WORKING WITH CONFLICTS IN KYRGYZSTAN

PCIA based on an Analysis of the Conflict Situation in Southern Kyrgyzstan

Helvetas Kyrgyzstan
Nicole Bisig
March 2002
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<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>Action of Churches Together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTED</td>
<td>Agence d'Aide a la Coopéartion Technique et au Développement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRA</td>
<td>Adventist Development and Relief Agency International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASDP</td>
<td>Asian Studies Development Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSR</td>
<td>Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMCC</td>
<td>Bishkek Migration Management Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community-Based Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Commonwealth of Independent States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSSC</td>
<td>Civil Society Support Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAST</td>
<td>Early-Warning Project of the Swiss Peace Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTI</td>
<td>Foundation for Tolerance International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCNM</td>
<td>OSCE High Commission on National Minorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICG</td>
<td>International Crisis Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHF</td>
<td>International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMU</td>
<td>Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>Islamic Party of Turkestan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSAP</td>
<td>Kyrgyz-Swiss Agricultural Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LARC</td>
<td>Legal Assistance to Rural Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCI</td>
<td>Mercy Corps International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MECD</td>
<td>Ministry of Emergencies and Civil Defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODIHR</td>
<td>OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCIA</td>
<td>Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>Programme Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAS</td>
<td>Rural Advisory Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>Shanghai Cooperation Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>Soviet Socialist Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZMT</td>
<td>Centre for Tropical Marine Ecology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War, the world has been confronted with a growing number of violent conflicts, mostly intrastate conflicts. After events like those in Rwanda, Liberia and Bosnia the task to prevent violent conflicts and support long-term peace processes has moved more and more to the forefront. Experiences in Rwanda, Bosnia, Liberia and other states showed that violent conflicts can destroy long-term efforts of development within a short time. And so the issue of violent conflicts has moved sharply up on the development-cooperation agenda and intensive international and national debates have been under way concerning the role and impact of development cooperation in the context of violent conflicts. The two main questions are: How and with what instruments can programmes and projects of development cooperation make a contribution to conflict management and crisis prevention? How can development organizations make certain their activities do not exacerbate the conflicts?

During the country programme planning workshops of Helvetas Kyrgyzstan in July and October 2000, the participants agreed that the Helvetas Kyrgyzstan country programme would strengthen the conflict identification, prevention and resolution aspects. Conflict resolution and conflict prevention have recently been adopted as the principles of Swiss and Helvetas cooperation. In Helvetas Kyrgyzstan’s programme this transversal theme will be introduced at the policy and operational levels. For this reason I have been mandated to do research on the situation on inter-ethnic conflict in Southern Kyrgyzstan and to present a revised PCIA to be used as a tool in Helvetas Kyrgyzstan projects.
SECTION ONE: SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN KYRGYZSTAN

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. Geographical and Demographical Background

Kyrgyzstan, a small, mountainous, landlocked country in the heart of Central Asia, is located between 39° and 43° N and 69° and 80° E. It borders Kazakhstan in the north, China in the east, Tajikistan in the South and Uzbekistan in the west. Nearly 95 percent of the country is mountainous: almost half of it at an elevation of over 3000 meters above sea-level and three-quarters of it under permanent snow and glaciers. Its area of 199'900 sq km is 4.8 times larger than Switzerland's and it has a population of 4.8 million. The great majority of people live away from the massive mountain ranges – Pamir Alay, Ala-Too and Tian Shan – on the periphery of the country. The mountainous central topography divides the country naturally and the peripheral areas have closer links with neighbouring countries than with the capital.

The Ferghana Valley extends into three Central Asian countries, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The Kyrgyz part of the Ferghana Valley makes up 40 percent of the area and 51 percent of the population of Kyrgyzstan. In this border zone Kyrgyzstan has three administrative regions (oblasts): the Jalal Abad oblast with 869'529 inhabitants, the Osh oblast with 1'175'998 inhabitants, and the Batken oblast with 382'426 inhabitants. The demographic situation in the region is critical. It is one of the most densely populated regions. Moreover, the birth rate in the region is with 3.1 to 3.2 children per women very high.
The ethnic composition of the region is very complex. Apart from the main ethnic groups (Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Tajik), there are over 50 ethnic minorities (Uighur, Tatar, Russian, Kazakh, Korean, Ukrainian and others).

### Jalal Abad oblast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory: 33.7 sq km</th>
<th>Density: 26.1 people/sq km</th>
<th>Population: 869,529</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By ethnicity:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kyrgyz</td>
<td>69.84%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Uzbek</td>
<td>24.38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Russian</td>
<td>2.06%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Tatar</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tajik</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Turkish</td>
<td>0.56%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Uighur</td>
<td>0.43%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Ukrainian</td>
<td>0.28%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Kurdish</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Others</td>
<td>0.79%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Osh oblast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory: 29.2 sq km</th>
<th>Density: 40.3 people/sq km</th>
<th>Population: 1,175,998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By ethnicity:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kyrgyz</td>
<td>63.83%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Uzbek</td>
<td>31.09%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Russian</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Tatar</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tajik</td>
<td>0.54%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Turkish</td>
<td>0.88%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Uighur</td>
<td>0.88%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Azerbaijan</td>
<td>0.31%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Others</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Batken oblast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory: 17.0 sq km</th>
<th>Density: 22.5 people/sq km</th>
<th>Population: 382,426</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By ethnicity:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kyrgyz</td>
<td>74.29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Uzbek</td>
<td>14.41%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Russian</td>
<td>2.17%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Tatar</td>
<td>1.02%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tajik</td>
<td>6.93%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Turkish</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Others</td>
<td>0.88%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The figures quoted are 1999 figures provided from the National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic. Figures for 2000 and 2001 were not yet available.
The religious diversity is considerable. The professed religions are Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Within Islam itself there is a number of competing divisions such as Sunna, Siha, Ismailism, Wahabism and Hizb ut-Tahrir.

1.2. The Soviet Legacy

Until 1991, Kyrgyzstan’s role within the USSR was primarily as supplier of livestock. Due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Ferghana Valley became divided among the states for the first time in its history. The borders themselves had been drawn by the authorities in Moscow between 1924 and 1936, yet never with any precision. They are based on the linguistically distinct populations that generally do not follow the natural geographical borders and are thus completely artificial. Furthermore, the utmost complexity of the geographical territory is also illustrated by the fact that the Ferghana Valley is not only fragmented by international borders but also divided within the countries by the existence of 7 enclaves. The new state borders severed many communication and trade links.

Because of the collapse of the Soviet Union Kyrgyzstan was confronted with two major changes, a dual economic transition. One is the change of paradigm from a state directly managed from Moscow to an independent country. The other is the change from a planned economy to a market economy.

For the former Soviet republics of Central Asia independence had severe economic consequences. In Kyrgyzstan, in the six years from 1990 to 1996, GDP fell by 47 percent; industrial output fell by 61 percent by volume; agricultural output fell by 35 percent, and capital investment by 56 percent. The collapse of the federal government meant the end of direct budget support from Moscow, the intra-Soviet distribution networks for both exports and imports disappeared, industrial production declined, and a significant part of the former leadership and intellectual elite emigrated.

The political culture is still heavily influenced by the long social tradition of paternalism, by Soviet-era authoritarianism, and by the strong conviction that the fundamental order of society is based on loyalty and patronage, rather than on equity or consensus or democratic principles. People are not used to speaking out against the government or the president and they lack experience with political and democratic ways of solving their problems.

1.3. A Recent History of Violence
1.3.1. The Shadow of two Massacres

In the years prior to Kyrgyzstan’s independence and soon afterwards many violent conflicts occurred in Central Asia, including the clashes between Uzbeks and Meskhetian Turks in Uzbekistan and the Osh-Uzgen riots in Kyrgyzstan.

In June 1989, Clashes in Uzbekistan between Uzbeks and Meskhetian Turks broke out after a disagreement in a market between an Uzbek vendor and a Meskhetian buyer. The incident triggered widespread violence that spread to several cities in the Ferghana Valley (Kuvasay, Margilan, Kokand and Namagan). Around 100 people were killed and 600 - 800 wounded. Moscow sent thousands of troops in to quell the violence that had taken place over the course of a week.
In the same year a smaller-scale violent conflict occurred between ethnic groups belonging to the to "title nations" on the borders of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Several people were killed and injured in the municipality of Samarkandek. The dispute was attributed to land and water distribution. The joint meetings of the Communist leaders of the two republics prevented further escalation.

The Osh-Uzgen riots in June 1990 began as a conflict over redistribution of land to local residents and continued as savage ethnic cleansing in several places. Ethnic violence started in Osh as an isolated incident connected to the redistribution of land and turned into a slaughter in many rural and urban areas. The conflict swiftly escalated to the destructive stage during the week of 4 - 10 June 1990. The participants in the violence had no official leadership or preparation. Rather it was uncontrolled crowd paranoia, based mainly on fear and conformism. The arrival of Soviet troops stopped the clashes.

1.3.2. Incursions from the South

In the last few years, there have been several violent incursions into Kyrgyzstan from the South. The main force behind these events is the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), the new named Islamic Party of Turkestan (IPT), a political organization that seeks to overthrow Uzbekistan's President Karimov.

The first Batken crisis started on 31 July 1999, when a group of 21 guerrillas from IMU crossed into South Kyrgyzstan from Tajikistan and took 3 Kyrgyz law enforcement officers hostage. After obtaining an officially unconfirmed ransom, they returned to Tajikistan. On 6 August 1999, another armed group that had entered the Batken District of Southern Kyrgyzstan through high-mountain passes from Tajikistan took several Kyrgyz officials hostage. They released them a week later after a ransom of US$ 50’000 had been paid. The Kyrgyz military proceeded in an effort to expel the armed group from Kyrgyzstan. On 17 August 1999, after the rebels came close to Kyshtut and the Sokh enclave, unmarked combat planes from Uzbekistan carried out bombings on rebel strongholds in Tajikistan and also hit a Kyrgyz village, whereby 4 people were killed and 16 injured. The incident triggered the first major wave of IDP, mainly to Batken town, lowland Dara and Haidarken. Then on 22 – 23 August 1999, a new group of several dozen hostages was taken, including a Kyrgyz general and four Japanese geologists. The confrontation continued for two months, during which Kyrgyz troops appeared powerless to expel the insurgents from several villages. Uzbekistan offered military support, and, without a go-ahead from either country, its air force bombed the territory of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan on 3 October 1999, provoking sharp protests, especially from the latter. The insurgents withdrew after Japan reportedly paid a ransom of US$ 6 million. And on 11 October 1999, the fighters of the IMU left Kyrgyz territory and returned to Tajikistan.

