Dealing with an Invisible Enemy: the Socio-Economic Impacts of Landmines on some Local Communities in Afghanistan

Report submitted by Akbar NOOR, intern with the UNOCHA Mine Clearance Programme

Islamabad, September 1996
'Landmines will continue to be used by the million, produced by the million, and transferred by the million. Thousands of children will continue to suffer horrific mutilation. Thousands of farmers working in the fields will be blinded or crippled. Thousands of deminers will continue to have to risk their lives every day to try to clear the world of 110 million landmines that already lie uncleared'.


'Mines may be described as fighters that never miss, strike blindly, do not carry weapons openly, and go on killing long after hostilities are ended. In short, mines are the greatest violators of international humanitarian law, practicing blind terrorism'.

Jean de Preux, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
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# Contents

First Part: An Overview of the Landmine Issue in Afghanistan

1. The Context of Landmines in Afghanistan .......................... 1
2. The International and National Answer to the Landmine Problem in Afghanistan: UNOCHA’s Demining Programme .......................... 2
3. Aims of the Report ........................................................ 2
4. Methodology ............................................................ 3

Second Part: Case Studies

1. An Agricultural Area Close to Kabul City: Hod Khail ................. 4
   1.1. Housing ....................................................... 4
   1.2. Livestock ................................................... 5
   1.3. Agricultural Land Use ................................................... 5
   1.4. Individual Landmine Injuries ................................................... 7
2. Residential Areas in Kabul .............................................. 9
3. Landmine-Related Casualties and their Medical Costs: Wazir Akbar Kan (WAKH) and Karte Seh (KSH) Hospitals in Kabul .................. 11
4. UN Agencies’ Response to the Landmine Issue on the Spot .......... 13
   4.1. UN Agencies’ Assistance to Disabled Persons ......................... 13
   4.2. Some Examples of UN Agencies’ Work in Demined Areas in Kabul City ........................................................................ 14
      4.2.1. UNHCR ....................................................... 14
      4.2.2. UNHCS (Habitat) ................................................... 14
5. IDP Camps in Jalalabad ................................................... 15
   5.1. The Issue of Internal Displacement within the International Arena ................................................... 15
   5.2. Internal Displacement in Afghanistan: The Case of Jalalabad ........................................................................ 15

Conclusions and Recommendations ................................................. 19

Appendices ............................................................................ 21

Bibliography ........................................................................ 28
First Part

An Overview of the Landmine Issue in Afghanistan

1. The Context of Landmines in Afghanistan

Landmines are brutal reminders of a war-torn context. They affect not only people physically and mentally on the long run, but also the general environment (debilitation of agriculture and soils, interruption of transportation systems, massive population displacements within and outside the country, debilitation of both social and economic infrastructures and fabric).

It is generally accepted that there are now about 100 million anti-personnel (AP) landmines deployed (either buried or on top of the ground) in more than 60 countries around the world. There are thought to be another 100 million AP mines stockpiled in the arsenal of more than 100 nations, waiting for future deployment. Some 2.5 million new mines were deployed in 1993 (GOOSE, 1995:13).

In Afghanistan, the social and economic costs of landmines are enormous. Before war, Afghanistan was a country mainly based on a rural and household economy; more than 80% of the nation’s population used to make a living from agricultural activities. Due to presence of mines in vast agricultural lands, irrigation systems and grazing areas, the country's agricultural infrastructures have been almost completely debilitated. This country is estimated to be currently the largest-scale mine-affected one worldwide. General assessments amount to ten million land mines approximately, which are scattered through 27 of the country's 29 provinces (ROBERTS, WILLIAM, 1995:12).

Besides the debilitation of both social and economic infrastructures throughout 17 years of conflict, landmines have also affected the fabric of social relationships and behaviour patterns within Afghanistan.¹

Landmine-affected people undergo not only physical suffering and considerable emotional distress. They also become an economic burden for their families and the global community in an already fragmented environment, because they are vulnerable and cannot contribute to meet their own needs and those of their socio-economic system.

Demining reports from the 979 villages surveyed by the Mine Clearance Programme Agency (MCPA) in 1993 and found to be mined, show that there have been hundreds of thousands of casualties over the course of the war in Afghanistan: 20,316 people have died and another 15,985 have been disabled due to landmines (MCPA, 1993a:5); 20 to 25 people fall victim to landmines and of that the 8000 people those numbers represent annually, 50 percent die. In addition, more than of the mine victims are children under 12 years old (Ibidem).

In this complex entanglement of social and economic factors, another element to take on board is the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees in Afghanistan. In relation with the issue of landmines, this element will induce direct impacts on the already fragile balance of a society still affected by creeping war and in the very beginning of the reconstruction process: few employment

¹Pre-war Afghan society was shaped by a socio-cultural system, where land was not only a mean of subsistence, but also a key component of Afghan farmers' social identity. Moreover, community and family constituted the core of Afghan culture and psychological well-being (NOOR, 1996:16).
opportunities, rising prices for goods and services and even competition between people for scarce resources and mine-free areas.

As Yasushi AKASHI (1996), the Under-Secretary General for the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA) stresses:

*These weapons of destruction [landmines] drain the resources of societies already debilitated by war: they impede efforts to rebuild societies and in the most case, they can lead to political upheaval* (Quoted in: International Herald Tribune, 23 April 1996).

2. The International and National Answer to the Landmine Problem in Afghanistan: UNOCHA's Demining Programme

Since the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance in Afghanistan (UNOCHA) has been carrying out a large-scale nationwide demining programme, which has become the most important in the world by its size and the considerable operational means used in a war-torn context. More than 3000 Afghans are employed by the UNOCHA Mine Clearance Programme, which has subcontracted different Afghan and international NGOs as implementing agencies.

Mine clearance and unexploded ordnance (UXO) operations have become the most urgent activities required to regenerate the social and economic infrastructures and fabric of many Afghan areas and ease the return of IDPs and refugees in those areas. Taking action in this direction may be regarded as a first important step to get back to normalcy to Afghanistan and restore social development and economic self-sufficiency.

3. Aims of the Report

The purpose of this report is to examine on a small scale the socio-economic impacts (benefits and disadvantages to some extent) of both landmines and mine clearance activities on some Afghan local communities through different case studies. So it will be relevant to see whether demining operations have enabled or not a resumption of social and economic activities in the communities considered in a mostly disrupted environment (debilitation of roads, crops, irrigation systems, etc.).

By considering different case studies (agricultural and residential areas in Kabul, landmine injuries in Kabul hospitals, UN agencies work in demined areas in Kabul City and IDP camps in Jalalabad), this report will revolve around two main questions:

1) Do mine clearance activities meet the local communities’ social and economic needs?

2) How do Afghans, i.e., locals, IDPs and returnees, generate their own dynamic and strategies to achieve social development and economic self-sufficiency in a war and landmine-affected context?

