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# REPORT

A CHRONICLE OF VIOLENCE  
The events in the south of  
Kyrgyzstan in June 2010  
(Osh Region)



NORWEGIAN  
HELSINKI COMMITTEE



MEMORIAL HUMAN  
RIGHTS CENTER



Freedom House  
Memorial Human Rights Center  
Norwegian Helsinki Committee

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# 1. Introduction

On 7 April 2010, Kyrgyzstan went through its second revolution since independence. In the course of one dramatic day, 89 people lost their lives in the capital Bishkek. Former president Kurmanbek Bakiy fled abroad, and an Interim Government led by Roza Otunbaeva was established. While the new government began democratic reforms, violence broke out two months later in the south of the country. The clashes in Osh and Jalalabad Provinces led to the death of over 400 people and wounded more than 2000. These events have formed political discourse in Kyrgyzstan in the time since, often without any serious view to fact.

Establishing the truth about the tragic events of June 2010 in the south of Kyrgyzstan is important for the country from a political point of view, but especially in terms of the rule of law and the protection of the rights of those who have been subject to unfounded criminal persecution. Due to the sheer volume of material to be considered, this report covers only the Osh region.

During the past year and a half, a number of reports and publications have been produced regarding the conflict. However, many essential episodes of the June events, including the break-out of clashes near Hotel Alai in Osh, have still not been described in detail or investigated.

The sheer scale of the tragedy was such that all details cannot be covered by one organization or mission alone. Still, it is important to summarize the confirmed information available to us at this time, and to highlight some of the contradictions found in available materials as well as new questions which arise when reviewing these.

We do not pretend to have reconstructed a full image of what took place, but believe that the information collected can be the basis for a later, more in-depth investigation of these events. Actual facts must be separated from the many myths which have been presented in mass media as well as in official documents. Obviously, it is both unnecessary and impossible to list all the unfounded information that has been presented in hundreds of articles written immediately after the events, but existing national and international reports must be given a more serious evaluation.

Our aim with this report has been a reconstruction of a chronicle of violence of May–June 2010 in the Osh Province of Kyrgyzstan which is likely to be of interest not only to experts but to a wider circle of readers inside and outside the country.

Conclusions and recommendations on the events can not be viewed as thorough if they are not based in trustworthy information about the events themselves.

This report is the result of a project which was carried out in 2010–2011 by Memorial Human Rights Center (Russia), the Norwegian Helsinki Committee (Norway) and Freedom House (USA). Partial financing also came from the National Endowment for Democracy.

General coordination of the work was carried out by Vitaliy Ponomarev, Director of Memorial's Central Asian Program.

## **Methodology and sources**

The work of the mission to establish facts connected to the conflict in the south of Kyrgyzstan began on 18 June 2010. During visits to the south of Kyrgyzstan in the period June–September 2010, December 2010, and in June and December 2011, over 300 interviews were carried out, around 550 video recordings and 3000 photographs were collected, as well as a large number of documents. Apart from representatives from Memorial and the Norwegian Helsinki Committee, several activists from civil society in Bishkek participated in this work. Interviews were made in the cities of Osh and Jalalabad, in Kara-Suu District of Osh Province, and in Bazar-Korgon and Suzak Districts of Jalalabad Province. Some of the interviews were made in Bishkek, Moscow and Istanbul. Given the contradictions and ethnic prejudice found in many reports and comments, attention was mainly directed at finding direct eye-witnesses to the events, rather than to the versions presented by various authorities.

Other important sources of information were handwritten materials and the hundreds of online messages published during the first hours of the conflict on the internet forum [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg). Some eye-witness statements and recollections were also found in comments and messages on other sites.

Information given in interviews or found in online postings were considered by us only when each incident described could be relatively clearly fixed in terms of place and time, and was described by a direct eye-witness or by a person close to him or her. During the next stage, we considered the trustworthiness of the information and compared it with information from other sources, including available documents.

During the work on the report, documents from the prosecutor's office, the Ministry of Health, the police organs, GSNB, the Ministry of Defense and border service were also studied, as well as the reports produced by the National and Parliamentary Commissions, the Commission of the Ombudsman, documents from medical facilities and so on (see below a complete list of official documents).

We analyzed numerous publications in the mass media and on internet sites. Some of the more interesting ones were produced during the crisis by local news agencies AKIpress and 24.kg, the Russia-based news agency Ferghana.ru, and the [kloop.kg](http://kloop.kg)

internet site. The information collected was compared to the reports by international organizations Human Rights Watch, International Crisis Group, the Kyrgyzstan Inquiry Commission and satellite images and information from UNITAR/UNOSAT.<sup>1</sup>

In some places the members of the mission had opportunity to study material evidence such as bullet casings and bullet holes on buildings.

Official representatives were on the whole open to meetings. However, not all the information they provided proved to be correct.

We would note the great assistance we received from local human rights organizations Kylym Shamy, Citizens against Corruption, Ukuk and Spravedlivost and some Osh-based human rights activists and journalists in organizing meetings and gaining access to important documents and materials. An important publication was the preliminary list of dead (16 December 2010)<sup>2</sup> and the conclusions of documentation of weapons seized during the conflict (9 June 2011),<sup>3</sup> produced by Kylym Shamy. A large number of complaints and testimonies addressed to local human rights organizations were also studied.

Human rights activists and lawyers also helped collecting copies of tens of court sentences connected to the mass unrest in June 2010. However, the large-scale use of unreliable information and evidence secured through torture by the law enforcement agencies usually means that these materials cannot be used unreservedly to reconstruct a chronology of the events.

Information which should be critically analyzed is also to be found in two documentary films from 2011, "Chas shakala" ("The hour of the jackal") and "Koogalan" ("The Unrest"), which reflect the positions of representatives of the Uzbek and Kyrgyz population respectively.

A publication from 12 January 2011 by a non-governmental organization based outside Kyrgyzstan, Osh Initiative, is worth noting: "Report on the results of independent civil society investigation of the June events in Kyrgyzstan",<sup>4</sup> which reflects the opinion of representatives of the Uzbek population.

On 27 July 2011, the Mayor of Osh, Melisbek Myrzakmatov, presented the book "Men izdegen chyndyk" ("The truth I sought"), published by Turar publishers in Bishkek, which includes his interview in Kyrgyz language on the events of May–June 2010 and an appendix of documents in Kyrgyz and Russian languages. In spite of unbased

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1 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/maps/KGZ>

2 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6841>

3 [http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/otch\\_kylym\\_sh\\_arm.doc](http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/otch_kylym_sh_arm.doc)

4 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/oshini.doc>

claims presented and the clear ethnical and political bias of the author, some of the materials presented by him are of interest.<sup>5</sup>

Two books published abroad were on 3 May 2011 declared illegal to distribute in Kyrgyzstan.<sup>6</sup> These books, entitled “Chas shakala” (“The Hour of the Jackal”) and “Genotsid prodolzhaetsya...Shakaly eshe ne ushli” (“The genocide continues... the jackals have still not left”), largely consist of excerpts from articles written by journalists from Russia who worked in the conflict zone.

Immediately after the June events some websites were established to discuss the problems of the conflict from the position of either the Kyrgyz or Uzbek societies. In our opinion, these sides do not provide much new or exclusive information.

We will not list here the numerous publications by Kyrgyzstani and foreign human rights organizations and experts discussing the problems of torture and violations of procedural norms during the investigation of the mass disturbances in the south of Kyrgyzstan, or raise the historical and political background for the conflict, which is beyond the scope of this report. With regards to the situation for the Uzbek minority and the attitudes towards this group among the political elite of Kyrgyzstan, we mainly agree with the opinions presented in the report by Neil Melvin, “Promoting a Stable and Multiethnic Kyrgyzstan: Overcoming the Causes and Legacies of Violence”, which was published in March 2011.<sup>7</sup>

## Reports and comments produced by the Government of Kyrgyzstan

In the period from January to June 2011, several official reports were published in Kyrgyzstan.

On 13 January 2011 the “Information of the Independent Commission of the Ombudsman (Akyjkatchy) of the Kyrgyz Republic on the study of the tragic June events of 2010 in Osh and Jalalabad Provinces and in Osh City” (the “Report of the Ombudsman’s Commission”) was presented.<sup>8</sup>

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5 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/mm2011.pdf> On 6 December 2011 a translation of the book into Russian was presented in Osh, entitled “Searching for the truth. The Osh tragedy: Documents, facts, interviews, reports and statements” (<http://www.news-asia.ru/view/ks/2179>). There are differences between the first version and the Russian version of the book. Preparing this report, we have used the text of the first publication. It is worth noting that some of the documents Myrzakmatov presents were corrected before publication (for instance, in a fragment from the Osh UVD report, the time given for when UVD received information about disturbances near Hotel Alai have been changed). This gives reason to suspect that other documents may also have been distorted.

6 <http://svodka.AKlpress.org/news:82201>

7 [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/cep/articles\\_publications/publications/occasional-paper-3-20110307/OPS-No-3-03-05-2011.pdf](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/cep/articles_publications/publications/occasional-paper-3-20110307/OPS-No-3-03-05-2011.pdf)

8 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>



On 20 January 2011, the “Conclusions of the National Commission on the tragic events in the south of the republic in June 2010”,<sup>9</sup> were published, immediately becoming an object of harsh criticism (the “Report of the National Commission”).

On 3 May 2011, parallel with the report of the Kyrgyzstan Inquiry Commission, the comments of the government of Kyrgyzstan to this report were also published.<sup>10</sup>

In June 2011, after an emotional discussion in the Parliament, the decision was made to accept the “Report on the work of the temporary commission of members of Zhogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic on detection and investigation of the circumstances and conditions leading to the tragic events in the republic in April–June 2010, and to give these events a political evaluation” (the “Report of the Parliamentary Commission”).<sup>11</sup>

Members of Parliament Ismail Isakov and Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva presented alternative versions of the project of this report, which are notably different from the version that was passed (the “Report of Ismail Isakov”<sup>12</sup> and the “Report of Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva”<sup>13</sup>).

Leaving aside the question of conceptual short-comings and political and ethnic bias in evaluations of the events, it is impossible not to notice that all these reports contain very little concrete information about the June events. In contrast to earlier documents in the reports which were prepared during the work of the Parliamentary commission and which include a chronology for the period of May–June 2010, the facts connected to the events of 11–14 June 2010 are given unproportionally little attention. The violent clashes in some of the areas of mass destruction in Osh are either not mentioned at all, or only in passing. Importantly, the question of a possible involvement in the escalation of violence by members of government forces is not answered. A great part of these chronologies are based on documents from the law enforcement agencies which were prepared during or immediately after the events, and where the facts have not been subject to any critical evaluation. Practically no facts that were unknown from before are to be found in the reports, although the members of the commission easily could have gathered such information during their work in the region. Sometimes information from old documents which have later been proven to be inaccurate has been used. Some of the facts and claims presented are highly debatable; there are mistakes in dates etc.

In general, one is left with the impression that all three commissions mentioned above did not use large parts of the information that was gathered, and that they may have

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9 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6871>

10 [http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kg\\_comments\\_english\\_final.pdf](http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kg_comments_english_final.pdf)

11 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetMamytov.doc>

12 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>

13 <http://www.kenesh.kg/MyFiles/file/Kooralan%20Ha%20pycckom.doc>

consciously avoided a detailed analysis of key events in the south in the period of mass killings and pogroms between 10 June and 14 June 2010. By spending more time on interviewing government officials of varying levels and reviewing the documents of the law enforcement agencies, the commissions' reports instead presented stereotypes that had been formed among the ruling elite in the south at that time. In spite of this, during our work on this report, we have found it acceptable to use separate facts from these reports, and have in some instances given a critical evaluation of incorrect and incomplete information presented in the reports.

We also used the following important documents of the law enforcement agencies, some of which were given to us by the National Commission during the period of their work:

1. "Chronology of the mass disturbances in Osh City", UVD Osh City, 22 December 2010 (we also have an earlier version of this document);
2. "Information on the inter-ethnic clashes in Osh Province", UVD Osh Province, sent to the National Commission on 8 August 2010;
3. "Information on the operative conditions and the social-political situation on the territory of Jalalabad Province as of 04.08.2010", UVD Jalalabad Province;
4. "Information on the work and results of the investigations of criminal cases opened on the basis of mass disturbances, murders during the inter-ethnic conflicts in the south of the country in April–June 2010" by the First Deputy of the Prosecutor General of the Kyrgyz Republic Ryskul Baktybaev, sent to the National Commission on 24 July 2010;
5. "Chronology of the events in Osh Province in June 2010", Osh Provincial Prosecutor's Office, 21 June 2010 (we have an incomplete version of this document);
6. "Chronology of the events in Kara-Suu Districts", Kara-Suu District Prosecutor's Office, sent to the National Commission on 3 August 2010;
7. "Chronology of events", Directorate of the State National Security Service GSNB in Osh City and Osh Province, June 2010 (we have an incomplete version of this document);
8. "On the activity of the GKNB of the Kyrgyz Republic in the period April–June 2010"<sup>14</sup>, document published 2 June 2011;
9. "Chronology of the escalation and course of the tragic events" for the period 10–26 June 2010, prepared by the Headquarters of the Border Service of the State National Security Service GSNB, sent to the National Commission on 3 August 2011;
10. "Chronology of the events from 10 to 16.06.2010" and "Data on the seizure of weapons and ammunition by civilians as of 03.08.2011 at Southern Group

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14 <http://www.paruskgo.info/2011/06/02/44835>

of Forces”, prepared by the command of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense, sent to the National Commission on 4 August 2010;

11. Document of the Military Prosecutor’s Office on instances of seizure of weapons in units and divisions of the Ministry of Defense and the Border Service during the events of 11–14 June 2010, presented on the meeting of the Security Council of the Kyrgyz Republic on 27 July 2010.<sup>15</sup>

A large part of these documents were not available to researchers until just recently. Regarding the numbers of victims of the events, we have had access to the following official summarizing documents:

1. “Information on deaths as a result of the June events in Osh City and Osh, Jalalabad Provinces”, Ministry of Health, September 2010;
2. “Information of the Ministry of Health on victims as a result of the events in the south of the country in June 2010”, September 2010;
3. “List of dead as a result of the June events 2010 in Osh City and Osh Province (as of 27 October 2010)”, Ministry of Health;
4. “Information about dead and wounded during the events in June 2010 in Osh City, Osh Province and Jalalabad Province”, Ministry of Health, December 2010;
5. “List of bodies found during the mass disturbances in June 2010 as of 7 June 2011”, Prosecutor General’s Office, published in June 2011;<sup>16</sup>
6. “List of families of dead citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic as a result of the June events 2010 in Osh City, Osh and Jalalabad Provinces, who have received a one-time material assistance”, Ministry of Social Protection of the Population, 11 October 2011;
7. “Information on victims brought to the Osh Inter-Provincial United Clinical Hospital” for the period from 11 June to 23 September 2010;
8. “List of victims arriving to the Kara-Suu District FGP (Family Group Practice) and the Kurmanjan-Datka somatic division” (Kyrgyz-Chek village), for the period 11 to 17 June 2010;
9. “Victims brought to the Territorial City Hospital of Osh from 11.06.10 to 22.06.10”;
10. “List of victims seeking medical assistance at Nariman Territorial Hospital No. 1 in Kara-Suu District” for the period 11 to 25 June 2010;
11. Lists of dead in some city and village regions presented by local self-governing organs;
12. In May 2011 the Ministry of Health gave detailed responses to a request from Memorial Human Rights Center regarding the statistics of victims of the June events.

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15 An identical text of the document of the Military Prosecutor’s Office was also published in the book “Chas Shakala”.

16 <http://static.AKIpress.org/127/storage/news/files/900c74de3567d018c83bd269b4770c9a.doc>

## International reports

Elements of a chronology of events in the south of Kyrgyzstan are given in three reports produced by international organizations.

On 16 August 2010, Human Rights Watch published the report “Where is the Justice? Interethnic violence in Southern Kyrgyzstan and its Aftermath”, which presents the results of two months of uninterrupted work in the conflict zone.<sup>17</sup>

On 23 August 2010, International Crisis Group presented the report “The Pogroms in Kyrgyzstan”, which is also based on field research inside the country.<sup>18</sup>

The reports of HRW and ICG, which were written immediately after the events, highlighted the main problems but were not always exact in their reconstruction of the events. It should be noted that at that time, a more detailed investigation was simply not possible to carry out.

On 3 May 2011, the report of the Kyrgyzstan Inquiry Commission (KIC) was presented in Bishkek, becoming the object of heated discussions inside the country.<sup>19</sup> On 26 May 2011, the Parliament (Zhogorku Kenesh) of Kyrgyzstan passed a special decision to ban entry to the country for the head of the KIC and Finnish Member of Parliament, Kimmo Kiljunen.<sup>20</sup> The international independent commission investigating the events of June 2010 enjoyed unprecedented possibilities within their wide mandate, which had been approved by the government. The report of the commission was based on statements of about 750 eye-witnesses, 700 documents (including documents presented by the government of Uzbekistan), 1000 video-fragments and 5000 photographs. The report considered several important questions in detail, including an evaluation of the events from the perspective of international law, information on the ethnicity of those killed or later sentenced by courts, as well as providing recommendations. Although the status of the investigation was lowered in comparison to the plans in the beginning, the publication of the KIC report as such carried with it great positive potential.

The international independent commission made the first serious attempt to reconstruct the events of 10–14 June 2010 in different zones of the conflict. However, in our opinion, this attempt was unsuccessful. Due to incorrect dates and times cited, the reconstruction of events found in the KIC report sometimes describes incidents that did not take place. Also, it presents some possible versions that lack the necessary basis in fact. The lack of footnotes citing the sources of information made it very

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17 [http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/kyrgyzstan0810webwcover\\_1.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/kyrgyzstan0810webwcover_1.pdf)

18 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/central-asia/kyrgyzstan/193%20The%20Pogroms%20in%20Kyrgyzstan.pdf>

19 [http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kic\\_report\\_english\\_final.pdf](http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kic_report_english_final.pdf)

20 <http://www.kenesh.kg/RU/Pages/ViewNews.aspx?id=8&NewsID=2349>

difficult to evaluate the claims and facts presented. Given that the KIC report became the object of aggressive attacks from nationalists inside Kyrgyzstan it was impossible to discuss the short-comings of the document in a serious manner in the time after it was published.

This report notes the instances where the KIC report presented incorrect information. At the same time, we consider it reasonable to use materials from the KIC report to “fill in the blanks” in instances where sufficient information from other sources is not available.

## Some problems

Given that members of the self-defense groups of the Uzbek residential areas faced criminal persecution, torture or blackmail in the time after the end of the clashes, many of them soon started leaving Kyrgyzstan. Within two–three months, many of the eye-witnesses to important events were impossible to find inside the country, some were scared of speaking of what they knew or were not completely candid. Residents in the Kyrgyz areas of Osh Province also started avoiding discussing their participation in the events with outsiders. Considering the real threat to the security of witnesses, we have decided not to cite their names, even in instances when they did not themselves oppose to their name being published. Only in rare instances have we made exceptions to this rule.

Some witnesses used military terms when interviewed that differ from those normally used. For instance, armored vehicles are often called “tanks” rather than “APC” (Armored Personnel Carrier, or BTR in Russian). Although some human rights organizations also use the word “tank” in their reports, this is incorrect – tanks were not used at all by the security forces during the conflict. Patrolling and other tasks were fulfilled using BTR-80 wheeled armored personnel carriers, BMP-2 tracked infantry fighting vehicles and MTLB tracked multi-purpose light-armored towing vehicle (with anti-personnel or anti-aircraft machine guns installed).

The word “sniper” was often used by witnesses to describe single-round shots fired by a person from the roof of a building or from a height.

The term “military person” was often used about any armed person in camouflage, who could be a member of the law enforcement agencies as well as a civilian. Members of the government forces took conscious measures at the time to avoid being identified. For instance, there were incidents when armed police officers went on official matters in civilian clothing or in stolen cars without registration numbers. When on 9 July 2010 the members of the mission were threatened to be shot at a checkpoint in Furkat, it was impossible to discern even which Ministry these “guardians of the peace” belonged to. Members of the mission from the Norwegian

Helsinki Committee and Memorial raised the issue of clearly identifiable uniforms and numbering of armored vehicles with then President Roza Otunbaeva during a meeting in Bishkek in June 2010.

As time passed, many witnesses started forgetting or confusing details, adding details they had heard from friends to their own experiences, sometimes from sources who described the events in a more stereotypical or simplified manner. The same is true of statements from the law enforcement agencies. Many of them contain stereotypical phrasings which cannot always be considered a documented statement from an eye-witness.

Some photos and video materials were impossible to use, as there was no available information as to the time and place where the material had been shot.

We have paid special attention to the geographical details of buildings and streets. The names of most microdistricts, streets and villages are not provided in current Google-maps.

In their own descriptions of the events, witnesses often used old or informal names, or described buildings whose location were not immediately clear to the interviewer. The same confusion can be found in official documents, as many microdistricts and streets in Osh were re-named in recent years, and some new official names are very rarely used by the population, to the extent that ordinary residents are not familiar with a location's new name. For this reason, we have sometimes kept the unofficial old names to avoid confusion. The travel guide book "Osh" (2009) was useful to our research, as well as a tourist map of Osh and Jalalabad published in small numbers by a local company and mostly unavailable in stores.

The authors of this report will be grateful for any clarifications or additions by the reader.

## English terminology

In this report, the following English words are used to indicate Russian-language geographic divisions in Kyrgyzstan:

- Oblast: Province;
- Rayon: District;
- Selo: Village;
- Selskiy Okrug: Village district;
- Prigorodniy rayon: Suburb.

Some common Russian abbreviations indicating the names of various law enforcement agencies are used in the report. We have chosen to use the Russian abbreviations

rather than to confuse the reader with new English terms. Readers who are unfamiliar with these abbreviations may consult this list:

- UVD: Department of Internal Affairs (Upravlenie Vnutrennykh Del);
- ROVD: District Division of Internal Affairs (Rayonnyy Otdel Vnutrennykh Del);
- GSNB: State National Security Service (Gosudarstvennaya Sluzhba Natsionalnoi Bezopasnosti);
- SOBR: Special Rapid Reaction Force (Spetsialniy Otryad Bystrogo Reagirovaniya).



View of destruction near Navoi Street from Suleyman-Too mountain.

## 2. Tensions build up – April to the beginning of June 2010

Both official and unofficial sources note that the weakening of government structures after the fall of the Bakiev regime, the beginning power-struggle and transfer of spheres of influence led to a noticeable increase in tensions, including in inter-ethnic relations.

Already in April 2010, representatives of the Uzbek population in Osh reported that pressure was being placed on them by Kyrgyz criminal groups trying to strengthen their position after the change of power in Bishkek, and about a rise in violent street incidents, the victims of which were often ethnic Uzbeks. In some cases, the clashes were provoked by unknown persons, possibly connected to criminal groups, who came to areas with a large Uzbek population in cars with tinted windows and without registration plates. Some of these incidents were not officially registered. But even in instances where a criminal case was opened against “hooligans”, the investigation would usually be ended as the identity of the person responsible for the crime could not be established. Traditional manners of resolving conflicts in the presence of aksakals (male elders who hold a particular position of authority in Central Asian society), and attempts by some of the politically active youth groups in the cities to prevent inter-ethnic clashes, mostly had no effect.

The lack of action taken by the police organs in the south of Kyrgyzstan led to people taking informal measures to ensure their own safety. The authorities were forced to sanction the formation of “people’s volunteer groups”, something that was indirect evidence of the inefficiency of the work of the government structures responsible for ensuring the safety of the population. Representatives of the Uzbek population worked out a system of reporting that allowed for tens and hundreds of people to gather at a given place in a short period of time, including young sportsmen. This was also done as a defense mechanism and as a way of pressuring the official organs in order to investigate the incident in question and to not allow for a possible escalation of violence.

Events that took place from the end of April to the beginning of May 2010 were the subject of great attention in society.

On 29 April, approximately at 1:30 PM on the railway station Osh-2, two men from a Kyrgyz criminal group walked up to two Uzbek businessmen involved in the transport of cars from South Korea, demanding a “fee” for the delivery of their goods. After the businessmen had refused to pay the money, a fight ensued and about 15 people came to the aid of the blackmailers. According to a document prepared by the Prosecutor General, the fight was stopped after an armed guard at the station fired a



warning shot from a rifle in the air.<sup>21</sup> Unofficial sources claim that the incident with the blackmailers ended with the businessmen and their friends, among who was a well-known sportsman,<sup>22</sup> winning the fight, and that the losing side threatened with revenge before leaving.<sup>23</sup>

Two hours later, around 300–350 young Uzbeks gathered at the Frunze grammar school in Osh. Official documents note that they “expressed distrust in the police organs, said they intended to take care of blackmailers themselves, and some started bringing up the ethnic question.”<sup>24</sup> According to witnesses, the Deputy Heads of the UVD of the city and of the GSNB branch of Osh City and Osh Province, as well as the Chairman of the Uzbek National Cultural Center of Kyrgyzstan, Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov, arrived to speak with those who had gathered.

One of the participants of the meeting recalls:

After the fight everyone started calling their acquaintances, saying that we will gather at the Frunze school. 90% of the sportsmen and city guys gathered there. They wanted to stop the mess. When things had somewhat calmed down, the Deputy Head of the UVD promised that those guilty would be found and punished. After the meeting, the guys stayed behind, exchanged phone numbers and contact info. They said that something more could happen, and that the police could set one of us up, and if that was to happen, then call and we’ll all come. After that, there were calls about fights almost every day.<sup>25</sup>

The next day a criminal case was opened on the blackmailing and beating, and two suspects were detained: Ashur Abdukerimov (born 1979) and Temirzhan Kozuev (born 1984).<sup>26</sup> There is no information in available documents about the conclusion of this investigation. Unofficial sources claim that those detained were released soon after<sup>27</sup> and that one of the extorters asked for medical help and even submitted a complaint against the Uzbek businessman who had beaten him up during the conflict at the train station.<sup>28</sup>

After the arrests of the suspects, rumors started spreading among the Uzbek population about possible revenge from the Kyrgyz criminal groups. Because of this, residents in different districts of the city started gathering on the streets late at night. According to the official chronology of events, on 30 April around 10 PM, some 100–150 Uzbeks gathered in front of the Abdullaev School in the Turan Microdistrict and

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21 Information from the Prosecutor General’s office.

