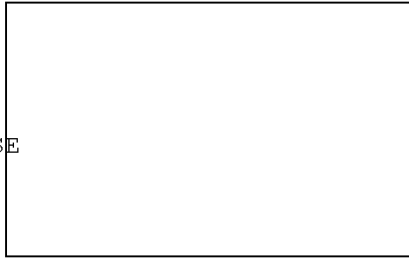




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# Afghanistan Situation Report



26 October 1982

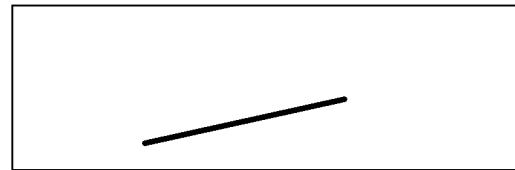
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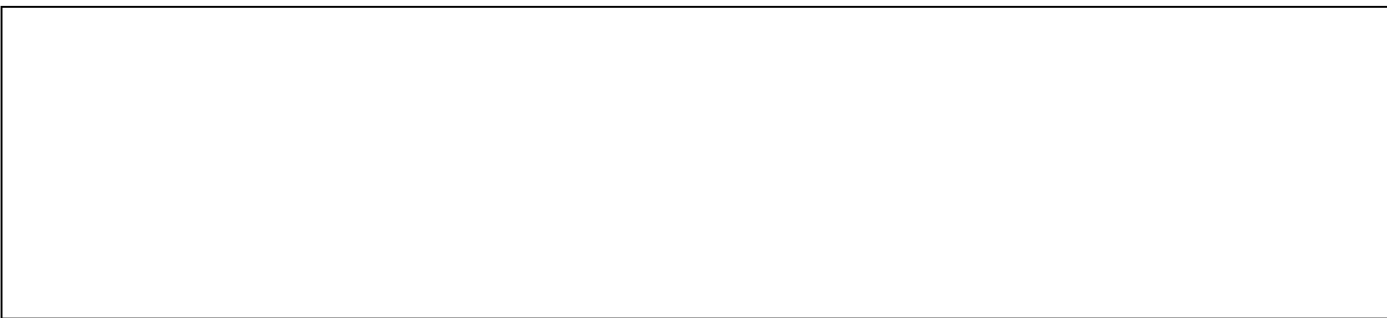
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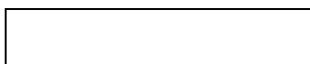
AFGHANISTAN SITUATION REPORT

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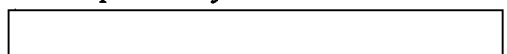
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The Panjsheri leader claims the valley is facing starvation.



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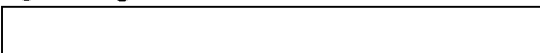
Zia reportedly has called for an international conference on Afghanistan.



