 1962-67, \$1,200,000 was allocated for refugee programme in its country. The Senegalese Red Cross has been entrusted by the Government with the implementation of the health aspect of the programme. This they are doing with the assistance of the French Red Cross Society, and some further aid may come from the Swiss Red Cross.

NCWC/CRS is responsible for providing food rations to those refugees who are still in need of this type of assistance.

Settlements

The refugees are being settled in a large number of existing villages in the Casamance Province, where they live side by side with the local inhabitants.

Financial Assistance from UNHCR

In the years from 1964 to 1967, \$676,000 was allocated for assistance to refugees in Senegal through UNHCR.

There are 60,000 refugees from Portuguese Guinea in Senegal.

Tanzania

Programme and Administration

Most of the refugee programme is carried out tripartite agreement between the Government to Tanzania, the Lutheran world service. Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service UNHCR.

Settlements

Of the total of 35,950 refugees, 30,500 live in settlements, and the remainder outside settlements.

RWANDESE

Name of Settlement
Muyenzi

No. of Refugees
6,500

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Karagwe	2,300
Mwesi	3,100

MOZAMBIQUAN

Name of Settlement	No. of Refugees
Rutamba	8,000
Lundo Plain	4,000
Muhukuru	6,000

CONGOLESE AND OTHERS

Name of Settlement	No. of Refugees
Pangale	600

Financial Assistance from UNHCR

In the years 1962 to 1967, approximately \$1,520,000 was allocated for assistance to refugees in Tanzania through UNHCR.

UGANDA

Programme

The Government of Uganda has taken full responsibility for the settlement of refugees in her country. The responsible Ministry is the Ministry of Culture and Community Development.

Settlements

RWANDESE

Name of Settlement	No. of Refugees
Nakivai	7,000
Oruchinaga valley	11,000
Kahunge	8,000
Ibuga	100
Rwamawanje	2,500
Kyaka	2,200
Kinyara	3,000

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CONGOLESE

Name of Settlement	No. of Refugees
Agago	500
Acolpi	931

In addition, 110,000 refugees are living outside settlements in various parts of the country.

SUDANESE

Name of Settlement	No. of Refugees
Nakapiripirit	6,000
Agago	1,800
Onigo	2,700
Kyangwli	800

Additionally, three are 110,000 refugees living outside of settlements.

Financial Assistance from UNHCR

In the years from 1962 to 1967, \$1,800,000 was allocated for assistance to refugees in Uganda through UNHCR.

ZAMBIA

Programme

The programme is administered by the Government of Zambia, the responsible Ministry being the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Government has now invited the Lutheran World Federation to act as its operational partner.

Settlements

ANGOLAN

Name of Settlement	No. of Refugees
Nyimba, Established in 1966	3,200
Myukwuyuwa, being established in 1967	500

MOZAMBIKAN

Name of Settlement	No. of Refugees
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Nyimba, Established in 1966

1,300

The remaining 1,285 refugees live outside settlements, including Malawian and Sudanese 120, South Africans, Rhodesian and South West Africans 565

Financial Assistance from UNHCR

In the years 1966 and 1967, some \$570,400 were allocated for assistance to refugees in Zambia through UNHCR.

It should be noted that the Emergency fund was tapped more frequently in the 1960s than in the 1970s to provide relief and to satisfy immediate needs for rural settlements even after an influx or more occasionally, at a later date due to adverse weather.³¹ Special operations were earmarked and funds disbursed initially upon the request of the United Nation Secretary General, primarily to assist large numbers of refugees and displaced persons. Within the General programme budget there are indeed eight official categories of assistance – local integration, resettlement, voluntary repatriation, lower secondary education, legal assistance, counseling, aid to handicapped refugees and supplementary aid.³² Funds are also provide for the administrative support which is necessary component of all type of assistance whether funded by the General programme or the earmarked special Trusts.

The UNHCR has through its "good offices" in response to requests from the United Nation Secretary General and the Assembly assisted displaced persons and returnees. In Africa, the wide dispersion of refugee within countries of asylum has led to regional approaches to assistance which also included host populations³².