22 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

23 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2011.

24 Information from the Prosecutor General’s office.

25 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

26 Information from the Prosecutor General.

27 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2011.

28 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

the same numbers in the Amir Temur Microdistrict. At midnight, 400 people came out on the streets of the suburban village of Dzhiydalik.<sup>29</sup> According to some sources, around 500 young Uzbeks participated in a meeting on the evening on the territory of the Toktogul School in Turan Microdistrict.<sup>30</sup>

The staff at the UVD of Osh City was put on stand-by, and the head of the UVD went to the scene “in order to study the situation and to carry out preventive work”. Speaking to the residents in Dzhiydalik, the heads of the UVD assured them that “no actions had been registered on the side of the detained accomplices”, and encouraged people to go to their homes, promising them protection from the police.<sup>31</sup>

However, the unrest continued the following day. On 1 May at 11:30 AM, about 300 ethnic Uzbeks gathered in the Suzak tea house on Madzhirimtal Street in Osh to discuss the events.<sup>32</sup>

On the night of 1 May 2010, new incidents took place in the Furkat village (eastern suburb of Osh). Official sources give contradictory descriptions of these events. According to the UVD in Osh City, two Uzbeks were beaten up by four young Kyrgyz at a roadside café or samsakhana. The four took off in a BMW without registration plates in the direction of Uzgen District after the fight.<sup>33</sup> According to the Prosecutor General, only one ethnic Uzbek was injured: at 8:30 PM, a 17-year old resident of Furkat, Shukorullo Muminov, was beaten up for no reason near the Myrzalim café by Kyrgyz who arrived to the village. The attackers fled in a car without registration plates in the direction of Osh City. Around 150–200 young Uzbeks gathered at the scene. Later, the 35-year old Kubanychbek Tairov, an ethnic Kyrgyz, was beaten up near the Sakhiiy café, by way of revenge.<sup>34</sup> Both these crimes were registered, but the guilty were not found.<sup>35</sup>

Around 9 PM in the Myrzalim tea house in Furkat, around 700–800 local Uzbeks gathered, expressing resentment at the actions of the criminal groups. The heads of the UVD in Osh City (Kursan Asanov) and Osh Province promised that measures would be taken to capture the criminals and to carry out a raid to stop the cars that were driving around the province with tinted windows and without registration plates. Those who had gathered dispersed after “lengthy preventive work” including the leaders of the Uzbek population, Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov and Inom Abdurasulov.<sup>36</sup>

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29 Information from the Prosecutor General’s office.

30 [news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetsakov.doc](http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetsakov.doc)

31 Information from the Prosecutor General’s office.

32 Information from the Prosecutor General’s office.

33 Information from UVD in Osh City.

34 Information from the Prosecutor’s Office of Kara-Suu District. This version of the events seem more plausible than the version presented in a document from the Prosecutor’s office in Osh Province, according to which Tairov was beaten up at 7:30 PM, while Muminov was attacked at 9 PM.

35 Information from the Prosecutor General in Osh Province.

36 Information from UVD in Osh City.

Affected by hearing of the incidents in Furkat and rumors about possible new attacks on the evening of 1 May, Uzbeks from several areas in Osh again started gathering in the streets at 10:30 PM near the Fedchenko school (100–120 people) and the post office (100 people), in the Amir Temur Microdistrict, the Rano shop in the Turan Microdistrict (80–100 people), the City Bath on Demokraticheskaya Street (50–60 people), in the Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict (100 people) and elsewhere. By the estimations of UVD in Osh City, the total number was about 800 people.

Those who had gathered told the police officers who arrived that they had received information by telephone that Kyrgyz were beating up Uzbeks outside the Myrzalim tea house and that a large group of Kyrgyz were travelling from the direction of Mady village in Kara-Suu District to support the attackers.<sup>37</sup> The police and leaders of the Uzbek population managed to convince the crowd to disperse, but the residents left people “on duty” to observe the situation on the streets.<sup>38</sup> According to UVD in Osh City, “the information that Kyrgyz nationalists were gathering in Mady village turned out to be correct”. In Furkat, around 50–60 young Kyrgyz gathered, and police went to the scene.<sup>39</sup>

According to the UVD report, “in order to keep order at the city exit, 10 checkpoints were set up, and eight mobile posts functioned in the city, each with five members of SOBR, traffic police and the operative services present”.<sup>40</sup>

Official summaries give an incomplete picture of the events. In particular, they barely mention the actions and the mood among the Kyrgyz part of the population.

This is how an author in one of the publications described the situation:

The residents in the city were in a state of panic all weekend. They called each other, saying that wandering groups of young Uzbeks armed with sticks and pistols were gathering to attack ethnic Kyrgyz, and vice versa. Some spoke of shooting. People from the Uzbek population started organizing groups of young people to protect their areas, yelling “The Kyrgyz are coming”. Others organized brigades to keep order.

On 4 May, the press secretary of UVD, Zamir Sydykov, had to deny the rumors about weapons having been used, including the use of machine guns.<sup>41</sup>

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37 Information from the Prosecutor General's office.

38 Information from UVD in Osh City.

39 Information from UVD in Osh City.

40 Information from UVD in Osh City.

41 [http://www.zpress.kg/news/news\\_only/7/17844/658.py](http://www.zpress.kg/news/news_only/7/17844/658.py)

An article published on 6 May by the popular Bishkek weekly Delo No. mentions the tense situation during those days, as well as the numerous confrontations between youths in Osh based in populist nationalism:

Residents in Osh describe how in one of the areas of the city, shooting was heard once during the night, and in the evenings cars without registration plates and with tinted windows are driving around the city blocks. In the Uzbek mahallas large groups of youth are gathering, unknown persons are making agitated speeches, there is talk of planned attacks from the side of the Kyrgyz population.<sup>42</sup>

One night, information came in about a crowd of 500 Kyrgyz moving along Dzhim Street armed with sticks, beating up passing Uzbeks. The Mayor of Osh Melis Myrzakmatov and the heads of UVD went to the scene but did not find anyone there.<sup>43</sup>

At a press-conference in Bishkek on 3 May, the coordinator of the Ak-Shumkar political party in the Uzgen District, Kasymzhan Madumarov, said that he had personally seen how young sporty types in one of the villages in Osh Province arrived in three jeeps, beat up Uzbeks, hiding behind the name of the Minister of Finance of the Interim Government, Temir Sariev, although they had no connection to his supporters.<sup>44</sup>

According to a local Kyrgyz journalist, after the incident at the railroad station, rumors started circulating about riots that supposedly would take place on 3 May. It was claimed that the President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, had promised support to one of the leaders of the Uzbek diaspora in the case of a conflict, and that Uzbeks from Amir Temur Microdistrict on the outskirts of Osh and others were ready to come to help.<sup>45</sup>

The authorities took hurried measures to stabilize the situation. On 2 May, an operative Staff was established, and a plan was quickly worked out between the different agencies on the actions to be taken by the law enforcement agencies and the defense structures in Osh City and Osh Province. The question of sending armored vehicles to the checkpoints was also discussed. However, “the oral request of the Governor of the Province...was not accepted by the command of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense”. On the initiative of the GSNB under the orders of the Mayor of Osh, an observatory council for control of the coverage of events in the mass-media was established.<sup>46</sup>

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42 [http://delo.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1094&Itemid=47](http://delo.kg/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1094&Itemid=47)

43 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011. p.219.

44 <http://www.24kg.org/community/73313-kasymzhan-madumarov-na-yuge-kyrgyzstana.html>

45 Interview with journalist from Osh (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

46 “On the activities of the GKNB in the period April-June 2010”, (<http://www.paruskg.info/2011/06/02/44835>).

On the same day, a meeting took place at the UVD in Osh City, with the participation of the heads of the police and GSNB, together with local self-government groups, sports clubs and youth and women's organizations. The head of UVD in Osh, Kursan Asanov, assured those present that "there is no real basis for an inter-ethnic conflict", and promised that in the course of two days, he would solve the issue of cars with tinted windows and without registration plates in the city streets, asking those who had gathered to cooperate with the police organs in taking measures to prevent the spreading of incorrect information, panic and spontaneous street gatherings.<sup>47</sup>

On 3 May, the Mayor of Osh, Melisbek Myrzakmatov, met with residents in the Amir Temur Microdistrict, stating that those who were spreading incorrect information would be arrested by the police organs.<sup>48</sup> On the same day, the chairman of the Osh City Kenesh (Council), Davletbek Alimbekov, led a meeting of members of the city council, the head of the UVD of the city and the heads of the local self-governing organs, where a decision was made to organize deputies from the City Council in on-duty schedules in their electoral constituencies to prevent a destabilization of the situation.<sup>49</sup> Volunteer groups started being formed in residential areas and in village regions, groups of youth of 10–20 people started going out in night-time volunteer groups in their regions.<sup>50</sup>

Although the conflict had not yet entered the phase of open clashes in the beginning of May, these incidents helped form a mechanism for mobilization among both ethnic groups. As seen from the description above, the establishment of such a mechanism among the Uzbek population was caused by the inability of the government structures to ensure their safety during the post-revolution period, an increase in inter-ethnic tensions and activation of criminal groups. Another factor that influenced the situation was the almost mono-ethnic makeup of the police organs in the South of Kyrgyzstan, something that due to the traditional structure of society would limit the ability of local law enforcement agencies to function as neutral forces in the case of an inter-ethnic conflict.<sup>51</sup> There is no basis for seeing the process of ethnic mobilization among Uzbeks as a result of some sort of "separatist conspiracy" against the Kyrgyz Republic, as some official persons have tried to claim later.

In available publications from those days, there are unclear mentions of certain provocateurs, who were trying to ignite an inter-ethnic conflict. In theory, the idea cannot be excluded that certain groups in opposition to the Interim Government could

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47 <http://fergana.AKIpress.org/news:78521/>

48 <http://fergana.AKIpress.org/news:78631/>

49 <http://fergana.AKIpress.org/news:78641/>

50 Interview with inhabitant of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010. In some areas of Osh Province these groups were organized from the beginning of April. For instance, the head of Nariman village district gave instructions to organize round-the-clock watchgroups in all villages on 7 April 2010.

51 According to the president of the NGO "For Inter-ethnic Tolerance", Raya Kadyrova, only 30 out of 550 members of the UVD in Osh Province were ethnic Uzbeks, in sharp contrast to the actual ethnic makeup of the population. ([http://www.zpress.kg/news/news\\_only/7/17844/658.py](http://www.zpress.kg/news/news_only/7/17844/658.py)). Out of 627 employees at the UVD in Osh City, 86 persons were ethnic Uzbeks (<http://fergananeews.com/archive/2011/oshini.doc>).

try to artificially aggravate the situation by making statements against the government in the south of the country. However, at the moment there are no trustworthy facts to support this claim.

In the summaries of the mass unrest that was prepared by the UVD in Osh City and by the Prosecutor General of the Kyrgyz Republic, incidents connected to inter-ethnic violence are often mentioned alongside peaceful gatherings among the Uzbek population, and also in connection with ordinary discussion of political issues. This approach cannot be considered reasonable.

On 5 May, at the M. Sabirov school in the Kyzyl-Kyshtak village district in the Kara-Suu District, there was a meeting of about 500 persons, where speeches were made by the chairman of the Uzbek National Cultural Center of Kyrgyzstan, Zhalaldin Salkhutdinov, the leaders of the Rodina political party, Kadyrzhan Batyrov and Inom Abdurasulov, the chairman of the Congress of Women of Osh, Karamat Abuddlaeva, and the head of the village district, Kabylzhan Alimov. In a detailed description of the meeting which can be found in a UVD document, there is nothing that can be considered a call for violence, illegal activity or discrimination against citizens on ethnic grounds. Kadyrzhan Batyrov spoke of the necessity to unite Uzbeks and their active participation in the work on a new Constitution and in parliamentary and presidential elections, and recalled some of the initiatives they had started – such as giving Uzbek language as an official language in areas with a high Uzbek population, to establish quotas for ethnic minorities in government organs, to introduce teaching of Uzbek language in schools as a compulsory foreign language, to publish the draft Constitution in Uzbek and so forth.

He proposed organizing demonstrations of 50,000 people to present these demands to the leadership of the country, underlining that no violations of law and order would be permitted. Inom Abdurasulov also spoke about peaceful street actions, not violating the law.<sup>52</sup> Independently of whether Batyrov's suggestions would be possible to put into practice in Kyrgyzstan, stating them and discussing them was a legal form of political activity, which is something that is also not contended by those who prepared the official reports.

According to Karomat Abdullaeva, the intention during the 5 May meeting was to discuss questions related to the upcoming referendum and Parliamentary election and the participation of the Rodina political party, in which leaders of the Uzbek population played a central role. However, instead of the 50 persons who had been invited, “around two or three thousand people gathered” and the meeting turned into a political demonstration. Some of those present “started going up to the speaker’s

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52 Information from UVD in Osh City. Ismail Isakov's report states that Batyrov during this meeting talked about the possibility “if it becomes necessary, to establish autonomous Uzbek communities”. However, other sources do not confirm this information.

chair on their own”, accusing the leaders of the Uzbek population of not taking any action against nationalistic newspaper articles and speeches being made on the KTR television channel. Many spoke of the “lack of order in the law enforcement agencies”.<sup>53</sup>

The next outburst of inter-ethnic tension in Osh, according to documents of the police organs, took place from 16 to 21 May, in the days following the attempt of supporters of ousted president Kurmanbek Bakiev to overthrow the government in the south of Kyrgyzstan on 13 May.

Supporters of the leader of the Uzbek population in Jalalabad Province, Kadyrzhan Batyrov, played an important role in suppressing the attempted revolt. In the course of these events, the Interim Government on 14 May burned the houses of three of Bakiev’s relatives in the village of Teyit (near Jalalabad), something that was interpreted by the Kyrgyz population as “Uzbek aggression” against Kyrgyz. According to the GKNB, leaflets and computer discs containing inciting ethnic hatred were spread among the population.<sup>54</sup>

The Uzbek population in Osh Province did not participate actively in the May events, due to the danger of further complicating inter-ethnic relations. This position was unfavorably received by some Kyrgyz groups supporting the Interim Government. There are reports that unknown people arrived to some of the areas of the city, threatening to torch houses belonging to Uzbeks if they did not support the fight against Bakiev’s supporters in Osh.<sup>55</sup> On 14 May 2010, Uzbek youth gathered near the Babur school, expressing a wish to speak out against the plotters. However, the demonstrators dispersed after Kadyrzhan Batyrov and leaders of the Uzbek population called for them not to go to the administration building on the main square, as this could provoke an inter-ethnic conflict.<sup>56</sup>

The next day, leaders of the Uzbek population went to Jalalabad, where they participated in a demonstration of several thousand people, which was organized by Kadyrzhan Batyrov.

Almost all sources mentioned the extremely distressed reaction of the Kyrgyz population to the video recordings of the demonstration in Jalalabad on 15 May that were shown on Osh TV and Mezon TV, both based in Osh, and especially to the speech by Batyrov.

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53 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6957>

54 <http://fergana.AKlpress.org/news:81061/>

55 Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

56 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6957>

A Kyrgyz journalist from Osh describes his impression of Batyrov's speech in this manner:

He talked about democracy, the Interim Government, corruption, the Bakiev regime... At no point did they openly talk about Uzbek autonomy or make any kind of illegal encouragements. But the words had a hidden meaning. The call to "gain conscience", what's that all about? When you read the transcription, that's one thing, but when you see it on TV it is something completely different. When Batyrov talked about establishing volunteer groups, he listed areas: People are coming to us from Osh, Uzgen, Aravan, and Nookat. This was interpreted as mobilization of the Uzbek population. And another encouragement: We have been quiet for 20 years, now the time has come to take our rights. In the evening, when the TV program had just ended, everyone started calling each other, asking: "Did you see it? What's going to happen?" From that moment on, different rumors started spreading, and populist nationalism increased sharply.<sup>57</sup>

Rumors of possible riots in May and the beginning of June 2010 started spreading simultaneously in Osh. "From 5 May, rumors of mass disorder started spreading; disorder were supposed to start on 12 May. The rumors came from Kyrgyz villages outside the city. Relatives were calling us, practically begging us to leave Osh. Later, they mentioned the dates 29 May, 4 June, 22 June", recalls a local resident.

The atmosphere was electric. The police was called to our building twice. Conflicts would arise out of nothing. For instance, a female Uzbek sat down outside the entrance of our building to talk with two others. A female Kyrgyz yelled at her, and she answered her. They started calling each other idiots, then they went on to nationalism, until the people from two five-story houses started getting involved in resolving the quarrel, which went on for several hours. The police came, took statements. Or one Uzbek guy suddenly says: "We will declare Jihad on you". The neighbor goes: "What Jihad are you talking about? We are Muslims!" The aksakal tries to smooth things out, saying don't listen to him, he's just chattering and doesn't know what he's talking about. But at this time neither Kyrgyz nor Uzbeks youth respected the authority of the aksakals.<sup>58</sup>

On the morning of 16 May, the heads of UVD in Osh City had to calm down about 100 Uzbeks from the Turan Microdistrict, who had gathered at the Fedchenko School because of rumors about inter-ethnic clashes. At 4:30 PM, information was received about a group fight between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks across from the dormitory on Razzakov Avenue. The incident was caused by an insignificant conflict connected to pumping up of car tires. Those participating in the fight started calling their

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57 Interview with journalist from Osh (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

58 Interview with journalist from Osh (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.



acquaintances for help, and when the police arrived a crowd of 70–80 people was already there. They were able to stop a further escalation of the conflict.

Also, the Headquarters of the UVD was instructed to look for cars with provocateurs who had arrived from Jalalabad Province, and who were trying to enflame the inter-ethnic conflict. Around 7 PM, one of the suspicious cars were stopped and smashed up with metal rods by a group of young Uzbeks on Mir Street (near the clothes market). In the evening on the same day, the Head of UVD in the city met with Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov and Inom Abdurasulov, asking them to “carry out preventive work with the leaders of the Uzbek population in Jalalabad Province”, and also with the heads of Osh TV and Mezon TV, in order to ban them showing the speeches by the leaders of the Uzbeks in Jalalabad.<sup>59</sup>

Official summaries include descriptions of nine incidents of group beatings and fights taking place between 18 and 21 May in Osh City, assumed to have inter-ethnic causes. Among those who were injured was a police officer who was beaten up by unknown persons on the evening of 19 May near the Toktogul School on Tolonov Street, and whose car was also smashed up.<sup>60</sup> In all the registered incidents, the victims were recognized as being Kyrgyz or persons who had been mistaken for Kyrgyz by the attackers. However, the descriptions of these incidents are not always correct.

For instance, when describing an incident on the evening of 18 May in the Turan Microdistrict, the actions of one of the sides is characterized as beating up a victim, while the response of his Kyrgyz and Russian friends is described using the unclear term “take care of/deal with” (criminal street slang that should have no place in a document from the police organs).<sup>61</sup> When describing another incident that took place on 20 May in the same microdistrict, the UVD uncritically repeats the explanation of the victim, according to which Uzbeks who had stopped him, supposedly threw rocks and metal bars into the trunk of the car and called the police after having filmed it on video camera.<sup>62</sup>

In the materials from the Prosecutor General, it is mentioned that due to the circumstances at the end of July 2010 and resistance among residents living in the areas where the crimes had taken place, it was not possible to carry out the necessary investigations and to establish who had participated in these crimes.<sup>63</sup>

Many incidents remained unregistered, in the majority of cases the participants in the conflicts did not turn to the police with their complaints. An Uzbek sportsman described three group fights between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in May 2010, where the

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59 Information from UVD in Osh City.

60 Information from the Prosecutor General's office.

61 Information from UVD in Osh City.

62 Information from UVD in Osh City.

63 Information from the Prosecutor General's office.

police came to the scene only in one of the instances. In all his descriptions of such incidents, the two sides became violent after offensive remarks were made about ethnicity. In two cases, the Kyrgyz side left the scene threatening to come back at night with their friends to “punish” their enemies. These threats were taken seriously, and in the areas where the incidents took place, local residents organized night-time volunteer watch groups.<sup>64</sup>

Some of the incidents started during checks of cars for weapons, which were carried out by civilians. On 21 May, the Head of UVD in the Osh city, Kursan Asanov, demanded an end to checks of cars carried out by volunteer groups established by Uzbek territorial councils in Osh (especially in the Turan and Sheyit-Dobo Microdistricts and on 8 March Street), and that such groups should patrol only in cooperation with local police inspectors.<sup>65</sup> On this background, one may assume that some of the conflicts taking place were connected to the actions of officially formed “people’s watch groups”.

After some such incidents, rumors started spreading of planned revenge by friends and acquaintances of the victims, something that led to spontaneous gatherings of people. On the evening of 18 May around 300 Uzbeks gathered in the Turan Microdistrict, concerned about the rumors about a planned arrival of groups of Kyrgyz from another area in the city to “settle things”. On the next day, around 150 Kyrgyz gathered at the Darkhan café on Masaliev Avenue, intending to go to the central square to express their displeasure at the showing of Kadyrzhan Batyrov’s speech on television, and with the actions of the Uzbek population.<sup>66</sup> Police officers led by the head of the UVD, Kursan Asanov, stopped the crowd near the former grain factory and within half an hour had convinced the crowd to disperse.<sup>67</sup>

The heads of UVD and the local branch of GSNB took measures to take control of the situation. They met with the leaders of the Uzbek population and trainers at local sports clubs belonging to different ethnic groups, led similar meetings with representatives of such institutions as the city council, neighborhood committees, territorial councils, aksakal courts and so forth, who probably could provide a realistic evaluation of the situation. On the evening of 19 May 2010, sportsmen were asked by the authorities to carry out night-time patrolling of the streets alongside law enforcement officials.<sup>68</sup> The authorities demanded that the leaders of the Uzbek population in Osh Province make public statements on television including criticism of Kadyrzhan Batyrov and calls for the Uzbek population not to give in to provocations. The chairman of the Republican Uzbek National Cultural Center, Zhalaldin

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64 Interview with resident in Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

65 Information from UVD in Osh City.

66 Information from UVD in Osh City.

67 Information from UVD in Osh City, <http://fergana.AKIpress.org/news:81371>

68 <http://fergana.AKIpress.org/news:81461/> In messages from the press service of the UVD in Osh City, sports clubs were mentioned as independent forces (alongside the police and territorial volunteer groups).

Salakhutdinov was warned by the Head of UVD that he would be held personally responsible for any demonstration or attempt at organizing gatherings among the Uzbek population.<sup>69</sup>

On 21 May the situation again grew complicated, after the police detained two cars around 8 PM, one of them carrying one of the leaders of the Rodina political party, former Member of Parliament Inom Abdurasulov.<sup>70</sup> The cars were stopped and brought to the UVD of Osh City along with its passengers. According to the official version, the reason was the need to check operative information that unknown persons were transporting several automatic weapons. During the search of the cars, two gas guns were found, for which the necessary permits were in order. After half an hour, ethnic Uzbeks started gathering at the UVD building in Osh. At around 9:30 PM, their numbers had risen to about 400–500 people. About 200 more Uzbeks gathered at Privokzalnaya Street. In response, about 100 Kyrgyz gathered at the Ak-Shumkar restaurant on Masaliev Avenue. The UVD officers were sent to the scene to prevent clashes between the two sides.<sup>71</sup> Those who had gathered dispersed soon after Abdurasulov was released.

According to a resident in the village of Andijanskoe in the Kyzyl-Kyshtak village district in Kara-Suu District, around 22 May at 2 AM in one of the dead-end streets of the village, six cars with unknown persons drove by. When the Uzbek volunteer watch groups on the street tried to get an explanation as to why they had arrived, one of them drove straight at the volunteers and away from the village. The residents threw rocks on the second car, the rest were blocked by local residents. Soon, about 1000 people had gathered on the street.

The Head of UVD in Osh, Kursan Asanov, and the Deputy Head of UVD in the Province, Shakir, came to the scene. It turned out that the people in the cars were police officers who supposedly had arrived in connection with a reported burglary. The incident was resolved in a quiet manner, although the explanation of the heads of police did not convince the residents in the village (this village fell outside jurisdiction of the city UVD, although in practice, this principle is not always observed). They carried out an inspection of the detained cars, trying to find weapons that, in their opinion, the police officers might have wanted to plant on someone as a provocation.<sup>72</sup>

The incident described above is not included in the available official summaries of conflicts related to ethnicity. Neither is a conflict that took place in Osh District on 21 May, which was provoked by a group of Kyrgyz youth whose leader, according to some sources, enjoyed the support of the Mayor of the city, Melis Myrzakmatov.

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69 Information from UVD in Osh City.

70 The report by Ismail Isakov gives the incorrect date of 19 May 2010 for this incident.

71 Information from UVD in Osh City.

72 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

According to a former activist in the Birimdik youth movement, both sides consisted of 100–150 people at first, later the number of participants grew to 500 people on the Uzbek side, and 200–300 on the Kyrgyz side. The situation became more complicated when a police officer driving in an Uzbek neighborhood in a private car fired several shots in the air. Clashes were prevented thanks to the work of the activists from the Birdimik youth movement from both sides of the conflict.<sup>73</sup> In the comments of the government of Kyrgyzstan to the report of the KIC, certain clashes between business men and criminal groups on 9, 11 and 27 May 2010 are mentioned. However, these incidents are not described in available documents.