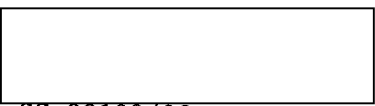
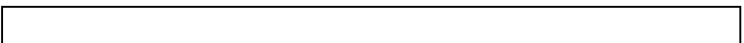
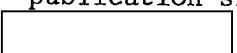
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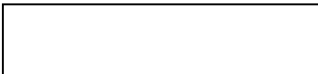
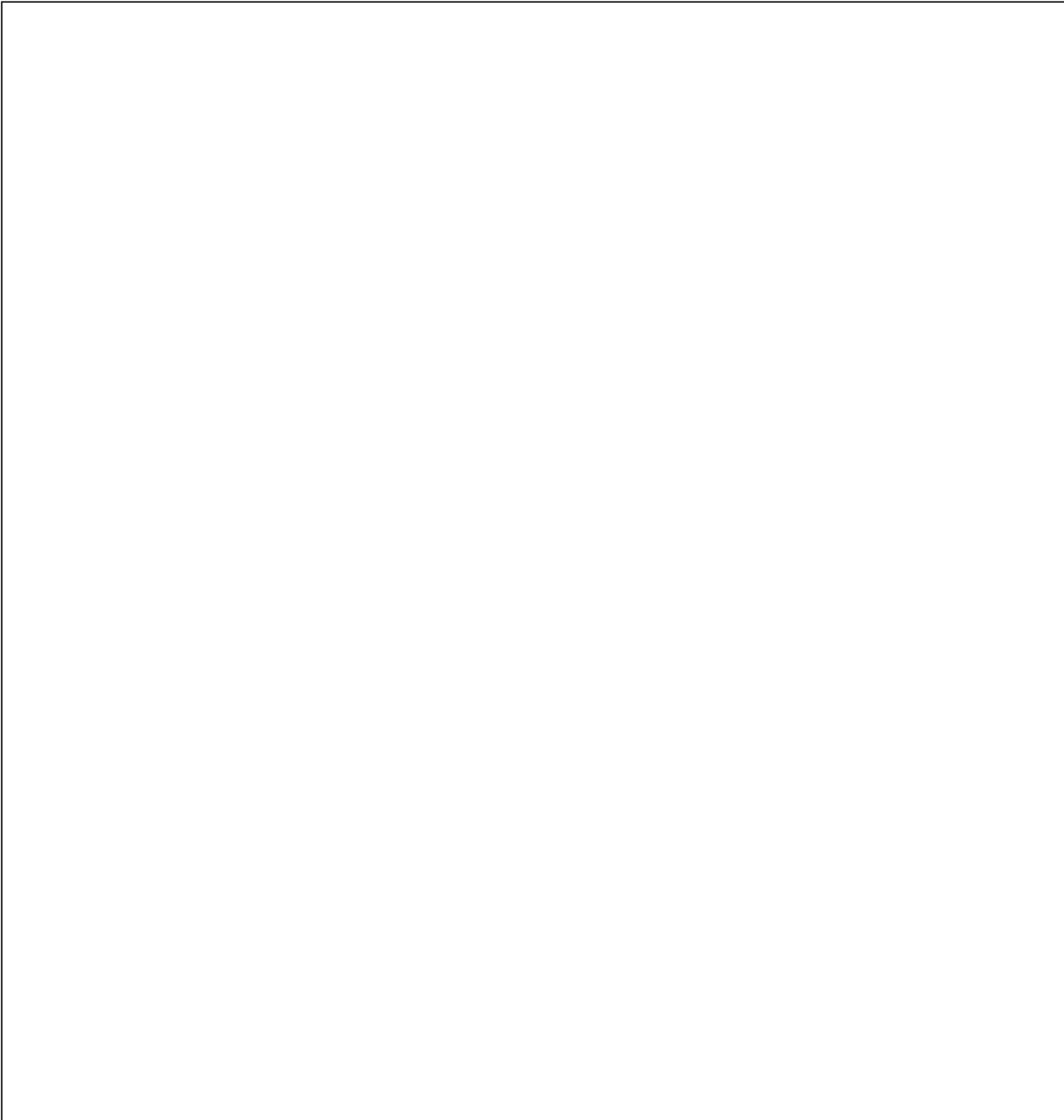
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The Afghan refugees will present a problem of increasing complexity and a growing threat to Pakistan's internal stability throughout the 1980s.



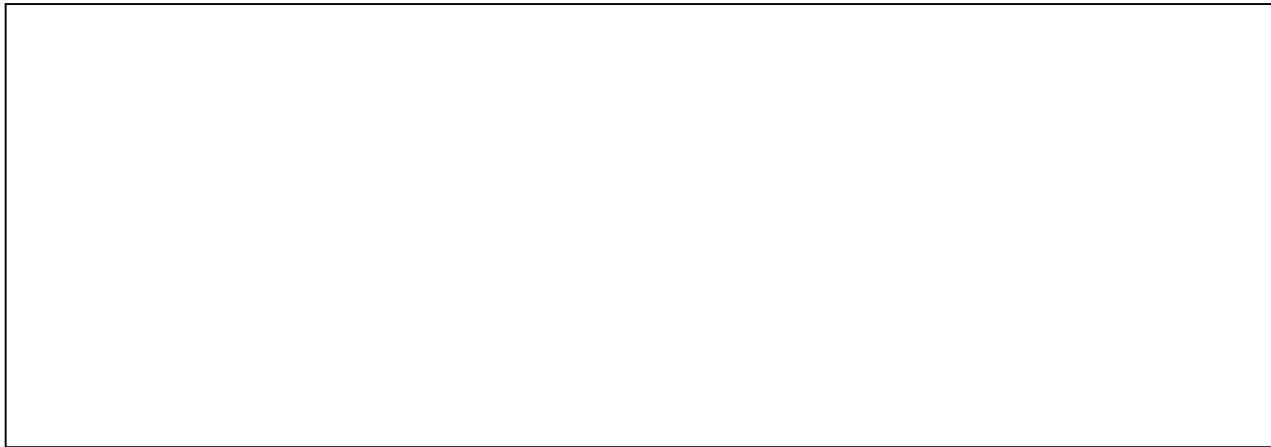
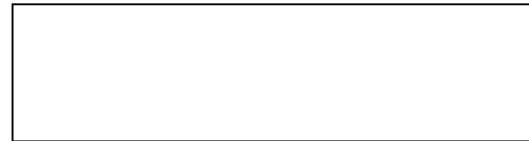
This document is prepared weekly by the Office of Near East/South Asia and the Office of Soviet Analysis. Questions or comments on the issues raised in the publication should be directed to



