

Weekly Bulletin

Issue 11, 14 September 2005, review of 7 – 13 September 2005

The Bulletin is published in the framework of the “Early Warning for Violence Prevention” Project

The information in this bulletin is intended for use by individuals and organizations willing to make a peaceful intervention in a particular conflict situation. The Early Warning Center strives to provide accurate information while disseminating information timely to make prevention and early intervention possible. A variety of sources are used, including eyewitnesses, mass media, civil society representatives, officials and other knowledgeable people.

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1. Alerts

This week there are no alerts.

2. Weekly review

- On September 9 at 10:30 am near the state administration of Jalalabad, **30 people gathered to attend the meeting between the General Public Prosecutor A. Beknazarov and local residents**. The guards did not allow them to join the meeting, because they were ordered not to let more people in due to lack of space. The group insisted however that they should be allowed to join the meeting. After unsuccessful negotiations with the guards, the group threatened to break open the door and enter with force. They said, that, while they before had “led them to power” and “supported the new Government”, now, these people act in a similar way as the former regime. They complained about the absence of positive changes and unjustified hope. After the threat to break open the door, guards opened the gate and the back door of the hall to allow all the interested persons in. The group expressed discontent with the presence of staff appointments in the oblast administration of people from the period of the presidency of Akaev and with the closed work style of the new administration. The fact that the guards yielded was for local residents a sign that not only the guards, but also the authorities acknowledge forceful methods of influence.
- On September 11, conflict was again expressed regarding **Mailusuu electric-lamp factory** (see Bulletin issue 3), which was purchased by Russian Company B.A.B.C. two years ago. More than 500 people took part in a demonstration at the factory. Workers expressed discontent with the management of the enterprise, in particularly the decrease in capacity of the factory, salaries and competitiveness of products.
- On September 11 at approximately 10:00 am, **about 350-400 people gathered near the Office of the Public Prosecutor of Karasuu rayon**. Their leaders were relatives of the murdered A.

Junusova and S. Abdieva, namely Myrzakmatov M., Kadyrbaev A., Shamurzaev A. and Junusov I. Protesters were mainly traders at the market "Turatali" in Karasuu and young people of ages 20-30 with athletic build. These young people later blocked the road Osh-Karasuu. The protesters held posters with accusations directed at General public prosecutor A. Beknazarov, the Chairperson of the Constitutional Court C. Baekova, and also at B. Erkinbaev. Protesters suspect that the latter is guilty in the death of A. Junusov. Public prosecutor Solpiev A. of Karasuu rayon appeared before the people and explained that the law enforcement agencies are currently working on investigation into the murders. He said that at this time one person, whose last name could not be revealed in the interest of the investigation, is under suspicion. He asked that the protesters maintain patience and order. At that moment he was interrupted by A. Kadyrbaev, who urged people not to listen to the prosecutor and in general not to trust the Public Prosecution Office, supported by the fact that instead of investigation they check containers at the "Turatali" market. In his speech, A. Kadyrbaev demanded from A. Solpiev an answer to the question on what basis the Prosecution Office released two citizens, namely A. Chomoev and S. Akanov, who in public opinion are guilty of the armed attacks on citizens at Hotel "Alay" in Osh city. Also, A. Kadyrbaev put forward several demands, namely resignation of General Public Prosecutor A. Beknazarov, holding parliament member B. Erkinbaev accountable, removal of the mandate of parliament member A. Toltonova, and dismissal of all workers of the Karasuu rayon Office of Public Prosecution. After that, female relatives of the murdered persons attacked Solpiev A. With the help of the militia, A. Solpiev was taken away from the public and escorted to the Office of Public Prosecution. After explanatory work by the militia, around 12:00-13:00, people started to leave and the Osh-Karasuu road was unblocked. At present, the situation has normalized and remains stable.