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27 agencies are involved in mine clearance activities: 1) Afghan Technical Consultants (ATC)/No of staff: 1130 2) Demining Agency for Afghanistan (DAFA)/ 596 3) Hazardous Area Life-support Organization (HALO-Trust)/ 200 4) Mine Clearance Planning Agency (MCPA)/ 200 5) Mine Dog Center (MDC)/ 268 6) Organization for Mine clearance and Afghan Rehabilitation (OMAR)/ 417 7) Refugees Relief Group of Ansar (RRGA)/ 62. 2 other agencies are involved in mine-related activities: 1) Save the Children Fund (SCF-USA) 2) Handicap International (HI) (UNOCHA, 1996:18)
4. Methodology

This study is to be conducted on a small scale in a limited span of time (two months) and with limited means and staff (a Swiss UNOCHA intern with Afghan roots).

As the objectives of the report are to grasp how landmines and mine clearance activities may affect the social and economic conditions of some Afghan local communities, emphasis will be placed on flexible techniques (narrative interviews and participative observation on the spot). As collecting data in a war-torn context may be difficult to cross check, preference will be given to accurate and systematic data collection. Moreover, the conducting of interviews should be eased by this researcher's knowledge of both Dari and his informants' cultural background, given his Afghan roots.

As mentioned earlier, though social and demographic facts are essential, this researcher's primary concern will lay in the appraisal of social and economic processes of change in local people's life. So the aim will be to collect local people's stories, livelihoods and experiences to understand the needs they express regarding to a complex set of social, economic, political, institutional and cultural processes in a war-devastated country.

In conclusion, some recommendations will be drawn to propose strategies to address the post-landmine recovery process in Afghanistan.
Second Part
Case Studies

1. An Agricultural Area Close to Kabul City: Hod Khail

Hod Khail is an agricultural village in the eastern part of Kabul City. It was heavily mined since the internal fighting between Ahmad Shah Masood's forces (Shura-I-Nizar(SIN)) and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hezb-Islami (HI) in 1993. Hod Khail was one point of the frontline drawn between these Afghan political factions.

According to MCPA's assessment, two demining tasks have been completed to date, i.e. 142,450 square meters mined areas have been cleared, there are still four ongoing demining tasks, where 212,615 square meters areas in total have been demined to date.

Hod Khail has been depopulated from its inhabitants during different internal fighting. As the local Shura's Secretary stresses:

*The HI was in Charasiab and the SIN was here in Hod Khail. They fought each other. Hod Khail was under the control of the SIN. Our houses, our clothes, our furniture was sacked by them. Most of us had to flee to the camp of Hesar-I-Shahi in Jalalabad. The SIN laid mines everywhere in Hod Khail to fight against the HI, which took over Hod Khail sometime after. So there are still most people of Hod Khail in Jalalabad waiting for the area to be completely cleared, though most of Hod Khail has been cleared by demining teams. The deminers had to leave Hod Khail temporarily, because internal fighting resumed here, when the Taleban came to Hod Khail."

As mines were laid everywhere in Hod Khail, they had devastating effects on housing, livestock and agricultural land use and individual landmine casualties.

1.1. Housing

In Hod Khail, according to most inhabitants this researcher discussed with, people who have fled Hod Khail either to Jalalabad IDP camps or to other locations within or outside Afghanistan, were originally settled there before war erupted.

As Muhammad Talib, a 48-years old farmer, relates:

*We fled Hod Khail in 1991. Our house was shelled, but fortunately we were not injured. We were not able to take any belongings with us. When we left, it was early in the morning. There were shootings coming from Pul-I-Charkhi. We went to Bagrami, then to Sarubi and eventually to Jalalabad's Hesar-I-Shahi camp, where we remained for three years. Afterwards, we came back to Hod Khail. We had hardly started to resume our farming activities, that after one year, the HI looted our wheat and our house, everything we had in our life. Fortunately the situation got back to normalcy this year and I called back the remainder of my family, who was still in Hesar-I-Shahi*. 

According to the local Shura's president, it seems that before war, there were about 30000 houses in Hod Khail. After massive population displacements occurred because of war, nowadays there are about 10 to 12000 houses (about 8000 people), i.e., approximately 30%, the remainder is mainly settled in Jalalabad IDP camps either in tents or mud brick houses. After most houses have been demined by Afghan Technical Consultants (ATC) demining teams, people have started to restore their houses,
depending on their sources of income.

As this researcher has observed, apparently only few houses have been completely rebuilt, due to local community's extreme poverty and people's lack of financial means. Most of them have been partly refurbished with mud bricks. It was frequent to see houses with one or more rooms, shared by the family members and remaining rooms still on the process of reconstruction or temporarily left aside, mainly because of money shortage.

1.2. Livestock

Before war, livestock and animal husbandry were widely practiced in Afghanistan and formed a large part of the country's export. 'Kuchis' (Nomads) and rural population used to grow livestock (donkeys, cattle, horses, mules, sheep, goats) throughout the country. The presence of landmines in grazing areas has provoked a serious decrease in livestock production and a debilitation of traditional nomadic life (AMIRI, 1996:4).

It is estimated that the loss suffered by nomads is of early 350000 animals; this is an average of 24,4 animals per household, or $2933 at local market prices (ANDERSSON et alii, 1995:719). MCPA (1994) says that about 360,000 farms animals are believed to have been killed by landmines at a direct cost of $61 million (MCPA, 1994:2). Another source (1995) suggests that the total loss of animals killed by landmines amounts to 75,563, which represents a loss of $6,347,226 (ROBERTS, WILLIAM, 1995:49).

In Hod Khail, compared to the pre-war situation, it seems that there have also been huge losses of livestock. Now most farmers this researcher met in Hod Khail own few animals. Furthermore, many grazing areas devastated by landmines are now uncultivated.

1.3. Agricultural Land Use

Pre-war Afghanistan's economy was mainly based on agricultural activities, which used to sustain more than 80 percent of the whole Afghan population. The war circumstances and the presence of landmines laid throughout the whole country have induced the debilitation of canals, access roads, grazing areas as well as vast agricultural areas (over 90 percent). So the degree of economic damage, due to large numbers of mines in the ground is enormous.

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3 This section mainly relies on AMIRI, A.H., 1996:4.

4 In addition to landmines, other causes for the decline in livestock are mainly twofold: firstly, the need to sell livestock to buy food, which could not be produced in sufficient quantity; secondly, the need to raise money for the journey to a refugee camp outside the country as well as for living expenses after their arrival (SCA, 1988).
According to MCPA (1993a:3), the distribution of minefields by type of land is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Type (Sq.m.)</th>
<th>No. of Minefields</th>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>% of Total Mined Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural land</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>78,343,231</td>
<td>20.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation systems</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>2,444,107</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>9,257,658</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential areas</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>4,629,204</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land</td>
<td>1,095</td>
<td>294,077,241</td>
<td>75.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,353</strong></td>
<td><strong>388,751,441</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the MCPA survey of a number of households in Nangarhar, Khost, Herat and northern provinces, a total of 20,231 jeribs of land could be cultivated if there were no mines (Quoted by AMIRI, 1996:2). Another source mentions that without landmines the agricultural land use in their Afghan sample could be increased by 88%-200% above the currently farmed 71495 hectares (ANDERSSON et alii, 1995:719).

The agricultural sector was also affected by the forced displacement of farmers either as refugees to Pakistan and Iran or as IDPs within Afghanistan and by the consequent depletion in the numbers of people working on the land. Kinship networks through extended families within a village or a compound were the main cornerstones of the agricultural system and also the major economic and social unit in pre-war Afghanistan. Because of war, this cornerstone was shattered, therefore the agricultural manpower and output were dramatically increased.