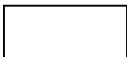


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MASOOD APPEALS FOR HELP



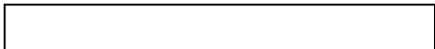
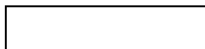
Panjsheri insurgent leader Masood has appealed to the world community for aid to avert starvation in the Panjsher Valley. He claims that the most recent Soviet offensive there destroyed farms and food supplies, forcing the inhabitants to seek refuge elsewhere.



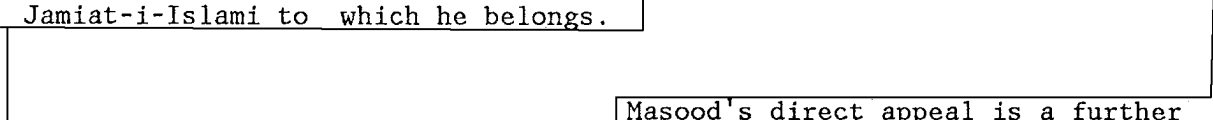
Comment: The two Soviet offensives in the valley this year did considerable damage,



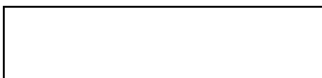
In the past Masood has sometimes exaggerated his problems in an effort to obtain more help. Nonetheless, it would be extremely difficult to send food aid to the valley.

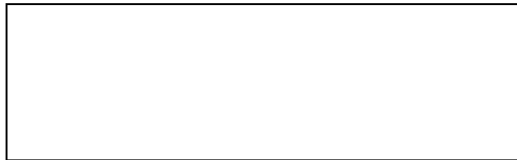


In making a direct appeal, Masood bypassed the leadership of the Jamiat-i-Islami to which he belongs.

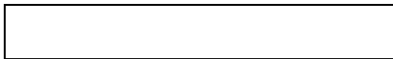


Masood's direct appeal is a further indication that insurgent commanders are gaining prestige at the expense of the Peshawar exiles.

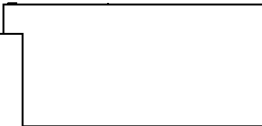
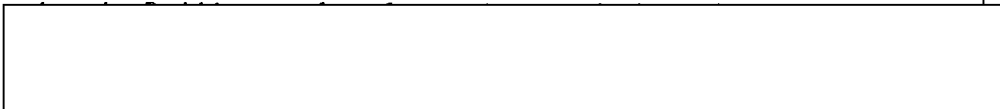