The second Batken crisis took place between 9 and 14 August 2000, when the IMU guerrillas crossed into the provinces of Surkhandarya and Tashkent in Uzbekistan. In South Kyrgyzstan, most of the fighting took place a bit further west in the Batken municipality of Samarkandek. A new fact was the appearance of guerrilla reconnaissance units in the Chatkal valley on the western outskirts of Jalal Abad oblast. Compared to the 1999 crisis, the number of IDP was far lower. On the other hand, the official death toll was higher than in 1999.
This year there were reports of IMU militants exchanging gunfire during the night 24/25 July with Kyrgyz troops near Gomuti pass in the Alay Mountains. In addition, there were reports of clashes during the night of 25 - 26 July near the mountain pass at Telbe, and around the border village of Zardaly. Kyrgyz authorities vigorously denied those reports. In addition, some officials deny that IMU fighters participated in the 24 – 25 July clash, asserting instead that narcotics traffickers were involved.

1.3.3. Other Smaller Disputes

Border disputes:
Poorly demarcated borders have led to violent disputes especially where there were opportunities to make large amounts of money out of differential prices or tariffs. In an incident in the Samarkandek District, for example, there was a dispute about the sitting of a lucrative petrol station on the borders. This led to the stoning of a village leader and kindled a tense rivalry between the Tajik and Kyrgyz peoples.

There is considerable tension in the Ferghana Valley arising from Uzbekistan’s decision to impose tariffs and visa requirements on what had previously been an open border. According to the Foundation for Tolerant International (FTI), there are about 130 locations where territorial disputes have arisen between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and about 70 locations of similar disputes between Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. During the last few months, the Uzbek authorities have intensified border controls, established new border-checkpoints and often closed the borders for all traffic. Several collocutors claimed that these new border checkpoints are often established on Kyrgyz territory, thus changing the border.

Resource disputes:
The overpopulation in the Ferghana Valley often results in conflicts over limited land and water resources, often with inter-ethnic overtones.

Water is a critical issue throughout the region. Most agricultural activity depends on irrigation so that the absence of super national authority over local political interests allows that local elites neglect collective needs or in the worst case restrict water resources to themselves. A number of such disputes have been reported.

On a wider scale, there has been tension between Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan over the supply of water from major reservoirs. This caused Uzbekistan to keep back energy supplies.

The occupation and annexation of Kyrgyz land in the border zone by Uzbeks and Tajiks is a further cause of conflict. First, they graze their cattle on Kyrgyz land or cultivate the land, and then they build their homes and settle there permanently. The Kyrgyz fear that this land will thus become the territory of other states.
2. CAUSES OF CONFLICTS

2.1. Root Causes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National factors</th>
<th>Security</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- No confidence in police and judiciary.</td>
<td>- Authoritarian political culture.</td>
<td>- Scarce natural resources: water and land; - Poverty.</td>
<td>- Unemployment; - Finding a new identity; - Demographical pressure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International factors</th>
<th>Security</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Incursions of Islamic extremists.</td>
<td>- Borders and customs.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1. Security Factors

Kyrgyzstan’s judiciary has yet to develop as an independent and effective branch of government. The failure to develop this “third leg” of the democratic system has allowed Akayev and his supporters to revert consistently to extra-legal means to target political opponents and the free press. Courts have been used to manipulate election results, to constrain the media, and to issue damaging verdicts against individuals – including members of the opposition. Such improper use of the courts as a political tool have left the people with a loss of their confidence in the judiciary.

A substantial source of instability at the international level is the growth of militant Islamic groups, notably the IMU. Armed incursions through Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have taken place every summer for the last three years. This had on the one hand the positive effect that cooperation on security issues by regional governments increased, but on the other hand the tensions related to the governments’ differing interpretations of national security increased.

2.1.2. Political Factors

When sovereignty was devolved from Moscow, local elites who had concentrated on their relationship with Moscow turned their attentions to each other. The intra-elite rivalry was shaped initially by the rhetoric of democratization that had come out of Gorbachev’s reforms and by a fairly powerful ground-swell of popular support for democratization. Thus, the initial response to independence appeared to offer an entrenchment of democratic processes. As in Soviet times, however, when local elites manipulated the propaganda of communism as a tool to remain in power, a number of political groups were merely using the propaganda of democracy and pluralism as a tool in their pursuit of power. The counter-trend toward authoritarianism became more powerful as the decade proceeded. Political shocks of various kinds, either domestic or international - the civil war in Tajikistan, the Russian economic crisis and terrorist incidents - and weak institutional capacities in many areas of government, gave political leaders the motivation and justification for this reversal. This culture is still heavily influenced by the long social tradition of paternalism, by Soviet-era authoritarianism, and by the strong conviction that

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2 See 1.3.2. Incursions from the South.
the fundamental order of society is based on loyalty and patronage, rather than on equity or consensus.

As countries, especially Uzbekistan at this stage, start demarcating borders, it causes disruption to the social and economic linkages that people enjoyed previously. Roads built during the Soviet period did not consider borders and, at present, accessibility by road from one part of Kyrgyzstan to another may have to be through another country. Thus, as borders are consolidated, the normal accessibility that people had is disrupted. Infrastructure once shared now becomes difficult. Besides, customs officials are often very rough and sometimes infringe on people’s rights. Other critical factors concerning borders are disputes with neighbour states over borders, plans by President Akayev to make territorial concessions to both Uzbekistan and China, the parliamentary opposition’s threat to begin impeachment proceedings against President Akayev because of this, and tensions between the parliament and the president shown by this.

2.1.3. Economic Factors

Disputes over land and water resources, within and across state borders, are growing in number and intensity. The Ferghana Valley has a high population density and high birth rate. It contains 20 percent of Central Asia’s population but only 5 percent of the land mass. Overpopulation combined with lack of arable land and water supplies are likely to cause growing tensions and conflict. The situation is particularly tense between the Batken oblast of Kyrgyzstan and the Sogdi province of Tajikistan. The influence of refugees into these areas may seriously aggravate the situation.

In the last decade, the country experienced an economic decline. The country went from having little poverty to a situation where more than 60 percent of the population live beneath the official poverty line. The World Bank estimates GDP per capita to be less than US$ 300 annually. The minimum wage is US$ 2 a day, and staggering hyperinflation in the early post-independence period wiped out the lifetime savings of most families. The cost of living increased 17 percent in 2000 alone, and the social safety net for pensioners, the sick and government employees has largely collapsed. Even basic necessities such as gas and electricity have become increasingly out of reach for many families.\textsuperscript{3} In certain localities, especially in rural areas, poverty is now so severe that it poses a serious threat to stability. The Batken oblast suffers the worst social and economic conditions in Kyrgyzstan.

2.1.4. Social Factors

Unemployment is very high. The official unemployment rate is close to 3 percent, while the actual rate is at least ten times higher due to hidden unemployment. In conditions of severe socio-economic stress, a large population of unemployed young people with no prospect of gainful employment and no access to land has a destabilising role and creates considerable potential for violence. In 2000 and 2001 protests broke out in Bishkek, Naryn, Jalal Abad and elsewhere in reaction to unemployment, rising costs and stagnant wages.

While the problem exists in all the oblasts of Kyrgyzstan, the most potential for poverty to result in social tension and conflict is in the Ferghana Valley. This part has already witnessed violent conflicts. Given these experiences and the stress that is imposed by the processes of nation building that is going on in different ways in the three countries sharing the Ferghana Valley (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan), the once harmonious communities in the Ferghana Valley are exposed to vulnerable conditions for social conflicts. The processes of nation building have contributed to increasing social tensions as normal livelihoods get affected by the break up of the unified social, economic and political systems of the Soviet period. The people identify themselves with their nationality, language as well as political and cultural system introduced by the country of their origin or ethnicity.

As said before, the highest density of the population in Central Asia is found in the Ferghana Valley (Jalal Abad oblast: 26.1 people/sq km, Osh oblast: 40.3 people/sq km and Batken oblast: 22.5 people/sq km), with a high percentage of youth (40 percent in the Kyrgyz Ferghana Valley) and a high birth rate (3.1 to 3.2 children per woman). The population growth of 25 percent in the last decade has aggravated the effects of economic decline, especially in poorer areas.

# 2.2. Aggravating Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National factors</td>
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## 2.2.1. Security Factors

The Taleban’s destruction of Afghanistan’s heritage is not the only problem in Central Asia. Further north, concern is mounting about Islamic extremists, apparently inspired and supported by the Taleban and Osama Bin Laden’s terrorists as for instance IMU or Hizb ut-Tahrir seeking to topple the post-Soviet regimes in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. There is certainly plenty to be concerned about but much of the danger is the product of policy misjudgement and overreaction from the regional governments.
themselves. Efforts by the government to suppress religions add to the current atmosphere of instability, as have security concerns about renewed incursions by the IMU and disputes with neighbouring Uzbekistan and Tajikistan about how best to deal with this threat. If the government genuinely fears an upsurge of Islamic extremism they need to change their approach to unauthorised Islamic activities. They need to accept that Islam is a resurgent social force, relatively benign for the most part, but one which will be mobilised with increasing effectiveness as a means to counter state power if public resentment toward the government continues to grow. How Islamic precepts and organizations continue to influence politics in Kyrgyzstan will depend more on the record of government in economic and social policy than on any underlying characteristics of Islam as a religion or on any existing confessional dispositions with Islam.