According to SCA (1988), yield figures given by the farmers showed a substantial decline between 1978 and 1986: 33% for irrigated wheat and 50% for dryland wheat. It also found that the area cultivated by individual farmers had declined by 30%. On these two counts alone the survey indicated that total agricultural production in 1986 fell to about 45% of its 1978 level (SCA, 1988; quoted by MARSDEN, 1996:18).

In Hod Khail, there has been a huge decrease in agricultural land use, because of landmines. As the local Shura’s president stresses:

‘About 6000 jeribs [about 12000 square meters] of agricultural lands have not been used for cultivation yet, because the river which brought us water from Kabul has been dried and damaged by landmines laid there. So we have not used these lands for cultivation since three years, because there is a lack of water. (...) I think that over 1000 jeribs have already been demined. But there are still many areas to be demined and there are still mine incidents occurring now. The main problem is the lack of water, even though few farmers have their own water pumps. But their running is really expensive: now one Jerry can of petrol amounts to 40000 Afghanis (Afs). So it is really expensive to cultivate agricultural lands with water pumps and many farmers cannot afford it. We don't own any tractors and if farmers want to hire one, it amounts to about 80000 Afs'.

This testimony shows that the main problem in Hod Khail and probably in many agricultural areas throughout the country is the widespread debilitation of the country's agricultural infrastructures (canals, karezes, irrigation systems, etc.). Because of the ongoing war, most of these infrastructures have been overlooked and haven't been maintained, due to lack of financial means: no assistance...
provided by the State and limited assistance provided by UN agencies and international non governmental agencies.5

Since many agricultural and residential areas have been demined in Hod Khail, the main benefits for Hod Khail interviewees are a certain level of security and freedom of movement among civilians and also a limited resumption of cultivation activities in already demined areas.6 But except that fact, most infrastructures have been brought to a standstill.

As Monawar Rashidi, a 28 years-old former soldier now unemployed, relates:

'Before when it was mined, I could not leave my house. Now we can move almost freely. We did not have that before. But otherwise, the irrigation systems are still damaged; so we cannot cultivate our lands properly. In addition, there is limited work available in Kabul. If you have weapons, you can make a living quite easily, but otherwise, it is really difficult for civilians to earn some money to meet their needs'.

1.4. Individual Landmine Injuries

In Afghanistan, nearly 600,000 landmine-related casualties have occurred during the last 15 years (1 out of 15 Afghans), a third of these victims being women and children. Approximately half of these 600,000 victims lost their lives, while the other half remain seriously disabled with amputated limbs and/or blindness (KAKAR, 1995:1).

The landmine victims mainly come from the poorest and most exposed categories of Afghan society, i.e. civilians in rural areas. According to a research on the social cost of landmines in four countries (1995), men of economically active age (15 to 64 years) were at highest risk. Around 1 in 10 of the victims was under 15 years old, the highest proportion of children being in Afghanistan because of their employment as herders (ANDERSSON et alii, 1995:720). Peasants foraging for firewood and food, herding cattle or cultivating their fields are particularly at risk (KAKAR, 1995:7). Often the poorest categories of a society in many cases know the mined areas but the economic pressure to survive and feed their children compels them to enter then mined areas. Statistics indicate that in winter time, majority of the victims are women with babies on their back (ACBL, 1995).

So the socio-economic impacts of thousands of disabled victims are really difficult to support in a war-torn country such as Afghanistan, due to the limited availability of medical facilities, the absence of a proper transportation system (ambulances or other vehicles) to evacuate quickly injured people as well as the lack of a general welfare system. In addition, the impact of individuals injured by landmines extends far beyond the individual casualty: it also affects the already fragile socio-economic balance of family units. Families of the victims have to spend an amount equivalent of up two-and-one half time their annual income on immediate costs related to mine injuries (ROBERTS, WILLIAM, 1995:9).

The loss of even a limb often hampers a person to carry out normally daily social and economic activities. Moreover, psychologically these persons may be perceived or perceive themselves as an economic and social burden, which can become difficult to sustain, not only for their families, but also

5 Most emergency rehabilitation activities in relation to physical infrastructures damages in Afghanistan could not be initiated, because of a lack of funding of the international community (UNDHA, 1996:13).

6 According to Mr. SHARIF, Operations Officer with UNOCHA, over 400 jeribs of demined areas have already been cultivated to date in Hod Khail (Personal Communication, UNOCHA Islamabad, September 1996)
for the already fragile balance of the community (KAKAR, 1995:1).

As already mentioned, in an agrarian country such as Afghanistan, the presence of large number of mines in agricultural areas and the inability to conduct normal agricultural activities can be a threat to the very survival of certain population groups.

According to the Hod Khail Shura president, since 1993, about 35 mine-related casualties have occurred in Hod Khail and most mine victims have been amputated. As Nur Mohamed, a young local farmer, relates:

‘On our return from Jalalabad, both our house and our land were mined. One of my brothers and my fatherly cousin were injured by a landmine. In the case of my brother, who is 40 years old, his left leg was amputated and he received an artificial leg. Now, he is unable to work anymore on our land, so he stays with us at home. (...) To cover the costs of his hospital stay, we borrowed 5000 rupees from a person and we mortgaged our land and our house. We provided for his medicines, food and housing. It is not easy at all, but we do our best. We cannot afford to buy anything, we only rely on Allah to bring us the basic things we need’.

Even though the loss of one limb can limit one’s ability to carry out normally economic activities, disabled people can take part to the process of social and economic reconstruction of their community. But this role is reduced to almost nothing, because there are no structures to provide them with some basic training. In this regard, they are disempowered and by being left aside (home, unemployment), they may intensify this ‘burden syndrome’.

For instance, Zaher is a 30 years-old man from Hod Khail, father of two boys and one daughter. Before his casualty, Zaher was an electrician at the Kabul Presidency. He had a formal job and was quite well off. But since his left leg has been amputated and replaced by an artificial limb, Zaher can move with difficulty, but he can walk to the closest bazaar to fetch bread or anything else. Zaher has resumed his job as an electrician 3 months after his operation. Because of his accident, now he cannot climb the electric lines or bend to repair a plug for instance. He can only work while sitting. He works from 08:00 am to 02:00 pm for a wage amounting to 80000 Afs per month (approximately $4).

When I interviewed Zaher, he had lost his job since two months:

‘Now I don’t work, because my firm doesn’t need anyone else for the moment. I still receive my salary, but with a delay of two to three months. I don’t receive any help, so now I am unemployed and I am walking around to find another job. Otherwise, I am forced to do poor jobs as collecting mud, bushes, scrap metal, etc. to raise some money. The tasks are time and energy consuming and are ill paid (10000 to 20000 Afs). Sometimes, it hurts me, but I have to carry on with it, because now we live poorly’.

