AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN
NEW ARRIVALS AND REPATRIATION
11/88 THROUGH 6/90

UNHCR-JUNE 1990
FORWARD

The following repatriation briefs are summaries of Notes for the File, Afghan Field Monitors Reports, Repatriation Reports (SOQ), reports from UN missions and NGO's, interviews with NGO's from 2/89 through 6/90, conversations with UNHCR field staff, and the Provincial Profiles from UNHCR’s Data Collection for Afghan Repatriation project. Acknowledgement is especially given to the consistently excellent work of and generous help provided by UNHCR staff in Peshawar and Quetta, without whom these summaries would not have been possible.


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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Maps and charts ........................................ Following Forward

General Repatriation Trends .................................. 1
New Arrivals .................................................. 3

Provincial Summaries:
Kandahar ....................................................... 6
Kunar ........................................................... 11
Kunduz .......................................................... 14
Nangarhar ...................................................... 17
Paktia ............................................................ 21
Paktika .......................................................... 25
ORIGINS OF SURVEYED REFUGEES FROM PAKISTAN

Percentages are approximate.

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<td>Others</td>
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(UNHCR/DCAR Origins Survey 6/89)
89% of refugees in Pakistan represented in DCAR Origins Survey.

Survey Total: 2,684,000

(UNHCR 3/90)
Surveyed Refugees in Pakistan
Projected '89 Population
By Province of Origin - Afghanistan

(DCAR Survey 6/89 - Total: 2,683,968)
AFGHANISTAN – ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS
ORIGIN OF REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN AS OF MAY 1989
AS REPRESENTED IN
DCAR ORIGINS SURVEY

Percent of '89 Projected Population

0-19 Percent
20-29 Percent
30-49 Percent
50 Percent and Above

(UNHCR 6/90)
AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN: GENERAL REPATRIATION TRENDS (1989-1990)

1. Refugees from Pakistan are returning to Afghanistan and apparently in greater numbers in 1990 than in 1989. The word "returnees", however, does not mean an intended permanent resettlement. The greater portion of returnees have family members in Pakistan, employed and/or in refugee villages, collecting monthly rations. It is thought that many returnees will come back to their families in Pakistan in the fall. It appears that more families are returning to Afghanistan in 1990 than were reported in 1989, but it is equally clear that repatriation will be a gradual process for most refugees, occurring over two to several seasons.

Returnees can be generally typified as seasonal, preparatory or permanent. Seasonal returnees are likely to be unskilled labourers and generally non-landowners, depending on reasonable wages and good agricultural conditions. The weather this year has been particularly helpful and crop levels and labour wages are reported high in some areas. Preparatory returnees will take two or more seasons prior to extensive and more permanent resettlement and are more likely to be from provinces bordering Pakistan. As seasons pass and with reasonable conditions, these returnees (mostly small to medium-sized landowners) will take additional family members to help with agricultural and reconstruction activities. Seasonal and preparatory returnees, if registered, will leave their passbooks with a family member in Pakistan. Permanent returnees either live too far from Pakistan to make casual movement practical and economically feasible, or are unregistered and/or comparatively poor. If registered, most of those returning to areas of some distance sell their passbooks prior to their departure.

2. All repatriation is dictated by security - physical, economic and political. The relative importance of each of these varies from area to area. It is axiomatic that fighting in an area will reduce the numbers of those who wish to resettle there. Equally so in the future, poor weather resulting in decreased agricultural productivity, and/or a decrease in labour prices will have their effect.

3. It is reasonable to assume that there is a positive and direct relationship between intentions of returnees to remain permanently and distances travelled. Those returning to areas farthest from Pakistan are more likely to remain because distance and cost of transportation prohibit casual movement.

4. There are slightly differing political circumstances determining repatriation in Baluchistan and in NWFP. At present, the direct influence of the AIG is stronger in NWFP than in Baluchistan. In
Baluchistan, the so-called "moderate" parties have proved to be far more in favour of returns and normalization than the "fundamentalists". Refugees in Baluchistan are, in general, sympathizers of moderate parties favouring a return of the ex-King, whatever their official affiliation.

5. All of the above are generalizations. Exceptions abound.

6. The attempt to attach actual numbers to returnees in all areas must be treated with extreme caution and are intended as indicators only.

7. In balance, the number of returnees appears to outweigh the number of new arrivals. In the provinces covered by this report, an estimated 90,000 - 100,000 new arrivals and 160,000 - 210,000 returnees could be assumed. The numbers of returnees are relatively conservative estimates and do not include the provinces of Helmand, Zabul and Ghazni, to which some refugees in Pakistan are now moving. As previously stated, the term 'returnees' does not refer to permanency of resettlement.
AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN - NEW ARRIVALS (1989-1990)

1. From November 1988 through June 1989, approximately 80,000 refugees arrived in NWFP. Most of these refugees were from areas around Jalalabad (Nangarhar and Kabul provinces) as a direct result of increased fighting. The majority settled in camps around Peshawar. A very few refugee families emigrating for the same reason also arrived in northern Baluchistan.

2. Helmand:
   In July 1989, 41 families arrived in Baluchistan, due to heavy fighting.
   During September-October 1989 4-5 families per day reportedly arrived in Baluchistan. Many were from Nadi Ali. A Government convoy of about 1300 vehicles, from Herat to Kandahar, caused shelling around the highway, where these refugees lived.
   In April 1990, about 60 families claimed arrived in Baluchistan about 6/89 from Hazarjuft.

3. Kabul:
   Reports from UNHCR/Kabul indicated an exodus of Kabul inhabitants to Pakistan (8/89), adding that the magnitude of this exodus was impossible to assess.

   In November 1989, a Territorial Officer reported new arrivals (numbers unknown) from villages south of Kabul City, where continued fighting between mujahideen and Government forces forced them to leave.