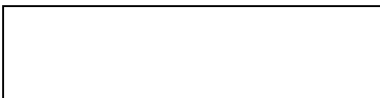
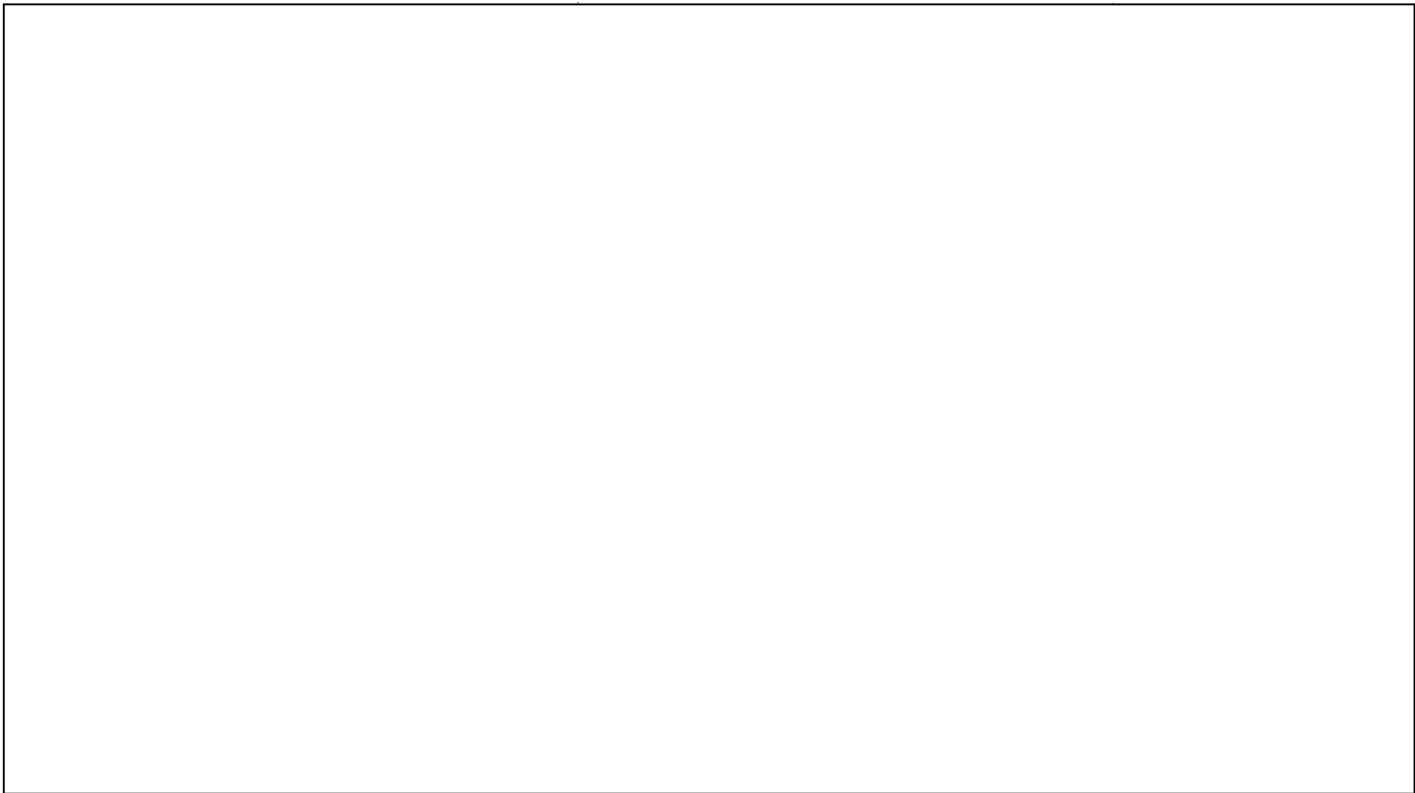
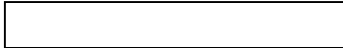
ZIA RAISES POSSIBILITY OF NEW TALKS



The Associated Press reports that on 23 October Pakistani President Zia called for a conference on Afghanistan by the USSR, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, China, the US, and the Afghan mujahideen.



Comment: Up to now Pakistan has refused to deal directly with the Babrak regime. Zia's remarks, if reported correctly, imply that this position might be changing, although a conference could be held by the indirect methods used in UN discussions. This is also the first time Zia is known to have proposed that the resistance movement be given a status equal to the various nations involved in the Afghan problem or that it be included directly in talks. The unanswered question, however, is who might speak for the divided resistance groups.



