REFUGEES AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Notes from an on-going research project

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1. BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

In the four resolutions adopted in 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982 by the UN General Assembly on the activities and general policy of the UNHCR, the international community is repeatedly called upon to share the burden of providing appropriate durable solutions to the problems of refugees.

In April 1981 an important step was taken when the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, ICARA, was convened in Geneva.

The major objectives of ICARA were, firstly, to focus public attention on the plight of refugees in Africa, secondly, to mobilize additional resources for refugee programmes in Africa and thirdly, to assist countries of asylum adversely affected by the large scale presence of refugees to obtain international assistance for projects aimed at strengthening the ability of those countries to carry the extra-burden placed on their meagre services and facilities.

On 18 December 1982 the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/197 requesting the Secretary General to convene in close cooperation with the OAU and the UNHCR a second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, ICARA II. It is now scheduled to take place at the Palais des Nations in Geneva on 9-11 July 1984.

The purpose of ICARA II as formulated in the resolution include inter alia:

- the consideration of additional assistance to refugees and returnees in Africa for the implementation of programmes for their relief, rehabilitation and settlement,
- the consideration of the need to provide African countries concerned with assistance to strengthen their social and economic infrastructure required to cope with the burden of large numbers of refugees and returnees.
From the wordings of the General Assembly resolutions here mentioned it is clear that the problems of refugees in Africa are in many ways inseparable from the problems of development. This is also recognized in the reports from meetings where the issues of ICARA II have been considered. Reference is made to the Meeting of the OAU-Secretariat and Voluntary Agencies on African Refugees held in Arusha, Tanzania in March 1983 and the Meeting of Experts on Refugee Aid and Development held at Mont Pèlerin, Switzerland in August 1983.

In 1981 the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies (SIAS) embarked on a research project called "Refugees and Development in Africa". The project aims at producing a number of studies on the legal, economic and social aspects of the situation of refugees in Africa. Furthermore, the project will at a later stage, address itself to the broader issues of refugees and displaced persons, human and peoples' rights and development. The most important activities until now within the project have been the following. Mr. Mekuria Bulcha and Mr. Gaim Kibreab have prepared, conducted and completed several months of socio-economic field research in refugee settlements in Eastern Sudan. The results are now being processed for analysis and comparative studies. Mr. Peter Nobel has on a number of fact-finding missions collected materials at a pan-african level for various legal parts of the project and is now working on a study on the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. The research results will be published in 1984/85.

Nevertheless, the experience already gained within the research project "Refugees and Development in Africa" should allow the researchers engaged to contribute to the important on-going discussions related to the subject. The purpose of this paper is, thus, to present some of our preliminary findings as a contribution to these policy discussions.
2. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

2.1. On The Concept of Development

We have no doubt that the problems of refugees in the host countries as well in their home countries after repatriation are problems of development. However, we are not prepared to define development solely in terms of economic growth, increase of GNP, income per capita etc. Although the economic factors certainly are basic to a development process, we want to emphasize the well-being, happiness and potential of the people and the individuals to realize their aspirations as equally crucial.

We would like to quote the following from What Now, The 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report on Development and International Cooperation:

"Development of what? Development for whom? Development of every man and woman - of the whole man and woman - and just not the growth of things, which are merely means. Development geared to the satisfaction of needs beginning with the basic needs of the poor who constitute the world's majority; at the same time, development to ensure the humanization of man by the satisfaction of his needs for expression, creativity, conviviality, and for deciding his own destiny. Development how? Development is a whole; it is an integral, value-loaded, cultural process; it encompasses the natural environment, social relations, education, production, consumpition and well-being. The plurality of roads to development answers to the specificity of cultural or natural situations; no universal formula exists. Development is endogenous; it springs from the heart of each society, which relies first on its own strength and resources and defines in sovereignty the vision of its future, cooperating with societies sharing its problems and aspirations. At the same time, the international community as a whole has the responsibility of guaranteeing the conditions for the self reliant development of each society, for making available to all the fruits of others' experience and for helping those of its members who are in need."
2.2 On The Right to Development as a Human Right including Refugees

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights was adopted by the OAU in Nairobi in June 1981. The Charter states in art. 22.1:

All peoples shall have the right to their economic, social and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind.