   In November 1989, an Afghan Territorial Assistant reported that approximately 15 families per day arrived in Peshawar from Kabul City since February 1989. These families represented middle-class urban residents (civil servants, clerks, teachers, etc.) and would not settle in refugee camps but would rent rooms in the outskirts of Peshawar and try to find employment. Primary reasons for leaving were: security from rocket attacks; fear of food shortages this winter, as well as actual rising prices without corresponding increases in salary; and sons approaching military service age.

4. Logar:
   In November 1989, about 80 families from the Mohammad Agha area joined their relatives in camps around Peshawar and North Waziristan. Emigration was due to heavy fighting and destruction in villages on the supply route to Khost (Paktia), where the Government was sending ammunition. Some refugees indicated that 400 families had left the area, but Territorial staff felt this number may have been inflated.
5. Laghman:
Between October 1989 and February 1990 about 590 families arrived from Alingar district. Refugees from valley villages claimed there were increased bombardments in their area after a visit (8/89) by Gulbaddin Hekmatyar. Refugees from mountain villages claimed loss of income from economic embargos placed upon them by mujahideen for selling wood (their major source of income) plus Government stockpiling of essential commodities, causing loss of income and high prices. All areas indicated bombardments throughout the war, but with additional economic hardships, they had very little income. Only very few of the new arrivals indicated they had been in Pakistan before.

6. Logar:
Refugee elders (2/90) visiting the UNHCR/Peshawar Sub-Office, claimed 115 families had recently arrived as a result of fighting along the Kabul-Gardez highway. Territorial Officers found their claims very difficult to verify. It is possible they were unregistered mujahideen "who find themselves now idle without any leadership to pursue the jehad".

7. Jowzjan:
In August, 1989, Territorial Officers indicated that 4-5 families per day were arriving in NWFP from Jowzjan.

8. Faryab:
In November 1989, Territorial Officers from Quetta reported 140 families arriving in Baluchistan from Musa Qala (Helmand), enroute from Faryab. There were reports that approximately 600 families were enroute to Baluchistan from Faryab, although no follow-up information was received.

9. Farah:
In October 1989, 300 families arrived from Farah as a result of hostilities between mujahideen and Government forces in Bala Baluk, Shindand, Anar Dara, and Farah and due to increasing prices of food and other necessary commodities.

In November 1989, Quetta interviewed a refugee recently arrived from Farah, who indicated that the refugees came the long distances to Baluchistan because the attitude of the Iranian officials towards the refugees was "more than uncertain."

10. Ghazni:
In November 1989, 60 families of 400 people arrived in Baluchistan. They claimed to have managed for 11 years but prolonged seige by mujahideen and a final guarantee of safe passage caused their emigration. They also stated their village was plundered and they were all deprived of their valuables.

11. Paktia:
In March 1990, 9 families arrived from Paktia, after the abortive military coup in Kabul.
SUMMARY - NEW ARRIVALS - (November 1988 - June 1990)

1. Emigration, for the vast majority of new arrivals, was directly related to increased hostilities and fighting. More than three-fourths of the new arrivals came from areas around Jalalabad, Nangahar between November 1988 and June 1989.

2. There were reportedly large numbers of middle-class emigrants from Kabul City arriving in Peshawar from 2/89 through 11/89. Because they did not settle in refugee camps, their numbers are difficult to estimate. One estimate was about 24,000 people and this is impossible to confirm.

3. Of the reports received by UNHCR, there were an estimated 90,000 - 100,000 new arrivals in Pakistan during this time.
1979 Population: 575,000
1989 Population (Projected): 714,700
Year of Maximum Emigration: 1980
Refugees in Pakistan (5/89): 239,000 (Refugee Origins Survey)
Refugees as Percentage of '89 Projected Population: 33.5%
Refugees as Percentage of Total Refugees in Pakistan: 8.8%

1. The fourth largest provincial population of refugees in Pakistan is from Kandahar. All but 1,600 refugees are in Baluchistan, where they constitute 36% of the refugee population.

2. Returnees in 1989:

Returnees passing through Chaman to Kandahar were reported at up to 15 families per day immediately following Soviet withdrawal in 2/89. By late May '89, the common figure reported for returnees was 100 - 200 families per day. There was considerable comment on the intentions of these returnees regarding their length of stay, and most reports indicated that many were returning for agricultural activities and would return in the fall to their families in the camps in Baluchistan. World Bank construction projects in Pishin and Gulistan suffered serious delays during this period due to shortages of labour and tractors (the tractor owners found transporting returning refugees more lucrative). By July, refugee movement to Afghanistan had sharply decreased due to party harassment. Throughout the remaining months of '89, there were sporadic but consistent reports of returnees estimated at an average of 5-10 families per day. UNHCR/Sub-Office Quetta estimated 70,000 - 80,000 refugees returned to Kandahar in 1989.
By the end of 1989, indications from Afghan Field Monitoring Officers were that 35-50 percent of the Mohd. Khel camps were vacated and 100-150 families from Karez camp had returned. A survey of Pir Alizai camps (2/90) indicated that some of the houses appeared to have been vacated during the past year. Widely varying estimates of returnees from Surkhab were received from different sources (from 1,000 to 8,000 people). In Surkhab, the refugees indicated to Afghan Field Monitoring Officers that the majority of families in the camp had sent at least one member of their families to Afghanistan to get their houses repaired, plough the land, sow seeds and to look after their crops.

At the same time, other reports indicated increased agricultural and reconstruction activities in Kandahar. Specific reports were received concerning Maruf and Panjwai.

Major reasons given for returns were sparse labour opportunities and wages in Pakistan accompanied by reasonable labour wages and opportunities in Kandahar, an increasing lack of security in the camps, and relative security in some rural areas of Kandahar. There were reports that the Government of Afghanistan offered returnees 50,000-60,000 Afs., a quantity of wheat and other essential goods in exchange for their passbooks. By August, it was said that the Government had become more strict with this assistance, as it had become known that some refugees were accepting it without intending to remain in Kandahar. Verification of actual refugee return was said to occur through checking whether returnees were accompanied by their families.