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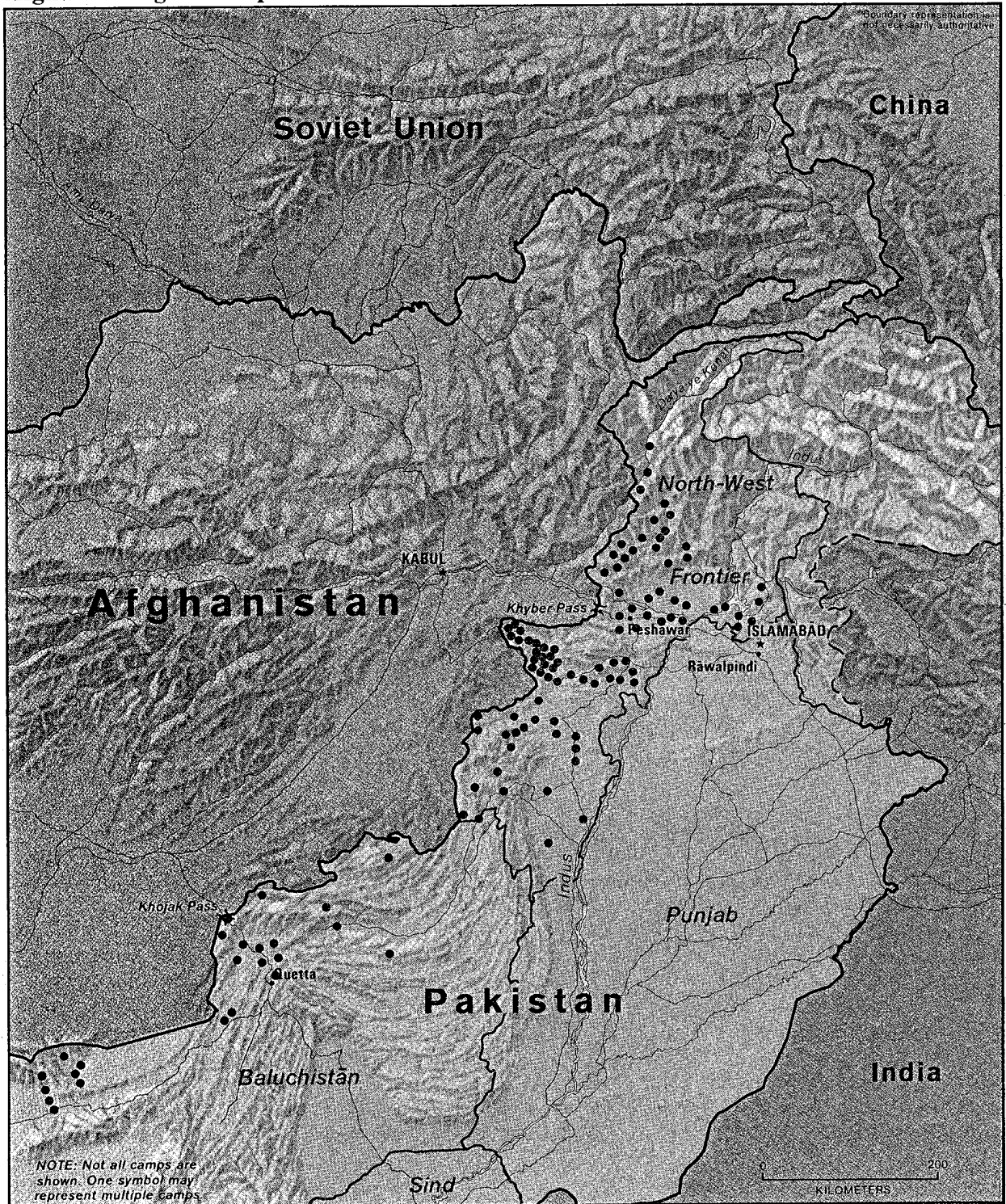
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# Afghan Refugee Camps in Pakistan

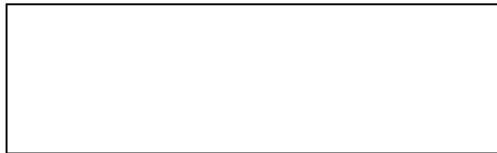


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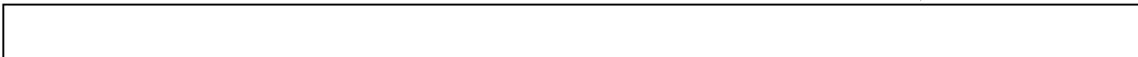
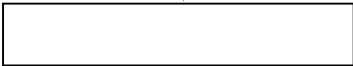
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PERSPECTIVE

AFGHAN REFUGEES: LONG-TERM BURDEN FOR PAKISTAN




Demographic Arithmetic. We expect that the Afghan refugees will present a problem of increasing complexity and a growing threat to Pakistan's internal stability throughout the 1980s. We believe that the sheer size of the refugee population--the largest in the world--will strain the government's ability to accommodate the refugees as well as its ability to limit their threat to political stability. 

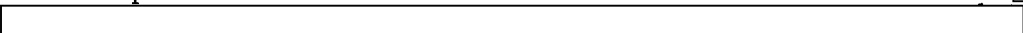
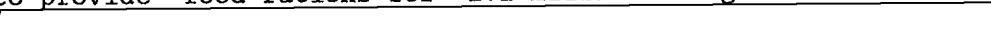
The US Census Bureau estimated that there were 2.5 million refugees in Pakistan as of mid-1982, based on the numbers of refugees registered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees between 1979 and the end of 1981, estimated net gains of 25,000 during 1982, and the estimated number of births and deaths occurring in the refugee population. The Census Bureau projects that the refugee population will reach 2.7 million by 1985 and 3.2 million by 1990, even assuming that no additional refugees will arrive or be repatriated after 1982.\*





While US and international observers agree that Pakistan's international prestige has been enhanced by its acceptance of the refugees and by its willingness to share its limited resources to care for them, the economic costs have been high. The government estimates its assistance costs for 1982-83 at \$555 million--over and above aid provided by international relief organizations for

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\*Estimates by various organizations on the size of the refugee population ranged between 2 million and 2.7 million during spring and summer 1982. The Pakistani Government estimate, based on renewed efforts by Pakistani relief officials to count camp populations, was 2.7 million as of 31 July 1982. Although officials say that net inflow was "only a trickle" during the first half of 1982, they still expect an increase to 3 million by the end of the year. 