This testimony shows that disabled people have even to strive harder than others for their very survival

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7The social perception of the amputee as economically unproductive has been stressed in different mine-affected countries. For instance, in the Cambodian case, Benoit Denise, Handicap International Director, stresses:

‘We have people (amputees) lying on beds, they can only move their hands, they cannot move their legs or arms, and when you explain to Cambodians that these people can produce and can have an income-generating activity, it is a bit of a shock for them to realise that these people, who can perhaps only move their hands, can do something... it needs an information campaign to break down such social stereotyping’ (Quoted by DAVIES, 1995:114).
in a merciless environment. Many mine victims' life has turned to a lifetime tragedy. They do not suffer only physically, but also psychologically because, except few cases, most of them become dependent on their family for their daily life in absence of an overall welfare system.

2. Residential Areas in Kabul

Over the past four years, Kabul City has become the main battlefield between different warring groups controlling some areas of the capital and vying to capture the city, which constitutes to some extent the cornerstone for power control over Afghanistan. For defensive purposes, these groups laid mines along their frontlines and around military strong points. In this regard many parts of the city became extensively mined areas due to the heavy inter-Afghan fighting (UNOCHA, 1995:2).

As in March 1995 there was a certain return to peace and normalcy prevailing in Kabul, thousands of displaced persons decided to return to their houses to resume a normal life. But as Kabul was heavily mined and returnees didn't know their location, a large number of mine incidents occurred. Only in the first three weeks of April 1995, some 1500 mine and UXO casualties were recorded by the main hospitals in Kabul City (MCFA, 1994:2).

In order to determine the extent of the mine crisis in Kabul, M CPA undertook a city-wide survey, which has identified a total of 248 mined areas covering an area of over 20 square kilometers to date. Based on the results of this city-wide survey, the high priority areas to be cleared were public plans, such as teaching structures (schools, University), health facilities, residential and industrial areas (UNOCHA, 1995:6).

These large-scale demining activities in Kabul City have enabled to some extent the difficult resumption of limited social and economic activities and the restoration of a quite fragile economic tissue for most returnees and IDPs attempting to resettle down in the capital.

As Haji Muhamad, a 60 years-old returnee from Kabul (Karte Tchar) explains:

'We are originally from Kabul. We had to flee Kabul because of the internal fighting between the SIN and the HI four years ago. We fled to Mazar, where we stayed for two years. Then we came back to Kabul, first to Khair Khana before eventually moving to this area (Karte Tchar) six months ago. This area has been completely demined. Now I am rebuilding my house, which has been widely damaged by landmines. Even six months ago, I could not have returned to this area, which was infested with mines. Now we can move freely night and day in this area thanks to the hard work of demining teams'.

Most returnees' livelihoods are often extremely limited, due to huge inflation, increasing prices on basic and consumption goods.

In addition, continued fighting also effects the already limited resources they have at their very disposal.

As Haji Muhamad stresses:

'Before war I was a mason. I was well off, I owned a car and had enough to feed my family; I was also able to save some money. Now it is really difficult. I try to earn some money with my hands and my sweat. Whatever job I can find, I will do it. It is a matter of survival. Now it is difficult to find a job in Kabul and everything is so expensive. Within a period of seven months this year, I have only found work for one month. I got AFS 10.000 every day. I was not able to save the money I earned with difficulty, because I had to feed my family'.
It seems that returnees and IDPs have started to return to Kabul despite the threat of ongoing internal fighting.

As this interviewee relates:

*You see this street, I am the only one to have come back here since 6 months. Most of the displaced people are still out of Kabul, because they fear both mines and current fighting between the State and the Taliban. Few houses have been rebuilt in this area; we are ten to have come back here lately. But I am convinced that other people will gradually come back quite soon.*

Another returnee, Gholam Ali, a 45 years-old man from Bar Ali Mardan (in the Old City of Kabul), whose son has been killed by a landmine, relates:

*We came back to Kabul last year. We were settled in Jalalabad, in Hesar-I-Shahi camp for two years. We received few assistance from agencies and the weather was really hot. That's why we decided to come back to Kabul. Now this area is demined. I haven't been able to rebuild my house, because we are in a poor economic situation. Now, I don't have any work. We have received a ration card from WFP, so we can get 2.5 pieces of bread a day. Otherwise, we don't receive any other assistance.*

Gholam Ali holds the same explanation as Haji Mohamad for the return of most displaced people:

*Most of them fear that war could resume in Kabul between the different political groups. Jalalabad is more quiet and has not been affected by war lately. They also cannot afford to come back to Kabul, because the bus fare from Jalalabad to Kabul is quite expensive (about AFS.40000)*.

Even though displaced people this researcher met in Kabul have damaged shelters and suffer great economic problems, however they have fostered coping strategies, which rely on their traditional creed and also the social cohesion maintained and even enhanced through war-related circumstances. As one interviewee expresses the majority's opinion:

*The most important thing for us is that we are back in our house, even destroyed. We are alive and the area has been almost completely demined. The main problem we are facing now is unemployment and poverty, but thanks to Allah and the solidarity between people here, we can survive, even under such harsh circumstances! We only want to have peace and be able to live in tranquility.*

Broadly speaking, the social and economic benefits of demining Kabul have been quite important.

First, quick and in-depth mine clearance activities have allowed the return of thousands of civilians to their areas of origin, even though there are still many displaced people who haven't come back to

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8 In one week (from 12 to 18 July), Kabul witnessed an incredible increase in the number of IDPs from Jalalabad: 3665 persons returned to Kabul (2163 from Jalalabad, 1502 from Pakistan) (UN Assistance for Afghanistan, Weekly update, Issue 178, 4 August 1996).

9 The Old City of Kabul, which is situated in District 1 ("Nahya Awal"), has been severely affected by landmines. On 20 villages in this district, comprising 5 residential areas and 15 battle field ones, a total of 2.245.117 square meters has been surveyed and a total of 1.109.014 square meters has been demined to date (MCFA, 1996).
Kabul to date. In addition, mine-awareness programs targeted to large parts of the population in Kabul have allowed an important decrease in mine incidents.10

Secondly, they have also enabled a fragile resumption of social and economic life, through well attended bazaars (in Khair Khana for instance), the mushrooming of small and subsistence economic activities, the reopening of schools and Kabul University, etc.
It should also be noted that limited cultivation activities and house-rebuilding have also resumed on some parts of the city on a small scale.

Thirdly, UN agencies such as UNHCR, UNHCS or WFP have been able to initiate small rehabilitation projects to assist local communities, who have lately returned to demined areas in Kabul City.

It is obvious that Kabul's economic tissue is still fragile due to creeping war; anyway, demining activities in Kabul have boosted a glimpse of hope for many war-weary civilians, whose only aspiration is to live in peace and security.

3. Landmine-Related Casualties and their Costs: Wazir Akbar Khan (WAKH) and Karte Seh (KSH) Hospitals in Kabul

Landmines don't only kill or maim civilians, they also place a burden on family units as well as on the existing limited medical facilities. The extra cost to treat victims has to be borne partially by the medical system, but mainly by the victims' family, concerning provision of medicines, food and shelter, in absence of any welfare system in war-torn Afghanistan.

