

REFUGES PERIODICAL ON REFUGES

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AFRICAN REFUGEES

By HOWARD ADELMAN

In the past we have published several issues devoted to African refugees. The problem does not seem to go away. Africa has about one third of the world's refugee population. We must once again focus on that strife torn continent.

This issue has been produced by research fellows of the Centre for Refugee Studies, with Yohannes Gebresellassie as Guest Editor who organized the contributions. This is unusual. In the past, the Centre for Refugee Studies had the barest capacity to undertake research on the African continent. African researchers now constitute the largest single group of researchers at the Centre. In fact, the Centre has undertaken responsibility for working with the UNHCR to organize a conference on Mozambiquan refugees in June in Malawi with the cooperation of the Malawi government.

This issue begins with an overview of the refugee problem in Africa and the growing numbers of "new" refugees from the continent written by our guest editor. It is followed by analyses of two recent and less widely heard of countries - Ghana and Liberia - which recently produced large numbers of refugees. Another article, an indepth historical review of the extensive roots of the continuing series of refugee crisis in Uganda,

argues that the roots of the refugee crisis in Uganda in particular and in Africa in general must be traced to political-social-economic structural distortions in the society. The roots of the problem reside in international colonialism; the escape can come only by a new international humanitarian involvement in the human rights abuses endemic to Africa. One could argue, based on these analyses, that in the current Somali crisis, though much larger than the problem in these other three countries, similar factors were present to create the current devastation in that war torn country.

What about solving the problem by the traditional method of settling the refugees in adjacent first countries of asylum? A paper by a Visiting Research Fellow from France on rural settlements in first countries of asylum echoes the generally pessimistic outlook on this so-called permanent solution referred to by the Guest Editor in his article.

Someday we hope to publish a "good news" issue dealing with refugee successes. For now, the news worldwide is too horrible and too little known to provide the leisure to seek out stories of achievement and success. And Africa is one of the areas of the world with some of the worst news.

AFRICA'S NEW REFUGEES: AN OVERVIEW

By Yohannes Gebresellassie*

INTRODUCTION

By and large, African refugees until recently have been rural to rural migrants covering short distances and settling in the closest neighbouring countries. This phenomenon is now changing, mainly due to better means of transportation and also to the availability of more information about countries of asylum. As a result, African refugees are now covering long distances and settling in places that provide them with better opportunities. Ethiopian, Somalian and Ugandan refugees resettled in Europe and North America are some examples of this phenomenon.

Another significant factor is that African refugees are not only peasants and uneducated farmers with a rural background. There are also many highly skilled and educated African refugees, whose numbers are increasing. These refugees of urban background do not want to settle in rural areas and be unproductive. They want to move to urban areas where they can look for suitable jobs. Consequently, "countries like Sudan and Somalia have found their cities swollen by in-migrating refugees... many of them are clearly urban to urban migrants, and hence possess much higher levels of education and skills than the 'traditional' African rural to rural refugees" (Clark, 1985, 70).

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WHY DO THEY LEAVE?

There is a variety of socio-economic, environmental and political factors responsible for the departure of Africans from their countries of origin. Some of them leave purely for economic reasons, i.e. in order to look for better paying jobs elsewhere, and thereby improve their economic situation. Some examples of these were the Ghanaians in Nigeria, the Sudanese and Nigerians in Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates, etc. The majority of Africans, on the other hand, are forced to leave their countries purely for political reasons.

This can be due to ideological differences and/or ethnic, tribal and religious inequalities that lead to conflicts and civil wars. In such cases, Africans who oppose their governments are considered hostile and in most cases, are persecuted or imprisoned. Thus, to escape, they flee for safety and seek refuge elsewhere. Most African refugees that reside outside their country are in this category.

Generally, within the continent of Africa, there have been successive conflicts, wars, revolutions, coups and counter coups since political independence. These factors have forced millions of Africans to abandon their homes in order either to find security elsewhere until conditions improve for returning home, or to establish military bases from which to conduct an armed struggle against the system they opposed or the governments that forced them out. The following are some of the historical examples of refugee movements in Africa:

- 1. Ewe refugees from Ghana entered Togo following the defeat of their attempt to re-unite "Eweland" which had been split between the states of Ghana and Togo since the colonial period.
- 2. The politically dominant Tutsi of Rwanda and a number of their supporters became refugees after armed conflict accompanied the assumption of power by the majority Hutu; with little practical possibil-

ity of repatriation, these refugees were settled in Burundi, Uganda, Zaire and Tanzania.