 UN agencies in May 1982 agreed to provide food rations for 2.2 million refugees rather than dispute numbers: 

 We believe that the US Census Bureau estimate, based on both UN camp registrations and documented demographic growth assumptions, is reasonable and can be used with some degree of confidence. 





1982 at \$230-250 million. [redacted] Pakistani costs should be considerably lower than the government's official estimate--on the order of only \$80-100 million. [redacted] the difference between Pakistani and Western estimates to inclusion in the assistance estimate of indirect costs such as road and railway repair, law enforcement, reclamation of devastated forest and grazing areas, and reimbursement for damage to private properties. [redacted]

Social Tensions

Most refugees are Pushtun tribesmen who, according to local and national Pakistani sources, have been received as brothers by the Pakistani Pushtuns of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, and as Muslim brothers in need by all Pakistanis. Despite these ethnic ties, government authorities say that preservation of public order is their greatest concern in the volatile tribal areas where nearly all refugees reside. [redacted]

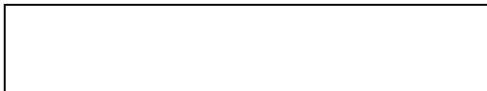
[redacted] last June more than a hundred were killed in sectarian fighting in Kurram Agency, which also involved Afghan refugees. Officials fear that even minor disagreements between refugees and the local population or between rival refugee groups could lead to a pattern of increasingly serious incidents [redacted]

[redacted] Islamabad, which is concerned that unrest could be exploited by Soviet-sponsored agents, has adopted preventive measures:

- Refugee camps have been deliberately situated away from more populous centers.
- Refugee areas are rigorously policed.
- Grazing, water, and land rights have been carefully defined between locals and refugees.
- Where resentment toward refugee aid has been vocal, local inhabitants have been granted aid commensurate with that given to the refugees, or restitution has been made by the government to the aggrieved party. [redacted]

Strategic Risks and Pakistani Apprehensions

The support of the insurgency in Afghanistan by groups using refugee encampments in Pakistan constitutes a rationale for Soviet incursions into the country. [redacted] there is growing concern among thoughtful Pak-



istanis, who draw an analogy with the Palestinians that these well-armed groups could become a troublesome security problem in the borderlands. Dispersing refugee camps to other locations away from the border would dilute their status as an attractive nuisance target for the Soviets, but those refugees most actively engaged in cross-border activities would probably resist leaving the frontier area.

Pakistani officials fear the Soviet use of Afghan refugees and Pakistani Pushtun tribesmen for subversive activities in the politically volatile borderlands. They are apprehensive that should the refugees lose faith in an eventual return to their homelands, they may well become active in tribal politics, rekindling agitation for an autonomous Pushtunistan on Pakistan territory. Their presence in large numbers in the borderlands would cause those demands to pose a serious threat to the government's efforts to integrate the tribal areas into the political life of Pakistan.

#### Outlook

In our opinion, Pakistan's peacekeeping efforts in the borderlands have been made more difficult by the introduction of more numerous and sophisticated weapons among refugee groups and local tribesmen in the wake of the Afghan insurgency. Warfare is almost a sport among the Pushtun. In a tribal society that traditionally settles disputes with guns, intertribal clashes are likely to escalate quickly out of control. On another level, a disquieting factor for the Pakistani military, in any future confrontation with armed Pushtun tribesmen, is the experience and confidence the Pushtun have gained in combating technologically superior Soviet forces.

We believe that the refugees are facing a prolonged or indefinite stay in Pakistan, despite the effort of the government to characterize them as "temporary guests". The refugees are unlikely to return to Afghanistan permanently as long as a Soviet-backed government is in power. Even if conditions in Afghanistan become conducive for repatriation, it is unlikely that all of the refugees will return, particularly the landless laborers among them. The longer their sojourn in Pakistan, the more likely that a larger number will take up permanent residence in Pakistan and strain the overburdened Pakistan economy.