An analysis of available information leads us to conclude that in spite of the increasing tension in inter-ethnic relations up to the end of May 2010, the leaders of the Uzbek population in Osh cooperated actively with the law enforcement agencies, made efforts to stabilize the situation and to prevent possible escalations of local street conflicts.<sup>74</sup> When studying the different versions available of the chronicle of events from the UVD in Osh City, it is evident that mention of this cooperation disappeared from later versions of documents, when the wave of nationalist euphoria brought forward the doubtful version of an “Uzbek separatist conspiracy”. Cooperation ended when the head of UVD in Osh, Kursan Asanov, was removed from his position on 25 May 2010 and unexpectedly transferred to a position in Bishkek. The new head of the UVD was Bolot Nyshanov, who had previously worked as the Deputy Head of the Interpol office in Bishkek, and who was not fully informed of the difficult situation in the south of Kyrgyzstan.<sup>75</sup>

The next (third) wave of inter-ethnic violence in Osh leading up to the following large-scale clashes took place between 9 and 10 June.

The violent incidents again caused rumors of coming riots, and both Uzbeks and Kyrgyz started warning each other about the threat of clashes.

“Near the Dom Byta shopping center, a traffic police officer detained an Uzbek driver and brought him to the UVD. We all went there to free him. When he was released, the Kyrgyz police officers in the yard said: “In two weeks we’ll get all of you (Uzbeks)”. The guys left, and told us about it”, recalls one witness.<sup>76</sup>

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73 Interviews with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow 22 December 2010, 6 April 2011.

74 On 20 May 2010, a session of the Osh City Council supported the initiative of the Mayor, Melisbek Myrzakmatov, to present state awards to the chairman of the Republican Uzbek National-Cultural Center, Zhalalidin Salakhidinov, and the head of the Uvd in Osh City, Kursan Asanov, for their role in “stabilizing the region and inter-ethnic relations” (<http://fergana.AKlpress.org/news:81621/>).

75 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1295390280>; <http://fergana.AKlpress.org/news:82441/> Different sources note that the initiator for the removal of Asanov was Ismail Isakov, who was appointed special representative of the Interim Government in the southern provinces of Kyrgyzstan on 13 May 2010 (see for instance, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=16099>)

76 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

A local employee at an international organization based in Osh confirms that rumors about riots to take place between 4 and 7 June were circulating in Osh, with reference to statements by police officers.<sup>77</sup>

Regardless of the rumors, the residents started getting used to them, and did not always take them seriously.<sup>78</sup> According to a local journalist, no one mentioned 10 June 2010 as a possible date for the beginning of the conflict.<sup>79</sup>

One may assume that due to the weak position of the government structures, different groups from both ethnicities started preparing and were discussing plans of action in the case of a crisis. It is also important to note that the consolidation of the Uzbek population and the fact that it was turning into an active political force in the south of Kyrgyzstan after the events in Jalalabad on 13–14 May, was considered a threat to the interests of the various clan-based and criminal groups in the region, who did not want to see a possible new competitor on the political stage, acting along the lines of the Interim Government. Inter-ethnic violence allowed these groups to realize their goal, which was to keep the formal loyalty of the central government in Bishkek. With a view to this, the numerous statements of official persons in April–May 2010 about the stability of the situation in Osh and about conflicts being generated by groundless rumors can hardly be considered an adequate evaluation of the situation.

On 9 June at 11 PM, information was received at UVD in Osh City about a fight between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz near the Farkhad tea house on Mamyrov Street. An investigative-operative group went to the scene, as well as a rapid response group and the Berkut mobile group of the UVD under the leadership of the heads of UVD.

At the tea house, around 350 Uzbeks had gathered, expressing anger that the 49-year old Omarzhan Karimov had been beaten up by Kyrgyz who had arrived in a car. The victim himself, if one should believe the official documents, was drunk and therefore could not explain the circumstances of what had happened. He went to the Provincial Hospital for medical treatment, but did not want to be hospitalized or give a statement to the police.<sup>80</sup> Representatives of the GKNB and Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov participated in the preventive work with the crowd<sup>81</sup> (the presence of the latter is not mentioned in available official reports).

Approximately at 12:20 AM, almost all those who had gathered had dispersed. However, after 20 minutes a new conflict broke out at the tea house, during which two Kyrgyz wounded two Uzbeks with a knife. One of the Kyrgyz was grabbed and

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77 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Bishkek, 4 July 2010.

78 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

79 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

80 Information from UVD in Osh City.

81 Telephone interview with Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov, Moscow, 22 February 2012.

beaten up by the crowd, then handed over to the UVD officers by representatives of the Birimdik youth movement. The arrested, 19-year old Eldiyar Abdulla uulu, a resident of Kok-Bel village in Nookat District, explained to the police that when he had gone to play pool with his friends, he had been attacked by five–six Uzbeks and had used a knife to defend himself. Around 500 “aggressively-minded citizens” who had gathered at the Farkhad tea house dispersed only at 2:30 AM, after the Deputy Head of UVD, Marat Orozbaev, convinced that that the guilty had been arrested and that measures would be taken against him in accordance with the law.<sup>82</sup> During the events at the Farkhad tea house, activists from the Uzbek National Republican Cultural Center removed five–six young men aged 25–30 from the crowd. These were non-locals who were making speeches of a provocative nature.<sup>83</sup>

According to unofficial sources, rumors were spreading among the Uzbek population that Kyrgyz had killed two Uzbeks outside the Farkhad tea house, and that the police had released the attackers.<sup>84</sup>

The next day, the atmosphere in the city was very tense. During the day, a large number of cars with young Kyrgyz sportsmen, assumedly connected to criminal groups, were seen moving from the direction of Alay District and Chon-Alay District in the direction of Osh City.<sup>85</sup>

At 2 PM, an ethnic Kyrgyz officer from the city traffic police called an ethnic Uzbek businessman involved in sales of used cars, and proposed transferring the cars to him for safe keeping, as “Kyrgyz are coming to Osh soon, in order to kill Uzbeks”.<sup>86</sup>

Around 7:30 PM the UVD in the city received information about a fight between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz outside the Al-Mansur café on Masaliev Avenue (near the intersection with Zaynabetdinov Street). As had been the case during the incident on the previous day, an investigative-operative group went to the scene, as well as a rapid response group and the Berkut mobile group of the UVD under the leadership of the heads of UVD.

According to the official version, the fight was a result of a quarrel between an Uzbek taxi driver and a Kyrgyz passenger by the name of Bakyt Zholdoshev, who lived in Ak-Tash village in the Kara-Suu District. When the passenger and the driver came out of the car to settle matters, several young Uzbeks came to the aid of the taxi driver and beat up Zholdoshev. Uzbek and Kyrgyz youth started gathering around them, after which the taxi driver and the people helping him ran off to hide, leaving the car

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82 Information from UVD in Osh City. According to official estimates, the crowd was no larger than 250–300 people.

83 Telephone interview with Zhalalidin Salakhutdinov, Moscow, 22 February 2012.

84 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 6 July and 12 September 2010, Moscow 6 April 2011; interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

85 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

86 Testimony of resident of Osh City (name withheld) to an international and human rights organization, 9 August 2010.

at the café with the key in the ignition.<sup>87</sup> Unofficial sources claim that the taxi driver fled because of threats from three or four Kyrgyz sportsmen who came to the scene.<sup>88</sup> According to unconfirmed information, the police fired in the air in order to disperse those who had gathered.<sup>89</sup> The crowds of Uzbeks and Kyrgyz, which consisted of 500 people on each side, dispersed around 8:30 PM.<sup>90</sup> Part of the crowd moved to a parallel street (closer to the train station).<sup>91</sup>

The incident described above caused various rumors to spread, one of them expressed in a letter sent in August 2010 to the National Commission by the commanding heads of the Border Service. In part, the letter stated that a fist fight took place around 8 PM on the intersection of Zaynabetdinov Street and Masaliev Avenue in Osh, between an Uzbek driver from the Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict and a Kyrgyz driver, whose cars had been involved in a collision. “As a result, the Uzbek man was supposedly killed”, possibly causing the following events, in the opinion of the border guards.<sup>92</sup>

Inter-ethnic confrontations among groups of youth took place that day also in other areas and parts of Osh. A representative of a Kyrgyz NGO told the members of the mission that she received a phone call around 8 PM about clashes not only at Ali-Mansur café, but also in the area around the old cotton factory (KhBK).<sup>93</sup> The KIC report mentions a fight around 9 PM between 30 Uzbeks and 20 Kyrgyz in the Osh District of the city. Between 8 and 9 PM one of the youth activists who were at the Sogdiana restaurant told acquaintances that he had to leave them because the Mayor was urgently gathering the Kyrgyz youth in the center of the city.<sup>94</sup>

The HRW report, which was published in August 2010, describes how 20–30 young Uzbeks beat up two 22-year old Kyrgyz around 10 PM in the village of Zhapalak outside the city. According to this report, more people joined this group, which was stopping passing cars and beating up Kyrgyz passengers.<sup>95</sup>

Around 9 PM, hundreds of Uzbeks agitated by rumors of a planned attack from the side of the Kyrgyz started gathering on the large intersection at the entry to Furkat village (to the east of Osh). Groups of Kyrgyz were concentrated across from them. Around 10:30 PM, youngsters started banging on pipes, calling for Uzbeks to come out on the street as “war was starting” in the city.<sup>96</sup> From the Uzbek mahalla across

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87 Information from UVD in Osh City.

88 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 July 2010; interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

89 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

90 Information from UVD in Osh City.

91 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

92 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GSNB.

93 Interview with head of NGO (name withheld), Osh Province, 19 June 2010.

94 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2011.

95 <http://www.hrw.org/ru/node/92463/section/5>

96 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

from the Provincial Hospital, around 1000 people came out.<sup>97</sup> The aksakals had great difficulties stopping people who were getting ready to go to the fork in the road by the entrance to Furkat, where Kyrgyz supposedly were shooting at Uzbeks.<sup>98</sup> According to official information, the number of Uzbeks in the crowd at the intersection in Furkat rose to 1500–2000 people towards 9–10 PM. The nine police officers from ROVD who arrived to the scene were unable to take control of the situation. Around 11 PM, the first acts of violence took place; groups of armed Uzbek youth began stopping passing cars, dragging out Kyrgyz passengers and beating them up.<sup>99</sup>

In the report of the National Commission, it is noted that a Kyrgyz was brought to the City Hospital with stab wounds around 11 PM. He had been attacked by a group of young Uzbeks in Nurdar village (3 kilometers to the north of Osh). At 11:30 PM another two Kyrgyz from the Nookat District were stabbed in the same village – they were hospitalized at 2:30 AM at the Provincial Hospital). All those injured had been attacked on the road to the airport, where they were taking their children, who were flying to Moscow.<sup>100</sup>

According to the Ministry of Health, by midnight on 10 June 2010, only two casualties had been registered at the medical facilities in Osh.

Another fight that gave the impulse to later large-scale acts of violence took place between 10 PM and 11 PM near Hotel Alai in the center of Osh. These events are described in the following chapter.

During these critical hours, leaders of the Uzbek community in Osh, including Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov and Inom Abdurasulov, who had played an important role in stabilizing the situation during previous incidents, were outside of the region. On the morning of 10 June 2010, they left for Kayrakkum (Tajikistan), where along with Kadyrzhan Batyrov, who had also left the country, discussed the meetings with the members of the Interim Government which had taken place in Bishkek, and plans to support the efforts of the government to hold a referendum on the new Constitution on 27 June 2010. The participants in the meeting returned to Kyrgyzstan around 11 PM. Before this, part of the road to the Kadamzhanskiy District in Batken Province (120 kilometers to the west of Osh), which passes through Uzbekistan, had been blocked by the border service.<sup>101</sup> Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov managed to reach Osh via Uzbekistan only by late evening on 12 June 2010.<sup>102</sup>

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97 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

98 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 22 June 2011.

99 Information from the Prosecutor's Office of Kara-Suu District and Kara-Suu ROVD.

100 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6871>

101 Interview with member of the Uzbek National Cultural Center of Kyrgyzstan (name withheld), Bishkek, 16 February 2012.

102 Telephone interview with Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov, Moscow, 22 February 2012.



The information regarding the meeting held in Tajikistan among the leaders of the Uzbek community is confirmed also by other sources. Considering this, the claims presented by the Prosecutor General's office of Kyrgyzstan and in the report of Ismail Isakov, that Kadyrzhan Batyrov and Inom Abdurasulov allegedly spoke to Uzbeks at one of the schools in Osh on 10 June, promising to bring them weapons and encouraging them to establish checkpoints and barricades, can not be considered based in fact.



Destruction in an Uzbek residential area in Osh.

### 3. Chronicle of violence 10–15 June 2010

Reconstructing the events that took place in the south of Kyrgyzstan from 10 to 15 June 2010 is no easy task. In contrast to the situation during the violent conflict in 1990, authorities did not publish daily reviews of events during the June 2010 events, apart from the announcements made by the Ministry of Health regarding registered victims. In the internal documents summarizing crimes and events which are produced daily by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), information about crimes committed in the course of the inter-ethnic conflict was given with considerable delay. By way of example, the death of 14 persons during clashes on 13 June in the Bazar-Korgon District in Jalalabad Province was mentioned only in the 26 June internal summarizing document of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Many journalists in the south stopped working actively during this period, and news items were based on extremely fragmented and inexact information, often without any view to the fact that ongoing events in different areas of Osh had differing dynamics.

Official summaries of the events in the south were prepared by local branches of the Prosecutor General's office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in late June 2010, but these will not be published. Some of the documents were made available to independent researchers during the fall of 2010. When studying these documents, it is evident that they are full of avoidances and inaccuracies, especially with regards to the events in Osh. Some of the reports are written in a neutral tone, while others are clearly influenced by attempts to accuse the Uzbek part of the population of what happened and to present the actions of the law enforcement agencies exclusively in a positive light. Unfortunately, neither the Prosecutor General's office or the National Commission or Parliamentary Commission made efforts to evaluate the contents of these reports in a critical light.

An interesting view on the quality of official materials can be found in a document that was sent to the National Commission in August 2010 by the Head of the Department of Internal Affairs (UVD) of Osh Province, Furkhat Usenov:

The analysis of the effects of recent events connected to the mass disorder on the night between 10 and 11 June in Osh City and Kara-Suu District (villages Nariman, Shark, Dzhiydalik and others) does not give a true and full overview of these events. This, in turn, complicates the work of making a prognosis of the situation and to produce recommendations regarding specific situations and operative conditions, and preparing a pro-active administrative response to changes in the situation.<sup>103</sup>

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103 "Information on the inter-ethnic clashes in Osh Province", UVD Osh Province, 8 August 2010.

During our research it was important to differentiate between credible information and subjective opinions and rumors. The methodology and sources of information we used have been described in the introduction to this report.

Obviously, any reconstruction of the events, including the innumerable instances of spontaneous and chaotic violence over a large geographical area, will necessarily be incomplete. However, some highly important events took place in each of the areas affected, many of which are described, sometimes in opposing terms, among the majority of the population.



Destruction in an Uzbek residential area in Osh.

## A. The conflict breaks out: The events near Hotel Alai

An analysis of the events near Hotel Alai in Osh on the night between 10 and 11 June is of great importance, as this particular incident triggered the rapid escalation of the conflict afterwards.

There are conflicting descriptions of these events from witnesses and people living on nearby streets who were interviewed by the mission on the one hand, and some documents from the Prosecutor General of the Kyrgyz Republic, the State National Security Service (GSNB), the UVD and the Mayor of Osh on the other; as well as the translation of the testimony given to the National Commission by the Deputy Head of the UVD of Osh Province, Shakir Zulimov, and others. The events as explained by witnesses are also presented in the reports by Human Rights Watch, International Crisis Group, the Kyrgyzstan Inquiry Commission and the Osh Initiative, the book by the Mayor of Osh, Melisbek Myrzakmatov, “Men izdegen chyndyk” (“The truth I sought”), as well as in numerous internet publications. Separate elements are considered in reports based on the work of the National and Parliamentary Commissions, as well as the Commission of the Ombudsman.

One particular incident is mentioned in all recounts of the events of the night of 10 June between 10 PM and 11 PM. This incident took place in a small gambling hall called 24 Hours, located on Kurmanjan Datka Street (right next to the student dormitory of Osh State University).<sup>104</sup>

Several available official documents dated between June and August 2010 refer to the incident. The UVD of Osh City describes a quarrel in the gambling hall which developed into a fight, the GSNB write that an Uzbek customer who had lost a large sum of money started a fight with Kyrgyz youth, while the Prosecutor General of the Kyrgyz Republic describe a “provoked confrontation” in the small gambling hall between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, as a result of which one Uzbek was beaten up. It is unclear how accurate these reports are, as they are based on information from people who did not personally take part in the incident. More detailed information has not yet been published, although unofficial sources say that members of the security services questioned employees at the gambling hall and the injured Uzbek, who according to unconfirmed reports later emigrated to Russia.<sup>105</sup>

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104 Some reports refer to it as “casino” or “Kosmos gambling hall”. In information from the Mayor of Osh and in a number of internet publications, reference is mistakenly made to incidents at the “Kristall casino”, which is in a different part of the city.

105 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 September 2010.

There are also other versions regarding the beginning of the conflict. An inhabitant of one of the nearby houses on Navoi Street said that his son witnessed how several Kyrgyz beat up a young Uzbek on the bus stop on that street (behind the dormitory of Osh State University). Afterwards, the attackers went inside the gambling hall. A group of young Uzbeks from a nearby part of the city went there to take revenge on the attackers, and a fight broke out inside the gambling hall. The confrontation was brief; the Kyrgyz involved quickly took off in a car.<sup>106</sup> Some also explain that the fight in the gambling hall was a continuation of an incident on the street, where one or more Uzbeks had been beaten up for no reason.<sup>107</sup> In the confrontation that followed, the security guard at the gambling hall (an ethnic Kyrgyz) was injured – a local journalist saw blood on his clothes that same evening. According to the security guard, items inside the gambling hall were broken during the fight.<sup>108</sup> It is possible that an employee at Gorreklama, whose office is located near the gambling hall, saw one of the participants in the fight around 10 PM. This was a badly beaten young Kyrgyz who was undressed to the waist, and who kept repeating the words “Everything will be all right”.<sup>109</sup>

The Uzbeks participating in the conflict started calling their friends and acquaintances on the telephone. Soon, rumors about beginning clashes between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks near Hotel Alai and requests for help started spreading widely among the Uzbek population in Osh. The information was not only spread by telephone. Around 11 PM, a woman living in one of the houses on Navoi Street went out on the street together with her neighbors after hearing an elderly man yelling that a war was starting, before running away. At the same time, her relatives on Parizhskaya Kommuna Street in a different part of the city started calling her, having heard talk of beginning inter-ethnic clashes.<sup>110</sup>

Another inhabitant in the city was talking with his friends inside the private housing quarters on Navoi Street when a man arrived in a car, saying that Kyrgyz had come and were beating up Uzbeks near Hotel Alai.<sup>111</sup> An inhabitant in one of the villages in the Kyzyl-Kyshtak village community outside the city also heard about a beginning conflict with “a crowd of Kyrgyz” in the same manner.<sup>112</sup> A witness on Navoi Street who was interviewed during the official investigations said that unknown persons spread out in the nearby blocks to tell people about the clashes near Hotel Alai by knocking on gas pipes and calling for Uzbeks to come out on the street.<sup>113</sup>

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106 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 and 12 September 2010.

107 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010, and Moscow 6 August and 13 October 2010; Letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name of author withheld), 18 April 2011; see also comments to this article: <http://yangidunyo.com/?p=15839>

108 Interview with journalist from Osh (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

109 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

110 Interview with female resident of Osh City (name withheld), 25 September 2010.

111 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

112 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

113 Information from the Prosecutor General’s office.

Two Uzbeks who arrived to the intersection by Hotel Alai separately of one another around 11 PM saw only around 40–50 people there, peacefully discussing the events. Two or three police men were standing nearby. Having seen that the rumors about clashes were incorrect, they returned home. The fight was not conceived by them as being the beginning of some sort of large conflict.<sup>114</sup> One of them started calling acquaintances from the Turan and Amir Temur Microdistricts, where panicked rumors had started circulating, in order to calm them down.<sup>115</sup>

However, about half an hour later a large group of Uzbeks arrived to the intersection by foot. Witnesses estimate their numbers to be from 300 to 500 persons.<sup>116</sup> The crowd was concentrated on Kurmanjan Datka Street to the north of the intersection with Navoi Street across from the Avtotrest office building. They were agitated and yelling something, but did not enter into any violent confrontations. Kyrgyz students from the dormitory, some taxi drivers and people working in nearby small shops stood on the opposite side of the intersection watching what was happening.<sup>117</sup> A journalist coming out of the nearby Kara-Alma tea house around 11:20 PM noted that a police patrol car was already present at the intersection. Another one arrived soon after. The police officers talked to those who had gathered, some of which were armed with sticks.<sup>118</sup> Approximately at 11:20 PM, information about the crowd reached the UVD of Osh City,<sup>119</sup> and at 11:30 PM – the UVD of Osh Province.<sup>120</sup> Ten minutes later, an anonymous phone call reported about 200 Uzbeks with “aggressive intentions” to the on-duty department of the Directorate of GSNB of Osh City and Osh Province.<sup>121</sup>

The crowd quickly grew and close to midnight consisted of around 1500–3000 people.<sup>122</sup> Groups of volunteers started coming to the intersection near Hotel Alai by foot and in cars, as well as residents from nearby areas, including women, children and elderly, and members of various youth and sports groups, who were highly prepared to mobilize after the incident at the Farkhad tea house and Al-Mansur café described above. Some came to find out the details of what was happening,<sup>123</sup>

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114 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010; interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

115 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

116 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010, and Osh, 22 December 2010 and 23 December 2010; interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010. Melis Myrzakmatov’s book refers to the head of the Uvd in Osh City, Bolot Nyshanov, confirming that the UVD already at 10:45 PM had information about over 1000 Uzbeks by Hotel Alai (Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.20). There is probably a mistake here of one hour in the fixation of time.

117 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 and 12 September 2010.

118 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

119 Information from UVD in Osh City. In a fragment of the chronicle from UVD in Osh City published as an appendix to the book by Melisbek Myrzakmatov, “*Men izdegen chyndyk*”, the time when the information was received at is “fixed” to 12:20 AM (p.312) – probably so that the difference between the UVD report and the information from the Mayor’s office would not be noticed (p.323).

120 Information from UVD in Osh Province.

121 Information from GSNB.

122 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010, and Osh, 5, 6 and 22 September and 22 December 2010, 23 December 2011. The number 2000 is also given in the document from the Mayor’s office (Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*, Bishkek 2011, p.323).

123 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

others to demand that those guilty of attacking Uzbeks be punished,<sup>124</sup> others again were worried about the arrival of aggressive Kyrgyz and wanted to protect their neighborhood.<sup>125</sup>

Witnesses note that “there were no leaders in the crowd, everyone was trying to talk at the same time, like in the bazaar”;<sup>126</sup> “nobody was listening to anyone”.<sup>127</sup> There were no clearly stated demands.<sup>128</sup>

A local who was in the crowd along with his relatives told members of the mission that he could not understand why people were gathering, some of whom were demanding that the Mayor arrive. Local people who had been injured in the fight did not play an active role in the events, rather unknown young men did.<sup>129</sup> According to another witness, when asked what was happening, a sportsman he knew who arrived to the Avtotresta building answered “I don’t know, bro, the guys just called me and told me to come.”<sup>130</sup>

Some of the locals asked those gathering and those who were arriving from the north along Kurmanjan Datka Street not to give into panic and return to their homes,<sup>131</sup> but these efforts did not produce any noticeable results.<sup>132</sup>

From around 11:30 PM representatives of the law enforcement agencies started arriving to Hotel Alai. According to witnesses, around 20 police officers were south of the intersection on Kurmanjan Datka Street in the beginning, one of them was a neighborhood police officer (uchastkoviy), others were representatives of the patrolling and posted police forces (patrul’no-postovaya sluzhba). Soon, no less than 20 officers from the Criminal Police and other law enforcement agencies joined them, armed with automatic rifles and pistols.<sup>133</sup> Witnesses report that the number of people in uniform exceeded 50.<sup>134</sup> The armed police officers did not try to move close to the crowd, but observed what was happening from a distance.<sup>135</sup>

In the document from the UVD of Osh City it is noted that after the investigative-operative groups had arrived to the scene, as well as groups of Rapid Action forces and the Berkut mobile group, the UVD staff were summoned by the heads and all

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124 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

125 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010.

126 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010.

127 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

128 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

129 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 September 2010.

130 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

131 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010, and Osh, 21 December 2010.

132 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

133 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

134 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010 and Moscow, 13 October 2010.