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

12(Annual Reports on UNHCR Assistance Activities).

With this background, we are now in a better position to see how much the UNHCR spent in Africa though its special operations. We look at the expense from 1975-1981 as illustrated here in the table below. In the table, fully two thirds of such funding is for relief and supplementary assistance. Relief is often a component of the remainder, but the explicit policy goals listed in the budget are typically repatriation in Africa and resettlement from Asia.

Between 1975 and 1981, almost two million refugees the world over repatriated voluntarily, (U.S. Committee for Refugees, World Refugee Survey; American Council for Nationalities Services, 1982), and most of the assistance for this came from special operations. Voluntary repatriation projects never accounted for more than two percent of general programme funding except during 1972-73 when the Sudanese repatriation was under way. Four of Africa's largest repatriation efforts followed the end of Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique and of white minority rule in Zimbabwe. The durability of other solutions is doubtful: while there are no more refugees from Equatorial Guinea, Zaire, Angola and Chad persist despite earlier repatriations.³³

There is an inverse relationship between the size of the special operations and General programme funds which together have absorbed more than 75 percent of the African budget since 1977; the special operations share declined from 52 percent in 1977 to only 17 percent in 1981. This shift is attributable to the increase in multipurpose assistance from the General programme. 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 Somalian refugees increased from

70,000 in July to 380,00 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.³⁴ 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 camps³⁵ (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 repatriates³⁶. In 2003 similar number of 10,3000 Somalian refugees were repatriated by UNHCR³⁷. It suffices to state that despite the assistance provided by UNHCR in the Horn of Africa that up till 1978, Africa was the sole recipient of the relatively low levels of multi-purpose assistance (except for two years when about half went to Latin America). The primary beneficiaries were refugees in West Africa whose need diverse but numbers too small for full-fledge assistance programs. In the 1980s most multipurpose assistance went to Somalia and Pakistan who were the largest recipients of UNHCR money. The funds were used primarily to satisfy basic food, shelter and domestic needs. In 1981, only about five per cent of Pakistan's multi-purpose appropriations were used to finance education, income-generating and agricultural programs. One third of Somalia's programme, then in its fourth year and relatively established was geared toward such development-oriented objectives.³⁸

On a comparative basis it can be seen that the total percentage of fund expended on Africa from 1975 to 1981 was 22.2% as against 26.1% for Europe, 51.0% for Asia, 6% for Latin African and 1% for Middle East.³⁹ Also in early 80s especially in Uganda UNHCR spent more fund following the overthrow of Idi Amin when it launched a \$7million Special Programme of Humanitarian Assistance.⁴⁰ Responsibility for the programme was transferred to a special representative of the UN Secretary General in March 1981. This effort was complimented in June 1981 when President Obote of Uganda participated in a summit meeting

with President Numeri of Sudan and President Mobutu of Zaire which helped to encourage voluntary repatriation of Uganda refugees. Besides the UNHCR allocated the sum of \$700,000 to the Ministry of Rehabilitation for the reception and reintegration of refugees returning to West Nile.⁴¹ Between 1981 and 1984, the UNHCR raised an additional \$2.5 for Uganda returnees and in May 1984 a special appeal for a further \$5 was launched and continued assistance even up till 1988 when it repatriated 8,000 Uganda refugees from Sudan⁴². Nigeria, though not a major refugee producer but is being fed with refugees from neighboring countries such as Chad, Sierra Leone, Liberia has equally benefitted from UNHCR. The UNHCR began operation in Nigeria in 1978/79 when a counseling office was established under the aegis of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office in Nigeria and it was being supervised from its Regional Office in Dakar Senegal⁴³. 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 refugees⁴⁴. However, in 1982, the UNHCR opened a full fledged office in Nigeria and was upgraded to meet up with ever burgeoning refugee responsibilities such as protection of refugees, interaction with government on their behalf, provision of necessary assistance⁴⁵.