This was in full accordance with the standpoint at which the international law had arrived at that time. Thus a conference convened in the Hague in April 1981 by the International Commission of Jurists found that while the traditional approach to human rights had been to consider separately civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, social and cultural rights on the other; true development requires a recognition that the different human rights are inseparable from human rights and the rule of law.

Thus from the legal point of view development should be understood as a process designed progressively to create conditions in which every human being can enjoy, exercise and utilize all his human rights under the rule of law, whether they are economic, social, cultural, civil or political. It also follows that every person has the right to participate in and to benefit from such development.

The International Commission of Jurists has sponsored a number of conferences on the interdependance and inseparable character between human rights and development in various parts of the world highlighting different aspects of this relationship. The reports are published by the Commission. The International
Committee of the Red Cross, the International Institute of Humanitarian Law and the Interafrican Union of Lawyers have also been active in this field, as have many others. This is to indicate the amount of available studies.

Thus analysis of the most important international legal instruments dealing with human rights as well as the depressing experience of reality shows that there is no real development where people are denied their basic human rights and that there is no full enjoyment of such rights in the absence of development.

During the Pan-African Conference on Refugees in Africa in Arusha in 1979, delegates confirmed refugee law is part of human rights in the broader sense, and that the maintenance of human rights should alleviate the sufferings of refugees and improve the lives and security of all Africans. Consequently, the conference reaffirmed the principle that human beings shall enjoy fundamental rights and freedom without discrimination, and emphasized the need for the legal problems of refugees to be viewed in the wider context of respect for human rights. The recommendations from this Arusha conference were later endorsed by the OAU and the General Assembly of the UN.

Since equality between men and women is one of the basic human rights' principles and since women constitute the majority among grown-up African refugees we would also like to refer to the publication Another Development with Women, Development Dialogue 1982:1-2, published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala, Sweden.
2.3. On Planning and the Participation of Refugees

The driving forces behind ICARA I and II are justly and basically motivated by the fact that there is too little assistance allocated to African refugees. In our opinion though increased assistance is crucial, it is not the only factor determining the outcome. A durable solution to the African refugee problem should not be sought in only one or two variables. In as much as the problem is caused by an interplay of political, economic, social and military factors, a solution requires more than a sole emphasis on supply of material goods. The immaterial factors should not be overlooked.

Any major programme of assistance should be preceded by a thorough short- and longterm planning that allows refugee participation not only in accepting or rejecting the plan (or part of it) but in bringing the plan itself into being. The dependance syndrome that prevails among so many African refugees is not often purely and only generated by shortage of assistance, but also by the way assistance is distributed which tends to reduce the refugees to mere recipients of hand-outs. If this psychological factor is overlooked, efforts aiming at the mobilization of refugee resources may fail.

The question on refugee participation in site selection, planning, execution, administration, allocation of assistance and evaluation is of vital importance. Still it is often overlooked by host governments and assisting organizations and seldom mentioned in the reports from conferences and meetings deliberating the problems of refugees.

Planning is a key to success and faults in the planning procedure are often the prelude to failure. A basic element in planning is to involve the bene-
ficiaries to take part from the outset. Experience shows that it is better to plan with people than for
them. But even before the planning exercise starts, one must seek the answer to the basic question
whether the refugees will remain in the country of asylum for the foreseeable future or whether the
provision of asylum can be seen as a transient phenomenon.

Whether the answer to this question is easily found or not it should always be of vital importance to
undertake objective enquiries into the attribution of the refugees concerned.

Such investigations which should be much more frequent and readily undertaken could also give invaluable
information on root causes, "push-and-pull" effects, the composition of refugee populations, their needs
and their potentials. Considering the enormous costs and losses in refugee assistance such research
would also save money.

As an example it could be mentioned that our interviews with hundreds of refugees from Ethiopia in the
Sudan show that more than ninety percent of them have crossed the border mainly because of physical fear
and need of protection and that very few of them had any information about what the conditions were
in Sudan before they left. It also came out that they all with very few exceptions want to return as
soon as the conditions - as they see them - allow.

One often repeated recommendation suggests the setting up of machineries for quick assessment of
new refugee situations in order to get immediate information about origins, number, division between
sexes and ages, and the refugees’ needs and fears.
Experience from cooperation in this aspect between the host government and UNHCR - and eventually voluntary agencies - in a few African countries has shown the value of such action.