- 3. Subsequently, inter-tribal strife in the wake of the Hutu attempt to take over the Tutsi-dominated government of Burundi resulted in the massacre of perhaps one hundred thousand Burundians and the flight of tens of thousands of Hutu into Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire.
- 4. In the years directly following independence, Zaire suffered prolonged civil war, first in one part of the country and then in others, which disrupted civilian life and forced thousands of villagers to flee to safety in all nine neighbouring countries, most notably the Central African Republic (C.A.R.), the Sudan, Uganda, Burundi and Tanzania.
- 5. The history of the Sudan resulted in a separate economic, cultural and religious heritage from the North and South and the government was unable to integrate both in satisfactory political terms. The ensuing civil war caused successive waves of refugees from the South to stream in large numbers to Uganda, Zaire, C.A.R. and Ethiopia.
- **6.** Armed conflict between Ethiopian forces and separatists in the province of Eritrea resulted in a refugee flow into the Sudan.
- 7. Members of the Lumpa sect left Zambia to become refugees in Zaire after armed assertion of their religious separation culminated in violent clashes with Zambian authorities.
- 8. Nigerian nationals living in a number of West African countries, especially Equitorial Guinea, became réfugiés sur place when they were unwilling or unable to return to Nigeria after the onset of the civil war. Other Nigerian refugees entered nearby countries, such as the Ivory Coast and Gabon, as a result of the war.
- **9.** A refugee situation of a somewhat different nature occurred when racist policies of the government of Uganda compelled tens of thousands

of Ugandan Asians, many being of undetermined nationality, to migrate (Holborn, 832-3).

TO BE A REFUGEE

The UNHCR's film entitled "Caring for Refugees Since 1951" explains what it means to be a refugee:

To be or to become a refugee is an unenviable experience for anyone. To be a refugee means fleeing through hazards into the unknown. To be a refugee is to leave behind all that you hold most dear. To be a refugee means arriving in a country where the language, the custom and the way of life are totally unfamiliar. To be a refugee is to leave in the hope of returning home.

Voluntary repatriation has taken place more often in Africa than in any part of the world.

To be a refugee in Africa where people of the host countries are as disadvantaged as the refugees themselves can be worse even than the above description. African refugees experience tremendous social, economic, cultural and political pressure in the country of asylum. Their mobility is often restricted and their standard of living is far below that of the local people. When refugees receive some assistance from international agencies, the local people become hostile towards them because they think that refugees are living in "an island of relative privilege in the sea of poverty."

African refugees do not get higher educational opportunities because most African countries cannot afford to run many colleges and universities even for their own people. There is much competition for the limited spaces in the few post-secon-

dary institutions they do have, and refugees are likely to lose out.

African refugees have to adapt to a new culture, language and way of life (and sometimes to a completely different socio-economic and cultural milieu) from their own. These adaptation and assimilation processes can be difficult:

Perhaps the most serious consequences of refugee status are constraints of economic productivity. In many cases, refugees' productivity is thwarted by restructured mobility, unavailability of jobs appropriate to their skills and limited access to their means of production and markets. Without an economic base to ensure family livelihood refugees cannot achieve self-sufficiency. (Migration News)

There are certain groups of refugees who are more vulnerable and highly exposed to problems; for example, the African women.

The failure to recognize their pivotal position in the household economy, and the special needs and particular vulnerability of women in the refugee situation, has led not just to women being disadvantaged, although this is obviously the case, but to whole programs disappearing. Unfortunately, through ignorance and sometimes through personal prejudices, both policy makers and field workers often unknowingly contribute to the further weakening of women's position. (Harrell-Bond, 251)

In general, African refugees are perhaps the most disadvantaged people on earth. They are victims of the force that drove them out of their countries, as well as victims of the socio-economic and political upheavals that frequently occur in their countries of asylum. Zambia's former President Dr. Kaunda comments on the situation of African refugees as follows:

To be a refugee is terrifying. It means that one is uprooted from one's home by forces which are outside of one's control. Nothing makes a human being more helpless than that. You are thrown out of your home. Your property is destroyed, and you are chased like a wild pig in the bush, sometimes by your own government. Your roots are shaken, and you have no way of telling whether or not you will ever find your home again. You have no way of telling whether you will see your own sister and brother, your mother and father, your uncle or aunt, ever again. It really is a situation which is very worrying. (UNHCR, 1987, 27)

That truly reflects what it means to become a refugee — particularly an African refugee.