All the Central Asian countries have expanded their military capabilities in recent years. Kyrgyzstan’s limited resources constrain how much the armed forces can be built up, but the defence budget was doubled in two years from a mere US$ 14 million in 1999 to US$ 29 million in 2001. Most funds are earmarked for improving and acquiring better equipment rather than expanding the size of the military. Kyrgyzstan had in 2000 approximately 20'000 troops in all of its military and paramilitary formations (the Interior Ministry: 3'000; the National Guard: 1'500; the Ministry for Emergencies and Civil Defence: 2'000; the Ministry for National Defence: 1'000; the remaining 12'500 troops belong to the armed forces with almost 10'000 in the Army and the remainder in the Air Force). That small military was beset by morale problems and was not effective. President Askar Akayev had not made the military a priority in the first years of independence. As a result, Kyrgyzstan was slow in setting up a national Ministry of Defence and its annual budget until 1999 was miserly. During the 1999 militant incursions, the government undertook a broad mobilisation, underlining how understaffed the military was. This resulted in an overreaction, and in fact the army did not have the capacity to train and manage the rapidly enlarged ranks. Reports in the press in 2001 mentioned that the military had been pressing people into the armed forces, using unlawful recruiting methods. That did not improve the spirit of the corps, which already suffered from poor provisioning and equipment and other problems common to post-Soviet militaries. The weakness of Kyrgyzstan’s security forces not only leads to internal fears, but also makes it vulnerable to external pressure.

There are three kinds of migration. One is the large rural exodus in the direction of Osh. Another is the out-migration from the Ferghana Valley to Europe. This kind of migration from the Ferghana Valley has increased greatly over the past ten years and caused a massive brain drain. The main factors of emigrations among Russian are economic insecurity, mass unemployment among the Slavic population, a lack of demand for their skills and difficulties in obtaining the proper education. And another one is the in-migration of refugees (especially from Tajikistan and Afghanistan).

In response to the terrorist attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania on 11 September 2001, the United States and a broad though informal coalition of allies and like minded states built up a military capability in Central Asia that strikes inside Afghanistan. The ruling Taleban and Osama Bin Laden, who had taken refuge in Afghanistan since 1996, are the primary targets. The five Central Asian nations – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – are now at the centre of a major diplomatic and military effort against terrorism. This has an enormous impact on a region that is already showing worsening signs of instability. The leaders of all the Central Asian nations quickly

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condemned the attacks in America. Anti-terrorism is a concept to which the Central Asian states are sympathetic in principle. Before 11 September, they were already attempting to mobilise against what they considered to be their own regional terrorist threats through a series of summit meetings, international agreements, and even a joint anti-terrorist centre to be established in Bishkek. The main vehicle for this activity is the SCO, which includes both Russia and China as well as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and has as its central platform anti-terrorism and opposition to radical Islam. So far the responses to calls for specific cooperation against terrorism have varied. Kyrgyzstan first declared that if necessary they would allow air space for U.S. aircraft. In December Kyrgyzstan allowed U.S. military aircraft to use the country’s main international Manas airport near Bishkek for the duration of antiterrorist operations in Afghanistan.

Two decades of conflict in Afghanistan have already had a major impact on Central Asia. During the Soviet period, Central Asia bore a heavy burden of casualties from the war in that country. In more recent years, the IMU, which is supported by the Taleban, has carried out incursions into Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan from bases in Afghanistan. Refugees from the Afghan civil war have been a major problem for Tajikistan. Indeed, all the countries are concerned that war may spill over into their territory. Moreover, much of Afghanistan’s drug production flows to Europe through Central Asia. A wider conflict in Central Asia would exacerbate the current problems of drug trafficking as well as the smuggling of arms and consumer goods. These have already had a major impact on economic and social conditions across the region. The economic situation in most of these countries is dangerous. One of the concerns shared most widely in the region has been the threat of large-scale refugee movements, particularly as the Afghan population includes large minorities of the same ethnic groups as those in Central Asia. There is also widespread concern that cooperation with the U.S. and its allies could make these states more vulnerable to reprisals from the Taleban or other extremist movements – most particularly the IMU.

Uzbekistan has mined its borders with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in the Ferghana Valley and along the margins of the Uzbek enclave Sokh. In Uzbekistan’s opinion landmines along country’s remote borders with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are a necessary security precaution against infiltration by Islamic rebels. The mines there are being planted on disputed territories that have no official lines of demarcation. According to The Times of Central Asia between the end of September 2000 and end of June 2001 ten landmine explosions have killed one Kyrgyz citizen, injured three others, and caused an estimated $94,000 in property damages. Officials in Bishkek and Dushanbe claim the majority of victims are shepherds, women collecting firewood, children and drivers travelling across the borders.

2.2.2. Political Factors

Corruption among state officials, including law enforcement agencies weakens the capacity to raise revenues, and if Government staff is not paid they may use their office to extract wages directly from the public. This process will not be directed against the strong but against the vulnerable. This growing corruption undermines people’s faith in the authorities. Against a background of economic recession, poverty and unemployment, there is growing discontent. Tensions are emerging in the population, and they have the potential to change traditional patron-client relations.

During the early years of the decade since independence from the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan was warmly viewed by the international community as one of the few success
stories of economic and political reform in Central Asia. President Askar Akayev expressed his hopes that Kyrgyzstan could become the “Switzerland of Central Asia”, and the country was widely hailed as an “Island of Democracy” in a region where autocracy and conflict seemed to be the norm. In contrast to the other Central Asian states, an independent media, multi-party democracy, NGOs and civil society were largely allowed to develop freely. Events since that time have seriously dimmed Kyrgyzstan’s reputation for reform and pushed the country closer to crisis. That President Akayev and his supporters have sharply curtailed civil liberties and used a variety of methods to crack down on critical journalists and opposition politicians. These are important factors contributing to growing instability. In recent years harassment of opposition politicians and journalists has been on the rise and the executive branch has increasingly used a largely compliant judiciary as a key tool to silence political opponents and critical media. In its 2001 report, the IHF speaks clear words: “Inconsistent with its reputation as the model Central Asian democracy following the fall of communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan’s human rights policies have in recent years grown increasingly repressive and the country has become an authoritarian militia State. Most basic human rights were violated, including the standards for fair and free elections, freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly. The judicial system was marked by the absence of the rule of law with courts dependent on central and local authorities. Torture and ill-treatment of detainees was commonplace, and human rights activists faced increasing harassment.”

Hizb ut-Tahrir also called the Party of Liberation is a radical religious group active in Central Asia. It has become an attractive force especially in the eyes of the young people of the Ferghana Valley. The police in Kyrgyzstan currently monitors over 2000 members of this organization. Hizb ut-Tahrir has become the strongest political force in Southern Kyrgyzstan. Their use of egalitarian slogans and the idea of unification of all Muslims through the creation of a united caliphate in Central Asia have gained widespread appeal. By acting within the constitutional frameworks that guarantee freedom of expression, the organization has scored points against the authorities perceived to be corrupt. According to the local press, approximately over a third of all young people in the city of Kara-Suu are under the influence of radical religious organizations. Local religious leaders acknowledged that the ranks of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Southern Kyrgyzstan have swelled because many young people are unemployed, bored and frustrated.

2.2.3. Economic Factors

Growing disparities of income and wealth have introduced serious social tensions as the gap between average monthly wages and the minimum that is necessary to live on continues to widen. The Central Asian states are among the countries with widest economic disparities of any in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union. These negative economic processes grow out of corruption among the political elite, arbitrary behaviour by representatives of state institutions, and especially of law enforcement bodies, and the consolidation of economic wealth and power in ruling families.

The influence of the international drug cartels is growing in the region. Mass unemployment, political instability and isolation of the Central Asian states have created a fertile ground for an increasing number of people to join drug trafficking activities. The

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drugs are transported from Afghanistan into and across the Ferghana Valley through Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan with the active participation of the local population and some highly placed officials.

2.2.4. Social Factors

Within the region, the fall in expenditure on health and education has been particularly severe in Kyrgyzstan, the most westernised economy. In Uzbekistan, which has not been so deeply influenced by Western aid requirements, the fall over the period 1991-1996 was 40 percent, whereas in Kyrgyzstan it was 60 percent. The quality of education and health services has declined, particularly in rural areas.

There have not been major incidents of violence between ethnic Kyrgyz and ethnic Uzbeks since riots in 1990 shook the cities of Osh and Uzgen. Concerns about a reoccurrence of ethnic conflict, however, have been a steady undercurrent of life. For example, in the summer of 2001 rumours were circulating that ethnic violence would soon break out in Uzgen or Osh, possibly at the main bazaars. An incident this spring underscored the brittleness of the situation. On 1 May 2001 in Uzgen, several teenagers rushed to the bazaar and raised the alarm that bearded Muslim fighters had arrived in the city. Traders fled the market in panic, leaving their goods behind. The teenagers turned out to simply be petty criminals who looted the stalls once the traders left. However, the incident does highlight the potential for small incidents to quickly turn serious, which is particularly the case when tensions have an ethnic overlay.

One source of tensions is the fact that Uzbeks have been largely shut out of the political process. Because mayors and governors have been appointed rather than elected, Uzbeks often feel they are poorly represented even in areas where they form a local majority. To reduce tensions, it will be crucial to provide Uzbeks with greater opportunities for participation and representation in local government.

The expression that “religion is the opiate of the masses” takes on a different sense in Kyrgyzstan. In fact the Communist legacy is the main opiate, whereas religion now shows signs of being a reformist and awakening influence. Drugs themselves flow along the lines created by militant religious sects. They also act directly as an opiate, undermining the health of the people and channelling grievance towards self-destruction. But drugs also create the criminal networks that could challenge state power. According to official data, drug addiction in Kyrgyzstan rose by 350 percent over the last five years. The highest rate - 50.6 per 100'000 - is in the capital, Bishkek. Drugs have reportedly swept through the armed forces. In 2001 the Kyrgyz AIDS Centre estimated there were 50'000 drug users in the country. Nonetheless, official figures admitted only 4'370 registered addicts. 8

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7 See 1.3.1.1. The Shadow of two Massacres.
3. THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decreasing the likelihood of conflict</th>
<th>Increasing the likelihood of conflict</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Increase in international financial support and military assistance;</td>
<td>- Further crack down on secular and religious opposition;</td>
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<td>- Foreign assistance in order to strengthen labour market and the social welfare system.</td>
<td>- Continuing policy failures;</td>
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<td>- Increasing discontent within the Kyrgyz society;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in international financial support and military assistance.</td>
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The situation in conflict prone regions is always in change, even mostly in rapid change. In order to take account of this fact and to stress the indispensability of a constant examination of the current situation, I cannot only fall back to the results of my own investigation - particularly in view of the fact that I terminated my research before 11 September 2001, which changed the situation in Central Asia drastically. In my opinion it is therefore best to use the current data of an organization specialised in the early recognition of impending or potential crisis situations for the purposes of early action and conflict prevention.