3. CAUSES OR THE PRE-FLOW ASPECT

The not unusual opinion that many refugees in reality are "economic migrants" must be challenged.

In the Southern African context genuinely felt fear of repression including physical violence is indeed the cause for refugees coming from Namibia and the Republic of South Africa. Similarly, our surveys in the Sudan show that more than ninety percent of refugees interviewed are genuine asylumseekers. Prior to leaving their home country, three-fourths of the refugees interviewed had no information whatsoever regarding Sudan or the conditions of the Ethiopians who have sought asylum there before them. Those who were informed knew about the socio-economic difficulties refugees face in the Sudan before they started on the journey to exile. The overwhelming majority of the refugees left their families, homes and country because of a genuine desire to save their lives from impending dangers or other problems of security.

To speak again in general terms, there are in Africa in recent times examples of large-scale persecutions of a political, religious and ethничal character. But we are convinced that most refugees in Africa are victimized one way or another by military action or armed conflict.

African armed forces are often well equipped with weaponry but badly disciplined and poorly led. It is significant that their officers have little knowledge about or feeling for human rights or humanitarian law.
Countries which are among the poorest in the world often cannot afford to pay the soldiers properly whereupon these men armed by foreign powers are forced to live on the land and what they can take from the people. Anarchy, atrocities and refugees are the inevitable results. Sometimes crimes against humanity are directly inspired by perverted ideologies and irresponsible propaganda.

Hitherto all international efforts seem to have concentrated on partial treatment of the wounds caused by mass flights, i.e. the provision of assistance to refugees in the countries of asylum. There is no doubt that this lofty humanitarian undertaking is highly commendable, but events that have occurred in Africa and elsewhere convince us to believe that international attention be equally drawn to pre-flow situations that are pregnant with massive refugee influx. The research findings make us believe that mass flight is not solely and purely caused by violations of human rights. Indeed the latter is a major cause of flight, but it is often operative on peoples who are already rendered vulnerable by lack of development opportunities and natural calamities. Hence there is a link between development or lack of development in the country of origin and mass exodus. If such is the case there is a great need for governments, intergovernmental organizations, the UN and the OAU to dwell on this issue, lest they be caught unaware by events that would have been averted if they had been tackled at an early stage.
We also believe it to be of importance that the international humanitarian community is represented and observant in areas where preventive action can be taken if taken in time.

These views are by no means original. They only support what has been suggested by Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan in his study on Human Rights and Massive Exoduses and by many others.

Armed attacks against refugees and refugee settlements occur frequently in Africa as well as in other parts of the world. They have been equally frequently condemned by the international community. This serious problem is however a part of the still greater problem of protection of civilians in armed conflicts. This problem which has been long neglected in Africa deserves attention and effective action by Africa's political and military leaders supported by the international community. The forms for such attention and action should without delay be made the subject of serious deliberations.

4. SETTLEMENT - RELIEF OR DEVELOPMENT?

4.1. General remarks
We have already emphasized the key role of careful planning in preparing for settlement. We have also underlined the importance of refugee participation in this process and of being able to base it on carefully investigated facts. We shall continue to discuss some other aspects of settlement of refugees and whether assistance thereto can be seen as emergency assistance or as development or whether these two could be separated at all!
In the case of African refugees the presence of the factors that necessitate the provision of relief necessarily lead to developmental undertaking. Since African rural refugees often arrive at the border areas where there is no means of communication, the provision of logistics necessitates the construction of roads. Since refugees arrive in a state of shock, disorientation, deteriorated health condition; relief activities have to include the provision of health services, clinics, water supply, schools, sanitation, storage, etc. Do these activities come under relief or development?

In reality there is no dichotomy between the two. Before the refugees can engage in developmental activities they have to be fed, clothed and sheltered. Unless they are to be reduced into a perpetual dependence which is degrading and stultifying to the human person and unless policies intend to create a burden on the international community, the refugees have to be provided by initial production inputs which enable them to feed, clothe and shelter themselves. This will reduce the cost incurred by host governments and the international community in the long run.