135 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh 6 September 2010.

the officers were given service weapons.<sup>136</sup> At 11:30 PM, the head of the UVD of Osh, Bolot Nishanov, reported to the Mayor of Osh, Melisbek Myrzakmatov, on the situation by Hotel Alai. The Mayor sent his Deputy, Shukhrat Sabirov (an ethnic Uzbek) to the scene. Sabriov observed the situation until the crowd dispersed.<sup>137</sup>

The alarm was raised also at the UVD of Osh Province. The Governor of the province, Sooronbay Zheenbekov, was informed that the plan “Buran”, which had been prepared in the case of mass unrest, would be implemented.<sup>138</sup> GSNB sent an operative group of four unarmed persons to the scene.<sup>139</sup>

The report of the commander of the Southern Group of Forces states that already before midnight, “on the request of the Mayor of Osh and the Governor of Osh Province with the permission of the Ministry of Defense”, the 26th brigade of special forces were put on alert, and the security around military residential areas and the rocket-artillery storages was heightened. At 11:50 PM, 38 soldiers from military unit 52870 left their base in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict on three APC-80s in order to protect the provincial administration buildings. At 12:15 AM, another 60 soldiers from the same unit were sent there in two Kamaz trucks.<sup>140</sup>

Around midnight, the territorial sub-divisions of the organs of internal affairs were put on alert, as well as the internal military units located in Osh Province.<sup>141</sup> Work was begun to put border service command and units on military alert and security on the state borders was heightened.<sup>142</sup>

At midnight, the gas was cut off in the city, something which is explained as a security measure in connection with the beginning disturbances in the book by the Mayor of Osh Melisbek Myrzakmatov.<sup>143</sup>

In a GSNB document, the crowd gathering near Hotel Alai around midnight is described as armed and extremely aggressive:

The majority of those arriving were residents of the Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict in Osh, and a significant part of these were armed with sticks, metal rods and rocks. During talks between the GSNB officers and persons in the crowd, their leaders presented various demands, ranging from demands that the money that had been

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136 Information from UVD in Osh City.

137 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.18.

138 Information from UVD in Osh Province.

139 Information from GSNB.

140 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense. In the chronology of events put together by the military, the time given for the first actions taken is 11 PM, which may be a technical mistake or part of a “conspiracy theory”.

141 <http://www.24.kg/community/75737-v-kyrgyzstane-v-gorode-oshe-v-rezultate-massovyx.html>

142 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GSNB,

143 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.325.



lost in the gambling hall be returned to demands that persons of Uzbek nationality be assigned to leading positions in the government organs in Kyrgyzstan. In addition, they made physical threats against the GSNB officers who had arrived (specifically, beheading).<sup>144</sup>

This description differs from the descriptions offered by locals who were present at the scene. Not only do they note that there were no leaders present who could control the situation and with whom it would be possible to enter into negotiations, but also the fact that only a small part of those present were armed with sticks and rocks.<sup>145</sup> In spite of the encouragement by some participants to do so, the crowd did not attempt to start moving towards other areas in the city.<sup>146</sup> The conflicting demands and threats described in the document were apparently made on impulse by persons who were talking to the GSNB officers.

In his testimony to the National Commission, the former Deputy Head of the UVD of the Osh Province, Shakir Zulimov, speaks of the presence of unknown men in black t-shirts who interrupted the attempts to enter into negotiations with the police and who provoked the crowd to action.<sup>147</sup> An UVD officer also noted the presence of “Uzbeks not from Osh” who were carrying out violent attacks for the entire period up until the crowd was dispersed after two hours.<sup>148</sup> Other sources also speak of the presence of somewhere from 10–15 to 50 (by different estimates) non-local Uzbek males near Hotel Alai. These men categorically refused to follow calls to go home and intended to move towards the city in order to “deal with the Kyrgyz”.<sup>149</sup> However, the role that this group (or groups) played remains unclear.

The reports of the National and Parliamentary Commissions note that leaders and members of Uzbek criminal groups were observed in the crowd near Hotel Alai. A publication by an expert of the National Commission, Tabyldy Akerov, mentions certain people by the names of “Ruslan the Progib”<sup>150</sup> and “Johnny the Boxer” (currently wanted by the police) as being part of the crowd. It is also claimed that “Uzbek youth organized the unrest with open calls to participate, and invited one of the Kyrgyz /criminal/ authorities in the south to settle matters”.<sup>151</sup> Even if this indeed

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144 Information from GSNB.

145 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 September 2010.

146 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 6 September 2010 and 22 December 2010.

147 Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

148 Interview with former officer of the UVD in Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

149 These are some of the statements from witnesses in this group: “Among the Uzbeks, honestly, there were also guys, 10–15 people, who started gathering everyone and spreading panic...Not those who were beaten up at the gambling hall, but others. I had never seen them before”. (Interview, 6 December 2010) “There were non-locals there, not guys from the city, bearded, intriguers, about 30 of them, they spoke Uzbek with an accent. We, the sportsmen, tried to stop people, but in response came cries like, “Let’s stop this mess, the organs and the criminals have gone too far, they are picking up everyone and beating them”” (Interview, 22 December 2010). “The aksakals and the law enforcement agencies called for people to break up, but there were 40–50 people, I don’t know who, who were agitating others, calling for them to walk towards the city. Some of them had bloodied bandages on their heads.” (Interview, 21 December 2010).

150 Possibly, he meant Ravshan Khakimov (“Ravshan the Progib”) who was arrested by Russian FSB in Chelyabinsk in December 2011. (<http://www.rg.ru/2011/12/08/reg-urfo/kyrgyz-anons.html>)

151 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1295390280>

took place, it is not sufficient basis to claim that this or that version of the beginning of the events is the correct one. Other available sources do not contain specific information on this matter.

Witnesses offer differing estimates of time in their descriptions of the further development of events, as well as the sequence in which they took place. However, the majority of events are confirmed by several sources.

According to these witnesses, tensions on the intersection near Hotel Alai increased with the growth in numbers of the crowd. Violent incidents started taking place. In the beginning, they were limited to some participants (mostly minors), who started throwing rocks at the windows of the student dormitory of the Osh State University.<sup>152</sup>

According to one version, rocks started flying after the crowd noticed people in the windows who were filming or taking pictures.<sup>153</sup> According to another version, the Kyrgyz students were watching the unrest taking place through open windows with the lights on, as if it was a movie, something that angered some of the Uzbek youth on the street.<sup>154</sup> On the street, cries could be heard, “Come out. We are going to beat up Kyrgyz”.<sup>155</sup> “We will free the city!”, “Kyrgyz must leave Osh!”, “Allah Akbar!”<sup>156</sup>

Some of the older participants stopped the attackers, saying that “peaceful students are not guilty”, and even notified the guards that nobody should be allowed into the dormitory.<sup>157</sup> On the advice of acquaintances, the students in one of the parts of the dormitory barricaded the entrance, turned off the light, the girls went up to the fourth floor to the rooms that had windows facing the backyard, and the male students stayed below to protect the entrance.<sup>158</sup> The female residents of another part of the dormitory took cover on the roof.<sup>159</sup> The students called their relatives and acquaintances, including teachers and journalists, asking them to ensure that they would be protected by the police. The dormitory remained “under siege” until approximately 4 AM.<sup>160</sup>

The police cars were removed from the intersection already before midnight, due to threats of them being attacked.<sup>161</sup> Participants in the crowd started going out on Navoi Street, closing off the road to transport.<sup>162</sup> A fire truck that came driving up from the direction of the bazaar, trying to move through the crowd at great speed (possibly

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152 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

153 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

154 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

155 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsF5jFAWCf0>

156 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.20.

157 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

158 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

159 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsF5jFAWCf0>

160 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.338–341.

161 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

162 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

hitting one of participants of the disturbances while doing so), was attacked with rocks and sticks, after which it drove away from the area where the crowd was gathered.<sup>163</sup> Groups of Uzbek youth also appeared on the intersections of the streets to the South and south-west of Hotel Alai. At 11:40 PM, about 400 people were gathered near the old bus station on Navoi Street.<sup>164</sup>

When just before midnight, part of the youth started moving towards the police officers who were standing on Kurmanjan Datka Street to the south of the intersection, warning shots were fired in the air, including rounds from automatic weapons.<sup>165</sup> According to a witness, there were about 15 operational officers with weapons present, and four of them had automatic weapons. Close by were also representatives of the patrolling and posted forces. They did not have firearms. After the warning shots, the crowd retreated somewhat. Some of the police officers pointed their weapons at people standing on the street.<sup>166</sup>

A young Uzbek male who was interviewed by the members of the mission, and who said he had given incorrect personal details about himself at the hospital due to fear of being arrested, explained that he had been injured by a gunshot coming from the direction of the police officers when he went to look at how “three special forces officers were shooting in the air from automatic weapons.”<sup>167</sup> Another witness to this episode may have been a local lawyer, who during the shooting saw a young man fall to the ground in front of him. The same source mentions that the police officers threw a “smoke cartridge” (probably, he meant a tear-gas grenade).<sup>168</sup>

In available reports from the law enforcement agencies described above, this episode is not mentioned. In the document from GSNB it is said that around midnight “some shots were fired from automatic weapons (rounds) at the GSNB officers” from the back rows of the crowd. However, this information is not confirmed by other sources. Possibly this instance represents a mistake in the evaluation of how the events occurred.<sup>169</sup>

None of the witnesses interviewed by members of the mission said that they had seen people with guns among the crowd. At the same time, a security guard at a commercial building (an ethnic yrgyz), claimed that during the clashes with the police

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163 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010 and Osh, 3 September and 21 December 2010.

164 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GSNB.

165 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 13 September 2010 and Osh, 5 and 6 September, 21 and 22 December 2010.

166 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

167 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

168 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010.

169 Information from GSNB.

he could hear shooting coming from the crowd – judging from the sound, from an airgun and from a small-caliber gun.<sup>170</sup>

The participants in the crowd reacted in different ways to the shots fired in the air and the threat of the use of weapons. Some decided to leave the dangerous area and convinced acquaintances to follow their example.<sup>171</sup> Others started complaining that the police had not reacted when Bakiev's supporters had attacked the building of the Provincial Administration, but now were threatening peaceful civilians. Rocks started flying at the armed police officers, who were forced to retreat.<sup>172</sup> At some point, part of those who had gathered armed themselves with metal rods which they had broken off the fence of the Avtotresta building.<sup>173</sup>

After the shots were fired, burning and smashing of cars and shops on Kurmanjan Datka Street near the Provincial Library began. The "24 Hours" gambling hall was smashed up and burned.<sup>174</sup> According to residents in nearby houses, at the time when the crowd remained at the intersection, no less than tens of young Uzbeks, including minors around 14–16 years of age armed with rocks, sticks, metal rods, made their way to the street from the south side through backyards. The smashing up of shops belonging to Kyrgyz continued for half an hour. Windows were broken on some blocks. The smashing continued all the way up to Aytieva (Aravanskaya) Street. Only with great difficulty did residents in nearby houses manage to get through to the police on the telephone. Requests for help were met with the stereotypical response that "measures were being undertaken".<sup>175</sup>

According to GSNB report, approximately at 12:20 AM, four cars belonging to the GSNB and UVD were torched, as well as several private cars parked nearby.<sup>176</sup> Witnesses who were in the crowd saw two cars parked to the south of the intersection on Kurmanjan Datka Street burning. The Deputy Mayor of Osh, Shukhrat Sabirov<sup>177</sup> and the Deputy Head of the UVD of Osh Province, Shakir Zulimov, who arrived to the intersection around 12:30 AM, also saw them. One of them was burning near the small gambling hall, the other closer to the intersection on Navoi Street.<sup>178</sup>

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170 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 December 2010.

171 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010 and Osh, 5 and 6 September 2010.

172 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

173 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

174 The report of the National Commission states that two young Kyrgyz who were in the gambling hall were forced by the attackers to undress completely and were beaten up. This is claimed on the basis of video recordings of the gambling hall being smashed up, part of which was used in the documentary film "Koogalan", made on the initiative of Member of Parliament Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva. The members of the mission were unable to get hold of a complete version of these video recordings.

175 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 and 5 September 2010.

176 Information from GSNB. According to UVD in Osh City, during the night "the service vehicle of the head of the criminal division of the Suleyman-Too department of the police and the private car of an UVD officer were smashed up and burned" By the morning of 11 June 2010, the fire brigade had information on 2 police cars and four private cars burning. (<http://www.regnum.ru/news/1292952.html>).

177 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.158.

178 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010, Osh, 22 December 2010; Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

Fire brigades came to put out the fire.<sup>179</sup> Burning cars could also be seen by the Telekom building; a group of 50–60 people were standing nearby.<sup>180</sup>

Near Hotel Alai, some of those taking part in the unrest started blocking passing cars. Cars that were driven by ethnic Kyrgyz were attacked, although no one was killed at that time.<sup>181</sup> A journalist who was standing near Hotel Kristall met two frightened young Kyrgyz who were running along Navoi Street from the direction of Hotel Alai. Both had been beaten up, but not severely, they had lost one boot and their clothes had been torn when they wrestled themselves away from the attackers. One of them was in a state of shock and could not speak. According to the other, the car they had been driving in had been stopped on the street by a group of Uzbeks and torched.<sup>182</sup>

Another building that was attacked was the Philharmony, which is located on the intersection of Lenin and Navoi Streets. The fire inside the Philharmony was put out by three officers of the UVD.<sup>183</sup>

A group of unknown persons tried to attack the Ekobank building on Lenin Street, but drew back when the security guards fired warning shots in the air.<sup>184</sup> According to unconfirmed information, three–four shots were fired at the building from a small-calibered rifle.<sup>185</sup> Around 1 AM, a small gambling hall on Lenin Street (near Shirin shop) belonging to an ethnic Kyrgyz was looted and torched.<sup>186</sup> Some witnesses describe an episode when a traffic police car drove up to the crowd from the west on Navoi Street. Five–six people threw rocks on the car,<sup>187</sup> but were stopped by a group of demonstrators who ensured a corridor for the car to drive away.<sup>188</sup> Attempts were made to set up blocks on Navoi Street to the west of Hotel Alai and near the Philharmony using trees and chunks of concrete.<sup>189</sup>

In the summary prepared by UVD of Osh City, it is mentioned that until representatives of the UVD came to the scene, an aggressive crowd was attacking the building of Hotel Alai. In the first version of the document, there is talk of 500

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179 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

180 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010.

181 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 4 September, 21 and 22 December 2010. The report of the Parliamentary Commission contains information on the death of a Kyrgyz driver. Further details are not available.

182 Interviews with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

183 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.27.

184 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=20>; <http://www.forbes.ru/blogpost/51456-situatsiya-v-oshe-teryat-uzbekam-nechego> The information from the news agency about a fire at Ekobank was refuted almost immediately.

185 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 December 2010.

186 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 December 2010.

187 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010.

188 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

189 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010 and 23 December 2011, <http://www.forbes.ru/blogpost/51456-situatsiya-v-oshe-teryat-uzbekam-nechego>

attackers, while in a later version there are 5000 attackers.<sup>190</sup> It is established that the “building of Hotel Alai”, as well as the dormitory of the Osh State University were smashed up and burnt down by ethnic Uzbeks.

These incorrect claims are repeated in the documents of the Prosecutor General of the Kyrgyz Republic from 2010–2011. However, witnesses deny that a crowd of several thousand people attacked these buildings, while confirming that some participants in the unrest threw rocks at the buildings and were yelling aggressive slogans. Also, according to these witnesses, the majority of those who were near the intersection by Hotel Alai stayed to the north of the intersection of Kurmanjan Datka and Navoi Streets, and did not participate in the violence.

An indirect confirmation of this came in a conversation between the members of the mission and the former First Deputy Mayor, who said that those calling him by telephone from the dormitory around midnight spoke of some tens of Uzbek hooligans who had surrounded one of the buildings of the dormitory and were throwing rocks.<sup>191</sup> According to the Mayor’s office, the attackers torched the dormitory of the Philological Faculty of Osh State University; however, the fire is unlikely to have been very large.<sup>192</sup> During a visit to Osh in mid-June 2010, the members of the mission could see for themselves that the buildings of the hotels and the dormitory were not burned or smashed up, but that only some windows had been broken with rocks.

New groups of young Uzbeks continued to arrive to the conflict area. For instance, around a crowd of about 200 Uzbeks walked past the Hotel Kristall on Navoi Street around 12:30 AM.<sup>193</sup> Near the fabrics market a crowd (about 500 people) moved in the direction of Hotel Alai, yelling, after the sounds of shooting was heard.<sup>194</sup> The number of participants in the crowds in the center of the city between midnight and 1 AM rose by different estimates from 2000 to 5000 (some sources claim there were 10,000 and even 15,000), but these numbers are likely to be exaggerated.<sup>195</sup>

Descriptions of the events of the following hours are often fragmented and contradictory, and are not always clear in terms of the time when a particular incident took place. According to the testimony made by the former Deputy Head of UVD in Osh Province Colonel Shakir Zulimov to the National Commission, he arrived to the area of the unrest between 12:30 AM and 1 AM and tried to start a dialogue with

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190 Such contrasting numbers are also found in the book by Melisbek Myrzakmatov, “Men izdegen chyndyk”. According to the information published in this book, the Deputy Mayor Shukhrat Sabirov estimated the size of the Uzbek crowd at 12:35 AM to be 600–700 people (p.158), the head of UVD in Osh estimated it to be 1500 people (p.20), and estimates of 4500–5000 (p.20,21) and 10,000 (p.25) are also given.

191 Interview with the former First Deputy Mayor of Osh City, Timur Kamchybekov, Osh, 13 September 2010.

192 Melisbek Myrzakmatov, “Men izdegen chyndyk”, Bishkek, 2011, p.21.

193 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

194 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

195 In the documents from UVD in Osh City and the Prosecutor General, the maximum number of participants are estimated at 10,000; unofficial estimations reached 15,000.

those who had gathered near Hotel Alai. Zulimov was one of few officers who were ethnic Uzbek. At the time, ethnic Kyrgyz police officers were standing at a distance, not approaching the crowd. When asked about the reason for the unrest, young men answered that Kyrgyz had attacked Uzbeks at the Farkhad tea house the night before, and again today, by the gambling hall. Zulimov tried to calm them down, saying that a criminal case on reckless behavior had been opened regarding the conflict at the tea house, and that the assailants had been arrested. He told them that the fight by the gambling hall was just a scuffle and that one should not allow this to become the reason for a repetition of the unrest in 1990, which could lead to people being killed.<sup>196</sup>

Witnesses describe the participation of another ethnic Uzbek officer in these talks; this was a departmental head in the UVD of the city, Colonel Rasul Usmanov.<sup>197</sup> Attempts at negotiations with the crowd were first led by the head of the UVD of the city, Colonel Bolot Nyshanov. However, after attempts by the demonstrators to attack him, one of them armed with a knife, the Uzbek officers asked him to step aside.<sup>198</sup>

Witnesses who were present in the crowd recall how Zulimov asked them to remove the blockade of the street and disperse,<sup>199</sup> and promised that those guilty in the fight by the small gambling hall would be punished.<sup>200</sup> However, some of those who had gathered declared that they would not go home, as they did not trust the police, and demanded that the authorities hand over the assailants from the fight, so they could take revenge.<sup>201</sup>

The service notes of the Deputy Mayor, Shukhrat Sabirov, note that those who had gathered demanded an immediate investigation be carried out. An offer of a meeting the next day between the Mayor and 15–20 representatives of the Uzbek population was refused. The crowd started demanding that the Mayor should arrive. Sabirov called Myrzakmatov twice, before telling the crowd that the Mayor could not come. The chairman of territorial council nr.3 in Osh City, Davran Abdumazhitov, and a member of the city parliament, Abdumutalib Kadyrov, also tried to convince the crowd to disperse.<sup>202</sup>

The officials continued speaking with the crowd for two–three hours.<sup>203</sup> According to Zulimov, unknown young men in black t-shirts were present in the crowd, and were interrupting the negotiations and provoking the crowd. Because the electricity had been turned off during the unrest, it was not possible to get a closer look at

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196 Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

197 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

198 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.20.

199 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

200 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 13 October 2010.

201 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

202 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.159.

203 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.20.

them. Zulimov turned to the crowd, saying “Guys, there are provocateurs among you. What you are saying are the words of these provocateurs. Try not to give in to them. Probably they are also behind the burning of those cars.”<sup>204</sup>

Around this time, someone put fire to the sauna near the Avtotrest building (to the north-west of the intersection).<sup>205</sup> The demonstrators asked Zulimov to contact the fire brigade so that the flames would not spread to the gas station.<sup>206</sup> However, the firemen at the brigade located on Kurmanjan Datka Street were worried that the cars could be attacked by the crowd if they started moving towards the fire.<sup>207</sup>

In his testimony to the National Commission, Zulimov particularly notes that he does not consider the youth from the nearby blocks to be guilty of the violence, which in his opinion was carried out by other people. He also states that he easily managed to calm people down.<sup>208</sup> Another police officer recalls how after the sauna was put on fire, he called for the locals among the demonstrators not to allow for any violence, to which they responded that “it’s not locals who are throwing the rocks, they are guys we don’t know”.<sup>209</sup>

Zulimov’s story is confirmed by witnesses interviewed by members of the mission, and shows that although the situation around the intersection at Kurmanjan Datka and Navoi Streets between 12:30 AM and 2:45 AM was difficult, there is no basis to claim that a crowd of 10,000 Uzbeks were smashing up the buildings of Hotel Alai and the dormitory at that time (this claim is found in the document from the Prosecutor General, which was presented to the National Commission).

In Bishkek, the Interim Government convened around 1 AM for an urgent meeting,<sup>210</sup> as a result of which a decree was signed at 2 AM, declaring a 10-day state of emergency in the cities of Osh and Uzgen, and to Kara-Suu and Aravan Districts of Osh Province. The first Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Baktybek Alymbekov, was appointed Commandant of the emergency zone, and orders were given “in accordance to the Constitutional Law of the Kyrgyz Republic “On state of emergency”, to take exhaustive measures to suppress, anticipate and end the results of mass disorder linked to violence and threat against people’s lives.”<sup>211</sup> During the government meeting, the question of transfer of forces and equipment of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the south of the country, as well as sub-divisions and air forces of the Ministry of Defense.<sup>212</sup>

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204 Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

205 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.159

206 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

207 Interview with former officer of the UVD in Osh City (name withheld), Osh 21 December 2010.

208 Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

209 Interview with former officer of the UVD in Osh City (name withheld), Osh 21 December 2010.

210 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>

211 <http://president.kg/ky/posts/4d6cf54e7d5d2e720d00015e>

212 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>





Uzbek women during a clean-up operation in Osh.

At 1:27 AM, the on-duty officer at the Headquarters of the Armed Forces of Kyrgyzstan gave a spoken order that the forces of the Southern Group of Forces should be placed in full military preparedness (without calling for mobilization resources). The staff at the army bases (mainly cadres) was gathered at the barracks, the security at military objects was heightened, mainly by transferring personnel from military units 30630, 30295 and 92843, who were in Osh to participate in sports and cultural events. Operative groups were established, later a second command center was deployed. At military units 36806 and 50967 in the Zapadniy Microdistrict, APCs and other armored vehicles were prepared. Sixteen BMP-2 infantry fighting vehicles and ten MTLB light-armoured towing vehicle with machine guns installed were prepared for use. However, only a small part of the armoured vehicles were later used for patrolling the area (during peaceful times, these bases were not equipped with mechanics/drivers and operators/gunners).<sup>213</sup>

When making decisions, the government organs did not always have trustworthy information about the situation in Osh. One indication of this is the report by the Head of the Main Headquarters of the Border Service of GSNB Cholponbek Turusbekov to the National Commission in August 2010. The report stated that at 11:40 PM on 10 June 2010, participants in the unrest supposedly “took 300 ethnic Kyrgyz students in the dormitory of the Osh State University as hostages”.<sup>214</sup> In his book, the Mayor of Osh Melisbek Myrzakmatov, recalls the emergency evacuation

213 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

214 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GSNB.

of the city administration around 1 AM, when information was received that within an hour one could expect attempts by “armed separatists” to take over the Mayor’s office,<sup>215</sup> and that these would later be supported by additional forces. According to the same source, “separatists” would clean the northern part of the city of Kyrgyz, and also that by midnight allegedly 40 people had died in Osh, most of them Kyrgyz.<sup>216</sup> In the following days, rumors and distorted information had a noticeable influence on the actions of the government forces.

At the moment when the state of emergency was introduced, the situation in Osh spiraled completely outside the control of the authorities.

The reports of the law enforcement agencies mentioning the beginning of unorganized street gatherings among the Uzbek population in different parts of the city, including the Sheyit-Dobo, Amir Temur and Turan Microdistricts, as well as on Abdykadyrov, Mamyrov and Navoi Streets, where those gathering “started attacking passing cars and beating up ethnic Kyrgyz passengers.”<sup>217</sup> Similar incidents took place also on Masaliev Avenue, near the Provincial Hospital,<sup>218</sup> in other areas in the city and in some suburban villages in Kara-Suu District.

At the same time, mobilization of Kyrgyz youth was taking place in the city and in neighboring areas. Between 11:30 PM and 12 AM, banging on iron railings in the stairwells of multistoried houses could be heard in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict, along with cries of “Kyrgyz, come out, we are going to kill sarts.”<sup>219</sup> A resident of Kenesh village in Kara-Suu District explained how around 1 AM two police cars with flashing lights had arrived to the villages of Orke and Teeke (a few kilometers to the south-west of Osh). The police officers in the cars started calling for Kyrgyz to come out of their houses, as “Uzbeks are uprising” in the city, and that “there is a war on”.<sup>220</sup>

An inhabitant in the Kyrgyz village of Zhapalak recalls how private cars were driving around the villages that night, calling for residents to come out on the street using sound signals. Mostly youth between 15 and 20 years of age responded to the calls to stand up against the Uzbeks.<sup>221</sup> In a GSNB document, two cars without registration plates are described as driving around making similar encouragements at night in the village of Uchar.<sup>222</sup> The HRW report quotes a young Kyrgyz from the village of Mady, who received a call from an acquaintance around 2 am, saying that Uzbeks were attacking the dormitory, had killed several students and raped a female Kyrgyz

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215 According to AKIpress news agency, the Mayor’s apparatus was moved to a guarded building of the provincial administration towards the morning of 11 June.

216 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p. 23.