The impact of UNHCR was equally felt in Angola because the body embarked on repatriation of Angola refugees from Zambia which started in 1995⁴⁶. The programme aimed at providing transport for refugees from their official settlements back to Angola. The UNHCR also ensured settlements assistance which included food aid, kitchen sets seeds and tools. The agency further assisted in immigration formalities and road construction from Zambia border to Angola town of Cazombo, the capital district from which Angolans in Meheba district of Zambia originated. By 1997, quick impact projects (QIPS) were undertaken

around Cazombo, eight schools were repaired and the district hospital was reopened with fifty beds. Even though little was achieved on the UNHCR repatriation programme, its impact was well acknowledged in the region.⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸ 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 aid.⁴⁹ 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 former Portuguese colonies, Chad, Zimbabwe and most importantly countries in the Horn of Africa.⁵⁰

In the wave of high refugee influx in Africa in the 1990s the UNHCR has equally increased its expenses but the expenses have not been enough to cope with over increasing refugee problems occurring in Africa as a result of the ever cycle of violence in Africa. For instance, UNHCR developed machineries to remove the problems of insecurity, sexual abuse against women and girls as well as armed robbery 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 1992.⁵¹ The body set up police force to enable the police function effectively, vehicles, spare parts, fuel and radio network were provided. In addition, the organization supplemented the wages of police based in the camps and also paid bonuses for escort and food 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.

Again, Malawi, a drought stricken country with a population of eight million produced and hosted a number of refugees and had highest number of refugees in the 1990s numbering about 1,058 at end of 1992.⁵² By about 2005 1.6 million refugees were facing risks in Malawi.⁵³ Aware of the situation in Malawi UNHCR increased its financial contribution from \$4.5 million in 1987 and \$22.9 million in 1988, \$19.6 million in 1989 to \$28 million in 1992.⁵⁴ Also, UNHCR involvement in repatriation operations in some African countries have been fair. 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.⁵⁵ Also in 1994, UNHCR had launched a six month pilot project involving the return of 250,000 Eritrean refugees.⁵⁶

The table below provides details of how UNHCR has equally increases its expenses programmes in 1993, with African countries inclusive.

Table 3

UNHCR's largest programmes in 1993 (in thousands of US Dollars)	
Former Yugoslavia	532,640
Kenya	59,727.3
Ethiopia	34,428.4
Malawi	29,278.7
Mozambique	28,887.2
Somalia	27,495.1
Pakistan	26,737
Gasbodia	25,136.9
Islamic Republic of Iran	25,111.4
Thailand	19,530.9

(UNHCR Information paper, 1994:7)

Thus, while UNHCR assistance in Africa from the 1960 to 80s has been fair enough not much can be said of the 90s partly because of the diversity of refugee problems it had to cope with in other parts of the world such as in Bosnia, Kosovo and most especially because of politics of assistance. 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 political⁵⁷. 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

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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."⁵⁹ Other international donors did not also donate much either. For instance, the European Community Humanitarian Office created by the European Community in 1994 donated a meager 1.0% of its financial assistance to North Africa as can be shown in the table below. Total Community Assistance to Refugees Displaced, Persons and Rot wheers by Region, 1994. Table 4

Regions	Total Assistance in percentage
A.C.P	59.2%
Ex-Yugoslavia	6.2%
Cls	6.4%
Iraq	0.9%
Asia	9.7%
North Africa	1.0%
Latin America	4.7%
MED	11.8%

(UNHCR, ICARA, 1980)

This political undertone in financial assistance was equally demonstrated in 1999 when the former United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees Mrs. Sadaka Ogata stated in Mozambique that 'while donors were quick to provide funds and resources for those displaced by the conflict in Kosovo, little attention was paid to the situation in West Africa, where hundreds of thousands of people were uprooted by crises in Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau'.⁶⁰ This, of course, is despite the fact that out of the 22 million refugees and internationally

displaced people who fall under the UNHCR's concern 6.3 billion are Africa as shown below

Refugees and internally displaced, aided by UNHCR (million, 31 December 1999)

Table 5

Regions	Percentage
North America	1.3
Latin America	0.1
Europe	7.4
Africa	6.3
Asia	7.4

Source: UN Africa, Recovery from UNHCR State of the World's Refugees, 2000

Table 6

Number of forced Displaced People at the end of 2007.