Many typified the returnees in 1989 as: 1) some shopkeepers who thought the 'time was ripe' and 2) the very poor, both registered and unregistered, who either had land or could earn more as agricultural labourers in Afghanistan. It is impossible to quantify the proportion of registered or unregistered returnees, the numbers of partial family members who subsequently returned to their families in Baluchistan during the fall and winter, or the numbers of families who permanently repatriated. It is clear that much cross-border movement took place, most especially prior to July 1989, and that concurrent reconstruction activities were also occurring in Kandahar.

Major obstacles for return were political, followed by the high cost of transport. In August, a report indicated that the resistance parties had put up chains/posts at Spin Boldak and at the Tarnak River, on the main Kandahar-Kabul highway. The mujahideen at these posts turned back families who had bought with them all their belongings. None of the major resistance parties professed outward approval of refugee returns and some were highly successful in actively discouraging it. These events also occurred at the end of the first harvest season (late June - early July), when a demand for immediate labour may have also been decreasing.
3. Returnees in 1990:

Overall:
In early 1990, repatriation movements reported from Pakistan were "limited" but by the middle of May it was apparent that increased repatriation was occurring. During the first 10 days of June, an estimated 15 families per day were returning at one crossing point and general acknowledgement was made that this was indicative of similar movements elsewhere. During May and throughout June, UNHCR staff (Quetta) estimated that the daily tide of returnees to Kandahar was about between 50-70 families (300-430 people). Wages for labour have been high in Kandahar and this has been an excellent year for agriculture, with adequate to plentiful rains. According to the first quarter 1990 Repatriation Report from Sub-Office Quetta, "all over the province sizeable reconstruction activities can be witnessed. Agriculture appears to be at an advanced stage and the Sub-Office's Afghan Field Monitors encountered many families who were in the process of re-establishing themselves."

Camps in Pakistan:

In March, HCR Field Monitors reported that several sarbrahs (holders of large numbers of passbooks in the camps) were putting pressure upon refugees to return to Afghanistan and to sell their passbooks to them at a very low price.

In Gulistan, Field Monitors reported (4/90) that refugees had been regularly returning to Kandahar, via Spin Boldak. Some returnees were selling passbooks to help finance transportation for their returns. "In the beginning, the refugees had double or triple ration cards, whereas at present they have only one ration card, which is not sufficient for their families."

In Pir Alizai (4/90), Field Monitors reported that 217 families (1300-1,800) people had returned to Kandahar. Indications were that returnees without ration benefits or other sources of income took all household possessions plus wood beams, etc. and that registered refugees and landowners left a family member in the camps to receive their rations. Small landowners could not afford to hire labourers and so took as many family members as possible with them, to work together.

In late May, Field Monitors, after a three day trip to Chaman, indicated that 20-30 families per day were returning to Kandahar through Chaman during the past month. Most of these returnees were unskilled labourers and not landowners.

A Field Monitor, living in Surkhab, reported in late May that he routinely observed returnee families to Kandahar on his early morning travels to Quetta. During this 20 minute trip, he was able to identify 21 families returning to Kandahar within nine successive mornings. He further reported that 40 households living in Saranan had taken apart their houses and two mosques and returned to Kandahar.
In Kandahar:

A UN mission to Maruf and Atghar (Zabul) in March, 1990, reported that "refugee return is increasing with families returning to tend to their lands and labour in their vineyards. In the past year, 138 Afghan families have returned to the villages visited by the mission in Maruf and Atghar. These families have returned to stay in Afghanistan even though some of them were registered passbook holders." In Maruf, Government troops left two years ago and the majority of damage occurred early in the war.

In March, the Afghan Information Centre Monthly Bulletin indicated that more than 2,500 families (15,000 - 17,500 people) returned to the vicinity of Kandahar City. A UNHCR/WFP assessment mission to Kandahar (2/90) reported that some 7,000 families (42,000-49,000 people) had returned since December '89 (3,000 each to Arghandab and Panjwai and 500 each to Dand and Daman). The impression was that many were registered, had sold their passbooks, and moved at odd hours and with caution to avoid detection by local authorities in Pakistan.

In May, the Afghan Information Centre published an interview with an Afghan about Maiwand, indicating that "hundreds of refugee families have left Baluchistan for their dwellings inside Afghanistan". Elsewhere, in the same article, 150 returnees were mentioned.

A UNHCR SMU participant in Arghistan in mid-June reported that there is some housing reconstruction, more families were returning this year than last and that NGO programmes in the area have been very helpful.

Two Field Monitors from Sub-Office Quetta are currently visiting Dand, Daman, Maiwand and Panjwai to assess returnees and comparative conditions. By early July, SOQ should have this information.

In May, the Afghan currency rose sharply against the Pak rupee (from 30Afs/rupee to 18Afs/rupee). Some consider this as a strong indicator for increasing repatriation, as returnees may be buying Afghan currency.

Obstacles

The more fundamentalist groups again set up numerous road blocks around Spin-Boldak, on the main road from Chaman to Kandahar, with the purpose of controlling movements of goods and people (2/90). Returnees are stopped and baggage searched. Reportedly, if the refugees do not give a tin of cooking oil or pay 100-200 Rs. per bag of wheat, these commodities are confiscated.

At Qila Abdullah, refugees reportedly pay 20-30 Rs. per tractor and are said to have been teased.
The cost of transportation is very high. Some refugees have reportedly incurred very high debts to pay for their transportation or must sell some of their household goods to cover their travel expenses.

The more conservative parties are attempting to exert their authority and influence in Kandahar. Although there has been a reduction of direct hostilities between the Government troops and mujahideen, there is a potential for internecine mujahideen conflict.

4. Repatriation Summary:

1989:
An estimated 70,000 - 80,000 refugees returned to Kandahar. Although some of the returnees remained, with intentions for permanent resettlement, many returned to their families in Baluchistan at the end of the harvest season. It is impossible to estimate the percentage of permanent returnees or preparatory returnees.