The most common injury among survivors of landmine incidents is the loss of a leg, as would be expected from antipersonnel mines and devices. It often causes a great deal of blood loss that needs to be replaced immediately. According to a study (ICRC, March 1995), 28.5% of mine blast survivors lose one or both legs, and the proportion of amputees receiving blood transfusion is 75%, each patient requiring on average 3,2 units of blood (Quoted by KAKAR,1995:9). According to another study (ANDERSSON et alii, 1995), more than half of all victims were admitted, each spending an average of 2 months in hospital. In Afghanistan, 85% of the victims among residents and refuges and 87% among nomads went into debt to cover rehabilitation care costs, Between 12% and 60% had to sell assets to meet their medical bills (Ibidem:720).

So the treatment of mine-related casualties often pushes a relatively self-sufficient family into abject poverty. By not being able to work or carry out the labour needed in a subsistence rural economy, mine accident victims further jeopardize the already tenuous socio-economic balance of their family and become dependent upon their family and upon their community, often with the ultimate consequence to push them in an extreme state of poverty.

10 As 50% of the mine victims in Kabul are children, Save the Children (USA) has launched in this regard a Landmine Education Project in April 1996, whose primary concern is to reduce the number of injuries and deaths among residents of Kabul, particularly children, that are caused by antipersonnel landmines and/or unexploded ordnance (UXOs).

It should also be noted that another important initiative has been taken recently to tackle the mine issue in Afghanistan. In August 1995, ACBL (Afghan Campaign to Ban Landmines), a national forum consisting of a steering committee and 23 member agencies, was established in order to: 1) support the International Campaign to Ban Landmines 2) encourage the warring factions to refrain from using landmines and eventually 3) promote international awareness about the mine problem in Afghanistan.
In the context of Kabul, due to the State's breakdown of medical services and the lack of solvency of the current government, even the basic salary levels needed to mine-related casualties have been taken in charge by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), through backing up Wazir Akbar Khan and Karte Seh hospitals.

According to ICRC statistics (1996), the number of admissions of mine injuries in ICRC supported hospitals in Afghanistan from January 1993 to July 1996 was as follows:

1) KSH: 1224 patients admitted in a 200 hundred bed hospital.

2) WAKH: 1061 patients admitted in a 200 hundred bed hospital.

3.1. Karte Seh Hospital (KSH)

In KSH, according to a female medical doctor this researcher interviewed, between three and five mine victims are received daily. At the time of this research, they were about 25 mine victims receiving health care. The hospital has no transportation facilities such as ambulances. So patients have to come by their own means. If the mine victim is severely affected and needs amputation, he will stay for two months at least; if not, he will remain for one month or even less.

KSH is supported by ICRC for the provision of medicines and medical tools and infrastructures, etc. Patients usually don't need to pay for their medicines, except for some of them. But they have to pay to get blood, because most blood banks are depleted. Generally after their operation, patients will be registered to the hospital's orthopedic center, where they will receive the artificial limb needed.

KSH doesn't have any post-recovery programmes for mine victims through vocational training activities or any other kind of activities. As this informant told this researcher, KSH would be ready to provide list of casualties to NGOs interested in initiating and implementing some assistance programmes for mine victims. But it seems that no initiative in this regard has been taken to date. OXFAM asked for a list of mine-related casualties three years ago, but nothing has been initiated to date, according to this medical doctor.

The patients this researcher met become usually a load for their family. There are few exceptions as Gholam Ghaus, a 36 years-old patient, who works as a shopkeeper with his two brothers in Ghazni:

'I sell ice creams with my two brothers. We have a small ice cream shop. What I can do with my artificial leg is to clean the shop and serve ice creams to customers, while I am sitting. I cannot do more'.

Gholam Ghaus is aware that his case is quite unique among mine-related casualties:

'In my case, I have been well reintegrated. I know that UNICEF initiated a small vocational training programme for carpet weaving and tailoring some years ago, but it was limited both in time and in scale. I had a friend who did some carpet weaving. (...) But most mine victims have to be supported by their family and face enormous problems of reintegration'.

3.2. Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital (WAKH)

WAKH is also an hospital supported by ICRC in Kabul. It also has almost the same characteristics as KSH, the main difference being that KSH has more surgical means than WAKH. Both of them have 200 beds, but according to ICRC 1996 surgical statistics, the total of war-wounded admissions from January to July 1996 was of 1020 in KSSH (only 431 in WAKH): the total surgeries performed in
KSH amounted to 4790 (3379 in WAKH).

WAKH has a quite well organized orthopedic center (OC), which holds record documents of disabled patients. In addition, it is run by an enthusiastic and competent Italian physiotherapist, who looks after most mine victims. In addition, the OC provides labour for approximatively 50-60 disabled people. In fact, 90% of the staff is disabled. The OC is among one of the few cases of direct assistance to disabled in Kabul.

It should also be noted that other specialized NGOs like Sandy Gall Appeal, Radda Bamen, Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, SERVE, Handicap International, Afghan Rehabilitation Team, International Assistance Mission and the National Association of Disabled Afghans have also contributed to assist disabled in the field of prosthetics and orthoses, programmes of the visually impaired, physiotherapy and social programmes nationwide (UNDHA, 1995:22).

But in a war-affected context, it is really difficult to have access and target all the population segments. Consequently there is still a huge unmet need in war and landmine-injured people recovery projects, especially in Kabul. Thousands of disabled people who could be involved in training programmes or productive activities are dependent for survival upon their families, most of whom can hardly afford the costs.

As a male mine victim graduated from Kabul University related to this researcher in the OC:

"In Afghanistan, now you need money and connections, if you want to get a job. So for us, disabled, it is really difficult, because most of us are poor and ignored. (...) In my case, I graduated from Kabul University. So I could be employed to do some administrative work, but now I am unemployed. We have sometimes to fight even with our family, because we become a burden for them. Even if we are disabled, we have to work for survival. We don't receive any assistance neither from the State, nor from the political groups. In my case, I only receive a ration card from WFP, which doesn't cover our family needs, which comprises 20 people'.

This informant is quite bitter when he adds:

"Now in Afghanistan, it is better to be in good health, so you can get what you want and what you need'.

4. UN Agencies' Response to the Landmine Issue on the Spot

4.1. UN Agencies Assistance to Disabled Persons

Until now, there has been no reliable statistics on the number of Afghans suffering from different forms of disability. However, from several surveys it has been deduced that up to two million Afghans may be suffering from some form of physical or mental disability. many thousands have become disabled since 1992 and urgently need help. Under the present Comprehensive Disabled Afghans Project (CDAP) of UNOPS, funded by UNDP, some 10.000 disabled persons in Takhar, Balkh, Wardak and Herat are being reached (UNDHA,1995:22).

CDAP's immediate objectives are threefold:

a) Sensitize communities and raise their awareness about disability issues and increase community participation and involvement in the rehabilitation of disabled persons.

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This section is mainly based on UNDHA (1995) and UNDP (1995).

The Socio-Economic Impacts of Landmines in Afghanistan

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b) Integrate the disabled into society and
c) Provide support and referral systems to the disabled, using the Community-Based Rehabilitation (CBR) approach (UNDP Kabul, 1993a:28).

Unfortunately, these programmes only target specific areas and limited disabled people. One of the major impediments to an extension of services to disabled in other regions seems the difficulty to find implementing agencies in Kandahar and Kabul regions (UNDHA, 1995:22).