217 Information from UVD in Osh City.

218 Information from GSNB.

219 <http://news.fernews.com/archive/2011/oshini.html>

220 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

221 Interview with resident of Dhzapalak village (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

222 Information from GSNB.

student. Similar calls were made also to other Kyrgyz, including in areas hundreds of kilometers away from Osh.<sup>223</sup>

According to summaries prepared by UVD in Osh City, ethnic Kyrgyz started gathering on the central square, in the Manas-Ata, Kurmanjan Datka and Kerme-Too Microdistricts, and in the suburban village Furkat. Around 1:30 AM, a crowd of Kyrgyz youth (probably located on the central square) started moving along Lenin Street in the direction of Hotel Alai, in spite of attempts of the police to stop them. The crowd that had gathered in Manas-Ata Microdistrict (the northern outskirts of Osh) also started moving towards the center of the city, while smashing up cafes and restaurants on Masaliev Avenue.<sup>224</sup>

Spontaneous gatherings of the Kyrgyz population, who intended to “stand up against the Uzbeks”, are also described in the GSNB document. In particular, it is mentioned that around 300 Kyrgyz had gathered at the central square at 2:38 AM, while 500 had gathered in the Anar Microdistrict, 300 in the Kerme-Too Microdistrict and 100 in the Kurmanjan-Datka Microdistrict. At 3:42 AM, around 300 Kyrgyz in the Ak-Tilek Microdistrict (on the south-western outskirts of the city) called for an attack on the military bases to seize weapons. Similar calls were heard on the central square. At 5:15 AM, crowds of Kyrgyz from the Frunzenskiy Microdistrict and Uchar village moved in the direction of Turan Microdistrict. Towards 6 AM, around 500 Kyrgyz gathered near Teyken village.<sup>225</sup>

The clashes taking place in different parts of Osh will be described below.

It is worth noting that information has come from different sources that in some cases shots were heard fired in the air from private cars driving around the city (two incidents are mentioned in the ICG report, one of them occurred on Navoi Street), or at Uzbeks standing on the streets. According to a witness interviewed by the members of the mission, around 3 AM a group of Uzbeks standing on Masaliev Street near the City Banya were shot at from a white car.<sup>226</sup>

In some areas with a predominantly Uzbek population, loudspeakers in local mosques were used to inform the inhabitants of the threat of riots on the night between 10 and 11 June. The loudspeakers were normally used to call for azan (call for prayer) and in other instances, to call for inhabitants to be careful with regards to the situation in the city. The same night, salutes or discharges of signal-rockets could be noticed over some areas of Osh. In official documents, the use of salutes and loudspeakers from the mosques are interpreted in the context of a “conspiracy theory”. However, there

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223 <http://www.hrw.org/node/92408/section/6>

224 Information from UVD in Osh City.

225 Information from GSNB.

226 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 8 July 2010.

is no convincing evidence that the salutes and call to prayer were used as a signal to start riots (see below). We would note that according to witnesses (both Kyrgyz and Uzbek) the call to prayer and the discharge of signal-rockets (salutes) did not play any noticeable role in the mobilization of the Uzbek part of the population near where the conflict broke out – at the intersection of Navoi and Kurmanjan Datka Streets.<sup>227</sup>

Even before the decree about a state of emergency had been signed, the police started preparing operations to disperse the crowds that had gathered near Hotel Alai. According to witnesses, the Special Rapid Reaction Force (SOBR) were sent to scene, as well as a division of patrolling and posted officers of the Osh Provincial UVD. The SOBR officers had undergone training in an OSCE project. In connection with difficulties related to the reserves, other branches also started being brought in.<sup>228</sup> According to KIC and HRW, soldiers from the internal forces were also sent to Hotel Alai. These forces were concentrated in the area by the Philharmony (to the South of the intersection of Navoi and Kurmanjan Datka Streets). Around 2 AM an observer noted that one of the branches deployed here was trying to disperse demonstrators carried shields and other special equipment. Nearby were two police buses and APC, on top of which eight military personnel with automatic weapons were sitting.<sup>229</sup> The police officers explain that their resources were limited, as part of the special equipment had been lost during the clashes with demonstrators in Talas Province in April 2010.<sup>230</sup>

According to witnesses, after 1:30 AM many inhabitants who were near the intersection by Hotel Alai started returning home. The road along Navoi Street was open. A crowd of about 500 persons remained by the auto shop. Small groups of five–10 people roamed the nearby streets.<sup>231</sup>

The Deputy Head of the Provincial UVD, Shakir Zulimov, again called for those who had gathered to disperse, informing them that a state of emergency had been introduced and that Bishkek had given permission to use force if orders were not followed.<sup>232</sup> Some police officers tried to convince Zulimov that the crowd was becoming smaller and that there was no need to start special operations in that area. In response, he said that forces would not shoot to kill, that the sub-divisions would be under instructions, and that it had been suggested to use rubber bullets, tear-gas and other special equipment intended to disperse crowds.<sup>233</sup> In his testimony to the National Commission, Zulimov said that after he had encouraged people to detain

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227 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 11 September 2010, Moscow, 17 October 2010.

228 Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

229 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

230 Translation of the video recording of the testimony by Shakir Zulimov.

231 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010. At 1:42 AM a message appeared on [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg) referring to a witness, saying that near Hotel Alai, “people have calmed down and are leaving the area”. <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758>

232 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010 and 21 December 2010.

233 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

provocateurs, somebody threw a rock that hit him on the head. Because of this, he left the area of the clashes in an ambulance before the special operation had started.

The operation to clear the area near the intersection by Hotel Alai began between 2 AM and 3 AM. Different sources have differing views as to the exact time. According to the testimony of former law enforcement officers interviewed by members of the mission, the operation started around 2:45–02:50 AM.<sup>234</sup> The service notes of Deputy Mayor Shukhrat Sabirov also contain information that after the special sub-division of the UVD arrived at 2:45 AM, shooting from automatic weapons broke out and the crowd dispersed.<sup>235</sup>

At the same time, according to documents from the Nariman Territorial Hospital, Uzbeks with gunshot wounds from the area near Hotel Alai started arriving to the hospital at 2:30 AM on 11 June.<sup>236</sup> Based on this, one may assume that firearms were taken up against the participants in the unrest around 2 AM. The same time is found in statements from relatives of some of the killed. However, as one doctor admitted, the registration of the time of arrival of those arriving to the hospital for medical assistance during the first night of the crisis may be inaccurate.<sup>237</sup>

Witnesses describe the events like this:

Shots in the air were heard, then the police started shooting with rubber bullets; throwing tear-gas grenades, and after about two minutes soldiers sitting on top of an APC opened fire with live rounds. There were killed and wounded.<sup>238</sup>

They started shooting immediately. I saw that on the left (south) side of Navoi Street by the intersection that three persons fell down. Then I started running, they started firing tear-gas. The first wounded fell from rubber bullets, and my acquaintance Tursinbay Umarzhanov, who had been calming down the crowd so as to not let them attack the dormitory, was killed by a bullet. Military weapons (single rounds) were used by the soldiers who were sitting on the APC. I ran into the makhalla, and others followed behind me. The shooting continued no more than half an hour. After the shooting had started, the APC moved up (to the west) from the intersection along Navoi Street, dispersing everyone, drove up to the mosque and then drove back down. The soldiers kept shooting, mainly into the air. Later, I saw how somebody brought a guy who had been wounded in the neck near the Lenin School (the western intersection by Hotel Alai on Navoi Street). The crowd remained by the Avtotrest office building while the police threw gas grenades. The APC turned around and the soldiers started firing on Kurmanjan

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234 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 4 September and 21 December 2010.

235 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p. 159.

236 List of victims arriving to the Nariman Territorial Hospital in Kara-Suu District 11–26 June 2010.

237 Letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name of the author withheld), 18 April 2011.

238 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010 and 21 December 2010.

Datka Street in the direction of the intersection in Sheyt-Dobo, people were killed there too.<sup>239</sup>

The soldiers who were sitting on the APC opened fire, but not at the crowd, but on people who were standing at the roadside on Navoi Street, even those who were watching the events from the doors of houses. My friend, who lives near the Provincial Traffic Police building, died in my house after the shooting. Everyone ran away from the streets. The armored personnel carrier drove up to the mosque and turned back, continuing to shoot. Four wounded and one dead were lying in my house until the morning. In the morning, his relatives collected his body. Five–six bodies were lying on the curb of the street, later they were picked up and loaded into a car. I don't know who picked them up, it was dark.<sup>240</sup>

After having dispersed everyone up to the mosque on Navoi Street, the APC turned around and went down Kurmanjan Datka Street.<sup>241</sup>

I was sitting at home surfing the internet when I suddenly heard shooting. As a veteran of the war in Afghanistan, I can say based on the sound that it was Kalashnikov automatic weapons. From Hotel Alai, the APC drove at high speed along Kurmanjan Datka Street up to the intersection in Shaytobe, to the traffic light where there is the entrance to the market, and then turned back. The soldiers were shooting chaotically in all directions, including at people. That is what witnesses told me when I went out to the intersections.<sup>242</sup>

One of the officers from UVD in Osh City describes the lack of necessary communications equipment during the operation. Because of this, they had to send a police car after the armored personnel carrier that was moving upwards on Navoi Street to make it turn around.<sup>243</sup>

The majority of those who were killed or wounded during the special operation near Hotel Alai were brought that night to the nearby Tuleyken Hospital, in the suburban village of Kyzyl-Kyshtak in the north-western area of the clashes.<sup>244</sup> Some were brought to Nariman Territorial Hospital no. 1 in the Kara-Suu District (also known as the Molotov Hospital), where there was a possibility of carrying out surgery and where there were other medical facilities.<sup>245</sup>

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239 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

240 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 September 2010.

241 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

242 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

243 Interview with former officer of the UVD in Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

244 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010, Osh, 4 September and 21 December 2010.

245 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 4 September and 21 December 2010.

A doctor who was on duty on the night between 10 and 11 June in the Tuleyken Hospital, and who later left Kyrgyzstan, recalls:

At around 2–3 AM they started bringing wounded from the area around Hotel Alai. They brought about 25 people, all of them Uzbeks. About 10 or more had serious injuries, they were sent by car to the Nariman Hospital. Six died – three of them were dead already, and three of them died in the hospital. They died from gunshot wounds. I remember one of them where the bullet had gone through the lower jaw, and on the back there was a very big exit wound. Everyone was screaming, there were almost no medical supplies, we used whatever people brought. It was difficult to understand what was happening. They only said that the police had opened fire.<sup>246</sup>

The information about six dead is also confirmed by witnesses who participated in transporting victims that night, and who had been wounded from live bullets and rubber bullets.<sup>247</sup> An officer from UVD in Osh City also recalls how three dead and 27 or 28 wounded were sent to the hospital from the area around Hotel Alai.<sup>248</sup> These numbers would seem to be incomplete, as some bodies were found only in the morning.

In the summary prepared by GSNB there is information of seven killed and 40 wounded, three of them in serious condition, who were brought to Tuleyken Hospital at 6:15 AM. One hour earlier, one of the dead and 23 wounded were registered at the hospital in Nariman village (two of them in were in serious condition and were later sent to the Osh Provincial Hospital). Wounded were also coming in at the City Hospital and the Provincial Hospital.<sup>249</sup>

By 6 AM the Ministry of Internal Affairs had information about five dead and 40 injured.<sup>250</sup>

By 9 AM, the Ministry of Health reported six dead (three of them died in hospitals) and 65 hospitalized (seven in serious condition), not counting the hospitals in Kyzyl-Kyshtak village, where there was no telephone communication.<sup>251</sup>

There are evidently contradictions in these numbers. Yet, one may still conclude that the first dead in Osh brought to medical facilities during the night, were not victims of street clashes, but rather of the special operation carried out by the law enforcement agencies that night in the area around Hotel Alai, during which there was unjustified

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246 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

247 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

248 Interview with former officer of the UVD in Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

249 Information from GSNB.

250 <http://www.24.kg/community/75737-v-kyrgyzstane-v-gorode-oshe-v-rezultate-massovyx.html>

251 <http://www.24.kg/community/75761-damira-niyazalieva-v-oshskoj-oblasti-kyrgyzstana.html>

use of assault weapons against civilians. As is evident from the descriptions of the events above, weapons were not used to stop specific acts of violence, and not for the purpose of self-defense. We do not have sufficient details to be able to judge whether the use of weapons was the result of a conscious provocation organized by certain forces, or whether it was a demonstration of ethnic hatred or evidence of a psychological break-down. However, it is evident that those leading the operation did not try to re-establish control of the situation, as a result of which soldiers on the APC armed with automatic weapons, continued shooting randomly against civilians, causing new victims.

The heads of the law enforcement agencies did not take the necessary measures to ensure the safety of the civilian population living near the area where the special operation was taking place. The residents of the city were not informed that a state of emergency and a curfew had been introduced, or about armed operations to clear the streets were being carried out.

“In contrast to 1990, nobody from the authorities drove around the streets with a megaphone, and they did not warn about the curfew”, recalls a Kyrgyz journalist.<sup>252</sup> A Russian citizen who was staying with relatives in the Sheyit-Dobo area (not far from Hotel Alai) explained that he found out about the state of emergency via the internet, nobody from the local authorities in Osh informed the population about the introduction of a curfew and that it was forbidden to go out on the streets. Because of this, rumors spread among ethnic Uzbeks that the decree about the state of emergency signed in Bishkek was used by nationalists in local law enforcement agencies as formal excuse to take up arms against representatives of other ethnic groups.<sup>253</sup>

The unjustified use of assault weapons and the dispersion of civilians from the night-time streets, many of whom were in a state of shock, led to a further destabilization of the situation in the city. Some of the youth saw what had happened as a change in the “rules of the game”, according to which the conflicting sides had formerly tried to avoid actions that could lead to deaths among the population. The public speech of the Mayor of Osh on local television at 4:40 AM calling for calm could not influence the situation in any way.<sup>254</sup>

The authorities were obliged to carry out an objective investigation of the circumstances surrounding the deaths among civilians during the special operation near Hotel Alai. Instead, law enforcement agencies tried to hide the fact that they had fired live rounds at people.

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252 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 11 September 2010.

253 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

254 <http://www.interfax.ru/politics/news.asp?id=140784>



The first to direct the attention of the members of the mission to this was one of the members of the investigative group ordered to Osh from Bishkek. According to him, 12 days after the beginning of the conflict, he had met a Kyrgyz eye-witness who had told him about the night-time shooting at Uzbeks near Hotel Alai, and how this had caused victims among civilians. Furthermore, this episode was not mentioned at all during meetings and in the documents from the law enforcement agencies that members of the mission had the chance of seeing earlier.<sup>255</sup>

President Roza Otunbaeva was probably not sufficiently informed by the heads of the law enforcement agencies about the use of firearms against civilians in Osh on the night from 10 to 11 June 2010. In her speech to the people of Kyrgyzstan which aired around 8 AM on 11 June 2010, which was based on information from these organs, she spoke merely of “warning shots fired in the air” and about victims of “mass clashes between groups of youth”.<sup>256</sup>

When studying the summaries of the GSNB (June 2010), the Ombudsman’s Commission (September 2010), the National Commission (January 2011) and the Parliamentary Commission (June 2011) it becomes evident that these documents do not mention the use of firearms by the law enforcement agencies near Hotel Alai on the night between 10 and 11 June. In the first version of the summary prepared by UVD of Osh City and in the information from the Prosecutor General, which were presented to the National Commission in the summer of 2010, the use of firearms by the police is explained with the claim that a crowd of 10,000 Uzbeks at that moment were smashing up Hotel Alai and the dormitory (something that does not correspond to the facts, as seen above). Moreover, there is no information about the numbers of victims, about the heads of the operation, and who gave which orders when. In a later version of the summary from the UVD of Osh City, which the members of the mission received from the press service of the UVD in December 2010, formulation given in the first version had been changed to “firing weapons in the air”.

On 22 November 2010, the Deputy Prosecutor of Osh City, Satybaldiev, wrote in response from an request from the head of UVD that “statements and reports regarding the use of firearms against people by officers of the UVD in Osh City on the night from 10 to 11 June have not been registered, and thus no criminal case has been opened. An analogical response was sent by the head of the UVD in Osh City, Pamirbek Asanov, on 19 November 2010 to the Service of Internal Security of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Unfortunately, the authors of the KIC report did not investigate the question of responsibility of the government forces for the deaths of civilians near Hotel Alai, but

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255 Interview with member of the investigation group (name withheld), Osh, 22 June 2010.

256 <http://www.24.kg/politic/75769-prezident-perexodnogo-perioda-kyrgyzstana.html>

limited themselves to saying that the eye-witness accounts about the use of firearms “divide almost exactly along ethnic lines”.

However, the accounts of the participants in these events are supported by the written complaints of the relatives of the dead and by documents from medical facilities.

On 11 June 2010, around 2 AM, the 38-year old Tursinbay Umarzhanov was shot by military personnel on an APC on Navoi Street, near Hotel Alai, in front of an eye-witness. He was brought to Tuleyken Hospital. The cause of death was a penetrating gunshot wound in the chest area, damaging the right lung.<sup>257</sup>

The 47-year old Azam Gulamov was wounded in the head around 2 AM from a shot fired by military personnel on an APC near the traffic light on the intersection of Kurmanjan Datka Street and Mamadzhan Street (the turn-off towards Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict). He was brought to the Tuleyken Hospital, where he died the same day.<sup>258</sup>

On the request of his mother, the 17-year old Temurmaliq Zhoroiev left his home on Toktogulov Street twice before midnight to look for his brother. Around 2 AM, he was seriously wounded by military personnel on an APC on Kurmanjan Datka Street.<sup>259</sup> He died on the way to the hospital.<sup>260</sup> The body was brought to the Molotov Hospital at 2:30 AM. The cause of death was a gunshot wound in the throat area, penetrating the skull.<sup>261</sup>

The 17-year old Azizullo Dildorbek uulu left his home on Alebastrov Street around 2 AM, after a friend had asked him to help carry a wounded person who was lying on the ground near a neighboring house. At that time, an APC arriving to Navoi Street lit up the intersection and soldiers opened fire from automatic weapons. Azizullo was mortally wounded. After half an hour, an ambulance brought him to the City Hospital, where he died in the emergency division.<sup>262</sup> The cause of death was a gunshot wound to the chest.<sup>263</sup>

The 26-year old Sulaymon Parpiev was wounded in the foot by military personnel on an APC on Kurmanjan Datka Street. He was brought unconscious from his home to the Molotov Hospital at 2:35 AM, where he died from heart failure after a few hours.<sup>264</sup> This is far from the complete list of civilians killed in the course of the special

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257 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010; death certificate.

258 Written statement from Mamatair Gulomov to the Prosecutor General's Office in Osh City.

259 Interview with relative of the deceased (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2011.

260 Information from the Ministry of Health.

261 Information from Namangan Territorial Hospital Nr. 1, Kara-Suu District.

262 Interview with relative of the deceased (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2011.

263 Information from Osh City Territorial Hospital.

264 Statement by the mother of the deceased to the NGO Citizens against Corruption, 22 March 2011; information from Nariman Territorial Hospital Nr. 1, Kara-Suu District.

operation by Hotel Alai in Osh on the night between 10 and 11 June 2010. The members of the mission have received information of other victims. This information must be looked into further.

Although the names of these individuals are given in the lists of victims of the conflict, the circumstances of their deaths have still not been investigated, and none of the responsible has been brought to justice. Responding to questions from the members of the mission in July 2010, the First Deputy of the Prosecutor General, Ryskul Baktybaev, stated that the first victims of the clashes were four ethnic Kyrgyz, and that their bodies had been found near Hotel Alai. He did not mention those who died during the special operation.<sup>265</sup> However, this information is not supported by other sources, including the list of dead published by the Prosecutor General of the Kyrgyz Republic in June 2011.<sup>266</sup>

In November 2010, Baktybaev gave an interview to the Kyrgyz service of Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe, where he said that 200 Kyrgyz students had “fought back” an Uzbek crowd by the dormitory of the Osh State University, and that one student from Pakistan had been killed in the ensuing fist-fight.<sup>267</sup> However, witnesses deny that there was any fight between students and an Uzbek crowd by the dormitory. According to official information, the medical student from Pakistan died not on the 11 June, but on 12 June 2010, when a crowd of Kyrgyz attacked the Madzhirimtal mahalla.<sup>268</sup> There are reports which require further investigation, as they may possibly indicate attempts by the police to hide information about firing live rounds at civilians.

According to a former representative of the UVD in Osh City, one of his colleagues, who was standing in the crowd that retreated on Kurmanjan Datka Street when the soldiers opened fire, was injured by a bullet from an automatic weapon. Later, pressure was placed on him to give a different place and time for when he was wounded in his testimony. When the police man turned to the Deputy Head of the UVD, Marat Orozbaev, for help, he said that he had not even been present during the special operation.<sup>269</sup>

The father of the deceased, Azizullo Dildorbek uulu told members of the mission that he had seen the bullet removed from his son’s body at the Osh City Territorial Hospital. The doctors refused to give him the bullet, saying that it would be handed over to the authorities investigating the matter. Later, an investigator from UVD stated that according to the doctors, the bullet had gone through the body, and due to the absence

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265 Interview with the First Deputy of the Prosecutor General’s office, Ryskul Baktybaev, Osh, 10 July 2010.

266 <http://www.report.kg/people/5588/>

267 [http://www.azattyk.org/content/kyrgyzstan\\_osh\\_rights/2246913.html](http://www.azattyk.org/content/kyrgyzstan_osh_rights/2246913.html)

268 <http://www.report.kg/people/5588/>

269 Interview with former officer of the UVD in Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

of the bullet itself, it would not be possible to establish what kind of weapon had been used. Numerous complaints submitted by the father of the deceased were ignored.<sup>270</sup>

## Myths and other versions of the beginning of the conflict

Concluding the descriptions of the events that took place on the night between 10 and 11 June near Hotel Alai and elsewhere in the city, we should also briefly consider some mistaken and inaccurate versions of the beginning of the conflict presented in several well-known publications and reports.

On 15 June, a representative of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Rupert Colville, told journalists in Geneva about several available reports stating that the signal for the beginning of the violence was “five simultaneous attacks on Osh by armed people in masks”. However, this version has not been confirmed in any way.<sup>271</sup>

The report from HRW, “Where is the Justice?”, describes the events near Hotel Alai quite briefly, referring to a witness and to a senior SOBR officer. One is left with the impression that the explanation may have had an effect on the way the authors of the report conceived the beginning phases of the conflict. In particular, the episode when weapons were used is described in terms that correspond with the official version (“shots fired in the air”). When describing the violence that took place on the night between 10 and 11 June (up to the beginning of the street clashes in Furkat), sources are limited to two injured Kyrgyz from a village outside the city, and to a police officer. They report mentions night-time attacks by Uzbeks, yet as shown above, official documents recognize that representatives of both ethnic groups carried out acts of violence that night.

In the report by Osh Initiative there is reference to a “representative of the Uzbek community” who claims that after the fight in the small gambling hall, “ethnic Kyrgyz students gathered near the Osh State University dormitory in order to persecute Uzbeks. The Uzbeks had to gather spontaneously in order to protect their streets”.<sup>272</sup> However, none of the witnesses we interviewed confirm that the student from the dormitory played any active role in the conflict, or that that they in any way threatened the Uzbek population in nearby areas.

The claims of the journalists from the Kyrgyz service of RFE/RL, that a crowd of 2000 Uzbeks near Hotel Alai used automatic weapons, sniper rifles and grenades are not factual.<sup>273</sup> The report from the Ombudsman’s Commission presents a dubious version that approximately at 2 AM a call to attack Kyrgyz was repeated through the

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270 Interview with resident of Osh City, Dildorbek Rakhmanov, Osh, 21 June 2010.

271 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/kyrgyzstan-tells-britain-to-hand-over-bakiyevs-son-2001583.html>

272 <http://yangidunyo.com/?p=16629>

273 [http://www.azattyk.org/content/Kyrgyzstan\\_Osh\\_crisis/2104422.html](http://www.azattyk.org/content/Kyrgyzstan_Osh_crisis/2104422.html)

loudspeakers in the Uzbek mosques, serving as the signal for a crowd of 200 persons, who after 15–20 minutes started killing and other acts of violence in the area around the intersection by Hotel Alai.<sup>274</sup> This rendition of events completely contradicts the statements by witnesses, which describe in detail the escalations of events in that area. They are also not confirmed by any available official materials.

An absurd image of an alleged uprising among “Uzbek separatists” is presented in the report by Member of Parliament Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva, according to which on 10 June 2010, “at 11:40 PM, armed uprisings started in order to turn Osh region into an autonomous region”. “Near Hotel Alai...2000 ethnic Uzbek guys...unabatedly repeated demands that had been introduced by Batyrov (autonomy, language, work places, parliamentary mandates etc)”. “They murdered people in a beastly manner”, “started raping girls who were returning home late from work”. “At 2 AM, the call to Jihad rang out”. “After this, citizens of Uzbek nationality gathered at previously established places” and so forth.<sup>275</sup> None of these claims bear any relation to reality, and are renditions of nationalistic myths rather than any serious attempt to analyze the early stages of the conflict.

Considering the events that took place in Osh on the night between 10 and 11 June, we should also discuss some of the myths that have been circulating.

The most well-known myth regards the numerous murders and mass rapes of Kyrgyz girls by Uzbeks in the dormitory of the Osh State University, which lies at the south-western part of the intersection of Navoi Street and Kurmanjan Datka Street. This myth played an important role in the mobilization of Kyrgyz youth not only in Osh and nearby villages, but also in far-off mountain regions.