Categories of forced displacement	Total (in Million)
Refugees under the UNHCR mandate	11.4
Refugees under the UNRWA	4.6
Total number of refugees	16
Conflict generated IDPs	26
Natural disaster IDPs	25
Total number of IDPs	51
Total number of refugees and IDPs	67

Source: 2007 Global Trends, June, 2008

However, it should be noted that towards the end of the years 2001, UNHCR inadequate funding in Africa was exacerbated by the diversion of its resources to Afghanistan, where it has been taking care of the large number of Afghani refugees, following the US retaliatory attack on Afghanistan. The United States had in October 2001 attacked Taliban government and Al-Qaeda terrorist network for its failure to release Osama bin Laden, the prime suspect in the September 11, 2001 terrorist

attack on the World Trade Centre in New York and the pentagon in the United States. The UNHCR of course, had to over stretch its resources beyond its limit in taking care of the Afghan refugees including those fleeing to Indian and Pakistani borders. The economic burden was certainly too much for UNHCR to cope with. 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. For instance, the increase in the organization's budget in Pakistan as a result of US military action in Afghanistan from \$16,499,652 in 1999 and \$17,918,028 in 2000 to \$35,203,309 in 2001⁶¹. would certainly be related to aid politics. Also the assistance provided to more than 100,000 Chechnya civilians during the Russian offensive against the Republic of Chechnya was certainly political. An estimated 250,000 people fled the Russian offensive against the separatist in 1999⁶². The continuous maintenance of the Sri-Lankan displaced persons since 1980s by UNHCR has equally been due to politics of aid.⁶³

UNHCR has also been involved in providing assistance to repatriation of refugees, although this has varied in the various regions of Africa. 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ The repatriates were mostly from Ethiopia, followed distantly by those from Yemen, Kenya and Libya.

In the case of the Great Lake region, the UNHCR had been largely instrumental in assisting the returnees. The exceptions are the flows from Zambia to DR Congo that had 25 and 30 percents of the repatriates assisted respectively in 1997 and 1998, and the flows from Tanzania to the DR Congo, with 51.3 and 69.6 percents assisted repatriates respectively. Those from the DR Congo to Congo (Brazzaville) also had 79 percent and 70 percents of the repatriates

assisted in 1997 and 19998 respectively.⁶⁶ In contrast, the low level of assistance to repatriates in Western Africa has been associated with the increasing cost of massive refugee flows in the region as well as other parts of the continent and the unfulfilled expectations about peace negotiations in the region. In addition, the diversion of attention of donors to other continents and places of occurrence, especially in the western world have tended to marginalized the African case.

But against this background of UNHCR's under-funding of Africa refugees problems in the midst of politics of aid, how then can the organization financial assistance be supported and improved upon in Africa? What imaginative solutions can be adopted internally and externally in resolving the First in order to sensitize the international community to the plight of African Unity (OAU) should organize before the end of this first decade of the 21st century, the long overdue third international conference on Assistance to refugees in Africa (ICARA III). 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 African Refugees. Indeed the first conference was perceived, as an exercise to finance UNHCR projects where as what African leaders needed were additional resources for the development of their infrastructures. Although limited funds were realize in the first ICARA in 1981, nevertheless it succeeded in broadening world attention beyond the horrific plight of the indoctrinate "boat people".⁶⁷

The effectiveness with which public information materials about African refugees were distributed to media all over the world is reflected in a 200-page handbook of newspaper clippings released after ICARA-I⁶⁸

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 linking refugee aid to increased development co-operation was relatively new and has not yet been generally accepted by the donor community⁶⁹. Indeed the structure of

the UN system and of most government of industrialized countries is such that humanitarian issues are dealt with separately from development co-operation; an integrated approach is a new process, which will take time to be accepted⁷⁰. More importantly, the issue will require a concerted efforts by African Union leaders to begin to exert pressures on the Africans in the diaspora(as is done in Afghanistan) to send remittances that could be used to supplement the meager resources provided by the UNHCR or other International Non-Governmental Organizations in solving the plight of African refugees and displaced people.