1990:
The agricultural season has been good, the price of labour attractive, and there have been increased reconstruction activities in quieter and more secure areas. Repatriation movements of 1989 created a momentum continuing in 1990. According to a SMU participant in Arghandab (6/90), NGO programmes have had their positive effects in attracting returnees.

Obstacles:
The high cost of transportation indebts or severely reduces available capital for those returning, even prior to their arrival. Refugees complain about the check posts in Pakistan, between the camps and the border, where payments are demanded or goods confiscated in lieu of payment and where some harassment has occurred. Once in Kandahar, returnees indicate their primary needs as shelter and agricultural assistance. As elsewhere, repatriation is dictated by the level of security in all areas of Kandahar. The more conservative parties are attempting to establish their influence in Kandahar, with a resulting potential for heightened internecine conflict amongst mujahideen.

One of the difficulties with estimating numbers of repatriates in 1989-1990 stems from not knowing the numbers of people who returned to their families in Pakistan in late 1989 and who are again returning to Kandahar in 1990. A conservative estimate for total returnees to Kandahar (1/89 through 6/90) is 100,000. This would mean that fully half of the refugees from Kandahar have either returned permanently or are seasonal or preparatory returnees.

It is impossible at this time to estimate either the proportion of permanent or seasonal returnees or the proportion of unregistered to registered returnees. Reports indicate a higher number of whole families returning in 1990 than in 1989. In 1989, it was generally thought that the majority of returnees were unregistered. In 1990, there have been some reports of registered refugees selling their passbooks.
KUNAR - ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS

1979 Population: 250,132
1989 Population (Projected): 310,942
Years of Maximum Emigration: 1978-1980
Refugees in Pakistan (5/89): 172,506 (28,750 families)
Percentage of '89 Projected Pop: 55%
Percentage Total PK Refugees: 6.4%

1. All but 40 refugee families reside in NWFP and the majority are in refugee villages in Bajaur, Dir, and Chitral. The largest numbers of refugees are from the southern woleswalis of Kunar (Assadabad (Chaghaserai), Asmar, Peche and Sirkanay).

2. Refugees from Kunar were amongst the first emigrants from Afghanistan and refugee settlements were established shortly after April 1978. According to an NGO report, it is a matter of pride today to have been among this first group of emigrants. Northern Kunar has been little affected by the war. The entire province has been controlled by mujahideen since October 1988.

3. There are 15,000 - 20,000 refugees in Chitral from Bargey Matal and Kamdesh woleswalis (also known as Nooristan), in northern Kunar. Nooristan has been peaceful since Soviet withdrawal in 1982. An NGO working in animal husbandry in Nooristan remarked that some of the herds have doubled during the war. Many Nooristanis do not live in camps but come down "from the hills" to collect their rations in Pakistan. It is impossible to estimate the numbers of Nooristanis who permanently live in Kunar and coming to Pakistan at ration distribution time. Some say this is common and commonly known.

4. Virtually all refugees from the southern woleswalis of Kunar live in Pakistan within a one day's walk of their home villages. There is constant movement between refugee villages in Pakistan and Kunar. Roads have been improved, are open all year and there is a flourishing business in public and commercial transport.
5. During the past year there have been reports of limited and
focused repatriation to Kunar. The majority of these returnees
have been males preparing their lands for cultivation and
returning to their families in camps in Pakistan. In many areas,
over 90% of cultivatable land has been farmed this year, either
by returnees, mujahideen, share-croppers or Nooristanis from
accessible areas. With the additional benefit of plentiful rain,
there was a bumper crop in southern Kunar in May 1990.

Since October 1989, various NGO’s have reported some repatriation
with entire families, indicating refugees’ plans to remain
permanently. The total number is less than 200 families. CARE
report approximately 350 full families returning to their project
area in Marawara Dara and Shegal (valleys in southern Kunar close
to the Pakistan border) from November 1989 through May 1990, with
100 of these returning in the first two weeks of May. None of
the NGOs indicate the registration status of returnees, nor do
they make assumptions about permanency of resettlement.

No returnees have officially recorded their movement with CAR
officials.

While there appear to be some returnees with whole families who
intend to permanently relocate in Kunar, the majority of
returnees returning to Kunar are keeping their passbooks and
travelling between their lands in Kunar and their families in
camps in Pakistan.

6. The political situation in Kunar is unstable and fluid and there
is competition for power and influence. At present there are
three governors representing three factions: AIG (Mohammad Ali
Rahmani; the Wahabi governor; and Hezb-e-Islami (Hekmatyar),
(Maulawi Faqirullah). All of these governors occupy offices
within a one mile radius of Chaghaserai. All UN activities in
Kunar were suspended in early June 1990 because Arab mujahideen
were becoming increasingly hostile.

There are focused and sporadic Government bombardments in
southern Kunar. After 18 months of no attacks, there were at
least 5 bombing/scud attacks in different locations in southern

It is thought that the political instability and recent bombings
have contributed to fewer returnees than originally anticipated.

7. The convergence of opinion regarding why there is not a large and
permanent refugee return from Kunar centres around the issues of
personal and economic security. A lack of a stable Government or
civilian police, the high numbers of weapons available (and
owned), fear of armed gangs, occasionally bombings, a sense of
isolation in areas without permanent residents, plus concerns
about future agricultural success all contribute to undermine the
refugees’ sense of personal security for their families.
Although of concern, most minefields are locally well-known and identified. One NGO report states: "In the Pakistani camps life might be uncomfortable and congested but at least it is secure." Many feel that a beginning solution will occur only when a 'group decision' by the refugees is made for permanent resettlement.