In the media (www.pr.kg, 13/09/05) information was disseminated that during the meeting two journalists were attacked, namely Ms. Gulbar Kenjeeva (KTR), who could leave the scene, and Ms. Jyldyz Bekbaeva (local newspaper "Jany Muun"), who suffers trauma and brain concussion after being beaten by a man of massive build. As Mr. Alisher Toksonbaev, the press-secretary of Osh oblast governor reported, the attacker is a member of a local criminal gang and his name is Aidar (www.pr.kg, 13/09/05). The project obtained information that the attacker is Aidar Bekmurzaev, born in 1971, native of Korul village (Alay rayon, Osh oblast) and leader of "Karasuu group" (title used by the participants themselves). A. Bekmurzaev (known by hot temper and unbalanced character) made his premiere in involvement in political events on September 6, when he provoked a fight with security guards of the General Prosecutor during the speech held by the latter at the Karasuu-based meeting. At the moment it is difficult to determine his personal interest and role in the Karasuu events and the motive for his actions on September 6 and 11.

- On September 12 at 8 a.m. **near the building of the Supreme Court, a protest action started in the form of a hunger strike by representatives of four constituencies.** These representatives remain dissatisfied with the decisions of the Supreme Court during parliamentary elections in February-March of this year. Hunger strikers include Umuralieva Kalicha (district no. 6), Kaldybaev Sabir (district no. 27), Batyrbekova Tamara (district no. 21), Dautalieva Anara, Seytkaziev Anarbek and Kokozeva Ainura (district no. 59). Earlier, on September 7, at a press conference at "AKIpress", representatives of the five constituencies declared that they demand the resignation of the chairman of the Supreme Court, Kurmanbek Osmonov, as well as the dissolution of the Committee on Civil Cases, whose judges directly made decisions on the disputed districts. "If within several days new authorities will not take steps regarding the Supreme Court, we declare a hunger strike", said Kalicha Umuralieva. The hunger strike started on September 12 in front of the building of the Supreme Court. According to the protesters, the militia has forbidden protestors to pitch a tent on the lawn opposite to the Supreme Court building. Protesters said that they were visited by Tursunbek Akun, who informed them about their rights. Participants of the hunger strike have two core demands: 1) resignation of the chairman of Supreme court of KR, K. Osmonov and all members of the Committee on Civil Cases; 2) consideration of legal cases on the basis of newly revealed circumstances. There are two notable facts: a) there are no public statements by former candidates to whose advantage this action takes place; b) there is no information in the press

about attempts by candidates (and/or their lawyers) who lost during the elections to initiate consideration of their cases on newly revealed circumstances. One of the protesters, Kokozeva Ainura, has however shared her personal motive behind participation in the action. According to her, in 1995 when land plots were distributed among former workers of the kolkhoz in Chuy village (Chuy oblast), she could not receive her land plot due to delays and bureaucratic obstacles. She now hopes that T. Andashev, who lost the parliament elections in constituency no. 59, will help to resolve her problems when he becomes parliament member.

3. Trends and expectations

The week from September 7 till September 13 passed calmly. The main event of this week was the visit of General public prosecutor, Beknazarov, to the southern oblasts to meet with the population regarding the murders in Karasuu and the hiring policy of the governing bodies. New trends occurred, namely testing by the population of instruments of influence on hiring policies, and educational and preparatory work of youth by criminal groups. In addition there were developments of previously mentioned events and trends, namely conflicts within enterprises, the situation in Kara Keche, and drug production in Issyk Kul oblast.

Difference in opinions regarding sites for the “preparation of terrorists” in Kyrgyzstan was this week openly expressed in mutually exclusive statements of officials. In general, it is possible to distinguish three official positions of Kyrgyzstan concerning the preparation of "terrorists" on its territory, as was claimed by the State Office of the Public Prosecutor of Uzbekistan. The official positions of deputy chairman of Security Council of KR, B. Khan, of Prime Minister, F. Kulov, and of the Office of General Prosecutor differed (www.pr.kg - 07/09/05). But, on 7 September, the press service of the Government found it necessary to clarify that “Prime Minister Felix Kulov has never stated that “destructive forces were prepared in Southern Kyrgyzstan” as was informed by AKI-Press. The concern of the Prime Minister with shortcomings in the work of the National Security Service, Border Service and the high level of corruption in the Passport-Visa Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (expressed in his interview to the Bishkek office of BBC Radio and further commented by News Agency AKI-Press), is not a ground for stating that preparation of destructive forces took place in our country”. To remind, in the above-cited interview Felix Kulov expressed his intention to exclude any possibility for “bandits to use the country’s territory for destabilizing the situation in the neighboring country”. If the Security Council denies involvement of Kyrgyzstan in Andijan events, then in the case of the Government involvement is subject to doubts on the ground of ambiguous statements by the Prime Minister. At the same time the State Office of Public Prosecutor of KR takes a third position - all decisions connected to refugees from Uzbekistan are based on specific articles of current Kyrgyz and international legislation. Thus, the General Prosecution Office conducted in cooperation with Uzbek Prosecution Office authorities a range of investigative measures, which did not prove accuracy of accusation of the Uzbek General Prosecution Office. Despite the differences in opinion, none of these officials have objected to eachother’s statements. It is obvious that such a position lets Kyrgyzstan retain a certain balance in its relations with international organizations, Uzbekistan and part of the Kyrgyz electorate, who began to find the Kyrgyz authorities weak. It should be noted that on September 9 the press-service of the National Security Service of KR released a statement claiming that there are no subversive and terrorist bases for preparing rebels at the territory of Kyrgyzstan, and certainly no foreign instructors (www.pr.kg – 09/09/05).