What will happen to the settlements which have been created at the cost of considerable investment when the refugees return home? Since the condition of the local population is often not better than the condition of the refugees, they would benefit from the services available to the refugees. The local community could also take over the settlement services in case of repatriation. Hence the investment would not be in vain and this is in keeping with the UN policy of assisting the rural poor.
Some of our findings clearly show that the establishment of settlements for refugees have brought considerable benefits to the local population and that this has also been highly valued. Such advantages have included clean water supply, schools, health dispensaries, flour mill, bus services, market, job opportunities, tractors etc. Without generalising, it is important to state what communities can be found where the local population have benefitted from that must be seen as developmental efforts spurred off by the presence of refugees.

In our opinion a dichotomy between humanitarian and development assistance is a futile attempt to separate the two aspects of the same whole. Relief and development are two sides of the same coin.

We have pointed out how a dependency syndrome can be generated by excluding refugees from planning their own settlement in the country of asylum. But the same negative effect can follow a development assistance that is ill adapted to the refugees and their resources.

Dependency can also be created by an assistance that introduces a new economic activity (such as mechanization of cultivation) which cannot be sustained by the existing knowledge and educational status of the refugees or which make them depend on e.g. spareparts or fuel not always available. If the ultimate aim of refugee programmes and projects is the achievement of self-sufficiency, then our first task should be to recognize and understand the limitations imposed by the existing level of education and social and economic organization.

A project that requires large initial investments, recurring costs, foreign exchange, and special technical knowledge which are rare in the refugee community, is likely to constrain development rather than to promote it.
4.2. Seasonal employment

Refugees, not at least in the urban areas, compete with the local population for the limited services and scarce employment opportunities. If we look at the employment conditions of the refugees, very few of them have durable employment and still fewer are engaged in gainful employment.

Among the rural refugees particularly wage earning refugees are often found to be employed for only a part of the year.

For rest of the time, which could well mean six months in a year they are idle and suffer from acute economic problems. Some of them spend the periods of unemployment carrying out petty economic activities such as gathering firewood and charcoal for sale or selling water. But as wood is becoming more and more scarce in the vicinity of many of the settlements and as the water market is saturated many of the refugees stay idle for long periods of time. Only a minority of them have access to assistance from humanitarian organizations during the unemployment seasons. Some receive assistance from relatives and friends living in other countries and some borrow money from those who have means of income. The rest experience severe problems and in some cases starvation is unavoidable. This is part of the explanation for the widely prevalent malnutrition observed among the refugee population.

On the other hand idleness has become a source of frustration and conflicts. This has, in some areas, proved a source of great strain on the resources of the local police and a cause of conflict between the local population and the refugees.
Also in areas where rain-fed cultivation is practiced, farm labour is dependent on weather conditions and therefore not always reliable. Drought which is not unusual in this region could cause mass unemployment for prolonged periods.

4.3. Vocational Training and Small Investments

In any case and in order to minimize the frustration caused by idleness and the attendant social and economic problems, and to improve the refugees' chances for employment, periods of unemployment could be used for various types of vocational training. Such vocational training should be geared to income-generating vocations capable of producing goods for local and perhaps regional markets. Refugees who have learnt their trades by such training should also be assisted with small enterprise investments by seeding money inducing them to take up professions. Considering that many refugee settlements are more densely populated than the smaller towns and villages in the country of origin, we feel that also many urban refugees of urban origin should in this manner take up their trades in the refugee settlements thus contributing to a general raise of life quality there.

4.4. Legal or Administrative Difficulties

Many refugees have or can acquire skills which they could use to create job opportunities for themselves and others. However, they are restricted by work permit-or licence regulations. Lifting such restriction would be of mutual benefit for the refugees and the local population as the possibility of refugees providing scarce or unavailable services can be considerable.
Another obstacle for skilled refugees can be restrictions of movement. Unless such restrictions are eased it is very difficult for refugees, particularly those with urban orientation, to make use of their skills. For example there are several drivers among the refugees in settlements who due to lack of work permit and restriction of movement are forced to become seasonal farm labourers.

The requirement of work permits, licence regulations for professional activities and restriction of movements are all examples of legal difficulties that could face the refugee. They can effectively close the labour market for him and prevent him to make a living for himself or others. There are also other legal difficulties which can be impediment to a development towards the self-reliance of refugees. Insecurity of land tenure diminishes the motivation to start agricultural projects as to improve the site of settlement. Trade regulations could keep refugee-cultivated vegetables out of the market etc.