8. REPATRIATION SUMMARY: Reports of permanent returnees include up to 650 families (3,900-4,550 people) and this is a conservative (but unverified) estimate. There is much casual traffic between refugee villages in Pakistan and southern Kunar, and the majority of refugees from Kunar remain in Pakistan. It is impossible to accurately assess either the extent of the partial repatriation or the timing and situations allowing it to be transformed into a full family and permanent resettlement.
KUNDUZ - ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS

KUNDUZ

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1979 Population: 555,437
1989 Population (Projected): 690,469
Years of maximum emigration: 1984-85
Refugees in Pakistan (5/89): 240,060
(Refugee Origins Survey)
Refugees as % of '89 Projected Population: 34.8%
Percentage of Total Refugees in Pakistan: 8.9%

1. According to the UNHCR Refugee Origins Survey (5/89), Kunduz is the third largest provincial population of refugees in Pakistan. Spread throughout the provinces in Pakistan, the highest concentrations of Kunduz refugees are in refugee villages in: Abbottabad, Mardan, (NWFP); Mianwali (Punjab); and Gulistan, Loralai, Quetta (Baluchistan). The greatest numbers of refugees are from Archi, Char Dara, Hazrat Imam and Kunduz centre woleswalis.

2. UNHCR is unlikely to be fully aware of returning unregistered refugees and therefore, reporting returnees to Kunduz may be under-represented. Most of the refugees in Pakistan from Kunduz are Uzbek or Turkman, who are not registered with the same frequency as Pushtun refugees. One of the reasons given for this is the inability of Uzbek and Tajik representatives to deal with camp administration due to language differences, as some Uzbeks and Tajiks do not speak Pashtu.

3. Returnees to Kunduz are more likely to anticipate a permanent resettlement because the distance to Kunduz from Pakistan and the expense of transportation negate much casual movement back and forth.

4. NWFP: In April 1989, shortly after the final withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, 500 families from Kunduz reportedly repatriated from the Abbottabad camps at Haripur. Reports
indicated that they were returning to areas controlled by mujahideen, who had captured large quantities of wheat and other provisions left behind by Government forces. Another 65 families were reported by the DA in the same district as returnees to Kunduz in September 1989. When camp authorities became aware of this rather large movement of returnees, they placed roadblocks outside the camps, indicating that an increasing law and order problem in the area necessitated additional control over refugees leaving the camps. This action effectively blocked refugee return and these roadblocks remained throughout 1989.

In October 1989, the District Administrator in Haripur conducted an intensive verification exercise of camp documents, revealing that out of a total of 23,842 passbooks in circulation, 5,000 of them were believed to have been sold by refugees who left the camps since March 1989. The repatriation of about 500 families from Kunduz reportedly occurred from these 5,000 re-sold passbooks. Explanations regarding the whereabouts of the remaining 4,500 families selling their passbooks from these camps prior to October 1989 are unclear. Given the large numbers of refugees from Kunduz in the Haripur camps, the numbers of returnees could be considerably higher.

Afghan Field Monitoring Officers, in March 1990, surveyed the Haripur camps and indicated that 172 additional refugee families had repatriated to Kunduz, through February 1990. In Munda camps (Peshawar), the Field Monitoring Officers indicated a total of 267 families had returned to Kunduz from July '89 through February 1990. Large lorries each accommodating up to 30 families were hired at Rs. 450,000 per trip. Minimal numbers of other returnees to Kunduz have been reported, totalling about 72 families. Occasional reports were received regarding the "many refugees" repatriating to Kunduz (Hariyana camps in Peshawar and from the Swabi area), with no indication of numbers and no verification of details.

Most of the returnees to Kunduz were 'mujahideen families', returning to mainly mujahideen controlled areas. Some families used the Kabul Peace Guesthouse. Men of conscriptable age mostly travelled through mujahideen controlled areas. The major reason given for most returnees was economic (Pakistan), plus the ability to return to their agricultural activities in Kunduz. One group reportedly returned to reclaim their lands from mujahideen farming them. There were allegations from camp workers that returnees were receiving money for repatriation assistance from the Kabul Government through the newly appointed governor of Kunduz. No reports from the few NGOs working in Kunduz have contained information regarding returnees and interviews with NGOs programming in the area reflected little information.

The total number of confirmed returnees to Kunduz from NWFP from 2/89 - 2/90 could be conservatively estimated at 1,100 - 1,300 families.
5. PUNJAB: No information.

6. BALUCHISTAN: An estimated 350 families from Baluchistan were reported to have returned to Kunduz from various camps between April 1989 and November 1989.

There were reports (5/90) of increasing returnees amongst unregistered minority groups (Uzbeks, Turkman, Hazaras) to Afghanistan from Gulistan and Zhob/Loralai districts. Although there is yet no specific information, one could reasonably assume that refugees from Kunduz are amongst these returnees.

7. SIND: 300 families from Karachi reportedly repatriated to Kunduz in August 1989. One can assume these families were not registered.

8. PEACE GUESTHOUSES: Peace Guesthouses in Kabul and Mazar-i-Sharif processed 4,162 returnees to Kunduz from 9/89 through 3/90 (all but 175 of these from Pakistan). It is not possible to estimate the number of duplications of reports of returnees between camps in Pakistan and the Peace Guesthouses in Afghanistan, but large possibilities exist for counting the same people twice.

9. INTERNALLY DISPLACED REFUGEES: There have been reports of people moving from Badakhshan (Ragh) to Kunduz during 1989-1990, due to severe food shortages and high prices.

10. NEW ARRIVALS: None reported.

11. TOTAL NUMBERS OF RETURNEES TO KUNDUZ (2/89-2/90): 1500 - 2500 families (9,000 - 17,500 people). This may be a conservative estimate for the following reasons: many refugees from Kunduz were unregistered and tracking returning movements is therefore more difficult; and Kunduz is less accessible to Pakistan, especially during winter months, and reports of current conditions directly from Kunduz are scarce. Returnees are likely to be permanent due to distance travelled and transportation costs.