The second trend is related to the **inflow of migrants, citizens of Uzbekistan, to the southern regions of Kyrgyzstan**. Based on information from representatives of local NGOs and governing bodies, the situation is tense due to a) the arrival of a large number of migrants because of unemployment in Uzbekistan and political reasons (who find shelter with relatives) and therefore increasing competition at the labor market, b) demands of the Kyrgyz population to strengthen borders

and diminishing their transparency by means of tightening the visa regime. The statement made on September 9 by border patrol experts that tightening of borders in Fergana Valley is needed, was probably in response to the above.

The third trend is **the increase in activities of religious organizations in Naryn oblast**, in particular Hizb-ut-Tahrir (HUT) and Western Christian confessions. Previously, the main region for the work of HUT was the southern part of the country. Recently however, HUT has increased their activities in Issyk-Kul oblast (see Bulletin No. 8). In Bishkek, HUT has been active from time to time, but massive action through distribution of leaflets was observed only once, in 2004. During this last week HUT's active work was observed in Bishkek and in Naryn oblast. In Naryn oblast there have been frequent visits to houses of local residents by young men, named "davatchi" by the people, with appeals to attend mosques where "davatchi" could tell about God and how children should be brought up in the spirit of Islam. There are secret groups of people who rent apartments that are visited by non-local, bearded, Kyrgyz men dressed in white. Also, there are rumors that members of HUT allure students and school children for ideological training. Further, there are two Christian factions operating, namely Baptists and Jehovah missionaries. Baptists have organized free English language courses for the poor. Moreover, poor people receive financial aid from the Baptist missionaries. The focus group is poor people and in addition special thematic programs for children, youth and adults are organized. Kyrgyz who join the Baptists are treated suspiciously. Members of Jehovah limit their activity to the distribution of religious literature translated into Kyrgyz. Such a fact alarms the local population. There is a possibility for conflicts among the population that may be similar to the conflicts in some villages in Issyk-Kul oblast, namely division of religious groups into two camps, traditional Islam on the one hand, and new "factions" of Islam and Christian confessions on the other hand, as well as refusal of local religious representatives to conduct a funeral or to allow the dead to be buried on the same cemetery.

The next trend is a **crisis regarding hiring policy in the south of the country**. The feeling of discontent is reinforced by the fact that the immediate participants of the March events feel that the current authorities are accountable to them (including in regard to hiring policy). Examples of criticism expressed are a failure to meet expectations and abuse of trust of the population by the current authorities. Therefore, repeated attempts to remove local authorities, presented as 'just', and to substitute the "worst" candidates with "better" ones are possible (see Bulletin No. 10). The authority as it stands tries to preserve a certain balance, but often either finds itself under time constraints (for instance, 15 days given to the General Public Prosecutor of KR A. Beknazarov for investigation of A. Junusov's murder) or under tight restrictions determined by the initiatives of protest groups (for instance, establishment of autonomous territory in Kara-Keche). The present period could be characterized as a time for 1) creation and testing of effective methods of pressure on the authorities for the formation of the governing bodies (for instance, demands presented on the 11 of September by the relatives of A. Junusov and S. Abdiev regarding full replacement of staff of the public prosecutor's office of Karasu rayon) as well as 2) precedents of their application.

