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EZ1:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PESHAWAR 0929

EZ2:

TERREP

SECSTATE FOR NEA, AIKDXANE, DS, RP, M/CTP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PTER, PREF, PGOV, PK, AF

SUBJMT: TERRORIST BOMBING CAMPAIGN SUCCEEDINGWC REFUGEE-

-- LTCAL RELATIONS ON A SLIDE

- 1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY: THE TERRORIST BOMBING CAMPAIGN PRESENTLY UNDER WAY IN PAKISTAN'S NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE IS HAVING ITS INTENDED EFFECT: TO POISON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LOCAL POPULATION AND THE AFGHAN REFUGEES. PUBLIC SENTIMENT NOW FAVORS CONFINING THE AFGHAN REFUGEES TO THEIR CAMPS, OR AT LEAST RESTRICTING THEIR MOVEMENTS IN PESHAWAR. THERE IS A FURTHER POLITICAL DIMENSION IN THAT THE FRONTIER GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO CONTROL THE BOMBINGS HAS BECOME AN ISSUE IN THE BITTER

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL FEUD BETWEEN FEDERAL INTERIOR  
MINISTER

MOHAMMAD ASALAM KHAN KHATTAK AND PROVINCIAL CHIEF MINISTER  
ARBAB MOHAMMAD JEHANGIR KHANRM WE BELIEVE THE PROVINCIAL  
GOVERNMENT WILL RESPOND TO ALL THIS BY TRYING TO RESTRICT  
THE REFUGEES, SEPTTEL PROVIDES A CHRONOLOGY ANE ANALYSIS OF THE  
BOMBINGS. END SUMMARY.

THE REFUGEE DIMENTION -- ROUND 'EM UP AND MOVE 'EM OUT  
- '-----

3. DATING FROM JANKARY, WE CAN DISCERN A TANGIBLE SHIFT IN  
PUBLIC ATTITUDES, AT LEAST AMONG URBANITES, TOWARD THE AFGHAN  
REFUGEDS. THE JANUARY DATE REPRESENTS THE BEGINNING OF THE  
CURRENT TERRORIST

CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIGH-VISIBILITY TARGETS  
WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF CAUSING MASS CASUALTIES. LAST YEAR,  
WHEN WE LOOKED AT ZONITUDES IN THE FRONTIER TOWARD THE REFUGEES,  
WE FOUND SOME EVIDENCE OF GROWING CONCERN BUT ALSO A HIGH DEGREE  
OF TOLERATION. THE REFUGEES AFFECTED THE DAILY LIVES OF THE  
PESHAWAR URBAN POPULATION BUT WERE NOT SEEN TO BE MORE THAN A  
BOTHERSOME INTRUSION. (#), HOWEVER, THE BOMBINGS HAVE CHANGED  
THAT PERCEPTION. THE AFGHAN REFUGEE PRESENCE IS SEEN TO BE  
A THREAT TO THE PERSONAL SAFETY OF THE URBAN PESHAWAR  
POPULATION.

4. THE OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE TERRORISTS IS  
THAT THEY ARE AGENTS OF THE AFGHAN (DRA) GOVERNMENT WHO ARE  
INFILTRATED INTO THE FRONTIER PROVINCE IN THE GUISE OF AFGHAN  
REFUGEES. (#) ALL AFGHANS ARE SEEN TO BE POTENTIAL BOMBERS.  
WE NOTE THAT AFTER THE JUNE (#) BOMB (SEPTTEL) AT THE GORKHATRI  
POLICE STATION, THE IMMEDIATE REACTION ON THE PART OF THE POLICE  
BCAS TO ARREST ALL NEARBY AFGHANS. NTHE VUBLIC REACTION IS VERY  
SIGNIFICANT: THE POLIIE HAD TO RESCUE ONE AFGHWN PASSERBY  
FROM AN ANGRY CROWD WHICH WAS IN THE PROCESS OF BEATING HIM  
UP.