OPTIONS

Many scholars argue that *voluntary* repatriation is the ideal option that can bring a durable solution to the refugee problem of the continent of Africa:

For the four million refugees in Africa, voluntary repatriation seems, in the long-term, the only realistic solution to their plight. It is also the solution that the UNHCR promotes when conditions in the country of origin make it possible. In the African context especially, the sense of attachment which refugees have towards the physical and social environment of their homeland is very strong. Recent history has repeatedly demonstrated that when conditions have changed for the better, African refugees wasted no time in setting out on the road back home. (Ibid.)

Voluntary repatriation has taken place more often in Africa than in any other part of the world because African refugees consider their country of asylum as a temporary place, a place to stay until conditions are favourable to return home. "According to one estimate, between 1974 and 1981 alone, more than one million African refugees voluntarily repatriated to countries such as Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Sudan and Zaire" (*Ibid.*, 27). The most significant example of a voluntary repatriation

took place in Zaire in 1979 when the government of Zaire gave a general amnesty to Zairian refugees. As a result "some 120,000 to 150,000 Zairian nationals returned from Angola and other countries under UNHCR auspices, making it one of the largest organized border crossings in recent African history" (International Migration Policies, 91). Another example of voluntary repatriation of equal importance and "certainly, the largest repatriation has been that of the Southern Sudanese from Central African Republic, Zaire, Uganda, Ethiopia (and more recently to Namibia). Approximately 170,000 refugees returned to Sudan between 1972 and 1974" (Clarke, 1982, 41).

Voluntary repatriation, although considered to be the ideal solution to the refugee problem in Africa, is not without problems. For instance, factors such as unstable governments, continuous conflicts, lack of reception centres to returnees, lack of funding to re-establish returnees, problems of re-adjustment and reassimilation of returnees (particularly if they have children who were born and grew up in the country of asylum), lack of security and safety, all slow down implementation.

Article V of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) states that "the essentially voluntary character of repatriation shall be respected in all cases," and calls on countries of origin and asylum to "make adequate arrangements for the safe return of refugees who request repatriation, refugees who chose to return," it says "shall in no way be penalized for having left," they must be granted the "full rights and privileges" enjoyed by other citizens, "people who freely decide to return to their homeland," the article concludes "shall be given every possible assistance by the country of origin, voluntary agencies and international and inter-governmental organizations" (UNHCR, 1987, 27). Such a proclamation by African leaders sounds good and looks good on paper. However, there is no guarantee whatsoever that these African countries, which are members of the OAU, will respect the OAU Charter on refugees. In fact, many African countries have the worst record of violating basic human rights. Therefore, in order to successfully carry out voluntary repatriation, Rick A. Stainsby urges that the following seven principles of voluntary repatriation be respected by all governments.

- l. The first principle is that refugees have a right to return voluntarily to their country of origin. This right, recognized in international law, is normally respected by countries of origin. Refugees wishing to repatriate have, however, been harassed and efforts have been made to prevent them from returning. Such impeding action, from a variety of sources, is often done for political reasons. The UNHCR, in these cases, works closely with all concerned authorities to protect those seeking to return voluntarily.
- **2.** It is a fundamental principle of the highest degree that repatriation of refugees must only take place at the freely expressed wish of the refugees themselves...
- 3. Voluntary repatriation must be carried out under conditions of safety and dignity, preferably to the refugees' place of residence in their country of origin... Assurances are sometimes given to refugees by the authorities in the country of origin, to allay their fears of security problems...
- **4.** The UNHCR must monitor the fulfillment of these assurances.
- 5. The UNHCR should, whenever appropriate, take initiatives to promote voluntary repatriation... The promotion for voluntary repatriation, however, should only be done when the circumstances which gave rise to refugee movements have changed fundamentally and to an extent to permit return in safety and dignity.
- **6.** International action in favour of voluntary repatriation should receive the full support and cooperation of all states involved.