4.2. Some Examples of UN Agencies Work in Demined Areas in Kabul City

Thanks to the quick and effective response of the UNOCHA Mine Clearance Programme to the mine crisis in Kabul, some UN agencies and NGOs have been able to initiate the implementation of projects in mine-free areas in order to help local communities, who have lately returned to Kabul.

4.2.1. UNHCR

To facilitate the return of both refugees and IDPs in demined areas in Kabul City, UNHCR Kabul has assisted some returning communities through Quick Impact Projects (QIPs), which are small-scale, rapid-to-implement projects requiring one-time investments designed to address urgent needs in the following sector: housing/shelter, potable water and irrigation.

In Kabul, UNHCR initiated 17 QIPs in 1995 and 19 in 1996. For instance, in 1995, it launched a QIP to support 3 visually impaired for self-sufficiency through training them in income generation activities. The duration was six months. The implementing agency contracted by UNHCR Kabul was International Assistance Mission. QIP's total cost amounted to $770.

This researcher hasn't observed any QIP specifically targeted to assist landmine victims during the time of this research.

4.2.2. UNHCS (Habitat)

UNHCS is another example of a UN agency which has worked out implementing projects in Kabul's mine-free areas lately. In this regard the urban Rehabilitation Programme was launched in 1995 to address the obvious needs of communities in the indigenous process of repair and recovery in towns and cities. Emphasis was put on physical rehabilitation alongside attention given to the social and institutional structure in order to manage the process of recovery (UNDP Kabul, 1995:40).

In Kabul the Urban Rehabilitation Programme addresses needs of urban communities in 11 of 16 districts of the city. According to UNHCS surveys undertaken between September 1995 to June 1996, there is a total of 8366 disabled persons in those districts. Most of the projects of UNHCS are implemented in partnership with WFP (Joint Projects). For instance, access or sanitation improvement projects have been undertaken according to a specific scheme: food input, cash input, community input, direct and indirect beneficiary. These programmes also affect indirectly mine victims.

This researcher hasn't noticed any UNHCS/WFP Joint Project targeting particularly disabled or mine victims. But it is obvious that there are many options for partnership between UN agencies such as UNHCR and UNHCS for instance with the Comprehensive Disabled Afghans Projects of UNOPS or other implementing agencies.
5. IDP Camps in Jalalabad

5.1. The Issue of Internal Displacement within the International Arena

Nowadays forced migrations of populations are twofold:

1) Refugees who, by crossing an international border, will benefit international protection under UNHCR's mandate and relief.

2) Internally displaced persons (IDPs), who are 'internal refugees' receiving some limited relief, but almost deprived of any international protection.

It seems that the key factors of population displacements are mainly internal strife and armed conflict. According to the General Secretary's report on IDPs, the number of refugees worldwide is about 17 millions and the number of IDPs is about 24 millions worldwide (UN doc. E/CN.4/1992/23;1-2). But the international community doesn't minimize the fact that IDPs constitute potential refugees. In this regard, the issue of IDPs has been lately highlighted.

As the General Secretary puts it in this report:

'Providing IDPS with aid and protection similar to those accorded to refugees, without requiring them to leave their country to qualify for them, would be an effective and humane form of prevention' (Ibidem:2).

The lack of international protection for IDPs compelled the UN organs to handle this issue. In 1990, for the first time, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) asked the Secretary General to prepare an analytical report on the subject (Res.1990/78, 27 July 1990).

The report issued by the Secretary General in 1992 highlighted a greater UN human rights involvement in addressing the issue of internal displacement. As its 1992 session, the Human Rights Commission requested the Secretary General to designate a representative to propose a comprehensive study on the means to enhance legal protection for IDPs. In July 1992, the Secretary General named Francis DENG, a former Sudan diplomat, as his 'Representative on IDPs' (Res.1991/73, 5 March 1992).

All these different initiatives resulting in a number of detailed studies on the issue of international displacement level have induced the increasing importance of finding new ways and solutions to strengthen both legal protection and assistance to IDPs.

5.2. Internal Displacement In Afghanistan: The Case of Jalalabad

The creation of IDPs is a oft-neglected result of the 17 year Afghan conflict. Many IDPs left their regions or localities, because of the threat of fighting, for lack of security or as a result of precarious living conditions. It is generally assessed that there are between 2 to 3 million people in this case in Afghanistan. While about one and half million people have found shelter in remote or mountainous regions relatively spared by war, most of them (nearly 2 million) have taken refuge in the towns, Kabul's population has trebled since 1978 and there has been a similar migration trend to other cities.

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12 Most information on IDPs is drawn from UNOCHA Jalalabad 1996, Brief Information on IDPs in Jalalabad, UNOCHA Jalalabad, May.

The Socio-Economic Impacts of Landmines in Afghanistan

15
The major influx of displaced people from Kabul went to Jalalabad in early 1994, because of ongoing inter-Afghan fighting for the control of Afghanistan's capital and because of its relative tranquility. The pre-war population of Jalalabad, which comprised about 56,000 inhabitants, has since then more than trebled by the arrival of the displaced and refugees returning from Kabul.

In response to this wide concentration of people in Jalalabad fleeing Kabul's internal fights, three IDP camps (Samarkheil, Mumtaz, Old Hadda) were established in 1992-1993. In early 1994, two additional camps (Hesar-I-Shahi and New Hadda) were opened on demined areas to face new influxes of IDPs fleeing Kabul.

The current population figures in these camps are as follows:

1) Hesar-I-Shahi, the largest camp comprising 14,073 families and 98,511 individuals, is administrated by the UN.
2) New Hadda, comprising 5,648 families and 39,536 individuals, is administrated by the UN.
3) Samarkheil, comprising 3,000 families and 21,200 individuals, is administrated by ICRC.
4) Mumtaz, comprising 1,072 families and 7,504 individuals, is a self-settled IDP camp and is not administrated by international agencies.
5) Old Hadda, comprising 2,375 families and 16,625 individuals, also is a self-settled IDP camp and is not administrated by international agencies.

According to MCPA (1994), in Nangarhar province, whose capital is Jalalabad, there was a total of 19,166,297 square meters of high priority mined areas. From January 1990 to September 1995, 12,835,997 areas have been demined and there are still 4,905,862 square meters to be cleared (MCPA, 1994:4). According to recent statistics provided by MCPA (1996), in Hesar-I-Shahi camp, on 6 demining tasks (5 grazing lands and one road), a total of 252,686 square meters has been surveyed and a total of 222,157 has been cleared of mines to date. All the demining tasks have been completed apart one, which has been suspended.

So, as in the case of Kabul, the social and economic benefits of demining activities have allowed the establishment of IDP camps on almost mine-free areas. It has also enabled Jalalabad's economic tissue to foster to some extent and UN agencies to work out some rehabilitation activities on a larger scale than Kabul, because of the relatively peaceful situation prevailing in Jalalabad.

As already mentioned, most displaced people settled in Jalalabad camps are mainly from Kabul or returnees from Pakistan. When there was a temporary lull between the internal fighting, there was a movement of return towards Kabul. For instance, by the end of August 1995, more than 150,000 IDPs had returned from Jalalabad to Kabul through incentive packages (UNOCHA, 1996:1).