Sometimes those difficulties are due to the legislation of the country of asylum. Sometimes they seek their explanations in the ignorance of refugees and local officials about what the law properly says about the rights and obligations of refugees.

Therefore, refugee-assisting agencies should pay attention to the legal situation of refugees in their foreign surroundings so that misunderstandings are cleared away and legislation which puts a constraint on the assistance to refugees or is in conflict with international law can be exposed and hopefully amended.
4.5. **Education and the Utilization of the Educated**

The planning of education for refugees meets with several problems. Firstly, how are the provisions of education affected in case there is a qualitative difference between the educational systems of the country of origin and the country of asylum? If the refugees wish to return, should they not be entitled to the preservation of their culture and their identity so that they would not face a problem of re-integration after repatriation? On the other hand, if the refugees are allowed to study in their own language and according to the curriculum of their country of origin, how would this affect their possibility to integrate into the host community?

These latter questions are for example central in the Sudan and have to be resolved together with the refugees. Our findings clearly show that many parents have refused to send their children to the schools where the medium of instruction is Arabic and where the education is given in a Muslim context.

The underlying factors in planning refugee settlements must be twofold: Consideration of the refugees' interest while they are in the country of asylum and also their interest after repatriation. The aim of education must be twofold. On the one hand, education should enable the refugees to acquire knowledge which will be instrumental to their achievement of self-reliance and cultural progress when they are in the country of asylum. On the other hand, education should enable them to maintain their cultural and national identity so that they would contribute to national development after repatriation.
Owing to the inadequate educational facilities available to the host population and further exacerbated by large number of refugees, the supply of educational facilities is a central issue.

In many organized settlements UNHCR provides educational facilities including teachers and stationary at the primary level. But the problem arises after the students have completed primary school. The situation is much worse for those who aspire to join secondary school not to mention those who wish to join university. This situation can be exemplified by reference to the Sudan. The refugees come from countries where education is purely secular. They were taught in a language totally different from the medium of instruction in the Sudan. This mostly hits those who fled their countries after they have completed primary school. Moreover, the educational system in the Sudan is often considered incompatible with the values and cultural background of the Christian refugee communities.

The educational needs of urban refugees is deplorably left untackled and the problem continues unabated. The problem of provision of education facilities is one of the most serious problems faced by the refugee communities.

Another problem which is connected to this is the problem of unemployment. If the supply of educational facilities is not simultaneously accompanied by the creation of income generating activities which could enable the school leavers to become self-reliant, education would only become an avenue to frustration and resignation. Hence, in the long run education may become a constraining factor on self-reliance.
In the refugee settlements school leavers without an opportunity to employment in the modern sector often become reluctant to taking part in the backbreaking tasks of weeding and harvesting. These youngsters are alienated without being provided the opportunity to integrate themselves into the modern sector which was a primary and ultimate objective when they joined school.

This may sound more hopeless than we intended it too. The point to be made, however, is the necessity of an integrated and developmental approach to all settlement planning.

The highly educated refugees have very limited opportunities for employment in Africa. This, among other things, has forced thousands of educated Africans to seek resettlement outside Africa. This is a great drain on the human resources of the region in general and that of the refugee communities in particular. The refugee settlement cannot develop without the services of skilled people and professionals. And the ideal people to use in the organizations are administration of refugee settlements and the refugees themselves, therefore employment opportunities should be created for the educated refugees in the settlements and they should be encouraged to stay and serve their fellow countrymen. The skills available within the refugee communities should be preferred over those from outside. Otherwise there is no sense in talking about vocational training when the existing skills and knowledge are not exploited.
5. PRECONDITIONS FOR VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

It is our belief, supported by recent and previous interviews with refugees in Africa, that they too with few exceptions see voluntary repatriation as the best and lasting solution to their problems.

It is of interest to establish what conditions the refugees can be expected to make for their voluntary repatriation and to analyse them in order to see to what extent those conditions could reasonably be accepted when conceiving a programme of repatriation.

The conditions are of three kinds; political, legal and material. Let us briefly consider each of them in turn.