5. IN ADDITION TO THE BOMBINGS, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THERE HAS  
BEEN A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN THE PUBLIC ATTITUDE OWARD THE  
REFUGEES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REFUGEE FLOW IN 1978-79,  
AND ESPECIALLY AFTER THE SOVIETS INVADED IN DECEMBER, 1979,  
THE REFUGEES WERE WELCOMED WITH OPEN ARMS. MANY WERE OLD,  
EVERY YOUNG, OR FEMALE, ILL, STARVIRG AND POOR. THE COMMON LAN-  
RGUAGE, CULTURE, AND RELIGION SHARED BY THE REFUGEES AND TC  
FRONTIER PATHANS CONTRIBUTED TO THE WELCOME THE REFUGEES  
RECEIVED. AT THAT TIME, THE REFUGEES: (1) EID NOT PLACE A  
SIGNIFICANT BURDEN ON LOCAL RESOURCES; (2) DID NOT COMPETE  
IN THE ECONOMY; (3) WERE NOT GINKED TO LAW AND ORDER PROBLEMS;  
(4) WERE NOT ARMED; AND (5) WERE NOT SEEN AS A PERMANENT  
FIXTURE. THESE PERCEPTIONS HAVE NOW SHIFTED ADVERSELY. THE  
REFUGEES ARE PERCEIVED TO BE A MAJOR PART OF THE LAW AND ORDER  
PROBLEM IN THE PROVINCE. THEY ARE ARMED, AND THEIR ARMS ARE  
SPILLING OVER INTO PAKISTANI HANDS. THEY BURDEN LOCAL RESOURCES  
(HOSPITALS, ROADY, FORESTS, ETC.). OHEY COMPETE IN BUSINESSES.  
THEY OWN SHOPS, BUSES AND TAXIS, HOOELS, AND SIDEWALK VENDING  
OUTLETS. TO MOST PEOPLE HERE, THE TERM "AFGHAN REFUGEE"

C O N F I D E N T I A L

HAS SHIFTED IN MEANING. WHEN A PESHAWARITE THINKS OF AN "AFGHAN," THE MOST COMMON IMAGE, WE BELIEVE, IS A WELL-FED YOUNG MAN, LIKELY ARMED, WHO HAS COME TO PESHAWAR TO HAVE A GOOD TIME AND WHO MIGHT VERY WELL BE A TERRORIST ZOMBER SENT BY THE OTHER SIDE. THE MORE COMMON REFUGEES -- THE OLD MEN, THE WOMEN THE CHILDREN WHO MAKE UP THE MAJORITY OF THE REFUGEE POPULATION -- ARE SELDOM SEEN OUT OF THE CAMPS, AND THE PAKISTANI MAN IN THE STREET NEVER VISITS THE CAMPS TO SEE FOR HIMSELF THE CONDITIONS OF THE REFUGEES.

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SECSTATE FOR NPT, AID/ANE, DS, RP, M/CTP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OAY

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-- RELATIONS ON A SLIDE

6. THIS CHANGE IN PAKISTANI ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REFUGEES HAS RESULTED IN INCREASING DEMANDS THAT THE REFUGEES BE PUT OUT OF SIGHT. FOR EXAMPLE, FRONTIER MINISTER FOR HOUSING AND PHYSICAL PLANNING AND DEPUTY MAYOR OF PESHAWAR HAJI MOHAMMAD JAVED (WHO IS ABOUT AS LIBERAL A POLITICIAN AS CAN BE FOUND IN THE PROVINCE) SAID THIS WEEK THAT IT WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE REFUGEES AND OF THE CITIZENS OF THE FRONTIER TO SHIFT THE REFUGEES TO THE CAMPS, INSTEAD OF CAUSING "AN ENORMOUS SCARE AND PANIC" THROUGH THEIR PRESENCE IN THE URBAN AREAS. HE SAID THAT THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT HAD "PUT FORWARD A PLAN" TO SHIFT THE REFUGEES, WHICH HE EXPECTED TO BE APPROVED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IN ADDITION, THE MUSLIM HAS REPORTED A "HEATED" PROVINCIAL CABINET MEETING, WITH SOME MINISTERS DEMANDING STRICTER CONTROLS ON THE REFUGEES. SEVERAL COMMITTEES OF SHOP-KEEPERS AND CITIZENS HAVE BEEN SET UP TO INCREASE VIGILANCE AND TO PRESS FOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.