In its last country update FAST draws the following picture about the conflict’s dynamics: \(^9\)

3.1. Factors Increasing the Likelihood of Armed Conflict

The September 11 terror attacks in the U.S. have develop the consequences on Kyrgyzstan’s stability, both in the short- and long-term. Due to the expected increase in financial and military assistance (see Decreasing the Likelihood of Armed Conflict), the already low risk for violent conflict in the short and mid term has further been lowered. However, if Kyrgyzstan uses the international financial community’s increased support to further crack down on the secular and religious opposition instead of stimulating the weak domestic economy, this would inevitably enhance people’s discontent, eventually compelling them to support groups which offer alternative concepts of power, such as Hizb ut-Tahrir.

The period under consideration again tells the story of continuing policy failures under the present regime: Instead of supporting the domestic economy and integrating different factions into the Kyrgyz society, the Bishkek government jailed public figures of both the secular and religious opposition, raised taxes for vendors of the Osh market, and – because of outstanding debts – didn’t reach an agreement with neighbouring Uzbekistan on further gas supply, which is essential for the domestic economy. Not surprisingly, discontent within the Kyrgyz society is steadily increasing slowly but continuously. If this process continues, many ordinary Muslims, disillusioned by the poor performance of the post-Soviet government, will join organizations such as Hizb ut-Tahrir. While Hizb ut-Tahrir actually pursues its goal of creating a Muslim state by peaceful means, they could eventually become radicalised if the authorities continue to indiscriminately crack down on all opposition groups. With such a scenario becoming more and more likely, the danger of

\(^9\) FAST Country Updates: Kyrgyzstan August – October 2001. The most up-to-date version of this country update can be found on http://www.swisspeace.ch/html/program/fast/products.html#on_line.
large scale armed conflict in Kyrgyzstan increases as well – not in the near future but in the mid to long-term.

3.2. Factors Decreasing the Likelihood of Armed Conflict

For Kyrgyzstan, once labelled as an “Island of Democracy”, the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S. could have come just at the right time to (1) find a way out of its severe economic crisis, which bears the potential for future social unrest, and (2) to lessen the military vulnerability of the country by stationing Russian troops in Southern Kyrgyzstan.
Violent Conflict

Factors Decreasing the Likelihood of Conflict
- Increase in international financial support and military assistance;
- Foreign assistance in order to strengthen labour market and the social welfare system.

Factors Increasing the Likelihood of Conflict
- Further crack down on secular and religious opposition;
- Continuing policy failures;
- Increasing discontent within the Kyrgyz society;
- Increase in international financial support and military assistance.

Aggravating Factors

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<th>Security</th>
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<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
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Root Causes

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<tr>
<td>National factors</td>
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<tr>
<td>- No confidence in police and judiciary.</td>
<td>- Authoritarian political culture.</td>
<td>- Scarce natural resources: water and land;</td>
<td>- Unemployment;</td>
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<td>- Poverty.</td>
<td>- Finding a new identity;</td>
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<td>- Demographical pressure.</td>
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<tr>
<td>International factors</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Incursions of Islamic extremists.</td>
<td>- Borders and customs.</td>
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Background Conditions
SECTION TWO: PEACE AND CONFLICT IMPACT ASSESSMENT

1. THEORY

1.1. Conflict

Conflicts take place when two or more parties find their interests incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or take action that damages the other parties’ ability to pursue their interests.

Conflicts in itself are nothing negative. Social and political tensions are inevitable in processes of socio-economic development. The elimination of conflict is not the point, but rather, how to effectively address conflict when it arises. Conflict can be managed negatively through the use or threat of force. Alternatively, conflict can be managed positively through negotiation, joint problem-solving and consensus-building. Conflicts are a part of development. The co-designing of processes of change is an important part of development co-operation. However, the use of force to settle conflicts must be prevented.

1.2. Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA)

Most contemporary violent conflicts take place in developing and poor countries. The costs are huge and can disrupt a country’s development efforts for years. They include human suffering, expenditures on humanitarian, peace-keeping, commercial and reconstruction operations, and political fall-out. The rising number of conflict-related humanitarian emergencies diverts scarce resources from long-term development to humanitarian assistance. In addition, there are a number of situations that are characterised as conflict prone or where the potential of conflict lies just beneath the surface. These conflict situations, and the need to respond to them, now occupy a central place on the international agenda. The responses have ranged from short-term humanitarian assistance to long-term and more traditional development programming and to projects aimed at promoting good governance and enhancing the various capacities of the civil society.

This has been in recognition of the need to develop responses based on the complex interrelationship between conflict dynamics, development and humanitarian provision, and the expectation of a sustainable peace.

Development cooperation initiatives do not automatically have peace-building or conflict prevention impacts. But such interventions from the outside always create incentives and disincentives for peace or war. They always have an impact on the conflict situation - peace impacts (impacts decreasing the likelihood of outbreak, reoccurrence, or continuation of violent conflict) or conflict impacts (impacts increasing the likelihood that conflict will be dealt with through violent means). When international assistance is given in conflict prone or war torn countries, it becomes part of that context. Therefore explicit attention has to be paid to the way project designs influence the dynamics of violence and peace; at a minimum the projects should be “do no harm” orientated and methods required to monitor and redress the negative effects (conflict impacts) of development cooperation.
Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) can be such an instrument; it attempts to identify all the intended and unintended impacts of a development cooperation project on the dynamics of a conflict and the peace-building process.

Ken Bush defines PCIA as follows: “PCIA is a means of evaluating (ex post facto) and anticipating (ex ante, as far as possible) the impacts of proposed and completed development projects on: 1) those structures and processes which strengthen the prospects for peaceful coexistence and decrease the likelihood of outbreak, reoccurrence, or continuation of violent conflict; 2) those structure and processes that increase the likelihood that conflict will be dealt with through violent means.”

2. TRAINING OF THE STAFF

When developing a PCIA it is important to formulate the objectives of such a tool. In my opinion a project can never “do no harm” to the conflict situation if the project’s staff does not have the necessary awareness and knowledge. Working in conflict (-prone) situations places high demands on the staff. It requires a broad spectrum of technical, social and personal expertise. This includes for instance an ability to analyse conflicts and accurately assess the risk as well as the ability to examine critically one’s own behaviour with regard to possible impacts on the conflict situation. Therefore raising the awareness of the staff and training has the same importance as the evaluation of the project’s impact on the conflict situation.

After conducting a draft PCIA in KSAP / RAS Jalal Abad and LARC as pilot projects, I realised that it is not possible at the moment to fulfil both objectives in one workshop and I revised the PCIA and simplified it considerably. The developed PCIA is now a checklist that has to be filled out by the planning-mission. Training modules for the staff have to be developed separately. I would like to emphasize here again that one is not possible without the other and the basis of every “do no harm” orientated project is raising the staff's awareness.

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3. THE TOOL:

PEACE AND CONFLICT IMPACT ASSESSMENT (PCIA)
FOR HELVETAS KYRGYZSTAN

General
The Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) is a tool to assess a project’s impact on peace and conflicts in the project area. It can be used in the planning process for a new project, res. project phase as well as for assessing/monitoring an ongoing project operating in a conflict-prone area.

The PCIA at hand has been developed in Kyrgyzstan based on a thorough study on the conflict situation within the country. The aim of this PCIA – to be strictly applied for all Helvetas projects in Kyrgyzstan – is to ensure that they follow and integrate the so-called “do no harm” approach. That is, the projects should warrant that they do not inadvertently maintain or even exacerbate or prolong tensions and conflicts while striving for achieving their intended objectives.

In view that this PCIA should be used for projects spread all over Kyrgyzstan, the checklist below focuses on the conflict situation at macro level. If need arises, the specific conflict structures at micro level – varying from area to area – may be additionally taken into consideration when conducting the assessment for a project. Furthermore, in cases of possible new projects with an explicit conflict prevention or peace-building component/objective, the checklist may be broadened by including a more elaborated assessment of local capacities for peace.

As for all PCIAs, this checklist does not present solutions or prescribe specific actions on how to make the project more conflict preventive, what respective accompanying measures must be taken into account, or what control mechanisms should be installed. These have to be worked out by the development workers and the planning/assessment team – where meaningful, in collaboration with the people concerned.

Brief Instructions for Conducting the PCIA and Filling in the Form
This PCIA is compulsory for all Helvetas Kyrgyzstan projects. It will be conducted during the planning or assessment process of a project but may also form part of regular monitoring exercises.

The questions in the PCIA checklist are arranged according to the structure of a project: (a) Part one: strategic level – the project’s goal and objectives; (b) part two: operational level – target group, partners, project location, funds and services, project organisation, monitoring/evaluation.

The questionnaire is filled out by planning/assessment missions (as teamwork). It has to be completed in a concise manner, using key words, and kept in brief, concentrating on the main points. If necessary, the mission members have to be briefed and instructed accordingly. In addition, all the stakeholders of the project to undergo a PCIA have to be

\[11\] For further information and the background on this PCIA see the study “Working with Conflicts in Kyrgyzstan” by Nicole Bisig.
informed and prepared on the assessment aim, concept and process prior to the assessment’s conduct.

After the checklist has been filled in, the data have to be analysed and validated as well as visualised according the instructions provided in the chapter “Analysis of Data” (p. 31 f.). The visualisation via the scale circle/spider diagram serves to show the strengths and weaknesses of the project regarding conflict prevention in a simple way. It thus assists the planning/assessment mission, the programme director, the project manager and other stakeholders in assessing the project’s needs for improving conflict prevention aspects and discussing respective measures. Initiating and facilitating this dialogue leading to the strengthening of peace-building components is the major purpose of the PCIA.

Weighting projects against each other by comparing the different diagrams or evaluating a project’s progress concerning its conflict prevention impact – based on project’s diagrams taken at different points in time – is less recommendable. This requires at least that the same person has filled in all the diagrams to be compared, taking into account the subjectivity which, to a certain extent, goes along in filling in the checklist.

**Assessment / Rating**

The major task in filling in the questionnaire/checklist consists of rating given statements or questions. While in Part One only the statements which have been selected first as being relevant or appropriate are rated, in Part Two all statements res. questions have to be evaluated.