During our visits to Osh between June and September 2010, the members of the mission heard numerous versions of this myth. On 18 June 2010, a local lawyer presented the following version of the beginning of the conflict to the members of the mission:

The crowd breaks into the dormitory and rapes female students. Others beat up male Kyrgyz student and break the windows inside the building. Eight bodies of female students who had been raped and cut up and who have signs of being burnt have been found. On some of them, they had ripped open their stomachs and thrown garbage in there, and poked out their eyes. Two of the dead girls were from the village of Shamaldy-Say. When they were brought for burial, this was spread via mobile phones, and the Kyrgyz started taking revenge. One of the girls who were raped at the dormitory survived, she is now in a state of shock and no

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274 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

275 <http://www.kenesh.kg/MyFiles/file/Коогалан%20на%20русском.doc>

one is let in to see her. They arrested a young Uzbek who took part in this, he was paid 5000 Soms (about 100 USD) to take part in the riots.<sup>276</sup>

Similar “eye-witness accounts” are included in a report from the news agency 24.kg, which was prepared in June 2010 in cooperation with members of the law enforcement agencies. A young man from a poor family in Osh, arrested by the police and lying in hospital with a gunshot wound under police guard “admitted” to a journalist that he received 5000 Soms to be part of a group of assassins who raped female students at the dormitory and then ripped open their stomachs and threw them out of the windows.<sup>277</sup> Images with similar types of “admissions” were also shown on one of the Russian TV-channels.<sup>278</sup>

A Member of Parliament, who also heads a local non-governmental organization, was convinced that “Uzbeks started raping female Kyrgyz students of the Philological and the Physics-Mathematic Faculties, from Alay, Aksy and Kara-Kuldzha Districts”.<sup>279</sup>

In other descriptions we find the numbers range from three to 37 and even up to 300 girls, supposedly raped and killed at the dormitory of the Osh State University. The claim that they originated in the regions of Aksy, Alay, Chon-Alay, Kara-Kuldzha and Batken was also repeated, as well as other specific details. However, attempts by human rights organizations to establish the names of the victims had no results.

The rumors of these rapes were “confirmed” in statements by some official persons. On 12 June 2010, the deputy head of the Interim Government Azimbek Beknazarov stated on television that police had arrested three persons suspected of raping girls in dormitories in Osh.<sup>280</sup>

Later, official and unofficial sources, including representatives of the Prosecutor’s office and a security guard at the dormitory, confirmed to members of the mission that the crowd did not enter the building and that no rapes or murders took place in the dormitories of the Osh State University.<sup>281</sup> Still, this myth was widely circulated, and even some representatives of the Uzbek population were convinced that these crimes actually took place, but were carried out by some kind of “Uzbek mercenaries” who had been hired to discredit the Uzbek population.

In June 2010, a video recording of an interrogation of one of these “mercenaries” spread among the population. The man was said to have come from a children’s home in Jalalabad. During the interrogation, he “admitted” that he had broken into the

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276 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 18 June 2010.

277 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/77042-osh-kak-yeto-bylo-prodolzhenie.html>

278 [www.1tv.ru/news/world/156428](http://www.1tv.ru/news/world/156428)

279 Interview with head of local NGO (name withheld), Osh Province, 19 June 2010.

280 <http://svodka.AKIpress.org/news:50731>

281 Interview with the First Deputy of the Prosecutor General’s office, Ryskul Baktybaev, Osh, 10 July 2010.

dormitory and had raped girls and thrown them out of the window and that in another of the city he had taken part in shooting of children and burning a passer-by. The mercenary, who appeared to have been captured by the Uzbeks themselves, said that he had been hired by representatives of the authorities, and that he had been payed 4000–5000 Soms for the job. However, attempts by a journalist from RIA Novosti to ask employees at two children’s homes in Jalalabad whether they recognized him did not give any result.<sup>282</sup> It is unclear who were behind this falsification, and to what aim.

Trying to end such rumors, official persons made statements that these events did not occur, and local TV showed an interview with the female students. However, many viewed these statements and TV programs with skepticism, believing them to be attempts at manipulating information in order to stabilize the situation.<sup>283</sup>

It is worth noting that among parts of the Kyrgyz youth; completely baseless rumors were circulating regarding the rapes and murders of female students by Uzbeks at the dormitory of the Osh Technological University in the south-eastern parts of the city.<sup>284</sup>

The second myth, which was circulated not only among the Kyrgyz population but which also was expressed in official documents, is connected to the claim that the off-time azan (call to prayer) in some of the Uzbek mosques on the night between 10 and 11 June as well as the signal-rockets (salutes) were used as a signal to start a simultaneous attack by extremists on different parts of the city.

For instance, the report of the National Commission claims that “at 12:30 AM rockets were sent up and the prayer call (azan) was read out through loudspeakers from four mosques and a “call to war (jihad)’ rang out” and that “after this, the unrest started in different parts of the city and in nearby villages.”<sup>285</sup>

However, the time and place for the sending up the signal rockets and the playback of the azan are noticeably different when considering different available sources. For instance, in the summary prepared by the UVD of Osh City, there is talk of four red rockets that were let up around 11:30 PM in the Sheyit-Dobo, Amir Temur and Cheremushki Microdistricts and Osh District,<sup>286</sup> while a document from the Prosecutor’s Office speaks of two rockets that were let up at 12:30 AM in Sheyit-Dobo and Amir Temur Microdistricts, <sup>287</sup> whereas the Parliamentary Commission report speak of one red rocket, let up around 1 AM from the direction of the Provincial Library.<sup>288</sup>

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282 <http://www.rian.ru/ocherki/20100625/250228798.html>

283 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 11 September 2010.

284 See for instance, <http://politforums.livejournal.com/2413522.html>

285 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6871>

286 Information from UVD in Osh City.

287 Information from the Prosecutor General’s office.

288 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetMamytov.doc>



After the events in Osh.

In the report of Ismail Iskaov, call to prayer is read out simultaneously at 2 AM from four different mosques,<sup>289</sup> while the report of the Parliamentary Commission speaks of azan and calls for Uzbeks to come out on the street in the period between 11 PM and 1:30 AM in the mosques in the Osh Microdistricts of Cheremushki, Amir Temur, Sheyit-Dobo and Dostuk, and on Zaynabetdinov Street and in the suburban villages in the Kara-Suu District.<sup>290</sup>

Ethnic Kyrgyz who live close to Furkat village, told members of the mission that they heard an (incomplete) azan after 2 AM, and later saw two “red salutes” over the city.<sup>291</sup> Three Kyrgyz who live in the same region, said that they heard the azan around 2 AM and saw salutes being discharged in two or three places over the city, thinking that there was a wedding or that someone was celebrating their birthday.<sup>292</sup> Two Kyrgyz women spoke of a call to come out on the street through loudspeaker systems from about 10 PM to 11 PM from a mosque located in the Osh District.<sup>293</sup> Another witness heard similar calls from the minaret of the mosque in the same area after midnight, when news that shooting had broken out near Hotel Alai reached them.<sup>294</sup>

289 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>

290 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetMamytov.doc>

291 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Osh, 10 July 2010.

292 Interview with residents of Osh City and Osh Province (names withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010 and 21 December 2010.

293 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

294 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 4 September and 21 December 2010.



In the report of the Ombudsman's Commission, an unsuccessful attempt is made to overcome these differing facts by mechanically merging several contradicting statements of this kind, something that led to the conclusion that the azan that rang out at an unusual hour was a signal to attack Kyrgyz, and that it was heard from Uzbek mosques twice – at 11:50 PM and at 2 AM.<sup>295</sup>

In July 2010, employees at three mosques in Nurdar and Kashgar-Kyshtak villages in Kara-Suu District were arrested, accused of playback of the azan, which was perceived as being a “call for mass disorder” and “incitement of ethnic hatred”. Two of them, who were on duty at the mosques on the night between 10 and 11 June, denied having used the loudspeakers in the night-time. At the mosque in Nurdar village, the call for prayer and the calls for people to be careful in connection with inter-ethnic clashes were indeed made through a microphone at 2 AM, on the request of the Imam and a local politician. However, the accused did not agree that this could be considered an illegal act. On 16 September 2010, the Kara-Suu District Court found four accused guilty of calling for mass disturbances, and sentenced them to four years' imprisonment in a labor camp.<sup>296</sup> In a similar case, the imam of the mosque in Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict in Osh, Mukhammadin Usmanov, was declared wanted by the police organs. According to unofficial information, he left Kyrgyzstan together with his family.<sup>297</sup> Employees at some other mosques where the sound systems were used in a similar fashion were not subject to criminal investigation.

It is more likely that the use of loudspeaker systems in different mosques was not a call for simultaneous action, something that is also supported by witnesses recognized in the report of the Parliamentary Commission. There is also no convincing evidence that the employees at some of the mosques were not simply trying to inform inhabitants about the danger of riots that night, but were announcing “armed Jihad” against Kyrgyz or encouraging violence. The discharge of the salutes and signal-rockets may have different explanations. At the moment, all these explanations are simply theories and are not supported by any facts.

A third myth widely circulated among the Kyrgyz population in Osh Province in different versions regards mass killings of Kyrgyz by Uzbek “separatists” in Osh on the night between 10 and 11 June or during 11 June 2010.

For instance, the Mayor of Osh Melisbek Myrzakmatov states in his book that 40 people, mainly Kyrgyz, died before midnight of 10 June.<sup>298</sup> The report by Zhyldyzkan Zholodosheva claims that “on 10 June 2010 from 10:40 PM, ethnic Uzbek youth started a bloody fight...On 11 June 2010, local hospitals received mainly citizens

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295 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

296 Verdict of the Kara-Suu District Court in the case of D. Isakov and others, 16 September 2010.

297 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 2 September 2010 and Moscow, 17 October 2010.

298 Myrzakmatov, M. *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.23.

of Kyrgyz ethnicity (both wounded and dead bodies).” During the summer of 2010, video clips were distributed among the Kyrgyz population in Osh with images of dead bodies, along with comments that from 10 AM on 10 June until 11 PM on 11 June 2010, “Uzbek separatists brutally, violently and inhumanely killed innocent Kyrgyz”.

These kinds of “facts” are often used as an ideological basis for the position that the bloodshed in the Uzbek residential areas of Osh on 11–12 June 2010 was “a response” to numerous acts of violence from the side of “separatists”.

In order to check the truthfulness of the claims presented above, we have studied the lists of those arriving to the Osh Provincial Hospital, Osh City Hospital, medical facilities in the villages of Nariman and Kyrgyz-Chek in Kara-Suu District and the available documents from law enforcement agencies and the Ministry of Health.

These materials show that there were no deaths as a result of mass disturbances in Osh or Osh Province before midnight on 10 June 2010. Two people were registered as requiring medical assistance (some of those wounded before midnight came to medical facilities later).<sup>299</sup>

By 6 AM on 11 June, Osh Provincial Hospital had registered two dead and eight wounded (all of them Uzbeks). Osh City Hospital had registered 18 wounded (11 Kyrgyz, seven Uzbek), the hospital in Nariman village had one dead and 28 wounded (all Uzbeks).<sup>300</sup> In Tuleyken Hospital (Kyzyl-Kyshtak village) there were seven dead and 40 wounded at 6:15 AM (these are likely to be Uzbeks).<sup>301</sup> The Southern Hospital of the border service in Osh received four wounded ethnic Kyrgyz between 1 AM and 6 AM, including an officer of the border service and a member of the SOBR.<sup>302</sup> The hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, where only Kyrgyz patients were delivered, received its first wounded at 9:45 AM.

Of the registered Uzbek victims at 6 AM on 11 June at Osh Provincial Hospital, Osh City Hospital, and the hospital in Nariman village, 87% had gunshot wounds and shotgun pellet wounds. Although the first registration lists were not always complete or accurate, and while some victims were listed twice (as they were moved to other medical facilities), the final numbers cannot be significantly inaccurate.

As for the ethnic make-up of victims on 11 June 2010, there is no basis to claim that there was a majority of Kyrgyz victims (these statistics are discussed in a later chapter of this report).

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299 Information from the Ministry of Health.

300 Calculated from the registration lists of victims from medical facilities. The registered ethnicity of one of the dead brought to Osh Provincial Hospital was changed later.

301 Information from GSNB.

302 Information from the Headquarters of the border service of GSNB.

## B. Clashes and pogroms in other districts and suburbs of Osh on the morning of 11 June

Only fragmentary information is available regarding the clashes and pogroms that took place in other districts and suburbs of Osh on the night between 10 and 11 June. Establishing a full overview of the events based on such information is difficult. However, several events throughout the night and the following morning in some of the areas of the city have been described by witnesses interviewed by the members of this mission. Additional descriptions can be found in the chronologies of the GSNB and UVD of Osh City, the Kara-Suu District Prosecutor's Office, as well as in messages posted in the online forum [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg).

The most interesting information is to be found in the chronology of the GSNB covering the period leading up to 8 AM on 11 June. However, one should exercise extreme caution when using these materials. The authors of the chronology were clearly trying to accuse the Uzbek side, using unconfirmed "operational information" (for instance regarding the attacks on Kyrgyz female students in the dormitory in the Sheyit-Dobo area and elsewhere) while "not noticing" the use of weapons by law enforcement agencies, or the presence of aggressive groups of Kyrgyz youth on the streets at 1:30 AM, as noted in the documents of the UVD of Osh City.

Most of the information regards clashes and pogroms taking place on the night between midnight until 8 AM on 11 June in the center of the city (Lenin Street and Kurmanjan Datka Street), in the area around the City Bath and the Dom Byta shopping center on Masaliev Avenue, in Osh District and at the entry to the suburban village of Furkat.

### Masaliev Avenue

According to the UVD of Osh City, Kyrgyz youth who had gathered in the Manas-Ata Microdistrict (the north-eastern part of Osh) started moving towards the center of the city approximately at 1:30 AM, smashing up cafes and restaurants on Masaliev Avenue.<sup>303</sup> Information regarding a large crowd moving along this street at night, yelling "Alga!" ("Forwards!" in Kyrgyz), is confirmed by local residents.<sup>304</sup>

Around 2 AM, a group of young Kyrgyz smashed up the Kashgar restaurant on Masaliev Avenue, which belonged to a deputy of the Osh City Council, Dilshod Mominov, an ethnic Uzbek. According to witnesses, about 50–60 people carrying out pogroms arrived to the restaurants in a number of cars. Mominov's jeep, which

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303 Информация УВД г.Ош.

304 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=260>

was parked by the building, was torched. The attackers went into the restaurant and started to smash up furniture and the interior. The personnel managed to hide on the roof; rocks were also thrown at them there.<sup>305</sup> Those carrying out pogroms then tried to enter the Uzbek neighborhood, but were chased off by residents<sup>306</sup> and moved in the direction of the Dom Byta shopping center.<sup>307</sup> After about half an hour the flames from the burning car were extinguished.<sup>308</sup>

In the GSNB report, the responsibility for the pogroms on Masaliev Avenue was placed on Uzbeks who “started throwing rocks at passing cars, breaking windows of shops belonging to Kyrgyz” in the area around the City Bath and the former grain factory. Between 2:45 AM and 3 AM, the report notes an attempt by Uzbeks to take over the ATF Bank building and the offices of the Beeline telephone company, the burning of the Ak-Shumkar restaurant on Masaliev Avenue and the movement of groups of Uzbek youth from Osh District in the direction of Zaynabetdinov Street while burning and smashing commercial objects belonging to ethnic Kyrgyz. In the area around the Areopag shop on the northern part of Masaliev Avenue, a clash between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz took place, with the participation of about 200 people.<sup>309</sup> The First Deputy Mayor Timur Kamchybekov, who was later removed from his position, went that night to Masaliev Avenue on the order of the Mayor to try to stop the crowds of Uzbeks moving from the direction of the Amir Temur Microdistrict. He describes the events this way:

About 30–40 young men were standing in the middle of the street. We stopped. It turned out that local residents had come out on the street after the shooting, some of them knew me. I started telling them not to give in to provocations, saying that the Mayor’s Office had already gotten in touch with Bishkek by telephone, that security forces were being brought in and that everything would go back to normal. At this moment, I heard yelling, noise, it was as if an earth slide was coming. On the road from On Adyr young men were walking with sticks, and they were all headed towards us... We split up. I crept into an unfinished four-story building on the other side, and went up to the top floor. From there, I could clearly see the road. The crowd consisted of 600–700 people; they were smashing up shops, torching cars. I called the Mayor on my cell phone and told him: “Several hundred guys have broken through, crimes and looting is taking place, send us immediately whatever you got, special forces, APCs...” The Mayor answered “In a minute”. I waited, and nobody arrived. I called again after half an hour. By morning I must have called him 100 times... The crowd moved in the direction of the Dom Byta shopping center and the central bridge. They passed by. Later, two cars came, two people in helmets and with automatic weapons were sitting

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305 Interview with female employee at the Kashgar Restaurant (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

306 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=80>

307 Interview with female employee at the Kashgar Restaurant (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

308 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=80>

309 Information from GSNB.

in them – cash transit guards or maybe the bank security people (a branch of the bank was located there) – they shot in the direction of the crowd with an automatic round. The crowds attacked them, they drove away... When dawn came, the crowd dispersed. I went down to the street, the police was already there. A young man was lying right on the street, 17–19 years old. It seemed he had been shot with an automatic weapon, half his head was missing.<sup>310</sup>

An Uzbek witness living on Gagarin Street recalls that his wife woke him up around 2 AM, speaking of beginning clashes in the city. The residents in the mahalla went down to Masaliev Avenue and chased off “agressive Kyrgyz guys”, who were moving from the direction of the City Bath. On the intersection of Masaliev Avenue and Leningradskaya Street they started erecting a barricade consisting of rocks and trees. Those who guarded the barricade were shot at from a white passenger car.<sup>311</sup> Around 3 AM, police officers arriving to the area near the City Bath in two cars with flashing lights started shooting in the air. When the crowd started nearing them from the south-western side, the police officers drove away. After a few minutes, an APC started shooting from a machine gun into the air, dispersing the crowd.<sup>312</sup> The witness recalls that a noise grenade was thrown at the Uzbeks who were protecting the barricade, and that 23-year old Nadirbek Kaharov was seriously wounded by soldiers in an APC.<sup>313</sup> At 3:20 AM he was brought to the Osh Provincial Hospital,<sup>314</sup> where he died after a few hours from a gunshot wound to the head.<sup>315</sup>

Around 3:20 AM, the sound of breaking glass could be heard from the southern side of Masaliev Avenue (near the building of OshPVES).<sup>316</sup> After 20 minutes, armored vehicles arrived here and the soldiers started shooting in the air.<sup>317</sup>

Between 3 AM and 4 AM the unrest continued in the area near Dom Byta shopping center, and yelling and whistling could be heard from the direction of the Uzbek mahalla on Gagarin Street. According to witnesses, the crowd torched the gambling hall on Masaliev Avenue (across from the Aalam Minimarket). On one of the intersections in the area near the City Bath, barricades were set up using garbage containers, bonfires were burning,<sup>318</sup> and on people started throwing Molotov cocktails on the thoroughfare. Approximately at 4:28 AM, an IFV followed by a cortege of cars broke down the barricade and fired shots in the air.<sup>319</sup> Fifteen minutes

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310 Interview with the former Deputy Mayor of Osh City Timur Kamchybekov, Osh, 13 September 2010.

311 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 8 July 2010.

312 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=80>

313 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 8 July 2010.

314 Information from Osh Inter-regional Unified Clinical Hospital.

315 Information from relative of the dead (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

316 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=100>

317 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=120>

318 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=120>

319 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=140>

later, special forces arrived to the area near the City Bath. The IFV continued to patrol the streets. The crowd dispersed.<sup>320</sup>

In postings on [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg) the ethnicity of those erecting the barricades is not given, but it is likely that this regards an incident also mentioned in the GSNB report: at 3:42 AM “Uzbeks are barricading themselves” near the intersection of Masaliev Avenue and Leningradskaya Street, and at 4:51 AM “Uzbeks are being dispersed by special forces with the use of armored vehicles”.<sup>321</sup>

At least two other ethnic Uzbeks became victims of the night-time events on Masaliev Avenue. The body of 41-year old Dzhumabay Sharipov with a bullet wound to the chest was found near the Gorkiy School (to the north of the intersection with Leningradskaya Street). The body was brought to the Provincial Hospital at 5:40 AM.<sup>322</sup> Around 5 AM, the body of 17-year old Muzafar Azimov, resident of Amir Temur Microdistrict, was found on Leningradskaya Street.<sup>323</sup> The cause of death was established as a “fracturing wound to the head”.<sup>324</sup>

On the morning of 11 June, crowds of Kyrgyz youth were reported on Masaliev Avenue. Around 7:30 AM one of the crowds of 100–200 people came to the Osh District, where clashes were taking place.<sup>325</sup> Around the same time, a crowd of Kyrgyz, including somewhat older people, carrying national flags and followed by cars without registration plates followed an IFV from the intersection of Zaynabetdinov Street in the direction of Osh District.<sup>326</sup> Calls to torch the Mukharram Supermarket near the central mosque could be heard.<sup>327</sup>

## Lenin Street and Kurmanjan Datka Street

According to UVD of Osh City, around 1:30 AM, the crowd of Kyrgyz youth moved from the central square to the north along Lenin Street, in the direction of Hotel Alai.<sup>328</sup>

Possibly, the movement of the groups of youth started even earlier – after information was received about attacks against the dormitory of Osh State University and the inflow of Uzbeks to the area around the Provincial Library. In messages posted by witnesses on [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg), there is information that a crowd calling to beat Uzbeks was moving along Kurmanjan Datka Street around 1:15 AM.<sup>329</sup>

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320 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=160>

321 Information from GSNB.

322 Information from Osh Inter-regional Unified Clinical Hospital.

323 Information from UVD in Osh City.

324 Information from Osh Inter-regional Unified Clinical Hospital.

325 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=260>

326 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=240>

327 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=280>

328 Information from UVD in Osh City.

329 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=0>

A volunteer with the American organization Peace Corps who lived near the intersection of Kurmanjan Datka and Aytieva (Aravanskaya) Streets, around this time saw from a balcony on the second floor how a crowd was nearing – no less than 100 men, who were yelling and shooting in the air. Some were armed with rifles and axes. They torched houses and broke windows of shops, one rock flew threw the window of his apartment. Soon, the crowd grew to 300 people. The unrest continued for around 2 hours. At 5 AM, men with crowbars started surrounding shops in the house across from his, but were chased off by Uzbeks.<sup>330</sup>

In a publication from Ferghana news agency, a local female resident describes how the crowds of Uzbek and Kyrgyz youth clashed on near the intersection of Lenin Street and Aytieva (Aravanskaya) Street. According to her, the Kyrgyz had rocks, knives and automatic weapons (there is no information that these were used in order to shoot to kill in following clashes):

A fight started, then shooting. They ran in this direction and that, throwing rocks. Cars drove by, and they dragged out a person with an axe from one of them. Then a police car came, they toppled it over, both crowds were making a lot of noise but did not approach one another. Then they parted ways, one crowd went to the intersection on Aravanskaya Street, others remained, waiting. They started looting stands and kiosks; they got footballs from one of them and even started playing around with them. They looted the shop there.<sup>331</sup>

A female resident on Kurmanjan Datka Street (across from the Provincial Library) recalls that some time after the small gambling hall had been torched, a large group of Kyrgyz youth arrived to the area. Some of them were armed with automatic weapons. They started smashing up and torching shops belonging to Uzbeks. Shots were heard fired into the air. The smashing and looting continued until around 2 AM. “The Liubimiy shop is nearby, they took everything from there – juice, vodka, and cigarettes...They wanted to torch the beauty parlor in our building, but some older man said “Don’t do it, let’s continue, we have to go to Frunzenskiy”. And the crowd went off in the direction of Aytieva (Aravanskaya) Street”.<sup>332</sup> While the pogroms were taking place, residents made unsuccessful attempts to call the police and the fire brigade. Scared of being hit by stray bullets, many hid in the bathrooms or in the corridors until the morning, avoiding the windows. Around 2 AM, the electricity was cut off in the area. “The sound of breaking glass could be heard almost all night. When an APC drove by in the morning, the sounds lessened, and then everything started up again.”<sup>333</sup> In the morning, residents from nearby houses also took part in the looting.<sup>334</sup>

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330 <http://caramella.livejournal.com/193222.html>

331 <http://www.fernews.com/news.php?id=14919&mode=snews>

332 Interview with a resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

333 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

334 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

According to witnesses, the crowd of Uzbek youth was not able to get through any further south than Aytieva (Aravanskaya) Street. The groups of young Kyrgyz who were in a standoff with them turned back, not quite reaching Navoi Street, behind which there are blocks of residential houses with a predominantly Uzbek population. The Uzbeks started building barricades that night.

Around 3 AM, the sound of shots being fired could be heard in the area around the City Hospital on Kurmanjan Datka Street.<sup>335</sup> A witness reported that the crowd was throwing rocks at an ambulance driving from the direction of Hotel Alai.<sup>336</sup>

The chronology of the GSNB mentions that a call was registered at 3:42 AM regarding an attack “by the Kyrgyz part of the population” on the Marko Polo weapons shop in the center of the city,<sup>337</sup> from where weapons had already been removed earlier.<sup>338</sup> At 5:31 AM, around 500 young Kyrgyz on the central square of Osh called for seizing weapons from the military and killing Uzbeks.<sup>339</sup>

Around 4 AM, the authorities organized the evacuation of 900 students who had barricaded themselves in the dormitory of Osh State University near Hotel Alai. Due to rumors of a possible coming attack, another 600 students were evacuated from the student dormitory on Privokzalnaya Street.<sup>340</sup> Early in the morning, around 550 female students were brought in buses from the administrative buildings in the center of the city to military unit 36806 in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict, escorted by an army APC.<sup>341</sup>

At 7:25 AM, AKI-press news agency reported that “some time ago” several hundred people had tried to enter the building of the Provincial Administration, but had been stopped by law enforcement agencies.<sup>342</sup>

According to the GSNB report, by 6 AM Kyrgyz in the center of the city had torched the typographer’s building on Navoi Street, a gas station, several shops belonging to Uzbeks on Kurmanjan Datka Street, whereas the Uzbeks had torched the building of the Provincial Philharmony (the list is by no means complete).<sup>343</sup> The audience hall of the Babur Uzbek Academic Musical-Drama Theatre on Lenin Street had been torched.<sup>344</sup>

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335 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=100>

336 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010.