Despite the failure of ICARA II 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. The All African Conference of Churches and World Council of Churches noted at the meeting that up till now, perhaps for political reasons, the root causes have been ignored.⁷¹ This is definitely in conformity with the perspective of Professor Freda Hawkins of Toronto University who wrote that:

A vital principle which might be described as "Never ask why". UNHCR, responding to an unending series of refugee crises, moves in like an ambulance, picks up the victims, provides immediate protection and assistance....But it never asks what caused the accident. Thus, the same sequence of events can take place over and over again without any serious enquiry as to the 'root causes' of these occurrences.⁷²

It also observed that the first low-income countries of asylum need both humanitarian aid directed especially towards refugees and also support for infrastructure/development progress linked to the presence of large refugee groups. Second, refugee projects should be developed by UNHCR, where as infrastructure/development projects require the

involvement of development agencies. The funding of both kinds of project should be the responsibility of the donor community⁷³.

The African Union in conjunction with UNHCR and its related humanitarian agency such as the International Committee of the Red Cross use/ should first humanitarian diplomacy to make states aware of the critical humanitarian problems and issues faced by African refugees. Here, African Union could seek to share its concerns with the international community and endeavors to heighten awareness of humanitarian imperatives and principles in different international for a including the United Nations./ however endeavour to open offices abroad in order to collect funds from donor countries, other international agencies as well as Africans in the diaspora for African refugees⁷⁴. More importantly, the remittances of Africans in the diaspora could be used to supplement donors contributions towards alleviating the plight of African refugees. Afghanistan refugees have been able to tap the remittances of Afghanis in Diaspora for their own development through the hawala system.⁷⁵ The encouragement of this system which is been used by Africans in the diaspora cannot be over emphasized especially when we realize that the global economic crisis which has affected the charitable attitude of the developed and third world countries including their citizens in donating generously to UNHCR. In a survey conducted by UK's Charities Aid Foundation, (2010 World Giving Index) which is the largest ever into global charitable behavior it placed Australia and New Zealand joint top with the United States in the fifth and the United Kingdom eight.

TOP 20 COUNTRIES IN WORLD GIVING INDEX

World Giving Index	Country	World Giving Index %Scores
1	Australia	57%
2	New Zealand	57%
3	Ireland	56%

3	Canada	56%
5	Switzerland	55%
5	USA	55%
7	Netherlands	54%
8	United Kingdom	53%
8	Sri Lanka	53%
10	Australia	52%
11	LaoPeople'sDemocratic Republic	50%
11	Sierra Leone	50%
13	Malta	48%
14	Iceland	47%
14	Turkmenistan	47%
16	Guyana	45%
16	Qatar	45%
18	Hong Kong	44%
18	Germany	44%
18	Denmark	44%
18	Guinea	44%
26		

Source:Gallup's WorldviewWorld Poll,(NNaemeka Mribe 'Charity: Despite war, Somalia, others more generous than Nigeria-Study'

The Punch Newspaper, September,10,2010, p.59

With the developed countries giving a little to humanitarian organizations, it means that African countries will have to take the initiative of looking for fund even internally in Africa. Indeed, the

African Union (AU) could mobilize for fund through internationally, powerful and highly connected, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) church related Organisations such as World Council of Churches, Communciations (WCC) church and Ecumenical Relations, etc. that have their regional offices in Africa or specifically through NGO's related to Refugees matters such as African Refugees Foundations,(AREF)⁷⁶ (Adebayo, 1997:20). Financially powerful rich individuals in Europe, America and Africa contribute to Sucina fund. It is hoped that if these measures are pursued UNHCR financial assistance in Africa could be supported and improved upon.