The rating is being done by assigning a value between 0 and 5 in the columns on the right of the statements. The values on the scale are attributed the following meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>almost not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>very much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final rating is done by processing and transferring the assessments of the questionnaire into the visualisation circle/spider diagram (see chapter “Analysis of Data”). In accordance with the rating scale in the checklist, the rays of the diagram – each of which relates to a specific assessment topic or area – comprise the values 0 to 5.

Interpretation of the rating of rays:

- **Values between 5 and 3**: In the respective assessment area, the project corresponds with the “do no harm” approach; no special actions needed.
- **Values between 2 and 0**: In the respective assessment area, the project does not match with the “do no harm” approach. The rating has to be rechecked. In case the validation does not result in a value higher than two, measures for improving conflict prevention aspects have to be identified and put in place.
- **If question 8a was answered with “No”**: Accompanying measures for conflict reconciliation must be worked out.
- **If question 8b was answered with “No”**: Control mechanisms for settlement of conflict-aggravating effects must be worked out.
Questionnaire / Checklist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the project:</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Country:</td>
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Part One: The Project’s Goal and Objectives

1. Types of Conflict

(Conflicts are mostly multi-dimensional and encompass a variety of types at different levels.)

a. What type(s) of conflict do the main conflicts in the country/region fall into?

[Please tick the box on the left.]

☐ Conflicts about resources
  (Competition over natural resources as for instance water and land)

☐ Border conflict

☐ Conflict with local or regional extension

☐ Conflict about power
  (Competition over political or economic power and over participation in the political process)

☐ Ideological conflict
  (Competition between rival ideologies and value systems)

b. Will the project’s goal and objectives contribute to the conflict management of the marked types of conflict?

[Please evaluate each marked type of conflict by ticking the box on the right.]
2. Causes of Conflicts

2.1. Root Causes

a. What are the root causes in today’s main conflict(s)?
   [Please tick the box on the left.]

   - Problems in managing transition and rapid change
     (Processes of basic change often create social and political dislocation; without adequate opportunities to participate in national civil society, the political process and labour markets; this can erode social unity. Sometimes change can result in a loss of cultural identity. Besides, economic and political transitions generate tensions, especially where the power balance shifts in favour of some groups and away from others.)

   - Widening socio-economic disparities
     (Imbalanced economic growth and disparities in the distribution of its benefits can increase tension as well. The allocation of resources and benefits sometimes reaches only those groups that control the state apparatus. This can result in the marginalization of vulnerable groups and the neglect of less dynamic regions.)

   - Resource-based conflicts
     (Competition over shared resources can also contribute to increased tensions. Scarcity of water and productive land, changes in land tenure systems, environmental disruption or degradation and regional crises lead to conflicts over the management, distribution and allocation of resources.)

   - Political exploitation of cultural, ethnic and other differences
     (Ethnic, religious and cultural differences, in themselves, seldom cause conflicts. In an atmosphere of heightened tensions resulting from social-political conflicts, however, they can offer fertile ground for political exploitation.)

   - Legacy of violence
     (Violence and the damage it inflicts sharpen and entrench polarities in society. This intensifies insecurity, hatred, reprisals and revenge, all of which strengthen the conflict history of inter-group relations. In addition to hindering economic progress, it can contribute to aggravating the vulnerability of certain groups to adverse conditions. Another frequent legacy of prolonged conflict is the availability of arms, which can also contribute to fuelling conflicts by enhancing the propensity to resort to violence.)

b. Will the project contribute to the reduction of the marked root causes of the main conflict(s)?
   [Please evaluate each marked root cause by ticking the box on the right.]
2.2. Aggravating Factors

a. What are aggravating factors in today’s main conflict(s)?

Since aggravating factors depend heavily upon the specific context, it is not possible to list them in a final way. Some examples include:

[Please tick the appropriate boxes on the left and add more at the end of the list if you know others in the present main conflict(s).]

- Manipulated elections
- Inflow of arms
- Excessive and increasing military spending
- Increase in intimidation, illegal arrests and disappearances
- Exploitation of political distrust by political entrepreneurs
- Generalisation of negative stereotypes
- Sudden deterioration of the capacity of public services to provide basic needs
- Transformation of civil society organisations into mobilising agents for violent activity
- Call for the extermination of politicians and whole segments of population by hate media
- Large-scale disinvestments in capital flight
- Radical ideologies
- Sharp economic shocks
- New discriminatory policies
- Changes in or collapse of central authority
- External intervention
- Corruption
- Weak security forces
- Migration
b. Please decide for each marked aggravating factor to what sector – Security (Se), Political (P), Economic (E) or Social (So) – it belongs? [Select only one sector for each marked aggravating factor in the boxes on the right. Choose the most suitable one according to your own definition.]

c. Will the project contribute to the prevention or reduction of this aggravating factor? [Please evaluate each marked aggravating factor by ticking the box on the right.]
### Part Two: Operational Level

#### 3. Target Group

What are the project’s target group(s)?

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a. Concerning social and economic polarization, the project will contribute to:

1. polarizing social groups or consolidating of their polarization,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
2. marginalizing social groups or consolidating their marginalization,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
3. influencing negatively the equal chances of the different social groups (e.g. access to education, land, job market).
   0 1 2 3 4 5

b. Concerning political structures, the project will:

1. be used and exploited by the government for its own power politics,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
2. contribute to influencing the balance of power in such a way that non-transparent and non-democratic structures are promoted or solidified,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
3. contribute to weakening or limiting the beginnings of political participation and the education of mutual understanding,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
4. contribute to obstructing the work of civil society groups, of peace, women, democracy and human rights associations and movements,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
5. contribute to weakening or emphasising cultural identities of groups one-sidedly.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

c. Concerning conflict management mechanisms, the project will contribute to:

1. intensifying the conflict, instigating political opponents against each other or promoting the formation or solidification of fronts,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
2. weakening already available attempts of mediation and conciliation,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
3. obstructing networking and co-operation or formation of peace alliances of different partners,
   0 1 2 3 4 5
4. jeopardising the work of intermediate groups or the neutrality of mediation groups.
   0 1 2 3 4 5
d. Concerning communication the project will contribute to:
1. exploiting social, ethnic, religious and other groups or interests,
2. making more difficult relevant communication and information or limiting the freedom of information,
3. polarizing with the help of the media, e.g. spreading propaganda and hate speeches or stirring up emotions.

4. Partners
With what kind of partners does the project work together?

a. Does the project take action to improve the partners’ capacity to deal constructively with conflicts?
b. Is there a social, ethnical or other gap, or are there different interests between the target groups and the local partners, and does this contribute to the present conflict res. is the latter intensified by it?
c. Do close relational, clan-bound, ethnic, religious or other connections exist between the local partners and sections of the target groups, and do they disadvantage other groups?
d. Does the project make a contribution to the promotion of the civil society (e.g. through inclusion of non-governmental organisations or civil society organisations)?
5. Project Location

In what regions does the project work?

______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________

a. Does the project have conflict-aggravating impacts because of its spatial reference/geographic location?  

0 1 2 3 4 5

6. Funds and Services

Who benefits from the funds and services?

______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________

a. Does this have conflict-aggravating impacts?  

0 1 2 3 4 5

7. Project Organisation

a. Does the team composition reflect the groupings, in particular the conflict parties, in the region?  

0 1 2 3 4 5

b. Are the recruiting measures transparent and accessible to the groupings, particularly the conflict parties in the region?  

0 1 2 3 4 5

c. Is there a plan to promote the staff’s capacity to deal constructively with conflicts?  

0 1 2 3 4 5
8. Monitoring / Evaluation

a. Have accompanying measures been taken into account if the change activated by the project is expected to entail conflicts?

Yes  No

b. Are control mechanisms intended if the behaviour of individuals of the project staff, partners and target groups shows strong conflict-aggravating effect?

Yes  No

c. Does the project foresee an evaluation of the measures to improve the staff’s, the partners’ and the target groups’ capacity to deal constructively with conflicts?

0 1 2 3 4 5
Analysis of Data

Part One: The Project’s Goal and Objectives

1. Types of Conflict
Delete the names of the conflict types around the circle (p. 13) that you did not mark in the checklist. Then, transfer the values from the right column of the conflict types that you have marked into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.

2. Causes of Conflicts
2.1. Root Causes
Delete the names of the root causes around the circle that you did not mark in the checklist. Then, transfer the values in the right column of the root causes marked by you into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.

2.2. Aggravating Factors
Sum up the values of all security-aggravating factors and divide the result by their number. Then, transfer the final result into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.
Sum up the values of all political aggravating factors and divide the result by their number. Then, transfer the final result into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.
Sum up the values of all economic aggravating factors and divide the result by their number. Then, transfer the final result into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.
Sum up the values of all social aggravating factors and divide the result by their number. Then, transfer the final result into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.

Part Two: Operational Level

3. Target Group
Calculate according to the following formula:
\[
x = \frac{a_1 - a_2 - a_3 - b_1 - b_2 - b_3 - b_4 - b_5 - c_1 - c_2 - c_3 - c_4 - d_1 - d_2 - d_3}{15}
\]
Then, transfer the result x into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.

4. Partners
Calculate according to the following formula:
\[
x = \frac{10 + a - b - c + d}{4}
\]
Then, transfer the result x into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.
5. **Project Location**  
Calculate according to the following formula:

\[ x = 5 - a \]

Then, transfer the result \( x \) into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.

6. **Funds and Services**  
Calculate according to the following formula:

\[ x = 5 - a \]

Then, transfer the result \( x \) into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.

7. **Project Organisation**  
Calculate according to the following formula:

\[ x = \frac{a + b + c}{3} \]

Then, transfer the result \( x \) into the scale of the circle/diagram.

8. **Monitoring / Evaluation**  
Transfer the responses to questions \( a \) and \( b \) into the fields beneath the circle/spider diagram.
Transfer the value of the question \( c \) into the scale of the circle/spider diagram.
Monitoring / Evaluation

a. Have accompanying measures been taken into account if the change activated by the project is expected to entail conflicts?  
   [ ] Yes  [ ] No

b. Are control mechanisms intended if the behaviour of individuals of the project staff, partners and target groups shows strong conflict-aggravating effect?  
   [ ] Yes  [ ] No
APPENDIX I:

TERMS OF REFERENCE

1 Function
Trainee to the Kyrgyzstan Country Programme, Central Asia

2 Contact Partner in Bishkek
For conceptual, operational and employment issues: Programme Director (PD) Helvetas

3 Tasks
General: Research on situation in inter-ethnic conflict management in Southern Kyrgyzstan. Assess the conflict prevention viability of current Helvetas projects in the South, LARC and KSAP. Present a revised PCIA to be used as a tool in Kyrgyzstan projects.