7. The UNHCR should establish and implement assistance programs for returnees. (UNHCR, 1988, 34)

FIRST COUNTRY OF ASYLUM

When conditions become unfavourable for voluntary repatriation, a planned settlement of refugees in first country of asylum becomes an alternative. The objective of such an option must be to make refugees self-sufficient while integrating them within the socio-economic and political structure of the host country. Some African countries have been successful in doing so. For example, in Tanzania:

which has provided assistance to a large number of refugees from various countries in Southern Africa, a number of refugee settlements have become self-reliant communities... Many of the refugees have been fully integrated into the United Republic of Tanzania's society, as shown by the fact that some 36,000 Rwandese refugees became citizens of the United Republic in 1980, in one of the largest mass naturalizations in recent history. (International Migration Policies, 92-3)

Other African nations with similar successes include Uganda and Burundi while other countries such as Zaire, Somalia, Ethiopia and the Sudan have had difficulties in implementing such policies. John Rogge considers the reasons why these countries have problems with settling their refugee populations:

... suitable land for such settlement is becoming scarcer, especially in some of the areas most in need of land for refugee settlement. External capital availability is also declining, even though the total budget of aid agencies continues to escalate. More and more of this aid is being diverted to emergency relief projects, leaving a diminishing sum available for long-term development solutions. It is also becoming clear that refugees are

becoming less willing to be institutionalized on settlement schemes, and instead often prefer to take their chances in the urban areas: indeed while rural refugees currently remain in the majority, over the next decade there is every probability that the problem will increasingly shift away from the country, and will focus upon the cities. The concept of refugee settlement schemes must therefore shift accordingly, perhaps in the direction being proposed for Kenya's Witu (Kapini) settlement, where settlers are being drawn from urban areas, and emphasis is being placed upon training in trades and occupations that will facilitate their eventual integration into an urban economy. (International Migration Review, 212)

EFFECTS ON COUNTRIES OF ASYLUM

African refugees often have social. economic, political and environmental effects upon the countries of asylum. "From the time they arrive, refugees compete with local citizens for scarce resources, land, water, housing, food and medical services. Over time, their pressure leads to more substantial demand on natural resources, education and health facilities, energy, transportation, social services and jobs" (Migration News, 45). The customs and traditional values of the indigenous people within host countries can also be affected by refugees, particularly when the language, religion and customs of refugees are different from those of the community within the country of asylum. These differences often create confrontations and conflicts between refugees and indigenous people. This, in turn, creates hostility and discrimination that disturbs the social structure of the community at large. A good example of such a phenomenon is the concentration of Ethiopian refugees in the few big towns and cities of Sudan, such as Khartoum, Port Sudan, etc. The traditional, religious, linguistic and cultural differences between the Ethiopian refugees and the Sudanese people have resulted in discontent amongst the Sudanese. As a result, the Sudanese people have developed hatred and discrimination towards their refugees because they think that these refugees have disturbed their culture and tradition. Also, host governments often take advantage of the differences between refugees and their own citizens in order to minimize internal social upheavals.

Another effect of refugees is on the political and/or administrative structure of host countries. There are two types of refugees in Africa: those who are categorized as "genuine refugees" according to the definitions of the UNHCR, and those freedom fighters, who, as guerilla fighters, have left their countries in order to establish a base for military activity. The refugees categorized as genuine do not put much political pressure on host countries, but freedom fighters, not considered genuine refugees according to the UNHCR definition (but considered as refugees according to the OAU definition). often put increasing pressure upon the political and administrative structures of African host countries. At times, they can cause deterioration in the international relations between refugees' country of asylum and refugees' country of origin. The case of South Sudanese and Somalian refugees in Ethiopia and the Eritrean, Tigrayan and other nationalities in Sudan are examples of this phenomenon.

Refugee movements are generally unpredictable and more so within the African context. Therefore, refugee settlements in Africa are unplanned. This means that refugees use whatever is available for survival. For example, they cut trees for wood, make extensive use of rivers and lakes for drinking, washing, etc. When thousands of refugees do this, they can cause environmental changes within the area where they reside. Environmental changes caused by desertification can affect

the agricultural potential of the territory in which they live.

In general, refugees, genuine or not, can bring much pressure to bear upon host governments. These governments are sometimes forced to reduce the services they provide to their own citizens in order to support refugees, particularly in the absence of international aid. When this happens, these governments face many challenges from their own citizens for more and better services. Sometimes these challenges result in more confrontations and opposition to the local or central government. The price of this can be too costly.