Refugees often say that a political change in their home country is a precondition for their voluntary return. This however, could mean a number of things. Some want a change of the political system often including the removal of military governments and the establishment respectively reestablishment of civil rule. Such demands cannot be supported as they would mean the interference with internal problems of a sovereign state. Others only demand the termination of political, social, ethnical or religious persecutions or persecutions directed against a specific group in the society. Such conditions are in harmony with the international law of human rights and should gain the political and moral support of the international community and meet serious considerations of the government of the country of origin whether this government directly commands or indirectly tolerates the agents of such persecution. In these cases there is often the additional and equally commendable condition that the refugees - or rather the group to which they do belong - shall be restored in and guaranteed the
undisturbed enjoyment of their religious, cultural and other basic rights.

One condition that should, however, in our opinion always be fulfilled before voluntary repatriation could be advised, advocated or encouraged, is that a peaceful settlement has been reached to put an end to on-going armed conflict.

The legal condition must guarantee the safety of all returnees. This requires a law or decree of amnesty which makes it absolutely safe for those who cross again the borders of the home country on their way back. If the government of that country still has difficulties or reservations as to granting an effective amnesty to certain individuals or categories of those in exile this should be made clear to them before their return. This gives them the choice whether to take the risk of repatriation or to remain in asylum abroad. It is not acceptable that the government in question carries out such screenings after having lured the target persons to come back. It is also important that an amnesty once declared is scrupulously honoured. Time limited promises of amnesty have sometimes proved counterproductive in making a less than reliable impression on the refugees.

In many cases refugees hesitate to go back because of fear for being drafted into militia or military service. As refusal to do military service cannot in itself be recognized as a cause to refugeehood, such hesitations cannot generally be accepted as conditions to be supported for voluntary repatriation. The motivation often is, however, fear of being ordered to take up arms against a group to which the returnee
belongs or with which he sympathizes. The problem is avoided if the above mentioned political condition of peaceful settlement in armed conflicts is fulfilled. If it is not, it is difficult to encourage or achieve any kind of successful repatriation.

The material condition at last requires assistance towards reintegration and rehabilitation in a satisfactory manner in the country of origin. If it fails and if assistance phases out to soon after return, it can make evil worse by adding to the problems of urbanization and displaced persons and in the same time bereaving the returnees of what recognition, protection and assistance they still had while being refugees.

In some cases refugees upon repatriation express the conditions that they shall be recompensated for property confiscated or destroyed. For political as well as economical reasons this might very often prove difficult to realise. Substantial assistance towards successful re-integration should rather fill the gap and the need.

It is our conviction that much more attention should be paid to those conditions of voluntariness in repatriation unless we shall continue to meet a sad figure: the former returnee who is a refugee for the second time.

6. NATURALIZATION

In those cases where voluntary repatriation does no more stand out as a realistic alternative, the host country should - like Tanzania - offer programmes of large scale naturalization to refugees. But even such programmes need various forms of assistance from the refugee-assisting bodies to become successful.
7. SUMMARY - PROPOSALS

1. Refugees should by necessity participate in the planning of programmes as well as in their realization.

2. Planning should always be based on facts - also those related to the refugees' own attitudes and expectations.

3. Educated refugees should systematically be utilized in activities under 1 and 2.

4. Governments and intergovernmental organizations must pay attention to potential situations which might cause new situations of mass refugees.

5. The international community should be present as ears and eyes of world conscience in areas threatened by violence and atrocities.

6. The protection of civilians in armed conflicts demand the immediate and vivid interest of political and military leaders in Africa.

7. Relief or humanitation assistance and development must be seen as two sides of the same thing.

8. Assistance should avoid making refugees - or other beneficiaries - dependent of knowhow, technology or supplies not always available or at too high a cost.

9. Periods of unemployment should be used for vocational training.

10. Seeding money should be invested enabling refugees to start small scale enterprises preferably in settlements.
11. Refugee assisting agencies should study and report on legal difficulties facing the refugees' integration (like work permits, restrictions of movement, trade licenses etc).

12. Education must be planned with job-opportunities in view and the latter in considering the level of education.

13. Trained and educated refugees should be the preferred professionals working with and among refugees.

14. The basic preconditions for voluntary repatriation of refugees are:
   a) Peaceful settlement of armed conflicts;
   b) Amnesty guaranteeing the safety of all returnees;
   c) Assistance towards resettlement at a satisfactory level.

15. In order to be successful programmes which aim at granting citizenship to refugees by naturalization need supporting action from refugee supporting agencies.