During his visit of Hesar-I-Shahi camp, this researcher was told by the camp responsible that about 500 landmine-affected people were registered officially and probably more than 1000 were not. Even though these figures may be dubious, it seems that there is a certain percentage of disabled people living in Hesar-I-Shahi camp.

In ICRC supported Jalalabad Public Health Hospital, the admission of mine-related casualties is as follows: 606 (in 1993), 519 (in 1994), 249 (in 1995), 270 (from January to July 1996). So if Hesar-I-Shahi mine victims figures are to be put in parallel with ICRC admissions figures, we could probably give them some limited relevance.

It should also be noted that some mine incidents took place outside camps, in low priority mined areas, where people used to go to collect either firewood or bushes, as they were compelled by survival.
constraints, even if they were already aware of the dangers to move to mined areas.
For instance, Wakil, a 14-year boy from the district of Yakatut in Kabul City, was injured by a
landmine outside Hesar-I-Shahi:

'It was a Friday. I left the camp to go and fetch some firewood. I stopped on my way back
home to drink some water from a canal. As soon as I finished drinking, I walked a little bit
when suddenly a landmine blew up and injured my right leg. It was two years ago'.

As in the case of most mine victims, Wakil has to rely on his family. As his father died at war, his
uncle, who is unemployed, looks after him and provides him with food and shelter. As in Kabul, this
researcher has observed a lack of assistance to mine victims from the 'State' and some assistance from
international agencies. 13

For instance, WFP has set up small food-for-training and food-for-work in Hesar-I-Shahi and New
Hadda camps. In collaboration with an NGO, Emergency Relief Unit, WFP has attempted to set up
an employment office in the camp in December 1995, to provide work to both skilled and unskilled
IDP families to alleviate their economic burden (UNOCHA Jalalabad, 1996).

But recently it seems that food assistance has been reduced to 50 kg of wheat per family and per
month in Hesar-I-Shahi and New Hadda camps, in relation to IDPs' deregistration and incentive
packages measures.

Concerning mine-affected people, this researcher hasn't noticed many specific action taken to assist
them through income-generating or vocational training projects. So most of them are unemployed and
dependent upon their family.

Broadly speaking, during the discussions he had with the camp managers, this researcher was told of
possible closures of IDP camps in close future. In fact, Jalalabad IDP camps have been established to
meet the urgent needs of many displaced people, fleeing Kabul's internal fighting as well as returning
from Pakistan. But as fighting in Kabul gets protracted and as the recent takeover of Jalalabad by the
Taliban will probably undermine the peace process, it seems unlikely that IDP camps will be closed
down quite soon. 14

On the contrary, IDP camps will be probably maintained in order to meet needs of displaced people,
who hardly can return to Kabul in an increasing climate of political tension between different Afghan
factions. Obviously, under these current harsh circumstances, disabled people may become low priority
concerns and strive even harder for their very survival. It is also likely that Afghan factions could still
resort to laying landmines for defensive purposes.

13 It should be noted that more assistance was provided by international agencies in Jalalabad than in
Kabul, because of relative tranquility. For instance, through 85 QIPs, UNHCR supported the rehabilitation of
roads, bridges, health institutions, schools, karezes, drains, flood protection walls and the partial rehabilitation
of an olive and pickling factory (UN, 1995:8).

14 In fact, the recent takeover of Jalalabad by Talibans has induced not only a serious setback to the
repatriation progress of Afghan refugees, but it has also resulted in the massive influx of fresh refugees into
Pakistan. According to official figure those who have been permitted to Pakistan during last two days, are
between 800 to 1000, whereas the number of those who have crossed the border clandestinely through other
routes runs too high (The Muslim, 17 September 1996).
So it is vital that mine clearance activities and mine-awareness programmes alongside other post-war recovery programmes should be enhanced, in order to assist Afghan people to resume a normal, healthy and productive life, although prospects for a brighter future are frustratingly limited.
Conclusions and Recommendations

This report has attempted on a limited scale to draw a 'snapshot' of the devastating socio-economic impacts of landmines and unexploded ordnance on local communities in different contexts in Afghanistan. It has also tried to depict to some extent the benefits that demining activities have brought to war and landmine-affected communities and individuals, so that they have been able to scar somewhat the deep physical and psychological wounds inflicted by 17 years of a conflict, which is still ongoing.

In a war-torn country such as Afghanistan, the socio-economic impacts of landmines on local infrastructures as well as individuals have been enormous and the responses to regenerate the socio-economic tissue and improve civilians' limited livelihoods have been frustratingly limited to date, but they do exist.

The UNOCHA Mine Clearance Programme and its implementing demining agencies working within Afghanistan have somewhat allowed to bring back a glimpse of normalcy and hope to already hardly-affected communities. They have also facilitated other UN agencies to initiate small rehabilitation projects to assist local communities on a limited scale. But this is only a small part of the gloomy reality prevailing nowadays in Afghanistan.

In this regard, this researcher would like to draw some practical recommendations to address the post-war and the post-landmine recovery process in Afghanistan:

1. In relation to local communities

The impacts of landmines on communities have been enormous. In this regard, solidarity and social cohesion patterns have often prevailed among local communities over the course of war.

So there should be an enhancement of the local decision taking-and-making process through local institutions (Shuras, religious institutions, etc...) and active participation of the communities members, in order to facilitate a 'development from within'.

Vulnerable segments of the communities (women, war and landmine-related casualties, children) should also be integrated into the communities recovery process, as they hold social positions and perform social roles, which form valuable contributions to the communities' social and economic development.

2. In relation to landmine-related casualties

Having lost a limb and having an artificial one doesn't mean that mine victims are crippled and/or passive. They have often developed strong mechanisms and highly-evolved strategies for survival and they may have other abilities, which should be stressed and taken into account in the social and economic regeneration of communities.

Structures to empower disabled people skills (basic and vocational training programmes, income-generating activities, small loans and credits procedures to initiate small-scale businesses, etc...) should be set up or consolidated. They should facilitate the social and economic reintegration of disabled into communities and lessen the 'burden syndrome'.

Medical facilities for war and landmine-related casualties should be urgently improved both in quality
and quantity on a wider scale and receive more funding from the international community.

3. In relation to UN agencies and NGOs' work

When tackling the landmine issue, UN agencies should work in close cooperation with NGOs and Afghan government organizations. If government structures are too weak, they should attempt to negotiate with the parties concerned, in order to get access to war and landmine-affected people as well as communities and assist them in the post-war recovery process.

When possible, UN agencies and NGOs should involve more disabled people's skills in their personnel as watchmen, administrative workers, etc...

More emphasis should be placed on war and landmine-affected people's information and dissemination through small studies like this one, in order to sensitize and help UN Agencies and NGOs in their work on the spot.

4. In relation to demining activities

The landmine issue should always be closely linked to that of repatriation. Before considering a planned or encouraged repatriation movement to one or several given areas, all steps should be taken up: a) To evaluate the landmines threat through accurate and systematic surveys of the areas to be cleared and b) To complete mine clearance activities to wipe out the landmine threat.

Mine awareness programmes should be continued and targeted to all population segments, so that mine incidents will get reduced.

Projects already implemented in (almost) mine-free areas should be consolidated and even expanded if possible, depending on funding and on local skills and resources available on the spot).