7. THE POLICE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN ONE OF THEIR PERIODIC ROUNDUPS OF YOUNG AFGHAN MEN IN THE CITY. REPORTEDLY, OVER 5,000 AFGHANS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND SENT TO THE PROVINCIAL REFUGEE COMMISSIONERATE FOR "VERIFICATION" OF THEIR STATUS AS REFUGEES. THIS CAMPAIGN, WHICH BEGAN LAST WEEK, INVOLVES CHECKING ALL AFGHAN-LOOKING MEN IN THE CITY. IF THEIR DOCUMENTS ARE SUSPECT, OR IF THEY HAVE NO DOCUMENTS, THEY ARE SHIPPED TO THE COMMISSIONERATE FOR THE "VERIFICATION" PROCESS AND IF ALL IS IN ORDER, ARE SENT TO THE CAMP WHERE THEY ARE REGISTERED. THE FRONTIER HOME SECRETARY TOLD US LAST WEEK THAT THIS IS DIRECTED AT THE "SCATTERED" REFUGEES, I.E., THOSE WHO ARE NOT LIVING IN THE CAMPS, AND IS INTENDED TO DETER THE TERRORISTS BY MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR AFGHANS TO MOVE AROUND WITH IMPUNITY IN PESHAWAR. PAST EXPERIENCE WITH SIMILAR CAMPAIGNS HAS BEEN THAT, ABSENT POLITICAL PRESSURE, THE POLICE CANNOT SUSTAIN IT FOR MORE THAN A COUPLE OF WEEKS. HOWEVER, WITH THE POPULAR POLITICAL PRESSURE NOW EMERGING, WE BELIEVE SOME FURTHER RESTRICTIONS ON AFGHANS WILL BE IMPOSED, AND THE POLICE WILL ENFORCE THE RESTRICTIONS (ESPECIALLY SINCE POLICE SEEM TO BE A MAJOR TARGET OF THE BOMBING CAMPAIGN).

C O N F I D E N T I A L

THE POLITICAL FALLOUT -- PARTIES INTO THE ACT  
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8. THERE IS ALSO A DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIMENSION TO THE CAMPAIGN ASIDE FROM ITS IMPACT ON ONE AFGHAN REFUGEES. GOVERNMENT FIGURES, THE POLITICAL PARTY OPPOSITION, AND THE AFGHAN LEADERS ARE INVOLVED. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT IS HOW THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION HERE FITS INTO THE CONTINUING BITTER FEUD BETWEEN FEDERAL INTERIOR MINISTER MOHAMMAD ASALAM KHATTAK AND FRONTIER CHIEF MINISTER ARBAB MOHAMMAD JEHANGIR KHAN. THE FEUD, WHICH DATES AT LEAST FROM ARBAB'S DROPPING KHATTAK'S SON-IN-LAW FROM THE FRONTIER CABINET LAST YEAR, HAD A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON GOP ACTIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE POPPY ENFORCEMENT CONFRONTATION IN GADUON IN MARCH. NOW, KHATTAK SEEMS DETERMINED (FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE HERE) TO USE THE "LAW AND ORDER SITUATION" AS A RATIONALE TO DISCREDIT THE CHIEF MINISTER AND TO SUPPORT KHATTAK'S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN TO REMOVE THE ARBAZ. KHATTAK HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL LOOK INTO THE LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE, UNDOUBTEDLY IN PART TO PROVIDE A FORUM TO AIR CHARGES THAT THE CHIEF MINISTER IS INCAPABLE OF HANDLING THE SITUATION.