This includes in particular the following responsibilities:

- To assess the current inter-ethnic situation in Southern Kyrgyzstan including the following questions: What are the issues in which conflicts arise? Who are the parties? What is their attitude towards the conflict? What is escalation grade?
- To make an overview of current project interventions (local and foreign NGOs).
- To develop a PCIA as a tool to introduce the transversal topic of conflict management in Helvetas existing and future projects and its partners programmes in Southern Kyrgyzstan, especially KSAP and LARC.
- Summarize the results in a written report to be submitted to KR Programme Director.

4 Requirements
- Studies linked with history, sociology or ethnology.
- Experience in conflictology or practical working experience in conflict area.
- Excellent social skills, i. p. in communicating with different partners (rural citizens, NGO and state representatives) at various levels.
- Experience in project management.
- Experience in quantitative and qualitative research methods.
- Experienced in using efficiently and effectively Microsoft tools/programmes.
- Emotional stability, patience and frustration tolerance, a good sense of humor and culture sensitivity. - Good health (note: hot/cold/dry climate).
- Very good command in English language and interested to invest time in a crash course in Russian.

Entry date: March 2001, Duration 10 months, duty station: Bishkek, with frequent trips to Jalal Abad and Osh oblast.
APPENDIX II:
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Civil Society refers to the range of institutions, groups and associations that represent diverse interests and provide a counterweight to the government.

Conflict Impact: The term conflict impact is understood to include all outcomes that increase the likelihood that conflict will be dealt with through violent means.

Conflict Management refers to actions whose main objective it is to prevent the vertical (intensification of violence) or horizontal (territorial spread) escalation of existing violent conflicts.

Conflict Prevention refers to actions undertaken over the short term to reduce manifest tensions and/or to prevent the outbreak or recurrence of violent conflict.

Conflict Resolution refers to actions undertaken over the short term to end violent conflict.

Conflict takes place when two or more parties find their interests incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or take action that damages the other parties’ ability to pursue their interests.

Early Warning refers to monitoring and analysis of early signals of potential conflict, with a view to anticipating trouble spots in time to respond effectively.

Good Governance refers to the transparent and accountable management of all the country’s resources for its equitable and sustainable economic and social development. While implicit in a political and institutional environment respecting human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law, this concept specifically takes account of the role of authorities in managing resources, promoting a favourable environment for economic and social initiatives and deciding how to allocate resources.

Human Rights refer to universal, indivisible and interdependent rights, which bind every government body and may not be restricted. Whether civil, political, economic, social or cultural in nature, they must be respected and promoted in their entirety. They are the subject of a series of international and regional agreements and legal acts that constitute an international legal framework.

Identity Groups refers to groups of individuals who share the consciousness of a common bound, based on their having linguistic, cultural, social, regional or economic ties.

Impacts are the actual effects of an intervention, both intended and unintended, on the lives of its beneficiaries and other stakeholders, beyond the immediate project outputs.

Peace Impact: The term peace impact is understood to include those outcomes that foster and support those sustainable structures and processes which strengthen the prospects for peaceful coexistence and decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, reoccurrence, or continuation of violent conflict.
**Peace-Building** refers to actions undertaken over the medium and longer term to address root causes of violent conflict in targeted manner.

**Peace-Keeping** means as a rule the military separation of hostile parties after an armistice by blue-helmet troops, sometimes, in crisis situations, as a preventive measure. In a wider sense the term may be used occasionally for civil measures taken to secure the peace.

**Rehabilitation** refers to an overall, dynamic and intermediate strategy of institutional reform and reinforcement, of reconstruction and improvement of infrastructures and services, supporting the initiatives and actions of the population concerned, in the political, economic and social domains, and aimed at the resumption of sustainable development.

**Rule of law** refers to the primacy of the law as a fundamental principle of any democratic system seeking to foster and promote rights, whether civil and political or economic, social and cultural. This notably entails means of recourse enabling citizens to defend their rights, as well as shaping the structure of the state and the prerogatives of various powers, with a view to placing limitations on their power.

**Structural Stability** can be described as a term denoting a dynamic situation, namely a situation able to cope with the dynamics inherent in (emerging) democratic societies. It refers to a situation involving sustainable economic development, democracy and respect for human rights, viable political structures, and healthy social and environmental conditions, with the capacity to manage change without resorting to violent conflict.

**Violent Conflict** arises when parties go beyond seeking to attain their goals peacefully, and try to dominate or destroy the opposing parties’ ability to pursue their own interests.
APPENDIX III:

TIMELINE 1863 - 2001

Before the Russian colonization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Central Asia was a region of feudal states whose borders were based on local geographic and economics needs rather than ethnicity. Hostile tribal clashes occurred during this period, often resulting in mutual extermination of the groups involved. However, there is also a history of fruitful collaboration in the region, marked by mutual cooperation and support in resolving common problems. Under Tsarist rule, the immigration of Russians, Ukrainians, Tartars and other peoples enriched the relatively homogenous indigenous population in the region.

1863
Entry of the northern part of Kyrgyzstan into the Russian Empire.

1876
The Southern part of Kyrgyzstan joined the Russian Empire.

1917
After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Kyrgyz together with all the peoples of the former Tsarist Russia formed the Soviet republics.

1918
Kyrgyzstan became part of Turkestan ASSR.

October 14, 1924
With the state demarcation of the Soviet Republics in Central Asia the autonomous region Kara-Kyrgyz (since May 25, 1925, Kyrgyz) was formed as part of the Russian Federation.

February 1, 1926
The Kyrgyz autonomous region was transformed into Kyrgyz ASSR.

December 5, 1936
The Kyrgyz ASSR was transformed into Kyrgyz SSR.

June 1989
Clashes between Uzbeks and Meshketian Turks broke out in the aftermath of an argument between an Uzbek vendor and a Meshketian buyer on a market. The incident triggered widespread violence that spread to several cities in the Ferghana Valley. Around 100 people were killed and 600 – 800 wounded. Moscow sent troops to quell the violence.

1989
Local violence erupted due to a conflict over the allocation of water on the borders of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Several people were killed and injured in the municipality of Samarkandek.

1989
Islam Karimov replaced Rafik Nishanov as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Nishanov was held responsible for the clashes between Meshketian Turks and Uzbeks and Moscow and the local elite pinned their hopes on Karimov to restore stability to the troubled region.
June 1990
Osh-Uzgen riots: It began as a conflict over redistribution of land to local residents and turned into a slaughter in many rural and urban areas. The conflict swiftly escalated to a destructive stage during the week of June 4 – 10, 1990. The participants in the violence had no official leadership or preparation. Rather it was uncontrolled crowd paranoia, based mainly on fear and conformism. The arrival of Soviet troops stopped the clashes.

October 1990
The Supreme Soviet designates Askar Akayev as President of Kyrgyzstan.

December 15, 1990
Declaration of Sovereignty of Kyrgyzstan.

1991
Collapse of the Soviet Union.

August 31, 1991
Declaration of Independence of Kyrgyzstan.
Six weeks later Askar Akayev was re-elected president, running unopposed.

December 21, 1991
Kyrgyzstan becomes a sovereign member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

April / Mai 1992
The civil war in Tajikistan started.

May 1992
The CIS summit in Tashkent adopted the Collective Security Treaty signed by the Central Asian states (except Turkmenistan, which declared its neutral status), Russia and Armenia.

May 5, 1993
The first Constitution of Kyrgyzstan as an independent state was adopted.

May 10, 1993
The national currency, the Kyrgyz som, was introduced.

1993
An agreement was adopted between Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia to cooperate in protecting the Tajik-Afghan border as the common borders of the CIS and to maintain a peace-keeping force in Tajikistan.

December 1995
The Kyrgyz voters confirm President Akayev for another five-year term.

1996
Uzbekistan introduced the Latin alphabet in schools.

January 1997
Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan signed a Treaty on Eternal Friendship at the Bishkek summit and agreed to form a Central Asian peace-keeping battalion, linked to the UN and NATO's Partnership for Peace programme.

June 1997
The civil war in Tajikistan ended; the parties signed a general peace treaty.

May 1998
In Suzak 1'017 houses and 130 hectares of seeded fields were destroyed as a result of the catastrophic flooding of the Kok-art River.
Russia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan formed a special alliance directed against the spread of Wahabism in Central Asia.

The flooding of a high mountain lake in the upper basin of the Shahimardan River caused over 100 casualties on the territory of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

Kyrgyzstan joined the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Five coordinated car bombs targeted at the Uzbekistani government facilities exploded in downtown Tashkent, killing 16 persons and injuring more than 100. Uzbekistan’s officials claimed the attacks were aimed at assassinating President Islam Karimov and implicated the IMU.

One unfortunate consequence of the bombing incidents was the government’s crackdown on people assumed to be affiliated with underground political movements and Islamic organizations, including the Hizb ut-Tahrir, the IMU and members of the Wahabi sect. Eleven people were sentenced to death and more than 120 received long prison terms.

The first Batken crisis started when a group of 21 guerrillas from the IMU crossed into South Kyrgyzstan from Tajikistan and took three Kyrgyz law enforcement officers hostage. After obtaining an (officially unconfirmed) ransom, they returned into Tajikistan.

Over 5'500 people fled from the fighting in Kyrgyzstan.

The Uzbek air force bombed positions of IMU in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

Fighters of the IMU left the Kyrgyz territory and returned to Tajikistan.

The former oblast of Osh was divided into today’s Osh oblast and Batken oblast. Its administrative centre is Batken town. The new Batken oblast is divided into three rayons.

The government of Kyrgyzstan decided to introduce legislation to make Russian a second national language.

NGOs protested against the Kyrgyz government’s repressive media policy.

The Central Election Commission barred the two biggest opposition parties, El (Bei Bechara) and the Democratic Movement, from the February 20 elections.

Angry voters picked several polling precincts in Kyrgyzstan to protest against the decisions of the district, city and regional courts to withdraw several candidates from the elections.
March 14, 2000  The U.S.A. and the OSCE called the elections in Kyrgyzstan a "clear setback for the democratic process" because of interference, ballot tampering and other irregularities.