REACTIONS OF HOST COUNTRIES

African host nations have generally been kind to refugees even under circumstances where they find themselves surrounded by high unemployment, declining agricultural productivity, and continuous natural disaster. Recently however, the escalating number of refugees has put enormous pressure on their socioeconomic structure. Dr. Kaunda expresses his country's experience as host to thousands of refugees, as follows:

Zambia is a country which is trying in a very small way to be helpful to the uprooted, to the homeless, to refugees. But of course, we are going through a very, very difficult economic situation. Although we are happy to give a place to our displaced brothers and sisters, we are helpless in terms of providing for them. (UNHCR, 1987, 21)

His comment shows clearly that there is a willingness to help; in fact, it has been part of African tradition to share what one has with one's neighbour. The problem is simply that these countries are poor. As a result, African host countries are becoming particularly sensitive towards refugees of urban background:

...originaires des grandes villes, employés de bureau, fonctionnaires et d'autres ayant pratiqué des professions libérales cherchent à trouver du travail en zone urbaine et leur reclassement présente des problemes particuliers. En effet, la plupart des grandes villes africaines connaissent le chomage. (UNHCR, 1971)

Thus, African host countries are putting more and more restrictions upon this type of refugee; the government of the Sudan can be taken as an example of such a policy.

Generally, although the traditional African generosity towards their refugees still exists, African host countries are having difficulty in coping with more and more refugees entering into their countries because they have fewer resources available. One example is that of the:

380,000 Somalis who, by mid October of 1988, had found refuge in the Ethiopian province of Hararghe, a remote rural area lying at an altitude of over 1,000 meters. Water is scarce here, and must be brought in from the town of Jijija, 75 kilometers from the camp. Jijija's 35,000 inhabitants are, for the time being, not too worried by the prospects of the lowering of the water table on which their own well being depends. And, of course, the newcomers have to be fed, for which 10,000 tons of food are needed each month, and camp life has to be organized. In short, a new challenge for UNHCR Ethiopia, and for the international community. (UNHCR, 1988, 34)

INTERNATIONAL REACTION

There are various international governmental and humanitarian institutions that provide material as well as financial assistance to refugees. Some of these institutions include the UNHCR, OXFAM, the International Red Cross, Save the Children UK, CARE, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Mennonite Central Committee and other religious institutions, such as the Catholic Foundation, et al.

Among these, the UNHCR is the major international institution which provides relief and aid coordination, contributions to African refugees and also legal protection to refugees.

Although the UNHCR's role in carrying some of the burden of African host countries has been very important, its support has been targeted mainly toward emergency aid. Thus, its efforts in implementing project development aid that helps bring about a durable solution to the refugee problems in Africa, have not been successful. The main problem for the UNHCR in this matter is not the lack of staff but rather the lack of finances. The UNHCR has no regular financial assistance; it depends on the international community for funding:

the voluntary nature of this agency has also meant that financial assistance is not provided by the entire international community. In fact, only eighty governments currently contribute to the UNHCR ... A major problem that remains to be resolved by the international community is that of financing refugee programs. Whereas the concept of financial burden-sharing as put forth in the Declaration of Territorial Asylum, an effective mechanism has not yet been established to ensure that countries with large refugee populations do not bear disproportionate costs ... Thus refugee assistance continues to be provided on an ad hoc basis as demonstrated by the short term mandates and by limited objectives of the major international institutions that deal with refugees. (International Migration Policies, 90)

Although the response of both governmental and non-governmental humanitarian agencies toward African refugees has been encouraging, it should be noted that these institutions have limited resources and in most cases, they depend upon their respective governments for additional assistance. Some govern-

ments, such as the government of Canada, have encouraged these institutions and agencies by doubling the amount of money they collected to assist African refugees.

All this international assistance has undoubtedly contributed towards solving the problems of refugees in Africa, at least temporarily. Many lives have been saved as a result.

REACTION OF THE WEST

The Western world has made a significant contribution, particularly financial, towards African refugees. The question remains as to whether or not it has done enough to reduce some of the burdens of African host countries by accepting African refugees through their resettlement programs.