337 Information from GSNB.

338 Information from UVD of Osh City.

339 Information from GSNB.

340 Myrzakmatov, M. “Men izdegen chyndyk”. Bishkek, 2011, pp.22, 339, 341.

341 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

342 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160> In the documentary film “Koolagan” (“The Unrest”), this episode is presented as an attempt by Uzbeks around 7:30 AM to seize the building of the Osh Provincial Administration. (<http://www.kabarl.kg/index.php?app=gallery&image=59>). In reality, there is no basis to claim that an Uzbek crowd was in this area, which during the night was under increased control by military guards, police and armed Kyrgyz militia.

343 Information from GSNB.

344 [http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1385&Itemid=54](http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1385&Itemid=54)



A large number of smashed up and torched cafes, shops, offices and kiosks could be seen on the two main streets of Osh for several months later. There are numerous publications and documents by law enforcement agencies containing lists of objects that were burned or attacked in the center of the city on the night between 10 and 11 June or later (very small businesses are not included in these lists). However, the time and circumstances for the attacks on each of these objects are not always clear. Even in official documents, there are often contradictions or the facts are presented incorrectly. For instance, in the GSNB report, it is said that the Philharmony was burnt down by Uzbeks,<sup>345</sup> while the fire brigade told journalists only of a “small fire outbreak”.<sup>346</sup> Generally, factual information about the number of registered fires in the period of the mass disorder published by the Ministry of Emergency Situations does not even come close to describing the real chain of events.<sup>347</sup>

## Frunzenskiy Market

The attack by a group of young Kyrgyz on the Frunzenskiy Market in the southern end of Kurmanjan Datka Street was also part of the unrest in this part of the city. The KIC report and the report of Ismail Isakov note that the torching and looting in the area around Frunzenskiy Market started around 4 AM. According to KIC, violent confrontations between 50 residents from an Uzbek mahalla and 200 young Kyrgyz took place around 4 AM, who “started to loot and burn Uzbek property”. Attempts by somewhat older people to stop the crowd of Kyrgyz youth did not give any results. The witness recalls that gunfire could be heard between 4 and 5 AM.<sup>348</sup> At 5:49 AM the first messages about pogroms at the market appeared on diesel.elcat.kg internet forum, including attacks on the Narodniy grocery store, yelling and sounds of gunfire,<sup>349</sup> and at 6:15 AM, that the Merkury café was on fire and that rounds from automatic weapons could be heard.<sup>350</sup> A lawyer who lives near Frunzenskiy Market described the events like this:

Around 5:45 AM I went out on the street. We could hear noise outside. You can see Frunzenskiy Market directly from our street. I saw young Kyrgyz guys running along Kurmanjan Datka Street, carrying various bags and sacks. I understood that they were taking items out of the shops. There were a lot of youth, several hundred people. Local (Uzbek) residents saw that the shops were beginning to burn and started walking towards the bazaar, wanting to put out the fire. A large supermarket was on fire there, and next to it, Merkury café and another café, as well as the 24 Hours shop were starting to burn.

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345 Information from GSNB.

346 <http://24kg.org/politic/75771-v-gorode-oshe-kyrgyzstan-goryat-zhilye-doma.html>

347 [http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1385&Itemid=54](http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1385&Itemid=54)

348 Letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name of the author withheld), 11 June 2011.

349 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=180>

350 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&start=200>

When we came up to the bazaar, six–seven police men started shooting in the air. We had to move away from there. They were not paying any attention at all to the looters and those who were torching buildings, they were just observing them. In about 10 minutes, we tried again to go up to the burning buildings, and the police started shooting in the air again.

Around 6:30 AM, soldiers on APCs arrived. The first APC (fully-tracked) came from the center, from the direction of the Provincial Administration, while the second (wheeled) came from somewhat further east. The military started shooting in the air. The residents ran in different directions, but not far. When the crowd started gathering again, the soldiers on the APC started shooting directly at people. I was standing about 10 meters further up to the west of the Frunzenskiy Market on Alymbekov Street. Four people near me fell immediately from the bullets. The wounded near me were helped up. Two had been shot in the leg; one had been shot in the side of the body. Three were brought to the hospital; one of them was in a serious condition. It was not yet 7 AM.

After half an hour, we were told that he had died. At that time, the wheeled APC drove up on Alymbekov Street, it seems another crowd had gathered from the other side and they shot a few rounds in that direction. The APC drove up to Aliev Street, and struck a high-voltage mast when making a U-turn, bent it and even tore one of the wires, then drove further upwards. There, they also fired in the air. Then the residents called the fire brigade, and somewhere around 7:30 AM everything seemed to calm down around the bazaar, they started putting out the fires.<sup>351</sup>

The First Deputy Mayor Timur Kamchybekov, who arrived to Frunzenskiy Market after the shooting had ended, saw the body of a boy of 15–17 years of age, who was lying on the roadside not far from Richman Restaurant:

I stopped, our neighbors gathered, Uzbeks, they started complaining to me as I was a representative of the Mayor's Office, saying that the boy had been shot by soldiers in front of their eyes. His mother was crying, tearing her hair out. Several of our neighbors were loudly complaining about the soldiers.<sup>352</sup>

According to human rights defenders in Osh, two local Uzbeks were killed and six or seven were wounded as a result of unprovoked shooting from automatic weapons against civilians in the area near the Frunzenskiy Market on the morning of 11 June.<sup>353</sup> The cause of death of 32-year old Lutfillo Shakirov was established as a gunshot wound to the chest. The 20-year old Dildor Teshaeiev died from a gunshot wound to

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351 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

352 Interview with the former First Deputy Mayor of Osh, Timur Kamchybekov, Osh, 13 September 2010.

353 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 September 2010 and 23 June 2011.

the throat.<sup>354</sup> The seriously wounded Lutfillo Shakirov told his brother while being transported to the City Hospital that near the Frunzenskiy Market, soldiers on an APC without had opened fire without warning, and that he had been wounded as a result. At 9 AM, Shakirov was delivered to the surgical unit, where he died after 30–40 minutes.<sup>355</sup> As was the case near Hotel Alai, witnesses say that weapons were used not in order to stop specific acts of violence and not as self-defense.

A former teacher who came down to the Frunzenskiy Market on the morning of 11 June from the western side noted that about 100 young Kyrgyz aged between 18 and 21 were participating in the torching and looting, and that many of them were dressed in the same kind of red t-shirt, and that some underage Russian homeless children were also participating. According to her, the soldiers and the military forces did not try to stop the looters.<sup>356</sup>

The Mukharram-1 supermarket, the Merkury and Jupiter restaurants and the Al-Faiz café were all burned, and the Narodniy grocery store was looted.<sup>357</sup> In posts on the diesel.elcat.kg internet forum it is noted that during the attack on Frunzenskiy market, there were clashes between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz who were arriving from the center of the city.<sup>358</sup> However, the details around this are not known. According to the GSNB, around 1000 Uzbeks had gathered on the streets in this area by 6 AM.<sup>359</sup>

In the chronology by UVD of Osh City, only one sentence is devoted to the events described above: “At 6:30 AM, ethnic Uzbek citizens gathered near the Frunzenskiy Market on Kurmanjan Datka Street and started beating up Kyrgyz”.<sup>360</sup> This can hardly be called an objective description of the situation on any level.

In the documentary film “Chas Shakala” which was distributed along with a book by the same name, and which has been declared illegal in Kyrgyzstan, it is claimed that the area around Frunzenskiy Market was attacked by the military from 1:30 AM until 6 AM. This does not coincide with reports from eye-witnesses or those given in available documents.

## Osh District

Different sources describe incidents involving a large number of participants on the night and the morning of 11 June in the Osh District in the north-eastern part of the city.

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354 Information from Osh Inter-regional Unified Clinical Hospital.

355 Statement of Shuhurillo Shakirov to NGO Citizens Against Corruption, 2010.

356 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

357 <http://www.fernews.com/news.php?id=14975&mode=snews>

358 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=240>

359 Information from GKNB.

360 Information from UVD in Osh City.

Witnesses give differing statements about the time when the unrest started. For the area around the intersection of Masaliev and Razzakov Avenues (by the seven-story building) times given vary from 23 PM to 1 AM.<sup>361</sup>

A woman living on Mir Street recalls that 200–300 Uzbek men armed with sticks, including minors, started coming out on Kara-Suyskaya Street around midnight, stopping passing cars. Some of these cars were seized and were used by the participants of the unrest to move around the city. The sound of people banging on gas pipes with iron bars and cries of “Death to Kyrgyz! Osh is ours!” etc. could be heard. After some time, calls for Uzbeks to come out on the street could be heard also from a nearby mosque. Agitated groups of youth were on the streets in the area until the morning. The witness managed with difficulty to get through to the police by phone, where she was told that they could not help as the situation in the city was now beyond their control.<sup>362</sup>

A female Kyrgyz doctor recalls that the crowds were arriving from different directions. A car driving in front of them was stopped at the beginning of Masaliev Avenue, attackers started dragging the driver and the passengers out of the car. Because the main roads were blocked, she had to stay by the car at the gas station in Osh District. When she and her relatives tried to walk between the multistory buildings, young Uzbek men with clubs came after them. Then, her brother was stopped by an Uzbek riding by on a bicycle, who asked, “Are you going in peace or in war?”<sup>363</sup>

According to UVD in Osh City, Kyrgyz youth also gathered in Osh District during the night, and at around 1:30 AM started moving towards the center on Masaliev Avenue.<sup>364</sup> Around 1 AM, a father and son, ethnic Uzbeks, who were driving in a taxi, were beaten up when the driver stopped the car by a crowd of Kyrgyz. These were let go the same night. Both of them were hospitalized after seeking medical assistance the same night.<sup>365</sup>

Uzbek youth also committed acts of violence in the Osh District during the night. A witness recalls that soon after the clashes near Hotel Alai began, young Uzbeks, mostly 13–15 year old, “toppled over kiosks, torched small shops, stopped cars, and threw rocks”. Near the fire station, they threw rocks at a passing crane truck.<sup>366</sup> At 3:30 AM, information was received that Uzbeks had torched the Meerim restaurant.<sup>367</sup>

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361 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 19 June and 4 September 2010. See also <http://afisha.zakon.kz/175781-r.otunbaeva-chislo-pogibshikh.html>

362 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

363 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

364 Interview from UVD in Osh City.

365 Interview with resident in Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

366 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Bishkek, 4 July 2010.

367 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&start=100> ; information from GSNB.

According to GSNB, about 5000 Uzbeks who had gathered near Elina restaurant, which belonged to an ethnic Kyrgyz, smashed up the restaurant around 3 AM. At 3:21 AM, a fire in a private house near the Osh-Oil gas station on Razzakov Avenue was reported. At 7:50 AM, about 2000 Kyrgyz and 5000 Uzbeks gathered near the café Sary-Chelek on Razzakov Avenue.<sup>368</sup> These numbers may be exaggerated. According to witnesses we have spoken to, there were no more than a few hundred people participating in the unrest in each of the conflict areas in the Osh District on the morning of 11 June.

In descriptions published in one of the internet forums, it is said that around 1 AM near the only seven-story building in Osh District, shots were being fired, and after half an hour, yelling and whistling from a crowd of Uzbeks could be heard, who then started barricading the street. Soon after, a mass fight broke out, people used metal rods, rocks and sticks. Shots were heard; judging by the sound, these were traumatic (non-lethal) weapons. In the morning, a cortege of about 17 cars (a Hummer-2 jeep, Mercedeses, BMWs) without registration plates came to help the Kyrgyz who were standing near the multistory buildings. People with weapons came out of the cars, and the crowd gathered around them. People were agitated, yelling and whistling was heard. The Uzbek population barricaded the entry to the nearby mahallas and set up defense. Later, a fully-tracked APC with soldiers showed up, but these did not get involved, "they just stood nearby, observing".<sup>369</sup>

Throughout the night, clashes that were caused by rumors of events in other parts of the city took place repeatedly. Around 7 AM, crowds exchanged insults in the area near the Barpy School on Salieva Street. Two cars were torched; rocks were thrown at three other cars.<sup>370</sup> According to GSNB, an ethnic Kyrgyz received a gunshot wound at the same time in the Osh District. A crowd of Uzbeks attacked an ambulance, not allowing it to reach the wounded Kyrgyz.<sup>371</sup>

A female resident in the area told members of the mission that a Kyrgyz man who had been taken hostage by the Uzbek crowd during the violent confrontations was shot around 7 AM, near the seven-story building.<sup>372</sup> Possibly, this regards the same victim mentioned in the GSNB report.

Bakhtiyarzhhan Fattakhov, who arrived to Osh on the morning of 11 June along with the commandant and members of the Interim Government, recalls that around 7 AM, cars driving from the airport were stopped in Osh District where he saw that a crowd of about 100 civilians were shooting unsystematically from several automatic weapons in the direction of an Uzbek mahalla. The shooters handed the weapons between

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368 Information from GSNB.

369 <http://afisha.zakon.kz/175781-r.otunbaeva-chislo-pogibshikh.html>

370 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=240>

371 Information from GSNB.

372 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

one another. “When we stopped, these people started to disperse”. All this occurred before the eyes of official persons escorted by tens of armed members of the security forces.<sup>373</sup>

Around 7 AM, military forces were sent to the area where clashes were occurring in order to divide the two fighting sides. According to a witness who was standing near the intersection of Masaliev Avenue and Zaynabetdinov Street, behind a truck and a fully-tracked APC with soldiers holding the national flag of Kyrgyzstan came a large number of cars without registration plates and a crowd of Kyrgyz armed with sticks (among the youth there were also older men).<sup>374</sup> From around 7:40 AM, rounds of automatic gun fire could be heard from Osh District; shooting in the air continued for more than half an hour. In the area where the clashes were occurring, additional sub-divisions were arriving.<sup>375</sup>

According to another witness, “in the morning, when the military arrived, crowds of several hundred people were throwing rocks at each other. On one side were Kyrgyz youth, on the other, Uzbek youth. On the road between them, tens of soldiers with weapons and armoured vehicles were standing. When the crowds neared each other and then dispersed again, I saw personally how the Kyrgyz grabbed two Uzbeks and started beating them. The soldiers did nothing. When the Uzbeks wanted to free these two guys and started nearing the Kyrgyz crowd, the soldiers started shooting into the air. The soldiers were facing the Uzbeks, as if to protect the Kyrgyz. And there was no reaction at all to what the Kyrgyz were doing. The crowds neared each other three–four times while I was there”.<sup>376</sup>

Another female resident observed on around 10 AM how several groups of youth aged 12–16 were running along Yashlar Street and through the yard of the multistoried building and deep into the mahalla, when shooting started near the intersection of Masaliev and Razzakov Avenues. However, on the order of older men they returned later to the area where the clashes were taking place.<sup>377</sup>

The KIC report states that around 8 AM on 11 June, an Uzbek crowd of about 800 people, armed with rifles, pistols, sticks and iron bars, went up to the Kyrgyz crowd on Masaliev Avenue. Soon, an APC and about 25 soldiers arrived, pushing the Uzbek crowd into the mahalla. The military first fired warning shots in the air, and then shot at the Uzbek crowd. One may assume that this description regards the events near the intersection of Masaliev and Razzakov Avenues, which took place between 7 and

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373 Interview with the director of the National Agency for Local Self-Governing Matters, Bakhtiyarzhon Fattakhov, Bishkek, 26 December 2011.

374 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=240>

375 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=280>

376 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Bishkek, 4 July 2010.

377 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

8 AM. The information that military personnel were firing live rounds at the crowd in this area has not been confirmed by other sources.

According to UVD of the city, clashes were also taking place on the morning of 11 June in the area around Dzhiydalik Street (northern suburb of Osh), where “two crowds from both ethnicities gathered at 7:30 AM and started throwing rocks at each other”.<sup>378</sup>

## Furkat Village

The stand-off between groups of Uzbek and Kyrgyz youth at the entry to Furkat village at the eastern outskirts of Osh had started in the evening of 10 June (see above), and continued during the night.

The KIC report notes that the first contact between the two groups was “limited to exchange of insults and stone throwing”.

According to the Prosecutor’s office in Kara-Suu District, after the beginning acts of violence including attacks on passing cars as well as “individual cases of torching” of cars and houses belonging to Kyrgyz, some of the Kyrgyz living in Furkat ran in the direction of Mady village.<sup>379</sup> At 3:34 AM it was reported that around 1000 Uzbeks were moving in the direction of the Kyrgyz part of Furkat village.<sup>380</sup>

Around 4 AM, 30 armed officers led by the head of ROVD in Kara-Suu District Colonel Adylbek Sultanov arrived to the area near the roundabout at the entrance to Furkat village. The police men took up position between the crowds of Kyrgyz and Uzbeks.<sup>381</sup> According to the estimates of the law enforcement agencies, around 5000 Uzbeks and 4000 Kyrgyz arriving from Alay, Kara-Kuldzha and Uzgen Districts,<sup>382</sup> had gathered here (these numbers are probably exaggerated).

According to the report of the Prosecutor’s office, after the arrival of the police “around 4 AM, a gunshot was unexpectedly fired from an unknown location, causing mass clashes between persons of Uzbek and Kyrgyz ethnicities with the use of rocks, iron bars, sticks and other items.”<sup>383</sup> During the clashes, 11 AKM automatic rifles and one PM pistol were taken from the police officers positioned between the two conflicting sides.<sup>384</sup> Eighteen armed police men walked away from the crowds without

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378 Information from UVD in Osh City.

379 Information from Prosecutor’s office in Kara-Suu District.

380 Information from GSNB.

381 Information from Prosecutor’s office in Kara-Suu District.

382 Information from ROVD in Kara-Suu District.

383 Information from Prosecutor’s office in Kara-Suu District.

384 Information from ROVD in Kara-Suu District.

using their weapons. After the violent confrontation, the two sides moved 600–700 meters away from one another.<sup>385</sup>

In available reports from the law enforcement agencies it is not mentioned which side of the conflict took the weapons from the police. According to the KIC reports, weapons were handed over to the Kyrgyz crowd.

Unfortunately, the members of the mission were unable to interview direct eye-witnesses to this incident, something which would have allowed for an evaluation of the official version.

According to the Prosecutor's office, 57 police officers were injured during the night-time clashes at the entrance to Furkat.<sup>386</sup> A comparison of this number with the registered information on the total numbers of employees of the UVD of Osh Province injured during the June 2010 events gives reason to believe that this information is exaggerated.

There is no reliable information on possible victims of these night-time events in Furkat. The reports of the KIC and of Ismail Isakov mention dead on the Kyrgyz side. However, the hospital in the nearby village Kyrgyz-Chek started receiving dead and wounded only at 9:45 AM.<sup>387</sup>

In the report of the GSNB, it is reported on the brutal murder in Furkat of an ethnic Kyrgyz who was returning by car from Bishkek with his family. The wife of the murdered was allegedly raped, and their child was kidnapped.<sup>388</sup> The reliability of this information is unclear (it is not mentioned by other sources).

At 6:25 AM, two trucks with 35 soldiers from military unit 92843 arrived to Mady village (to the east of Furkat), having left their stationing in Alay District at 4 AM. At 7:45 AM, three APC-80s with 28 soldiers from military unit 30295 were sent from Mayli-Suu in Jalalabad Province to Osh (on the day of 11 June, two of these APCs were seized by the Kyrgyz crowd at the entrance to Furkat village).<sup>389</sup>

## The Western Part of Osh

At 2:56 AM, a message from a resident in the Zapadnyi Microdistrict appeared on diesel.elcat.kg, that over 100 Kyrgyz with sticks and metal rods had gathered on the road, and that some were armed with guns. Those who had gathered were checking

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385 Information from Prosecutor's office in Kara-Suu District.

386 Information from Prosecutor's office in Kara-Suu District.

387 Interview with doctor of the local polyclinic (name withheld), Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

388 This incident is given in the GKSБ report alongside the "information about violence" against female students at the Osh State University dormitory, which was later found not to be based in fact.

389 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.



passing cars. The number of people was quickly rising.<sup>390</sup> According to the GSNB, around 4 AM the Kyrgyz crowd in the Zapadny Microdistrict was preparing Molotov cocktails and tried to seize an APC from the military.<sup>391</sup>

Attempts were also made to get weapons from the border guards. At 2:30 AM, six well-built men walked up to the checkpoint of the border service (military unit 2024) based on the western slope of Suleyman-Too Mountain, demanding that they be given weapons and ammunition. Their request declined, and the group left. However, they returned at 4 AM along with 20–25 other men. Only after lengthy negotiations led by the chief of staff at the checkpoint, lieutenant-colonel O. Bapyev, and after warnings that weapons would be used in the case of an attack, did the crowd disperse. At 7:30 AM around 200–300 Kyrgyz gathered at the checkpoint, again demanding that they be given weapons and ammunition.<sup>392</sup>

At 4:15 AM, around 200 people were moving from the Zapadny Microdistrict in the direction of Navoi Street.<sup>393</sup> Possibly, this group mentioned in a GSNB document did not come to the center of the city from the northern side of Suleyman-Too, but rather from the southern side.

Witnesses describe night-time negotiations between Kyrgyz who were arriving from the direction of the Zapadny Microdistrict on the one hand, and residents of the Cheremushki Microdistrict, which has a predominantly Uzbek population, who had blocked Abdykadyrov Street leading in to the center of the city:

When gunfire could be heard from the direction of Hotel Alay, the whole mahalla came out on the street. During the night, some unknown people came in a Golf, asking to open the road to the center, but we didn't let them through. At 4 AM, around 300 people went towards the city from the direction of Suleyman Mountain.<sup>394</sup>

Around 3 AM, they raised the alarm, information was received that Kyrgyz were moving from the direction of the Zapadny Microdistrict. There was some kind of negotiator from their side, who said that they were going to the White House (the provincial administration). Our guys said, "Don't come through here". They passed through from the side of the border post near Suleyman Mountain, with yelling and noise.<sup>395</sup>

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390 Interview with doctor from the local polyclinic (name withheld), Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

391 Information from GSNB.

392 Information from the Main Office of the Border Service of the GSNB.

393 Information from GSNB.

394 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

395 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

Other residents of the Microdistrict also saw the Kyrgyz crowd moving to the center of the city:

On the night to Friday we got a phone call, they told us about the unrest by Hotel Alai and that Kyrgyz had taken over the lower part of the city. I stood with other neighbors, there were about 20–30 of us, until morning at the entrance to Lenin Street from Aitiev Street. There were no barricades. At around 4–5 AM a crowd of Kyrgyz went through, about 300 people. In the middle of the crowd were two minibuses. They said to us, “Don’t shoot, we are going to the center”. We didn’t touch them, they didn’t touch us.<sup>396</sup>

In the darkness, 200–400 Kyrgyz passed us on Aitiev Street, armed with sticks, metal rods, some were yelling in Kyrgyz: “Death to the Uzbeks!”<sup>397</sup>

An article published by the Kyrgyz service of RFE/RL describes an incident that took place in the Cheremushki Microdistrict at 4:30 AM on 11 June, when two young Uzbek women were beaten up and raped by a group of seven–eight Kyrgyz who broke into a private home that night. According to one of the victims, the attackers looked like sportsmen.<sup>398</sup> The actions of this group are likely to be connected to the beginning of the June events.

A Kyrgyz student said that he had gone out on the street in the Zapadnyi Microdistrict around 6:30 AM. At that time, people were gathering on the road. Kyrgyz who were arriving from the center were yelling that the Cheremushki Microdistrict, the central market and Dom Byta shopping center had been taken over by Uzbeks, and that all Kyrgyz were being killed there and cars were being smashed up. Those who had gathered wanted to go to the central square of the city, asking each other where they could get weapons. Having learnt that there were clashes on Frunzenskiy Market, they decided to go there in order to help the Kyrgyz. Around 100 people moved through the Cheremushi Microdistrict, but were attacked by around 50 Uzbeks who were at one of the side streets. Shots were heard fired from the side of the Uzbeks. The two groups were facing one another. “Someone brought two hunting guns” to the Kyrgyz. In the following shoot-out, the brother of the witness was wounded and fell, while he himself was hit by a shotgun pellet and ran back again.<sup>399</sup>

An ethnic Russian resident of Osh who drove through Cheremushki Microdistrict along Abdykadyrov Street on a motorcycle around 6:30 AM recalls that the roads were blocked with concrete slabs and trees. Every 300–400 meters stood a group of

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396 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 June 2010.

397 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2011.

398 [http://www.azattyk.kg/content/osh\\_diary\\_rape\\_victim\\_women\\_in\\_south\\_kyrgyzstan/2252475.html](http://www.azattyk.kg/content/osh_diary_rape_victim_women_in_south_kyrgyzstan/2252475.html)

399 Interview with female resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 7 July 2010.

Uzbeks. To the question, “May I pass through?” one of them answered, “Go, don’t worry. You’re Russian, not Kyrgyz”.<sup>400</sup>

At 7:56 AM a witness said that crowds of Kyrgyz were gathering at the small bazaar in the Zapadnyi Microdistrict, that several cars had been burned there, and that people were also gathering on the new road between Anar Microdistrict and Tuleyken Microdistrict.<sup>401</sup>

## Other areas

Gatherings of groups of Uzbeks on the night between 10 and 11 June were observed also in other parts of Osh (on Zaynabetdinov Street, near the clothes market, in the Kalinin Microdistrict and elsewhere)<sup>402</sup>, as well as in some villages in Kara-Suu District.<sup>403</sup> On the highway near the Provincial Hospital Uzbek youth were throwing rocks at passing cars.<sup>404</sup> At 2 AM, around 1000 Uzbeks, some of whom were armed with sticks, gathered near the mosque in the suburban village of Nurdar (Kara-Suu District)<sup>405</sup>. According to KIC, around 3 AM, the road from Osh to the airport through this village was blocked by the crowd.