On the whole, it suffices to state that despite the fact that the provision of humanitarian assistance to African refugees has not kept pace with the magnitude of the problem UNHCR and the international community still needs to be praised for consistently bringing to lime light the plight of refugees and internally displaced persons. The humanitarian crisis in Darfur in 2006 showed the urgency and immediate response of UNHCR and its specialized agencies to crisis in Sudan. It was cindeed through the efforts of UNHCR and World Food Programme that the international community was made to know about the crisis with the former U.S. President George Bush asking Congress for \$200,000 billion for Darfur crisis⁷⁷. International actors and actresses organized musical concerts for the Dafur refugee crisis.

Conclusion

The paper has discussed in retrospect UNHCR financial assistance to Africa refugee programme from the 1957-2009. It was categorically stated that the declining of UNHCR financial assistance to Africa refugee problems was made worse by the presence of massive refugees in Afghanistan and those fleeing to Indian and Pakistan borders. The refugee crisis in Afghanistan which was occasioned by the US retaliatory attack on the country made it compelling for UNHCR to divert its resources towards taking care of the refugees there. Consequently, the UNHCR over stretched its resources and this probably led to the closure

of seven of its offices in Africa. Again, the 2006 Darfur humanitarian crisis as well as the 2008 global economic melt down created fears among African Union Leaders as to how the funding of the refugee problems in Africa could be solved. It is therefore not surprising that the UNHCR had to hold a crucial meeting with the African leaders in Kampala, Uganda, on 23rd October,2009 to find pragmatic and imaginative ways of solving the funding refugee crisis in Africa. It is hoped that the suggestions raised at the meeting will go a long way in assisting both UNHCR and African Union Leaders in finding solutions to the refugee problems in Africa at least for the time being.

Notes and References

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Actually in 1961, the UNHCR did assist some 6,000 Ghanaian refugees in Togo and 7,000 Togolese nationals expelled from Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) but thaws on a small scale effect.

The eleven states are Cameroun, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Sao Tome and Principe, Seycheles and South Africa.

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- 7 See Guardian Newspaper, 14th May 2006, pp 39.
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national and international interests, first in his 1986 book, *Calculated Kindness*, co-authored with John Scanlan., and in his later monographs, particularly *Beyond Charity*(1993) and *The UNHCR and World Politics* (2001). See also Cecilia Ruthstom-Ruin's *Beyond Europe: The Globalization of Refugee Aid*, which according to Goodwin-Gill 'casts a refreshing new look on the background to UNHCR's critical move into Africa at the time of the Algerian refugee crisis and when the politics of the Cold War were seeking other operational theatres.

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- 19 ART 1 (2) of the O.A U Convention in ILRA, 1979, p.144-174, See also OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa' in UNHCR, *Collection of International Instruments Concerning Refugee*. Geneva:1969, Convention Relating to the Statues of Refugee, New York, 31 January, 1967

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- 75 Alessandro Monsutti, (2008) 'Afghan Migratory Strategies and the Three Solutions to the Refugee Problem in the Journal of Refugee Survey Quarterly, volume, 27 No. 1 pp 58-73. According to him, the hawala system has enabled many families to feed themselves where as humanitarian aid mainly focused on refugees during the Soviet occupation, then gradually dried up during the 1990s before making a chaotic reappearance after that fall of the Taliban in 2001. International aid has certainly helped many Afghans to cope with periods of acute crisis, but the multiplication of rival NGOS and lack of coordination mean that the overall results have been often rather poor. Remittances through the hawala system are considerably larger and better distributed than the total sum of humanitarian aid. He also stated that money transfers in Afghanistan has succeeded in linking mobile people in four ways-i- they reveal the existence of social networks linking faraway

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About the Book

This book speaks variously to the problems that confront the Nigerian nation-State. Those in leadership have been challenged with the need to change their disposition to leadership. There is a strong appeal to them for good leadership in the minimization of self interest for the maximization of public interest.

It has been emphasized that it is through the sustenance of national values that the sovereignty of Nigeria can be meaningful and respected. It is in this context that democracy, as practiced in Nigeria, should carry with it the imperative of good governance and tolerance. The virtues of integrity, visionary leadership, selflessness are components of good political character which can result to transformational change.

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