March 14, 2000  Mass demonstrations occurred in Bishkek against the recent parliamentary elections. Around 8‘000 people blockaded the regional administration building.

March 22, 2000  Felix Kulov, President Akayev's main challenger, was arrested by the Kyrgyz National Security Service and charged with corruption.

May 10, 2000  The trial of members of the illegal religious Hizb ut-Tahrir Party started in Southern Kyrgyzstan. The Osh town court considered criminal cases of four young people charged with kindling religious, racial and ethnic hostility.

May 25, 2000  Unidentified gunmen opened fire in Bishkek on a car carrying three ethnic Uighur members of a delegation from China's neighbouring Xinjiang Autonomous Region. One of the three was killed, the other two were injured.

July 2000  In the Ala Buka rayon there was a clash between local Kyrgyz and Uzbek border posts. The border posts were rude so that the Kyrgyz people started to fight. The border posts opened gunfire, which left a girl injured. A similar clash erupted in the Suzak region in November 2000 in which a horse was killed.

August 1, 2000  The Kyrgyz police arrested six people in the Jalal Abad oblast for distributing literature prepared by the radical Muslim Hizb ut-Tahrir party. The literature in question calls for the overthrow of the Kyrgyz government and the establishment of an Islamic state in the Ferghana Valley. Some 60 people were arrested in Jalal Abad so far that year for distributing such literature.

August 9 – 14, 2000  The second Batken crisis set off when the IMU guerrillas crossed into the provinces of Surkhandarya and Tashkent in Uzbekistan. In South Kyrgyzstan, most of the fighting took place a bit further west in the Batken municipality of Samarkandek this time. A new fact was the appearance of guerrilla reconnaissance units in the Chatkal valley on the western outskirts of Jalal Abad province. Compared to the 1999 crisis, the number of IDP was far lower. On the other hand, the official death toll was higher than in 1999.

October 30, 2000  The Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev won the Kyrgyz presidential elections with 73.4 percent of the vote according to the Kyrgyz Central Election Commission.

The new requirement that candidates for the Kyrgyz presidency pass a mandatory Kyrgyz language test sparked controversy. 7 of 19 would-be candidates failed the test.
President Akayev ran for a third term, although the Kyrgyz Constitution limits the president to two terms in office. The Constitutional Court ruled that Akayev’s first term legally began in 1995, since he ran unopposed in 1991.

January 24, 2001

Uzbekistan suddenly cut its gas deliveries to Kyrgyzstan by 60 percent and a day later stopped deliveries completely. According to the state company "Kyrgyzgas" Uzbek officials came up with two reasons: The first was a pipeline disaster near the Bukhara province in Uzbekistan caused by frost. The second was Kyrgyzstan’s debt for previous gas deliveries, totalling US$ 500’000 in cash and US$ 4.9 million through commodities.

February 26, 2001

Prime Ministers Kurmanbek Bakiev of Kyrgyzstan and Utkir Sultanov of Uzbekistan signed a secret memorandum in Bishkek. According to the memorandum, Kyrgyzstan agreed to connect the Uzbek Sokh enclave on Kyrgyz territory with Uzbekistan in exchange for equal Uzbek territory.

2001

The Kyrgyz security forces cracked down on activists suspected of trying to overthrow the government. In the first two months of the year, 10 party members from Hizb ut-Tahrir were convicted of religious intolerance, compared to only 11 in the whole of 2000.

March 21, 2001

Some 30 women picketed the local police office in Kara-Suu to protest the treatment of seven Hizb ut-Tahrir members arrested for distributing leaflets.

March 24, 2001

A larger picket attended by some 80 Hizb ut-Tahrir supporters took place in Kara-Suu.

March 30, 2001

A new law about the status of the judiciary was enacted in Kyrgyzstan, which created the basis for an independent judiciary and ended the administration’s controls of the judges.

April 2001

Uzbekistan stopped imports of all Kyrgyz goods except building materials.

April 20, 2001

A controversy began when the local newspaper Batken Tany (Morning of Batken) leaked details of a secret Kyrgyz-Uzbek memorandum on a land swap signed in February during a visit by Uzbek’s Prime Minister Utkir Sultanov in Bishkek.

2001

A power struggle was brewing in Kyrgyzstan between the president and parliament. Kyrgyz members of parliament demanded the impeachment President Askar Akayev after a deputy’s speech claiming that many in the assembly lacked confidence in the head of state.

The motive behind the calls was a speculative report that the president had signed a secret agreement with China to transfer a considerable part of disputed border territory in Kyrgyzstan to Beijing.
2001

There were a few open protests in Aravan and Kara-Suu in spring against policy because of arresting people as well as corruption.

May 2001

Juma Namangani launched a political party under the name of Hizb-i-Islami Turkestan, or the IPT. The party intends to expand the territory of the Namangani-led IMU to the entire Turkic belt of Central Asia, including Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan as well as the northwestern Chinese province of Xinjiang.

May 18, 2001

A regional round table was held on the possible role of various actors, including local NGOs, government and international organizations in emergencies in Batken.

June 2001

At last, after long negotiations Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan agreed to cooperate in the spheres of water and energy usage.

June 12, 2001

The Kyrgyz government called on Uzbekistan to reveal the location of anti-personnel mines planted along its border with Kyrgyzstan following an explosion that seriously injured two people.

June 14, 2001

Leaders from member states of the Shanghai Five gathered in China to formalize a framework for cooperation and explore expansion. Representatives were expected to approve a declaration that would formally create the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). One of the major aims of the SCO was to improve the regional response to disparate dilemmas connected with radical Islam. All member states expressed concern about the rise of Islamic militancy, including China, where the mainly Muslim Uighur minority was becoming increasingly active in the northeastern Xinjiang Province.

June 2001

The Shanghai five – new Shanghai six – expanded to include Uzbekistan.

June 20, 2001

The Osh Media Resource Centre organized a roundtable conference for representatives of the local media, government, religious circles and faith based organizations in the region. The goal of the event was to identify existing misunderstandings and problems and to foster dialogue, collaboration and a better understanding among journalists, authorities and members of the clergy.

July 2001

The deputy prime ministers of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan signed an agreement on the rational use of regional water and energy resources.

July 19, 2001

The Supreme Court of Kyrgyzstan confirmed the 7-year sentence imposed on the leader of the opposition, Felix Kulov
July 24 – 26, 2001  IMU militants exchanged gunfire with Kyrgyz troops during the night of July 24 – 25 near the Gomuti pass in the Alay Mountains.

There were also reports of clashes during the night of July 25 – 26 near the mountain pass at Telbe, and around the border village of Zardaly. Kyrgyz authorities vigorously denied those reports. In addition, officials denied that IMU fighters participated in the July 24 – 25 clashes, asserting instead that narcotics traffickers were involved.

August 2001  The independent media and political organizations in Kyrgyzstan criticized the Ministry of Justice, claiming that the government re-registration campaign decreed on 5 April represented an attempt to crush the freedom of expression.

September 11, 2001  Terrorist attacks in the U.S. destroyed the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and parts of the Pentagon in Northern Virginia. Terrorist organizations based in the Middle East and Central Asia had organized the attack.

September 14, 2001  Ahmad Shah Massoud, the leader of the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, died after he was severely injured in an assassination attempt on September 9, 2001.

September 2001  The U.S. government claims that Bin Laden and his followers in Afghanistan and Islamic radicals in Sudan, Algeria, and Yemen are responsible for the attacks.

September 2001  Kyrgyzstan, which suffered most from international terrorists of all countries in Central Asia, coordinates its actions with its partners within the CIS Collective Security Treaty, at the same time expressing its political support of the United States in its struggle against international terrorism.

September 2001  The moratorium on the sale and purchase of land in Kyrgyzstan was lifted. It was one of the conditions set down by a recent IMF mission for resuming loans to the country.

September 21, 2001  During the session of the legislative council of parliament the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for International Relations, Alisher Abdimomunov, declared that Uzbekistan occupied disputed territories along the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border. Uzbekistan occupied disputed territories along the 1300-kilometer Kyrgyz-Uzbek border without Kyrgyz agreement. Along the state border there are 144 disputed areas.

September 25, 2001  The President of Kyrgyzstan declared that Kyrgyzstan, if necessary, would provide air space for U.S. aircraft
October 7, 2001  The United States, supported by the United Kingdom, opened its air campaign against Taleban targets in Afghanistan.

October 2001  Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan reached an agreement on natural gas and water supply. However, the debt to be paid by Kyrgyzgas to Uzbekistan is yet to be settled. It is worth about US$ 2 million (status January 2002).

October 2001  Members of the banned Hizb ut-Tahrir party distributed leaflets in Kyrgyzstan calling for protests against the U.S.-led antiterrorist campaign against Afghanistan.

October 22, 2001  The Kyrgyz Parliament (Legislative Assembly) suggested that Uzbek too should be designated an official language.

November 13, 2001  The Northern Alliance conquered Kabul, the Afghanistan’s capital. The Taleban withdrew from Kabul without fighting.

November 18, 2001  Juma Namangani, head of the IMU, was killed while fighting in the Taleban ranks during an exchange of fire in Kunduz in northern Afghanistan.

December 6, 2001  Kyrgyzstan’s Legislative Assembly voted to allow U.S. military aircraft to use the country’s main international Manas airport near Bishkek for the duration of antiterrorist operations in Afghanistan.

December 13 – 14, 2001  An antiterrorism conference jointly organized by the OSCE and the UN office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention was held in Bishkek.

December 18 – 19, 2001  The first U.S. military transport aircraft landed at the Manas airport in Bishkek.

December 27 – 28, 2001  In a summit meeting in Tashkent the four presidents of the four Central Asian republics discussed regional stability and security and the current situation in Afghanistan. They expressed support for the U.S.-led military campaign in Afghanistan.

Furthermore, the presidents agreed on the joint usage of water resources and transport infrastructure in the region and on working out a balanced system of rates.