An alarming trend is being observed in the villages of the **western rayons of Chui oblast**: Jayil, Panfilov, and Moskow rayon. There is an accumulation of three groups of **migrants**: a) internal migrants from the southern regions, primarily from Jalalabad oblast; b) ethnic Kyrgyz from Tajikistan, who arrived in 1993-98 and already received Kyrgyz citizenship; c) ethnic Kyrgyz from Uzbekistan who massively arrived in 2002-2003 and who extend their staying on the territory of Kyrgyzstan to obtain citizenship. Migrants in Moskow rayon await the completion of field works in October-November (when leasers vacate the fields) to renew their demands for land allocation. There is a conflict at "Jayil market" between local traders and 20-50 recently arrived traders from the southern regions. The local population objects to the fact that southerners easily compete in prices, as they conduct their trade in an unestablished place where they do not pay for a market place or taxes. The first group (a) is considered to be the most likely candidate in the role of opposition in possible conflicts with local citizens. The two other groups (b and c) are more law-abiding, but at the same time express

complaints on artificial and bureaucratic obstacles in the process of obtaining residence permit. There is a possibility that ethnic Kyrgyz recently arrived from abroad will join land seizure actions.

Among **intra-industrial conflicts** are conflicts involving the Kyrgyz railroad department (Bishkek city), joint-stock cotton company “Kyrgyzhlopok” (Jalalabad), AO “Kyrgyz-Chinese paper mill (Tokmok city), the Jalalabad department of “Kyrgyzmail” and **Mailusuu electro-lamp factory**. All the above conflicts are characterized as conflicts among administrative personnel and/or large stock-holders on one side and staff on the other. Due to the scheduled entrance of large Russian companies such as RusAl, RAO ES, and possibly Kazakh investors, into hydro-power engineering in Kyrgyzstan, the attractiveness of these enterprises is increasing since they **a)** will be able to serve the hydro-power engineering industry; **b)** are attractive objects for purchase as property by investors; and also **c)** possess large resources of ferrous and non-ferrous metals. Therefore, intensification of the conflict between interested groups (financial, criminal) could be anticipated in the framework of attempts to re-privatize or transform state enterprises into joint-stock companies. Taking into account the above, it is less attractive for investors to set up manufacturing or production facilities in Kyrgyzstan than to sell property and transfer capital abroad. From similar Russian experience in 1992-2000 it can be inferred that this situation will become an important argument in political conflicts. Conflicts can be expressed in fights among staff, dual leadership, storming of enterprises (already happened with joint-stock cotton company “Kyrgyzhlopok”), ordered assassinations, and large misappropriations, which could lead to mass protests.

Criminalization as a trend is not new in itself. However, there is a development that needs attention, namely the **involvement of new members** and their training. On September 7, 25 students of 10-11th grades of the Y. Gagarin school attacked students of Kerme-Too school in Osh city. From unofficial conversations with officials of the governing bodies and NGOs, it became known that, recently, two (out of several) criminal groups in Osh city, namely “Patriot” and “Sanjar and Kanjar”, started to conduct educative work with the youth. The above-mentioned attack sharply differs from the usual fights of teenage groups in style and strategy. Specifically, self-made clubs (plastic covers filled with steal and lead, a relatively complex technology), masks, attack methods (infiltration of the gym during class) and psychological attacks were used. In the immediate future there is a possibility that criminals will involve teenagers in participation in political actions in the southern and other regions. For example, the grouping of Aidar Bekmurzaev has already been noticed provoking fights during the speech given by General Prosecutor A. Beknazarov on September 6 regarding the assassination of A. Junusov. Although this particular incident did not include teenagers, their involvement in acts of criminal groups is possible. Notably, on September 8, along with the visit of General Public Prosecutor A. Beknazarov, the issue of juvenile criminality became the main point on the agenda of the law enforcement agencies and the administration of Osh oblast and city. At the current moment, it is difficult to judge whether this trend is connected with the revolt of the juvenile delinquents at work farm ITK-14, located in the village Boznesenovka.