John Rogge argues that:

African refugees, with their predominantly rural, less educated and unskilled character, are not regarded by principal immigrant receiving nations as populations that could readily integrate and become economically self-sufficient. The fact that many of the Southeast Asian refugees come from similar backgrounds and have equally limited skills or educational standings is frequently overlooked. For example, in the period from 1975 to 1979, the USA accepted 595,000 refugees; virtually none were from Africa. In the same period, Canada accepted 74,000 refugees, also with virtually no African representation. Indeed, it was only after the passing of the U.S. Refugee Act in 1980 that Africa first received a quota for refugee resettlement, and Canada followed with similar legislation in the following year. In 1982, the U.S. quota for Africa was 3,000, and the Canadian quota was increased from 500 to 1,000. No other immigrant receiving country in the industrialized world currently has an African refugee resettlement quota, although some European countries accept a few African refugees as immigrants under provisions for family reunion. (Clarke, 1985, 72-3)

In general, even under a situation where war, natural disaster and famine have aggravated the refugee problems in Africa:

- of hope are inexorably closing, especially in Western Europe, where country after country amended legislations to pinch the right of asylum. These countries West Germany, Switzerland, Britain, Sweden, Denmark, France, Belgium and the Netherlands also implemented streamlined procedures for the swift deportation of those ruled not to be genuine refugees.
- At some entry points, refugee claimants are routinely compelled to return to their previous stopping point. In West Germany, they are sent to special camps and are not permitted to work for at least two years.
- Almost 200,000 refugees claimants mostly from the Third World, poured into Western Europe in 1987; 204,000 arrived in 1986. Now a dam of resentment has been erected across the stream; the predominant feeling is that most asylum seekers are really economic migrants using the refugee process as a means of jumping immigration queues. Along with this sour attitude has come the linking, rightly or wrongly, of acts of terrorism, drug trafficking and violent crimes with the presence of refugee claimants...
- Like the European countries, Canada is invoking the concept of 'country of first asylum' to justify the implementation of restrictive measures. In other words, a refugee should remain in the first country where he can get protection from whatever he is fleeing or can apply for refugee status.
- Critics argue that this concept is forcing the enormous refugee

problem on to the Third World countries that usually are the refugees' first stop and which are least able to cope with it. (Globe and Mail, 13 Feb. 1988)

Resettling refugees outside Africa and within the industrialized countries is another alternative in helping to solve Africa's refugee problems. It is true that the vast majority of African refugees have not benefitted from such an option. A few skilled and highly educated African refugees have had an opportunity to reside in a second country of asylum. Scholars of different disciplines argue that lack of knowledge and thus lack of communication with the developed countries, high transportation costs, lack of skill etc. are factors as to why the majority of African refugees remain in first countries of asylum, i.e. within Africa. The truth, however, is that developed countries have such very high standards of refugee selection and refugee processing policies that these can hardly be met by even the skilled and educated African refugees. Some industrialized countries use family reunification, while others use age, sex, language, etc. as a base for selecting their refugees. For example, France has traditionally given preference to French-speakers, and to persons who served during the previous French colonial administration. Although Canada does not give refugees a numerical rating, refugees are selected overseas on the basis of overall eligibility and the amount of assistance to be required. Australia admits refugees who have been determined to have the necessary personal characteristics to settle successfully in that country.

These complexities add up to make resettlement programs rather difficult. This raises the question as to whether such an option can be regarded as one of the solutions to the African refugee problem.

It is important to note that as long as the number of African urban refugees continues to increase and continues to crowd the few cities of the African host countries and as long as these host countries are unable to integrate their refugees with their indigenous communities, the demand of African refugees to resettle in economically better-off countries will also increase. The disregard of such an option as an alternative to the solution of the refugee problem in Africa, therefore, reflects the reluctance or unwillingness of countries concerned to provide asylum to African refugees.

Resettlement programs have three advantages: first and foremost, African refugees can achieve socio-economic and political freedom and become self-reliant in the politically and economically stable countries. Secondly, African refugees can help family members, whom they left behind, to resettle within the same countries through programs such as sponsorship, family unification, etc. Thirdly, African refugees can also provide financial assistance to the people they left behind, thereby improving the economic situation of their relatives who remain in the first country of asylum.

Taking these factors into consideration, resettling African refugees in the developed countries has to be considered as one solution to the African refugee problems. It is also important, therefore, that scholars, international governmental and humanitarian institutions, and most importantly, the developed nations, give equal importance to such an option thereby reducing some of the burdens on the host countries in Africa.

Note

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