December 28, 2001  The committee on foreign relations of the parliamentary Legislative Assembly decided to open Kyrgyz airfields and other military facilities to Canadian air forces. The assembly session is to consider and approve the decision in January 2002 together with a similar decision on opening the facilities for the French air forces. The latter decision was taken by the committee on 25 December.
## APPENDIX IV:
### OVERVIEW OF CRISIS PREVENTION PROJECTS IN SOUTHERN KYRGYZSTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Field</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Projects and Main Activities</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Budget (US$)</th>
<th>Timeframe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Long Term Development| UNDP** (in cooperation with the Congress of Local Communities NGO)            | **Preventive Development in the South of Kyrgyzstan** (see also project homepage at http://www.pdsouth.elcat.kg/):  
- Install Early Warning System;  
- Mapping possible social-ethnic tension and conflicts at the grass-roots level;  
- Support Community-Based Organizations (CBO) with training and micro-capital grants in implementing community projects: upgrading irrigation channels, drinking water supply, school construction projects;  
- Programme opens many possibilities for partnerships with UN agencies and NGOs in definition and implementation of projects, e.g. ad hoc cooperation with Mercy Corps International for construction of water channel in Dara, Khalmion and school in Bulak-Bashy. | Villagers, Community-Based Organizations and different ethnic communities in 5 municipalities of Batken province: Batken; Dara; Khalmion; Úç; Kurgan; Isfana.                                                                                                     | 250'000      | March 2000-March 2002   |
|                         | UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)                                    | In partnership with NGO Jardam: **Vocational Training** – Provision of vocational training (e.g. sewing, cooking, TV/radio repair, shoe repair, ...) in Osh to refugee youth and young adults and most vulnerable members of local population; provision of small grants selected number of graduates to initiate small businesses. | Registered refugees and local youth/young adults.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 40'000       | 1999-2000               |
|                         |                                                                                | In partnership with Mercy Corps International: **Livestock Credit** – Provision of small livestock loans to Tajik refugees; repayments used for infrastructure rehabilitation initiatives in communities with large refugee populations.                                                                                                       | Registered refugees and former refugees who have obtained Kyrgyz citizenship.                                                                                                                                                                                       | 5'000        | 2001                    |

Helvetas
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partnership</th>
<th>Project Details</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mercy Corps International</td>
<td>Micro Enterprise</td>
<td>Provision of small loans and grants to refugees to start up micro-enterprises (2001); partnership with local community members encouraged; credit repayment towards community development projects.</td>
<td>Registered refugees, local communities with large refugee population in Osh, Jalal Abad and Batken provinces.</td>
<td>50'000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyz Red Crescent Society</td>
<td>Medical Assistance</td>
<td>Basic medical assistance provided to refugees at Osh clinic and through mobile clinics.</td>
<td>Registered refugees in Osh, Jalal Abad and Batken provinces.</td>
<td>45’000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation for Support of Legal and Economic Reform</td>
<td>Legal Assistance</td>
<td>Provision of legal assistance to refugees, including on acquisition of Kyrgyzstan citizenship.</td>
<td>Registered refugees in Osh, Jalal Abad and Batken provinces.</td>
<td>20’000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterpart Consortium and USAID</td>
<td>Civil Society Support Centre</td>
<td>Providing training for refugees in business skills; assisting in development of project proposals; providing training and access to support services for refugee NGOs.</td>
<td>Refugees, economic migrants and general population in South Kyrgyzstan.</td>
<td>60’000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation Tolerance International</td>
<td>Publication of “Salam Asia” bulletin</td>
<td>Publication of news-bulletin to promote tolerance in South Kyrgyzstan (has correspondents in Bishkek, Osh, Ak-Say and Batken).</td>
<td>General population and ethnic communities in South Kyrgyzstan.</td>
<td>25’000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterpart Consortium and USAID</td>
<td>Regular monitoring of situation of (ex-) IDPs and refugees from Tajikistan, usually once/month.</td>
<td>(Ex-) IDPs (some 20 families) and refugee communities (163 families) in Batken and Kadamjai districts.</td>
<td>Since Oct 1999</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distribution of goats to refugee families in Batken district as income generation activity.</td>
<td>130 (mostly ethnic Kyrgyz) refugee families from Tajikistan in Batken district.</td>
<td>Since late 1998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Organization for Migration (IOM)</td>
<td>Technical Cooperation in Migration Management</td>
<td>Operationalization of Border Control Departments and State Migration Agency (training, equipment), pilot project on Kyrgyz-Tajik border (Sary Taash).</td>
<td>Border Guards, Law Enforcement agencies, State Migration agency.</td>
<td>750’000 (for 2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bishkek Migration Management Center (BMMC):</strong> Development of BMMC as regional service center (research, review of border control mechanisms, ...);</td>
<td>Government agencies, NGOs and researchers.</td>
<td>220'000 (for 2000)</td>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trafficking in Women and Children</strong> (in cooperation with the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe): research and awareness raising, Batken included in initial research phase.</td>
<td>Trafficked women and children; NGOs; law enforcement bodies.</td>
<td>40'000# (of which 5'000 from OSCE for research)</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regional Labor Migration</strong> (in cooperation with Inter-State Council and BMMC): improvement of regional labor migration planning within the region.</td>
<td>Labor migrants, Government agencies.</td>
<td>Currently in preparation</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foundation for Tolerance International (FTI)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Goodwill Ambassadors’ Project:</strong> - Set-up of ‘people’s diplomacy’ network of high-level mediators, based on Central Asian traditional social structures; - Solve conflicts and decrease tensions through mediators.</td>
<td>Population of ethnically mixed and border communities in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.</td>
<td>160'000</td>
<td>First phase: Jul 2000 Jan 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>In cooperation with Counterpart Consortium, UNHCR and NGO ZMT: opening of NGO Support Centers in Batken and Isfana:</strong> - Training and consulting on NGO management and project design; - Facilitating partnerships and access to funding sources for NGOs; - Proposing access to general resources.</td>
<td>Civil society, local refugees communities, 5 local refugee groups, local NGOs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Since June 2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Human Rights Training for Border Guards:</strong> assistance to the Border Guard with institutional reforms and introduction of Human Rights and legal training into Guards’ curriculum.</td>
<td>Border Guards.</td>
<td>47'000*</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Registration of Permanent Residents</strong> (in cooperation with ODIHR and Bishkek Migration Management Center): assistance with developing conceptual and legal bases for population registration system conform with international standards; training of Government officials in application of new laws.</td>
<td>General population, Governmental agencies.</td>
<td>93'000*</td>
<td>mid-1999 late 2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Funding and Duration</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Training Officials on Inter-Ethnic Relations: OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (in cooperation with the Academy of Management in Bishkek and the Foundation for Tolerance International)</td>
<td>Provincial and local administrations, general population and major ethnic communities (Kyrgyz and Uzbeks) in the South (Osh, Batken and Jalal Abad province)</td>
<td>60'000* Mar 2000 - ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring of Inter-Ethnic Situation in Osh, Jalal Abad and Batken province: project of the OSCE Commissioner on National Minorities; monthly Early Warning reports from local monitors for OSCE High Commission on National Minorities (HCNM) and government of Kyrgyzstan.</td>
<td>Provincial and local administrations, general population and various ethnic communities in the country; technical assistance community.</td>
<td>65'000# Since Jan 2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTED ° ** (in cooperation with Action of Churches Together (ACT), plus Foundation for Tolerance International, Tajik NGOs Ittifik, ASDP and Saodat and Uzbek Red Crescent)</td>
<td>Cross-Border Cooperation and Conflict Prevention Programme: - Cross-border seminars on conflict resolution and prevention; - Cross-border visits of agricultural projects and workshops; - Support grass-roots employment initiatives; - Support cross-border regional management initiatives (land issues, irrigation, ...).</td>
<td>100 Self-Help Groups grouping 3'000 vulnerable families in 9 districts: Leilek and Batken; Zafarabad, Nau, Proletarsk and Qanibadam (Tajikistan); Bekabad and Besharyk (Uzbekistan). 20'500 Jan-Jun 2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mercy Corps International (MCI) ° ** (in cooperation with UNHCR)</td>
<td>Refugee Community Programme – infrastructure development grants (10 in 2000) to improve local infrastructure and social service system (i.e. renovating drinking water systems, schools, bathhouses)</td>
<td>Tajik refugee communities in Osh and Batken province. 26'000 (in 2000) 2000-2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Crisis Group (ICG) °</td>
<td>Contribution to general crisis prevention through: - Research and analysis on political and social-economic trends; - Publication and dissemination of reports and briefing papers to decision-makers; - Advocacy towards decision-makers and media: ICG opened office in Osh covering South Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia.</td>
<td>International technical assistance community; local and regional authorities. Since Oct 2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Emergency Relief</td>
<td>UNHCR ° **</td>
<td>In partnership with the Norwegian Refugee Council: training in Emergency Preparedness and Response in Bishkek with participation of South Kyrgyzstan representatives of Kyrgyz Red Crescent Society, Mercy Corps International, Foundation for Tolerance International and Ministry of Emergencies and Civil Defense; follow-up in partnership with UN Liaison Office in Batken</td>
<td>Local NGOs and Ministry of Emergencies and Civil Defense in South Kyrgyzstan.</td>
<td>10’000</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Supplies of emergency items for IDP in Batken (tents, blankets, plastic sheeting, fuel).</td>
<td>IDP, Ministry of Emergencies and Civil Defense.</td>
<td>10’000 in 1999, subjected to situational needs and available funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mercy Corps International (MCI) ° **</td>
<td>In cooperation with the Ministry of Emergencies and Civil Defence (MECD): refurbished 2-floor appartment building in Haidarken to accommodate 200 IDP.</td>
<td>(Future) IDP, host communities.</td>
<td>August 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>In cooperation with ADRA and the Ministry of Emergencies and Civil Defense (MECD) – Emergency Migration Management project: training of local NGOs in emergency preparedness and response; enhance cooperation between NGOs and MECD.</td>
<td>Future IDP and natural/technical disaster victims, local NGOs and MECD in Isfana, Haidarken (Batken province), Chatkal and Maili Su (Jalal Abad province).</td>
<td>35’000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Movement, reception and registration of IDP (technical assistance).</td>
<td>IDP, local administrations.</td>
<td>Subject to situational needs and available funding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes and Remarks**

* Budget for the whole of Kyrgyzstan and/or credits
# Budget for the whole South of Kyrgyzstan (Osh, Batken and Jalal Abad provinces)
** Have office/representatives in Batken
° Have office/representatives in Osh