ADDITIONAL FOLLOW-UP: Some NGOs with programmes in Kunduz (i.e., Afghanaid), will send staff there for project monitoring during summer 1990. UNHCR should contact them upon their return for more current information. In addition, UNHCR/Kabul will participate in a mission to Kunduz in June 1990.
1979 Population: 745,986
1989 Population (Projected): 927,343
Year of maximum emigration: 1979
Refugees in Pakistan (5/89): 425,106 (70,851 families)
Percentage of '89Projected Population: 45.8%
Percentage of Total Refugees in Pakistan: 15.8%

1. The second largest provincial population of refugees in Pakistan is from Nangarhar. Except for about 1,000 families in Mianwali (Punjab), refugees from Nangarhar are in NWFP, the majority in camps in and around Peshawar. In addition to the above figures, approximately 70,000 refugees, mostly from Nangarhar, arrived in Pakistan between November 1988 and May 1989.

Geographical proximity to Pakistan and tribal affiliations with people occupying adjacent areas in Pakistan add to the complexities of trying to distinguish exactly "who is where".

2. Fighting in and around Jalalabad continues. Because Nangarhar is strategically important and because it shares a common border with Pakistan, refugee movement has, to a great extent, reflected the continuing conflicts and periods of relative peace.

3. One NGO estimated (2/90) the current population of Jalalabad City as 200,000 and indicated that as many as 10,000 families (60,000 - 70,000 people) had returned (1989-90) to relatively peaceful areas elsewhere, or are commuting between those areas and the camps in Pakistan. Other sources also confirm a gradual return. Most reports generally concern specific areas in Nangarhar.
Achin woleswali:
Bordering Pakistan, there were mass movements from the area in 1981 and again in 1985 when the area was heavily bombed. Many people emigrated to the tribal areas and some to camps in Pakistan. One NGO working in Achin indicated returnees as early as 1987, with continual movement back since then. As of January 1990, the same NGO estimated that 80 percent of the population was then in Achin and that of the remaining 20 percent, five percent were relatively wealthy merchants with no intentions of returning and 15 percent were too poor to return without assistance. Field Monitors visiting the area (5/90) indicated that 50% of the population had returned in some locations. From four camps in NWFP, HCR Field Monitors estimated (March 1990) a total of 5,120 returnees to Achin. Main causes of return were said to be economical (lack of ration passes and job opportunities, mostly in the Khyber area). Some of the returnees include part of the family, with remaining family members in camps in Pakistan and many of the returnees have not been registered. Field Monitoring Officers visiting this area (5/90) indicate that 50% of all cultivation in Achin is poppy. Estimated returnees to Achin: 10,000 - 12,000 people.

Mohmand Dara woleswali:
Bordering Pakistan, most families left during hostilities involving Torkham and the road to Jalalabad in 1988. The area is still not totally secure, due to occasional aerial bombardments and returnees flee to Pakistan for a few days when there is fighting in the area. Some locals travel regularly to Pakistan to purchase their goods. Several sources indicate a gradual return to Mohmand Dara since mid-1989. In March 1990, an NGO working in the area indicated that 62 percent of the population had returned, but that over one quarter of these still have family members in the camps in Pakistan. HCR Field Monitors estimated 575 returnees (many partial families) from interviews in two camps around Peshawar. These interviews also indicated an expectation of continuing gradual repatriation to Mohmand Dara, barring increased fighting. HCR Field Monitors estimate that about 40 percent of the population of Mohmand Dara are refugees in Pakistan (compared to 68 percent last year). Estimated returnees to Mohmand Dara: 10,000 - 20,000 -- many of these with family members in camps in Pakistan.

Khogiani woleswali:
Again bordering Pakistan, but removed from the zone of fighting, there have been quite conflicting reports on returnees, with estimates from none (reported from some camps in Pakistan) to over 400 families (reported by an NGO with projects in the area). HCR Field Monitors visiting the area (4/90) indicate extensive cultivation (95% of the agricultural land in some areas) and bustling bazaar activity. In the heavily destroyed areas there is little sign of return. In the Khudikhel area, also heavily destroyed, lands are utilized by mujahideen on the
basis of an agreement made at the beginning of the war. In
general, although there is not massive return, there is visible
movement of individuals and families travelling to different
areas of Khogiani (25-30 families per day since late April
'90). This is a heavy poppy growing area. Permanency of return
is impossible to estimate, although some indicate that 30% of
the returnees will stay permanently and that the remaining 70% will return to Pakistan in three months, at the end of the
agriculture season. Estimated returnees to Khogiani: 10,000 to
15,000 - many with family members remaining in Pakistan.

Hesarak woleswali:
The Afghan Information Centre confirmed the return of 120
families from Naserbagh camps to Hesarak (5/90), indicating that
these families had sold their houses and intend to return
permanently. HCR Field Monitors estimate the return of about
9,000 people during 1989-90. This is a poppy growing area.

Other areas:
In Rodat, mujahideen have opened three schools in 1990, with a
total enrollment of 180-300 students.

In April 1990, reports indicated returnees to Rodat and Batikot
districts and Samarkhel and Ghaziabad Farm areas.

Almost all of the population from Ghanikhel (Shinwar district)
were refugees in Pakistan. As of 5/90, Field Monitors visiting
the area indicate 25% of the population have returned during the
past year.

May 1990, the Afghan Information Centre reported that 20 to 50
families per day are returning to Afghanistan via Torkham Pass
(Nangarhar). HCR Sub-Office, Peshawar confirms and adds that
Torkham is used by people going only to Nangarhar.

4. Factors affecting programming:
A serious problem faced by aid agencies in Nangarhar is
difficulty in receiving materials from Pakistan due to
administrative hurdles over permit requests to transport goods
across the border.

Destruction of the Shelter Now International concrete roof beam
factory, Ghanikhel, Shinwar district (5/90) and subsequent
concern regarding security of people and projects has led to a
temporary halt of UN activities in Nangarhar.

5. Obstacles:
The agricultural areas relying on Darunta Dam (near Jalalabad)
for irrigation water will find rehabilitation prospects
difficult to impossible, as the Kabul Government controls the
dam.
According to Field Monitors’ reports, Pakistan border officials often have prevented the movement/transportation across the border of consumer goods, agricultural inputs, medicines, etc. While some people are easily able to purchase their goods in Pakistan, people in many areas rely heavily upon an easy flow of goods.