9. FURTHERMORE, THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND EVEN ONE AFGHAN RESISTANCE LEADER HAVE ENTERED THE FRAY. BENAZIR, ACCORDING TO "THE MUSLIM" VERSION OF HER JUNE 20 SPEECH IN KARACHI, CALLS THE BOMBINGS A MEANS "TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF THE PEOPLE FROM THEIR STRUGGLE...." IF WE READ THE REPORT IN "THE MUSLIM" CORRECTLY, SHE HINTED THAT THE AUTHORITIES WERE RESPONSIBLE. THE JAMIAT-I-ISLAMI'S QAZI HUSSAIN AHMAD, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS BLAMED THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL PARTY (PNP) AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NDP) FOR THE BOMBINGS, AND SAYS THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTER AND THE CHIEF MINISTER ARE DEFENDING THE SECULARIST LEFT PARTIES. AN AFGHAN RESISTANCE LEADER GULBADDIN HEKMATYAR SUPPORTS THE JI VIEW. THE NDP, FOR ITS PART, BLAMES THE "PRO-U.S." POLICIES OF THE JI FOR THE PROBLEM.

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PESHAWAR 0929  
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10. FINALLY, WE NEED TO HIGHLIGHT ONE UNDERCURRENT IN THE SITUATION HERE. THE NDP (AND TO SOME EXTENT THE LOCAL PPP) VIEW IS ESSENTIALLY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS INTERESTED IN PROLONGING THE CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN AND THAT IT IS U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE REFUGEES AND THE MUJAHIDEEN THAT IS SUSTAINING THE WAR. FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW, THOSE WHO ACCEPT THIS PREMISE WOULD ARGUE THE CONVOLUTED LOGIC THAT IT IS THE AMERICANS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBINGS. FORTUNATELY, OUR SENSE IS THAT ONLY A MINORITY HOLD THIS VIEWPOINT, BUT IT IS INEVITABLE THAT SOME OF THE BLAME WILL RUB OFF ON US. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE STRUCK BY THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE URBAN POPULATION ACCEPTS THAT THE DRA IS BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN, AND AT THE SAME TIME DOES NOT FIND FAULT

C O N F I D E N T I A L

WITH THEIR USE OF THIS TACTIC. THE BLAME FOR THE INCIDENTS  
REVOLVES BACK ONTO THE REFUGEES AND THE GOP.

WHAT IS THIS LEADING TO?

(#)

11.

WE BELIEVE IT IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT SOME LEGAL RESTRICTION WILL BE PLACED ON THE AFGHAN REFUGEES, AT LEAST IN AND AROUND PESHAWAR, WHICH WILL RESTRICT THEM TO THE REFUGEE CAMPS, AT LEAST DURING SOME HOURS OF THE DAY AND NIGHT. WE SUSPECT A FORMAL CURFEW-LIKE RESTRICTION IS MOST LIKELY, EXTENDING THE INFORMAL CURFEW ON AFGHANS NOW IN FORCE.

12. IF THE BOMBINGS CONTINUE -- AND WE BELIEVE THEY WILL, WITH INCREASING SEVERITY AND MORE CAREFUL, MORE CLEVER TARGETING -- PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REFUGEES WILL CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WE WILL SEE AN INCREASE IN VIGILANTISM AGAINST AFGHANS ON THE PART OF PAKISTANIS, AS PEOPLE TAKE THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS. AND THE FRONTIER GOVERNMENT COULD BE IN TROUBLE.

13. THIS BOMBING CAMPAIGN IS AN EXAMPLE OF TERRORISM ACHIEVING ITS AIMS, WHICH ARE SEEN HERE TO BE TWO-FOLD: IN THE SHORT RUN, TO POISON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LOCAL POPULATION AND THE REFUGEES, AND IN THE LONG-TERM TO SOFTEN UP THE GOP ATTITUDE AT GENEVA. THE BOMBERS HAVE ACHIEVED THE FIRST OBJECTIVE.

14. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. EASTHAM

END OF MESSAGE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L