Information updates:

- Kara-Keche 1: Contrary to information that appeared in the media on September 12 (www.kyrgyzinfo.kg), P. Rakhmanov said on September 14 that “there was no court decision on cancellation of the Decree on appointing Mr. Nurlan Motuev as the director of State Corporation “Ak-Ulak” and that the top management temporarily appointed N. Motuev to stabilize the situation in Kara-Keche (www.kabar.kg).
- Kara-Keche 2: The situation in Kara-Keche takes on different dynamics. A certain improvement in the reputation of N. Motuev is noted among the members of the movement “Joomart” and local residents, in proportion to the level of fulfillment of his promises. Local budget organizations receive coal, salaries are being paid and staff is provided with food. There is a trend of increasing popularity of N. Motuev in the neighboring rayons – Ak-Tala, At-Bashy and Kochkor. Motuev also made successful attempts to attract specialists from various disciplines for exploitation of the coal mine, realizing the lack of professional competence. Although budget organizations are only

partially provided with the necessary amount of coal, there is a significant difference with the previous period. For instance, last year schools were provided only 18% of the necessary amount of coal, whereas this year it is 25%. N. Motuev also expresses his readiness to provide certain categories of people with coal, but he claims that local self-government refused to provide him with the list of citizens eligible for discount. On August 31, a group of five representatives of local NGOs visited the coal pit in Kara-Keche. During a meeting with participants of the “Joomart” movement, it was pointed out that members realize the lack of a political base for further development and they are willing to increase the level of political and legal literacy. The participants of the meeting representing the “Joomart” movement expressed readiness and desire to take part in the necessary training. Their attitude towards the actions of the central and higher authority of the government and administration remains suspicious, and all kinds of actions involving the use of force by law enforcement bodies can provoke a harsh reaction.

- Drug trade in Issyk-Kul oblast: There is still an increase in drugs trade in Issyk-Kul oblast. Increase has been observed in two directions: a) other regions getting engaged into the trade of marijuana (this week this type of activity has been observed in remote villages along the road between Aksuu and Tyup rayons); b) teenagers and women becoming involved in the drugs trade. There is still a high potential for clashes with the law enforcement agencies.

Expectations:

- There is a likelihood of interclan conflict in Talas oblast during the upcoming local elections. Elections for local self-governments and heads of ayil okmotu are scheduled to take place from the second part of September till December. In this period there is a possibility of intensification of clan tensions among the electorate based on the relation of the candidates to one of the clans. Statements of the population, who expect segregation during the pre-election campaign and the elections, confirm this. Previous elections for Jogorku Kenesh in election district no. 54 demonstrated that clan tensions may lead to conflicts within families, even resulting in divorce. Based on testimonies of local residents, Talas oblast is the most prone to tribal tendencies of all oblasts in Kyrgyzstan.
- Karasuu: In connection with the demonstrations held in April by residents of the village Kara-Dariya of Suzak region in Jalalabat oblast for the support of their fellow village resident Bayaman Erkinbaev after the events in hotel “Alay” (Osh city), clashes with the relatives of the murdered A. Jusunov and C. Abdiev may occur.

4. Recommendations

For resolution of the problem in Karasuu

- *NGOs, Government* – **a)** to establish close contact with elder and respected people among the relatives of the assassinated; **b)** in contacts with (primarily elder and closest) relatives of the assassination victims, to emphasize the accessibility of available information, except for information that can't be disclosed due to the ongoing investigation; **c)** in case the information cannot be disclosed, particular details of dissemination of other information should be agreed upon with the relatives, with whom contact was established; **d)** to form a social group aimed at informational support and mediation between relatives of assassinated A. Junusov and S. Abdiev on one side and law enforcement bodies on the other side, in order to avoid use of forceful methods by the relatives. It is recommended that the group is made up of representatives with solid reputation, level of influence (position, service record), of the same clan/regional belongings and experience of conflict resolution (preferably, but not mandatory); **e)** in the process of candidate selection for contact with the relatives, it is desirable to give preference to people with a high level of personal trustworthiness and/or people with a long experience of communication with relatives or with those assassinated.

- *General Prosecution* – **a)** to establish a specialized information phone line for contact with public in relation to investigation of the assassinations of A. Junusov and S. Abdiev; **b)** to take account of the claims regarding contact and accessibility of information, addressed to the General Public Prosecutor A. Beknazarov on the meeting with the oblast administration on September 8.