6. REPATRIATION SUMMARY:

The following complicates the estimation of returnees to Nangarhar: the arrival of 70,000 refugees (mostly from Nangarhar) during late 1988 and early 1990; the shared tribal affiliations and geographical proximity of Nangarhar and Pakistan; and continuing political conflicts causing unpredictable assurances of security.

In areas of relative security, there have been increased agriculture activity and infrastructure rehabilitation. As elsewhere, the first half of 1990 has been an excellent year for agriculture. NGOs supporting programmes in the area report higher numbers of returnees than do Afghan field monitors working in camps in Pakistan. There have been no reports of massive passbook sales by returning registered refugees and virtually all reports about returnees indicate that many of them have family members remaining in Pakistan. While there are areas in Nangarhar experiencing some degrees of rehabilitation, returnees continue to maintain family and economic ties with Pakistan. Most of the returning movement is dictated by the continued fighting. Difficulties with shipment of supplies and commodities from Pakistan to Nangarhar affect residents, returnees and aid agencies. The destruction of one agency’s project facilities has led to a suspension of UN activities in the area.

Estimated returnees to Nangarhar: conservatively, 40,000 - 80,000 refugees. Many returnees either commute between their lands in Nangarhar and their families in Pakistan or continue to have family members remaining in refugee camps in Pakistan. It is impossible to estimate the percentage of refugees in these categories. Some have typified returnees as ‘preparatory’, ‘permanent’ and ‘seasonal’.
1979 Population: 484,023
1989 Population (Projected): 601,694
Year of Maximum Emigration: 1979
Refugees in Pakistan (5/89): 433,159
(Refugee Origins Survey)
Refugees as Percentage of ‘89 Projected Population: 72%
Refugees as Percentage of Total Refugees in Pakistan: 16%

1. According to the Refugee Origins Survey, the largest provincial population of refugees in Pakistan is from Paktia. The vast majority of refugees in Pakistan are in NWFP (422,000) - the largest concentrations in Kurram and North Waziristan. About 7,500 are in Mianwali (Punjab) and almost 3,000 in northern Baluchistan. Paktia borders Pakistan and most refugees have settled in camps relatively close to their villages and maintain close connections with them.

The amounts of emigration between districts in Paktia differ widely. Districts with the largest refugee populations are Gardez, Jaji, Jani Khel, Khost, Lajmangal, Sayed Karam and Zormat.

2. Returnees in 1989:

As early as February 1989, occasional reports indicated some refugee return, most notably to Chamkani. Numbers reported were very small and returnees were reported for those districts directly bordering or easily accessible from Pakistan.

In May and June, Sub-Office-Quetta reported the return of 50-60 families to Paktia and Paktika. By July, a UNHCR Territorial Officer reported that movements of refugees across the border had "considerably increased" and that refugees were not
indicating permanent resettlement in Paktia. In October, two NGOs working in Zormat reported that 56 families had returned and that all but 8 families expected to go back to Pakistan for the winter months.

Two rather extensive reports from NGOs working in Paktia (12/89) indicated the following:

Dand Wa Patan: Approximately 35% of the population have returned since Soviet withdrawal from this area in 1988. Most of these returnees are partial families with family members in Pakistan. About 90% of the cultivateable land was cultivated.

Jani Khel: An area of heavy destruction and abandonment, half of the shops have reopened "recently". About 20% of the refugees from this district returned.

Mousa Khel: A poor district, it remains poor and about 10% of the refugees from this area returned temporarily.

Sayed Karam: About 20% of the refugees from this area returned - mostly partial family members. A bazaar in one town had opened 20 shops. Returnees were not rebuilding their homes because they were close to Government forces and afraid of potential fighting and destruction.

Zormat: About 40% of the pre-war population returned. The district centre recently opened 10-11 shops and 26 schools were opened during 1989. There were very few problems with mines.

Jaji: Bordering Pakistan, people tend to move back and forth between their homes and refugee camps. About 5% of the pre-war population returned. All of the villages had new shops. About 30% of the farming lands have mines and another 25-30% of the land was damaged by floods. Water is available. There is a strong mujahideen presence here.

Chamkani: Easily reachable from Pakistan, there appears to have been much reconstruction activity in 1989. A survey of the district was difficult due to the extreme reluctance by local people to give information on the subject of returning refugees. An estimated 2,200 live there, indicating that about 50% of the population had returned, but most returnees had at least half of their families in refugee camps in Pakistan. Bazaar activity increased with a wide variety of available consumer goods and there were about 50 tractors in the district. One NGO indicated that if they were to start over in choosing places to work, they would seek other areas with greater needs, as Chamkani had improved considerably.
Field Monitors reported 505 families had returned to Chamkani in 1989. A large number of these were reportedly internally displaced or unregistered and living in Kurram agency. NGO programmes in Chamkani (karez work, agricultural inputs, mine-clearing operations) were said to help create conditions conducive to reconstruction and at least partial returns.

A worker from another NGO claims the above to be not reflective of reality because: increased bazaar activities were a result of increased traffic in the regions due to no Government check posts and de-mining activities; increased medical clinic activities attributed to increase of people learning about clinic availability rather than population increase.

In early 1990, a Territorial Officer reported the voluntary return of a "large number" of refugees during 1989 to Paktia.