In conclusion, apparently previous and ongoing demining activities have already somewhat paved the way to get Afghanistan back to normalcy, security and peace. Obviously the path is still full of obstacles, but Afghans, as they have already shown it over 17 years of a devastating conflict, have enormous potentialities to redress this hardly-shattered country with the assistance of the United Nations agencies, the NGO sector and the international community.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire used during the research

1) Introduction of the interviewer on his objectives and his research role to his informants

2) Presentation of the interviewee: name, age, sex, ethnic origin, status, profession, kinship networks

3) Conditions of departure

   a) How and when did you flee the area you were settled in Afghanistan? Were you alone or were you accompanied (family, friends, others)?
   b) Did you have livestock? How much land did you cultivate before your departure (jeribs)?
   c) Were you able to take any belongings with you during your flight?
   d) Were you able to take some money with you during your flight?
   e) What was the main work done by you or your relatives to make a living?

4) Conditions of living during exile

   a) What were your sources of income to support your family in exile? Did you receive any humanitarian assistance?
   b) Did you maintain links with your previous area of settlement in Afghanistan? Did you still have relatives remaining there or did you return there sometimes?

5) Return or Settlement in a Landmine and War-affected Context in Afghanistan

   a) What are your current sources of income? Do you have any additional ones?
   b) How much land do you cultivate ('jeribs')?
   c) How much land more could you cultivate if there were no mines?
   d) What are the main problems you are facing now in your daily life?
   e) Is your family with you here or are they scattered? Do they have economic activities to support your family? (Do they send you any remittances)?
   f) Do you have relatives, who have been injured or crippled by landmines? Are they an economic burden for you?
   g) How much money have your or family spent on medical care to cover such accidents? Were you supported by international assistance in this regard?
   h) Have they been socially and economically reintegrated into the life of your community? Could you precise it?

6) Social and Economic Impacts of Demining Activities

   a) Since when do mine clearance activities exist in your area? How many ‘jeribs’ of land have already been cleared from mines?
   b) Do you think their work is efficient and helpful for your community?
   c) How have landmines affected local infrastructures (roads, crops, irrigation systems, etc...)?
   d) Are your main priorities in the restoration of infrastructures similar to those of the

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15 One ‘jerib’ approximately amounts to 2000 square meters.
demining staff? Could you precise it?
e) Can you already perceive any social and economic benefits in your life due to mine clearance activities? Could you precise it?
f) To what extent have mine clearance activities improved your income and that of your community?
g) What suggestions could you make to improve the efficiency of mine clearance activities?
h) What goods or expenditures do you intend to purchase quite soon, in order to help your economic recovery?

7) IDP Camps

a) Since when are you in this camp?
b) Did you have to flee because of landmines?
c) What are your sources of income? If not do you receive any international assistance (or through other means as remittances, etc...)?
d) How much money is spent on medical care to cover such accidents? Are they supported by international assistance or other means?
e) When do you intend to return to your area? Is your return linked to mine clearance?
Appendix 2: Save the Children (USA) - Basic Statistics: Project Daily Progress in Kabul City (April - August 1996)

MINE INCIDENTS: 44

MINE VICTIMS CHILDREN AND ADULTS: 45(male) / 7(female) = 52(total)

UXO VICTIMS CHILDREN AND ADULTS: 46(male) / 9(female) = 55(total)

MINE DIED CHILDREN AND ADULTS: 5(male) / 1(female) = 6(total)

UXO DIED CHILDREN AND ADULTS: 10(male) / 1(female) = 11(total)

MINE INJURED CHILDREN AND ADULTS: 36(male) / 8(female) = 44(total)

Source: Save the Children Fund Office in Kabul, 1996
Appendix 3: UNOCHA Mine Clearance Programme: Demining Summary Progress

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas Surveyed/cleared</th>
<th>Regular Tasks</th>
<th>Battle Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Area Surveyed in 1996</td>
<td>8,622,355</td>
<td>10,986,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Area Surveyed to Date</td>
<td>141,975,341</td>
<td>54,782,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Area Cleared in 1996</td>
<td>8,579,943</td>
<td>12,407,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Area Cleared to Date</td>
<td>88,534,577</td>
<td>53,757,259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

| Devices Destroyed in 1996    | 55,098        |
| Devices Destroyed to Date    | 338,064       |
| No of Civilians Briefed in 1996 | 105,522   |
| Total Trained to Date        | 2,6742,652    |
| Demining Training in 1996    | 158           |

Source: UNOCHA(Mine Clearance Programme), Islamabad, 1996

The Socio-Economic Impacts of Landmines in Afghanistan

24
### Appendix 4: Admissions of Mine Injuries in ICRC Supported Hospitals in Afghanistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hospital</th>
<th>Patients admitted</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karte Seh Hospital, Kabul</td>
<td>1224</td>
<td>1.1993 / 7.1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital, Kabul</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>1.1993 / 7.1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalalabad Public Health Hospital no.1</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>1.1995 / 7.1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazni Province Hospital</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1.1996 / 7.1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirwais Hospital, Kandahar</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5.1996 / 7.1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ICRC Kabul
### Appendix 5: 1996 Surgical Statistics- ICRC supported Hospitals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOSPITAL</th>
<th>KSSH</th>
<th>WAKH</th>
<th>GHAZNI</th>
<th>JPHH-1</th>
<th>MIRWAIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bed</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Total Admissions</td>
<td>2530</td>
<td>2835</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>3492</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total New Admissions</td>
<td>2386</td>
<td>2240</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>3486</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total War-Wounded Admissions</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Inpatients</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Surgeries Performed</td>
<td>4790</td>
<td>3379</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>5725</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ICRC Kabul
Appendix 6: Afghan Campaign to Ban Landmines (ACBL)

In Afghanistan:

- More than 10 millions are believed to be laid.

- More than 188 million square meter land has been mined and made unproductive.

- There about 5 mines awaiting each Afghan refugee.

- Every hour one civilian is blown up by mines.

- About 50% of the victims die due to lack of medical facilities.

- Over 30% of the victims are children.

- More than 360,000 livestock have been killed by mines at a direct cost of US$ 61 million, badly affecting the agricultural sector.

- More than 9,600 vehicles have been destroyed at a direct cost of more than US$ 96 million.

Source: ACBL, 1996
ACBL (Afghan Campaign to Ban Landmines), 1996, ACBL's Presentation Leaflet.


UNDHA (United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs), 1995, UN Consolidated Inter Agency Appeal for Emergency Humanitarian and Rehabilitation Assistance to Afghanistan (1.10.1995-30.09.96), UNDHA.

The Socio-Economic Impacts of Landmines in Afghanistan 28
UNDP focuses on building bridges between relief and development in Afghanistan with reports specifically addressing rehabilitation strategies and activities. This includes plans for immediate rehabilitation, steering committee summaries, and consolidated annual reports on humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan. UNOCHA's work on mine clearance and consolidated annual reports are also referenced. These documents highlight the socio-economic impacts of landmines in Afghanistan, emphasizing the ongoing challenges and efforts towards reconstruction and assistance.

The Socio-Economic Impacts of Landmines in Afghanistan

29