For preventing problem of possible land capture in Chui oblast

- *Government, local administrations and self-governments of Chui oblast* – **a)** to start searching for available lands that are suitable for agriculture and with positive economic prospects; **b)** to elaborate economic privileges (taxes, pensions) for migrants in other, less economically attractive, regions of the country; **c)** to use privileges of international agreements in the sphere of labor migration, agreed upon with the Russian Federation, to motivate potential land claimants for labor migration; **d)** to consider particular ways of effective land use (for example, building condominiums).
- *NGOs* – **a)** to focus efforts on strengthening the attractiveness of alternative income generating activities, such as self-help groups, microcredit unions, legal labor migrations, as well as to initiate profitable programs for self-funding of the local communities in the native regions of internal migrants – e.g. family-based businesses in ecological tourism; **b)** to conduct explanatory activity on criminal liability for land seizure stipulated from 2005.

For resolution of the problem in Kara-Keche

- *To the Prime Minister* – to visit Kara-Keche for establishing contacts with “Joomart” movement, conducting negotiations, decreasing tensions and elaborating a further action plan (if possible in cooperation with “Joomart” movement).
- *To all state authorities, local self-governance and enterprises that have the competency to contribute to the resolution of the issue of Kara-Keche coal mine* – **a)** to temporarily avoid replacement of top personnel until basic decisions are taken by the Kyrgyz Government (in particular, the Prime Minister) after visit to Kara-Keche and negotiations; **b)** whenever possible, to recommend the Government to visit Kara-Keche; **c)** if the procurator bodies issue acts, which contradict the general meaning and strategy of peaceful conflict settlement, to apply to the procurator office (on the basis of territorial and specialization competencies) with the request to temporarily suspend the effect of the respective act in order to avoid antagonism between the law and the process of peaceful conflict settlement at present and in the future.
- *NGOs* – **a)** the recommendations in the Bulletins #8 and #9 are still valid. Activities should be focused on personal contacts with ordinary participants of the “Joomart” movement; **b)** to define the regions nation-wide that are most economically deprived and conduct educational-informational workshops on political and legal topics, as well as to initiate profitable activities (microcredit unions, self-help groups, programs on self-funding of local communities – e.g. family-based businesses in ecological tourism) in those regions in order to prevent: **a)** emergence of analogous situations in other regions; **b)** widening of the conflict potential base of “Joomart” movement (in account of the fact that large numbers of young people from Kochkor, At-Bashy and Ak-Tala rayons may join the movement and/or be used by criminal groups, that are interested in Kara-Keche and other similar facilities).

5. Announcements

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Intervention Database: The Early Warning for Violence Prevention Project appeals to organizations and individuals interested in organizing conflict mitigation activities to register in the Project database. The database will allow us to promptly engage you in the development and implementation of violence prevention measures.

Rapid Reaction Emergency Fund: The Early Warning for Violence Prevention Project is also announcing a small grant program intended for implementation conflict and violence prevention measures. More information can be found on the website www.fti.org.kg.

For more information about the Database and Emergency Fund please contact Violetta Yan at: 264/27 Manaschi Sagynbaya, phone: 996 (312) 64-43-60, 64-46-58, fax: 996 (312) 64-44-63, e-mail: fti@infotel.kg

About the Project:

The Early Warning for Violence Prevention Project was initiated to prevent violence related to political conflicts by creating a mechanism of forecasting/investigating conflicts and implementing appropriate preventive measures. The project is initiated by the Foundation for Tolerance International and the International Foundation IFES and supported by OSCE, UNDP, and the Swiss and US governments. The project started in June 2005.

In order to closely monitor the situation in the country, the Project created a national network of monitors selected among active members of the civil society and representatives of academic circles, media and law enforcement agencies. Overall, 36 monitors observe the situation throughout the country and maintain permanent communication with the Center for Early Warning.

The Center for Early Warning processes the information collected, prepares recommendations on interventions needed for violence prevention, and publishes a Weekly Bulletin.

The Early Intervention Component develops and implements action plans aimed at prevention of violence in close collaboration with governmental bodies, NGOs and international organizations. The Project also offers small grants for implementation of violence prevention measures.