3. Returnees in 1990:

Field Monitors visiting camps in Kurram, with a large population of refugees from Chamkani, indicated (April 1990) that more than 80% of the land was cultivated. Although the third harvest (after Soviet withdrawal), this was the first time that almost the whole area had been cultivated. Only small and heavily mined areas around forts and some areas around unrepaired karez were not cultivated. Since 2/89, the majority of refugees returned at least once and most have regular contact but retain family members in camps in Pakistan. Perhaps only 10-15 families permanently returned to Chamkani with their families and they were unregistered. It takes three hours by car from some camps in Pakistan to reach Chamkani and about 10-20 cars make the trip daily. Reclaiming land is not comparatively expensive (one farmer reported paying Af 130,000 for 7 jeribs -- it took him one month and he hired a tractor). Refugees in Pakistan indicated the major problems regarding repatriation as: tensions between Chamkanis in the valley and Mangals in the mountains; personal enmities in the area; lack of housing; high cost of living (prices are 50% higher than in Pakistan); and lack of job opportunities for landless people. In Chamkani, students were enrolled for a school at Shar-i-Nau and a hospital, mosque, a bridge and some small diversion dams were repaired.

4. New Arrivals:

In June 1989, 12 families, most from Paktia, arrived due to insecurity and grave economic problems in their areas.

In March 1990, 9 families arrived after the abortive military coup in Kabul.
5. Repatriation Summary:

The majority of reports concern a few areas, with Chamkani predominating. Most reports indicate returnees, increased bazaar activities, extensive cultivation (in some areas) and the beginning of reconstruction activities. It is clear - especially in Chamkani, Zormat, Jaji, and Dand wa Patan - that conditions have improved and activities are greater.

The major reasons given for lack of permanency in Paktia are security, mines, high prices, and lack of housing and job opportunities.

Most reports indicate that returnees are preparing their land rather than resettling permanently, and that some family members remain in Pakistan. On this basis, it is difficult to estimate returnees. A conservative estimate would be 2,000 families (12,000-14,000 people). One could easily assume that closer to 3,000 families in Pakistan have one or more family members regularly returning to their areas in Paktia. A more permanent resettlement in Paktia will most likely occur over successive seasons, if conditions permit.
1. Approximately 84% of the refugees from Paktika are in NWFP and the remainder are about evenly divided between Baluchistan and Punjab in Pakistan. The extent of emigration varies widely from district to district in Paktika and the greatest number of refugees are from Katawaz, Sharan and Urgun. The largest concentrations in Pakistan of refugees from Paktika are in NWFP (South Waziristan, D.I. Khan, North Waziristan), followed by Mianwali (Punjab). Most of the refugees live close to the border and maintain regular contact with their villages. Many refugees from Paktika have been in Pakistan since 1979-80, although some few tribes have long-established traditional patterns of cross-border winter migration as far as D.I. Khan.

2. During the first nine months of 1989 there were intermittent reports of returnees to Paktika, with an estimated total of not more than 60-80 families (360-560 people) and no indications of intentions to remain permanently. An NGO, funded by UNHCR, and working in Sarobi, reported that 120 families had returned from September - December 1989 and that of these, 36 would remain permanently and 84 had come to collect their crops and would return to Pakistan for the winter. The same NGO indicated increased bazaar activity during 1989 in the vicinity of their project.

Road conditions in Paktika are very poor. This, combined with cold winter weather, reportedly caused very limited repatriation movements in late 1989 and early 1990. An additional concern stated by refugees was the presence of mines.
3. UNOCA have established a permanent office (SMU) in Urgun, a sub-office in Katawaz (Zarghun Shahr) and plan a sub-office in Sharan.

4. Urgun, Sarobi, Neka:

In early 1990, representatives of refugees from Urgun approached UNHCR for repatriation assistance. Following camp verification of this information, UNHCR concluded that a return of about 1,000 individuals would occur shortly after Eid (end of April).

UNHCR participated in two joint UN missions to Paktika in May 1990. The mission participants from UNHCR reported daily movement of five or six truckloads of returnees (100-200 people). According to one report, "the nature of the families’ expectations and intentions varied, but a general summary could assume: those returning to the areas of Paktika around Urgun would return to Pakistan in the winter; the majority of those returning to Mata Khan and Zormat (Paktia), Sarowza and central and northern Afghanistan intended to stay permanently". Many koochi (nomad) families were also seen, supposedly coming from the Punjab with their flocks and moving towards the north of Paktika.

The conclusions of two UNHCR mission participants were:

One-half to two-thirds of the population in Urgun are expected to return during 1990. Six families per day are returning and other individual family members are returning for the sole purpose of cleaning their karez. In some areas, people began repairing their karez last year and are expecting their first harvest this autumn.

There appears to be little intention of returnees taking up permanent residence in Urgun because there is not a large enough economic base to support them coupled with a reliance upon the labour market in Pakistan, local high prices, concern over mines, and lack of shelter (for the winter months) and public amenities. The availability of employment in Pakistan is perhaps the strongest influence in refugee’s decisions to remain in Pakistan.

Urgun bazaar is showing signs of rebirth.

In Sarobi, where the rehabilitation began last year, returnees are beginning to have their families join them in anticipation of a promising first harvest. Returnees in Sarobi appear to be more permanent rather than temporary partly because there has been rivalry between the Waziris in Pakistan and the refugees.

In Neka, one-third of the population is permanent, whereas two-thirds prefer to remain only seasonally for the harvest and return to Pakistan where employment is available in the winter.

5. REPATRIATION SUMMARY

A comparatively small to medium refugee population coupled with sparse reports and few missions to Paktika contribute to very little
information about repatriation movements. Levels of destruction and emigration vary widely from district to district. It appears that some rehabilitation of karez and initial reconstruction of few houses have occurred.

The majority of those returning (36-45 people per day throughout May and June 1990) intend to return to Pakistan at the end of the harvest season. Major obstacles for a permanent return at this time are: economic (lack of a strong labour and commercial markets in Paktia coupled with employment opportunities in Pakistan; lack of shelter for winter months; mines; and high prices.

Even general estimates for returnees are based upon the slightest of information. This information indicates that perhaps 200 - 300 families returned to Paktika in 1989, and that about 70 percent of them returned to Pakistan for the winter. In 1990, the numbers of returnees appears greater, with an estimated 360-420 families in May and June and with the majority of families again intending to return to Pakistan in the autumn. Conditions do not appear right at this time for massive permanent returns but the initial stages of rehabilitation allowing for eventual permanency are occurring.