At 2:45 AM, around 40–50 Uzbeks came down from the direction of Nookat and prepared Molotov cocktails.<sup>406</sup>

Around 8 AM, there were violent confrontations in the area near the Marx School on Tashkent Street (in the south-east part of Osh). At the same time, the Uzbek population on Nizami Street and Ashgabad Street prepared Molotov cocktails.<sup>407</sup> There are tens of other messages about the movements of groups of Kyrgyz and Uzbek youth on the night between 10 and 11 June, and about movement of armoured vehicles patrolling the streets. Many residents spoke of the sounds of gunshots in different parts of the city, however in most cases the shooting from the military and the participants in the unrest were intended as warning shots.

As seen in the descriptions above, the two sides were mostly carrying sticks, rocks, metal rods and knives (in one instance, members of the law enforcement agencies also participated in throwing rocks). Both sides were preparing Molotov cocktails, but on the first night they were not widely used, mostly when attacking shops and public

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400 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=280>

401 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&start=200>

402 Information from GSNB.

403 <http://www.kenesh.kg/MyFiles/file/Коогалан%20на%20русском.doc>

404 Information from GSNB.

405 Verdict of the Kara-Suu District Court in the case of D. Isakov and others, 16 September 2010.

406 Information from GSNB.

407 Information from GSNB.

objects or in order to frighten others. Only an insignificant number of instances of torching of private homes took place before the morning of 11 June.

In spite of the presence of extremist groups on both sides, the level of violence and mutual attempts at worsening the situation was far lower than what would be the case during the next days. Violent confrontations were often brief and many of those who were caught by the crowds and beaten up were released soon after. In terms of the standoffs of hundreds or thousands of people, the participants were merely trying to prevent violence being carried out by the other side.

Both Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in different parts of the city went out on the street in order to prevent pogroms and looting near their own houses or to secure the safety of their friends or relatives. The exaggerated rumors of violence in other parts of the city played a destabilizing role. The process of ethnic mobilization became large-scale, including armed criminal groups.

In many parts of the city, especially in the private residential areas with a mainly Uzbek population, barricades started being set up during the night or in the morning. As residents themselves explain, the barricades were first and foremost built in order to prevent uncontrolled entry into the residential areas by APCs and cars with armed people taking up weapons against civilians.<sup>408</sup> On satellite images taken on 18 June, 13 barricades were identifiable in the Turan and Dostuk Microdistricts alone.<sup>409</sup> As the members of the mission themselves observed, wood, building materials, transport containers in metal and trucks were used to build road blocks. In some parts of Osh, an anti-tank ditch was dug right across the road. Towards the morning, entire blocks had been turned into isolated enclaves, where roads of entry had been closed off.

Many residents in the city hoped that by daytime, the authorities would at least partially regain control of the situation. However, these hopes would remain unfulfilled.

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408 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

409 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1454>; <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1455>

## C. Mass killings and destruction 11–15 June

The peak of violence in Osh came between 11 and 12 June, in spite of a state of emergency having been introduced the night before. Looting and torching of private homes and businesses began already on the morning of 11 June, and was soon taking place on a massive scale. Hundreds of residents of the city were killed, thousands were wounded. Tens of thousands left their homes and fled to the border with Uzbekistan. The use of armoured vehicles and automatic weapons against the self-defense forces in the Uzbek mahallas also indicated that the conflict had entered a significantly new level. The relocation of forces from other regions in the country and the rumors spreading on 12 June that Russian and Uzbekistani forces may be brought to the region eventually helped curb the level of violence. Kyrgyz youth arriving from village districts to participate in “the war” started leaving the city. On 13 and 14 June, the pogroms continued, but the intensity of the conflict became markedly lower. Only separate torchings and local incidents were reported on 15 June.

The topics analyzed in this chapter are the armed clashes and related events between 11 and 15 June in Osh City and some districts in Osh Province, as well as incidents in Batken Province.

The areas that were most severely damaged during the conflict were city areas and suburbs of Osh. On maps prepared by UNITAR/UNOSAT, based on satellite images of Osh taken on 18 June, seven large zones of destruction are evident. These are mainly private residential areas with a predominantly Uzbek population. The information that can be gathered from these satellite images is confirmed by witnesses to these events, who say that hundreds of private homes were destroyed during an attack by armed Kyrgyz youth from rural areas, who arrived on the main roads from the western and eastern outskirts of the city. A large number of private homes were also damaged in the Osh District (north), Sheyit-Dobo (center) and on Madzhirimtal Street. People were also killed during attacks on the Amir Temur Microdistrict (south-west) and the Shark, Nariman and Nurdar villages in the Kara-Suu District. There were also a number of local acts of violence. On 11 June disturbances broke out among the Uzbek population in Aravan District, during which administrative buildings were attacked. In Osh and in some districts in Osh Province military objects were attacked by Kyrgyz crowds between 11 and 13 June with the aim of seizing weapons.

The areas of destruction visible on the maps from UNITAR/UNOSAT generally coincide with the areas of mass fires in residential areas, which according to witnesses took place between 11 and 13 June (some of these fires were identified by the satellite



Kyrgyz refugee camp in the outskirts of Osh.

during the day of 12 and 13 June).<sup>410</sup> As seen on the satellite images, all fires were extinguished towards the evening of 14 June.<sup>411</sup>

## The Western part of Osh

The Kulatov Microdistrict is better known among the population by its old name, Zapadniy Microdistrict. The main military bases in Osh are located here.

Towards the morning of 11 June, the small bazaar in the Zapadniy Microdistrict became one of the main areas of concentration of Kyrgyz youth, who soon started attacking and destroying private residential areas with a predominantly Uzbek population to the north and south of Suleyman-Too mountain.

According to local residents, the crowd that had appeared near the bazaar during the night grew gradually, and the situation became increasingly serious. While the few

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410 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1461>

411 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1450>

Uzbeks living in nearby houses could still go out on the street in the morning, this soon became too dangerous for them. Large numbers of young Kyrgyz from suburban villages, Nookat and Aravan Districts and Batken Province started arriving to the area, armed with sticks and knives. Locals were buying food products in a panic. Relatives of some of the students who had arrived from other districts were unable to get in touch with them (their telephones had run out of battery or been lost), and were worried that they could be killed by Uzbeks.

Among those who had gathered, panicked rumors were spreading that Uzbek guerilla fighters armed with automatic weapons and sniper rifles were carrying out murders and acts of violence against the Kyrgyz population in different parts of Osh. One of the rumors regarded the rapes and murders of Kyrgyz girls in the dormitory of Osh State University, which supposedly had been carried out by Uzbeks; and about how the homes of Kyrgyz living on Privokzalnaya Street (Alymbek Datka Microdistrict) in Osh District had been burned down during the night, that two wounded Kyrgyz had been burned alive in the Cheremushki Microdistrict and so forth. The situation became increasingly tense after unsuccessful attempts by youth to enter the center of the city using Aitiev Street and Navoi Street, and when the authorities organized evacuations of Kyrgyz from other parts of the city to Zapadniy Micodistrict. The crowd grew increasingly aggressive and calls to seize weapons were heard.

By noon, gatherings of people were reported from different places in the Zapadniy Microdistrict and the nearby military residential area. At 12:27 PM, two groups of Kyrgyz totaling about 200 people were concentrated at the Headquarters of the Southern Group of Forces and the checkpoint of the Military Institute of the Department of Defense. About 70 people broke into the territory of the Military Institute and tried to seize weapons. The military personnel fired a warning shot in the air. The negotiations with the attackers were led by senior officers of the Kyrgyzstani army: The Deputy Minister of Defense, the head of the Main Weapons Department of the Ministry of Defense and the Chief of Staff of JuGB. According to official information, those who had gathered refused to follow "the request to disperse" and therefore, "as a diversionary maneuver, the command was given to drive two APCs" towards Kulatov Microdistrict; "the crowd followed them".

In the report given by the commander of the Southern Group of Forces to the National Commission, there is no information about how these APCs were used in the following hours, and which promises were made by the military personnel in order to calm down the agitated crowd. Later in the day, a group of 100 Kyrgyz or more came to the Headquarters of the Southern Group of Forces, demanding that they be given weapons and ammunition. In order to observe the situation, the commander of JuGB decided that up to 10 military servicemen from military unit 52870, unarmed

and dressed in civilian clothing, would go every day to places where crowds were gathering near military residential area no. 11.<sup>412</sup>

By lunchtime, there were from 3000 to 5000 Kyrgyz men concentrated in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict. Among them were civilians armed with old AK rifles. Unknown people tried to take the mobile phone away from a female journalist who was describing the situation by telephone, calling her “a spy” and “traitor”.<sup>413</sup>

In this dangerous and explosive situation, no representatives of the law enforcement agencies were trying to speak to the Kyrgyz crowd or take measures to stop the crowd from attacking nearby areas with a predominantly Uzbek population.

In the published service notes of the First Deputy Mayor, Taalay Sabirov, it is confirmed that after having flown in from Bishkek at 6 AM, he carried out work with the crowd in the Kulatov Microdistrict along with Members of City Parliament.<sup>414</sup> However, none of the witnesses interviewed by the members of the mission mentioned any such active attempts by the representatives of the city authorities to influence the situation in that microdistrict.

According to witnesses, armoured vehicles belonging to the army was patrolling the main roads, but the army did not get involved in the events, and there was no continuous presence of military or police on the streets of the Zapadnyy Microdistrict. It was impossible to get any official information about the situation in the city, or to find out where the evacuated students were located. There were no attempts to disperse the crowds.

The authorities and police forces continued to do nothing even when at 1:30 PM on 11 June a crowd of about 3000 people, part of them armed with guns, took over an army IFV which was patrolling the streets. According to official information, 14 automatic weapons and 1500 bullets (108 of them were blanks) were taken from the soldiers from military unit 52870. Four soldiers were wounded, including gunshot wounds.<sup>415</sup> “They started throwing out the soldiers, took away their weapons, got on the IFV and drove towards the center. Armed with sticks, metal rods and knives, whatever they could get their hands on, the crowd moved after the IFV”, a witness recalls.<sup>416</sup>

The stolen weapons were used to attack the Cheremushki Microdistrict. Some of the residential blocks were almost completely destroyed (see details below).

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412 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

413 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

414 Myrzakmatov, M., *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p. 160.

415 Information from the Military Prosecutor General's office.

416 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.



Attempts to seize weapons from the soldiers were carried out the next day as well. On 12 June at 9:12 AM, about 30 persons in civilian clothing drove to the checkpoint of the Military Institute and demanded that they hand over weapons. During the confrontation with the cadets the attackers fired shots in the air from a PM pistol. At 1:38 PM, about 60 civilians gathered near the parking area for armoured vehicles at military base 36806, demanding weapons and torching the house across from the base.<sup>417</sup> Approximately at 3 PM on 12 June in the Kulatov Microdistrict unknown persons stole six AK-74 automatic rifles with 180 bullets from a group of soldiers from military base 92843.<sup>418</sup> At 6:15 PM, after the commencement of the curfew, about 100 armed civilians moving from the parking lot of military base 36806 gathered at the checkpoint of the Military Institute and opened fire.<sup>419</sup> Police officers from the UVD of Osh City participated in staving off the attack.<sup>420</sup> At 6:35 PM, on the decision of the Chief of Staff of the Southern Group of Forces, two Gvozdik self-propelled guns were brought out, firing a blank shot to disperse the crowd. At 8:11 PM the entire crowd left the checkpoint in the direction of the intersection of the Kulatov Microdistrict.<sup>421</sup>

An ethnic Russian woman living in the Zapadny Microdistrict who went out with an acquaintance to buy food said that in one of the containers in the bazaar she saw three female Uzbeks who had been taken hostage. The attackers had taken them from one of the multistory buildings, breaking the door of the apartment. She describes the following:

It was very hot. One of the women in the container asked for water and medicine, she said that her daughter was feeling sick. When we gave them water, some guys immediately jumped up, one of them had a big knife. An old Kyrgyz man said to us: "Don't get involved, they might kill them. (If you do nothing), maybe they will be left alone. They (Uzbeks) killed students too". The older Kyrgyz went up to the young guys who were guarding the hostages: "At least let the women go to the toilet". At night, the hostages were taken away somewhere.<sup>422</sup>

In the container at the bazaar, six Uzbek men who had been taken hostage on Navoi Street on 12 June were also being held. "They hit me a few times", said one of the former hostages. "In the evening we were brought to the mosque in the Zapadny Microdistrict, to the Imam, where we spent the night. The next morning, we were exchanged for Kyrgyz."<sup>423</sup> As a female resident in the microdistrict recalls:

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417 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense. The intensive shooting starting around 6:30 PM during the attack on a military base in the Zapadny Microdistrict is mentioned also in the online forum [diesel.elcat.kg \(http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=540\)](http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=540).

418 Information from the Military Prosecutor.

419 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

420 Information from Uvd in Osh City.

421 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

422 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

423 Interview with residency of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

There were neither military nor police in the area. There was mainly youth with metal rods, clubs, some with a hammer or sledgehammer, they all had angry eyes. Old Kyrgyz men did not get involved in what was happening. Cars without registration plates were driving on the roads, probably stolen. Young guys were sitting in them, all aggressive, yelling... Right in front of me, they cracked up a car with a crowbar and took off. Thousands of people were just walking around in the area. There was this feeling that everyone were from somewhere else. Local residents mainly stayed at home, they were scared of going outside.<sup>424</sup>

According to another witness, the road was completely piled up with garbage containers, sacks, earth and so forth. Some of the residents in the area guarded the barricade with clubs, but most of them were unfamiliar people. In order to scare people, during the night someone put fire to car tires and threw bits of roof plates on the fire, something that caused sounds similar to that of gunshots.<sup>425</sup>

Free food was organized for some of the groups arriving on 11 and 12 June. "They slaughtered two cows for them, and gave them boxes of vodka".<sup>426</sup> The residents went around to houses and collected food and money for those who had arrived from the direction of Nookat.<sup>427</sup> In some of the small shops and kiosks, food was handed out for free.

The shopkeepers understood that they would be looted in any case. The important thing was to at least keep the shop in one piece. On the other hand, the threat from the common enemy united people. In some of the houses, the women collected food together, cooked food and fed the guys who were busy protecting the area. They came there have a bite to eat.<sup>428</sup>

However, not the entire population looked upon armed rural youth as something positive: "I left the apartment on Friday; I wanted to eat at the teahouse in the bazaar. Real thugs were sitting there. A Kyrgyz woman told me "The food is not for sale".<sup>429</sup>

In spite of a curfew being in place, some of those who had arrived had nowhere to sleep, and walked aimlessly around outside throughout the night. Some of them "ran around, shooting in the air, putting fire to things."<sup>430</sup>

By the estimate of the Headquarters of the Southern Group of Forces, about 2000 Kyrgyz were concentrated on the streets of the Kulatov Microdistrict around

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424 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

425 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

426 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

427 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4195203-150.html>; <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=120>

428 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

429 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

430 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

10:20 AM, not counting those who at that time were participating in the attack on Cheremushki Microdistrict.

In a situation characterized by chaos and a total absence of authority on 12 June, people started looting shops regardless of the ethnicity of the owner. For instance, in the morning an elderly Kyrgyz man told the women standing in line to buy food in the re-opened shop Azyk Ordo to just forcefully take food for free. Shops near the school in the Kerme-Too Microdistrict were looted by children, led by older men. During the day, the same crowd moved towards the market in Zapadnyy Microdistrict from the direction of the Ak-Tilek Microdistrict, looting a shop across from the Nirvana café. After this, some of the looters went into the backyard of a nearby house and tried to enter apartments belonging to Uzbeks, but Kyrgyz women stopped them, saying that only Kyrgyz and Russians lived in the building.<sup>431</sup>

Different sources report that on 11 and 12 June, a group of armed Kyrgyz youth broke into apartments in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict, where they had been told that Uzbeks may be hiding.<sup>432</sup> One resident in the area recalls:

The Uzbeks in our house had all run away. I am Kyrgyz myself, but I was born in Uzbekistan. On Saturday 12 June, some young guys with clubs and knives came to my apartment, they were very aggressive. They thought that I was Uzbek. They knocked on the door, saying “Open up, or we will break it down”. I explained that I am Kyrgyz. The registration in my passport saved me. If I hadn’t shown my passport, they would have killed me. After this, I was in a state of shock.<sup>433</sup>

Around 8 PM on 12 June, young people in a BMW arriving to Podgornaya Street asked residents in private houses about their ethnicity. A private car was torched here during the night.<sup>434</sup>

This tense situation continued in the area for two days. The situation started stabilizing only after the mass fleeing of the “defenders” of the region, which started on the night between 12 and 13 June, when rumors started spreading that military forces from Uzbekistan had crossed the border (see below).

On the day of 13 June, the military observer post on Kerme-Too mountain noted only 100–150 people at the intersection in the Kulatov Microdistrict. Another 50 persons with four–five units of firearms gathered in the tea house in the nearby Kyrgyz village of Ishkavan.<sup>435</sup>

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431 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=120>

432 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=120>; <http://www.24kg.org/76096-v-kyrgyzstane-na-territorii-yuzhnoj-gruppirovki.html>

433 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

434 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/76116-zhiteli-okrainy-goroda-osha-kyrgyzstan-ne-mogut.html>

435 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

From the evening of 13 June, government forces started guarding the streets of the Microdistrict at night.<sup>436</sup>

### **Gapar Aytiev Street**

Gapar Aytiev Street stretches from east to west through the southern hills of the Suleyman-Too Mountain.

Different sources speak of clashes taking place on the morning of 11 June on Aytiev Street and nearby residential areas. Ethnic Kyrgyz witnesses speak mainly about the fact that Uzbeks had blocked the main road and were violent against Kyrgyz who tried to pass through from the Zapadnyy Microdistrict to the center of the city, while the other side speaks of attempts by aggressive armed groups of Kyrgyz youth to break deep into the residential area. At this point in the conflict, both sides were using rocks and sticks and to a limited extent, guns.<sup>437</sup> The first violent confrontations occurred between 9 AM and 11 AM, when a crowd of Kyrgyz moving eastwards along Aytiev Street (up to the first southern hills of Suleyman-Too mountain) tried to enter the Cheremushki Microdistrict, which has a predominantly Uzbek population. Witnesses recall:

At 9 AM, shooting broke out near the 4th Polyclinic (on the northern part of Chkalov Street). The entire mahalla went there, even women and children. They were already using guns there. Among the attackers were unfamiliar young guys, 20–25 years old, some of whom had hidden their faces. Our side fought back, and they walked away, up the same road they came.<sup>438</sup>

Somewhere around 9:30 AM or 10 AM, Kyrgyz started breaking through on Chkalov Street. They had firearms.<sup>439</sup>

The first attack came from the direction of Aytiev Street. My brother was there. The Kyrgyz were not particularly heavily armed at that moment; they had rocks, sticks, and some weapons. On the Uzbek side it was the same thing. The violent confrontation went on for perhaps half an hour. The Uzbeks fought them off.<sup>440</sup>

Around 10 AM we could hear shots; the Kyrgyz hit some eight people there. I saw how the guys were dragging the wounded, all bloody. The crowd ran in different directions. We shot a round into the air, so that they would know that we also had something to fight back with.<sup>441</sup>

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436 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/13/13-iyunya-situaciya-v-oshe-stabiliziruetsya-no-ostayotsya-napryazhyonnoj/>

437 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

438 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

439 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

440 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

441 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2011.

According to an unconfirmed version from a Kyrgyz source, the clash was caused by the unprovoked attack from a side street by a group of Uzbeks on a crowd of Kyrgyz moving towards the center of the city along Aytiev Street, during which five people were seriously injured.<sup>442</sup>

One may assume that the crowd of Kyrgyz, part of which participated during the clashes on Chkalov Street, continued to move along Aytiev Street towards the center of the city, but was stopped a few blocks further east.

The passing crowd threw rocks on houses belonging to Uzbeks on the intersection of Aytiev Street and Lesnaya Street. As one of the residents recalls:

When the crowd left, I went outside, and right in front of me three people started throwing bottles of gasoline. The neighbors were scared to go outside. I cried, "They are burning the houses!" Just then, cars without registration plates drove up. From the car someone said, "What are you yelling for?" I thought to myself – if I run, they will attack me, but if I watch them, they will decide not to attack. They waited for a bit, egging each other on, but nothing happened, they left. We threw trees and branches on the street in order to close the entrance to Lesnaya Street.<sup>443</sup>

A resident on this block, who was standing on the south end of Chkalov Street, saw a large crowd gathering at the entrance of the mahalla that morning, preparing to withstand possible attacks from Kyrgyz coming from the Zapadnyy Microdistrict. Around 10 AM, 300–400 people walked along Aytiev Street, armed with rocks and sticks, some of them also had hunting rifles. They were attacked with rocks by a larger group of Uzbeks. There were wounded on both sides, and some Uzbeks received gunshot wounds. The Kyrgyz retreated; some of them ran into a police station on Rustaveli Street.<sup>444</sup>

Another resident of the microdistrict who was standing near the studio of Osh TV from 9 AM until 10:30 AM also witnessed these events. "No less than 200 people armed with sticks walked along Aytiev Street. After some 15–20 minutes, Uzbek youth chased them off, running. About 50 people ran into the police station, another 150 remained on the street."<sup>445</sup>

The report of the Ombudsman's Commission presents the official version of these events, according to which "about 200–300 person of Kyrgyz ethnicity made an attempt to attack the western GUGSSO department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in order to seize weapons, but after a group of soldiers from the internal forces of

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442 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&pid=14032941>

443 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 June 2011.

444 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2011.

445 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

the Ministry of Internal Affairs arrived on an APC and interfered, the crowd drew back.”<sup>446</sup>

A witness interviewed by members of the mission describes the events differently. According to him, after about half an hour, an APC with armed military forces in camouflage drove up. Later, two cars (a Tiko and a white Niva) also arrived, and the people near the building handed out about 20 automatic weapons from the cars, while the military forces in the APC handed them bullets.

After this, the APC drove into the mahalla and along Muminov Street in the direction of the center, firing into the air with a machine gun. People started running away; many left their homes and went towards more safe streets. About 60 people in civilian clothing came after the APC, some of which were armed with automatic weapons. They opened fire on Uzbeks who had gathered on the street. About 15–20 people were wounded or killed. Some of the nearest houses were looted and set on fire. Some of the armed people “were just sitting and drinking juice”. Soon, local residents armed with firearms came to the scene and started shooting at the attackers. These retreated in the direction of Chkalov Street. All injured Kyrgyz were evacuated by the attackers. “They understood that the residents here also had weapons”, notes one of those present. Attempts to put out the fires in the burning houses were hindered by a “sniper” who was shooting at Uzbeks from the roof of a multistory building. Russian women living on the block helped to save part of the valuables. After the morning clashes, residents started writing “SOS” on the asphalt.<sup>447</sup>

According to a witness, there were urban Kyrgyz among the attackers, known to some of the residents in the area. “I was standing behind the fence of our house together with my brother. Kyrgyz with automatic weapons were passing by, one of them said “There is nothing here”, and they went further. There was another conversation that they “should find so-and-so and finish him off, he’s a sportsman, dangerous, we used to work out together in the gym”.<sup>448</sup>

The reports of HRW and KIC contain almost identical information about people in passenger cars handing out automatic and half-automatic weapons near the Kyrgyzstan Cinema to Kyrgyz youth in the Cheremushki Microdistrict, while soldiers from an APC handed them bags of bullets. Some of the older people showed them how to hold and use the guns, which were soon used during the attacks. This information fits the description of the witness interviewed by members of the mission, quoted above. According to KIC, the following acts of violence took place in the presence of about 20 police, who “were unable to control the attackers”.

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446 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html> A more exact name is the Western Department of the Security of Osh City of the Southern Department of the Southern Division of the Specialized Security Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

447 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

448 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

The shoot-out starting in the Cheremushki Microdistrict soon after 11 AM is also mentioned in postings on [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg). Approximately at that time, yet another group of about 500 to 1000 people was moving from the Zapadny Microdistrict to help the Kyrgyz.<sup>449</sup> Armoured vehicles, police and special forces were sent to the scene of the clashes.<sup>450</sup> According to a driver who had been hired by the relatives of one of the Kyrgyz students, he was unable to get through on Aytiev Street on the morning of 11 June, because the road near the car parts market had been closed off by Uzbeks. Soon after he returned to the Zapadny Microdistrict, wounded started being brought there, one of which was in a serious condition.<sup>451</sup> At 11:23 AM, a witness noticed burning cars near the building of the Kyrgyz-Uzbek University.<sup>452</sup>

According to AKIpress, a violent confrontation between two groups of youth had occurred there earlier, as a result of which three persons were injured. One of them was in a serious condition and was brought to the hospital (these numbers are likely to regard only the victims on the Kyrgyz side).<sup>453</sup> Around noon, two Kyrgyz with gunshot wounds were brought to the Zapadny Microdistrict. According to them, they had been shot at when they were driving past the market where car parts are sold.<sup>454</sup>

During the clashes in the morning near the Panfilov School on Aytiev Street, several Uzbeks also died. Around 9:30 AM, the 30-year old Bobir Sultanov was wounded by a gunshot and delivered to the City Hospital in an ambulance, where he died on the next day.<sup>455</sup> Around 10 AM, the 26-year old Ravshanbek Khadzhev was shot; his head was broken with an axe.<sup>456</sup>

The intersection of Aytiev Street and Amir Temur Street was cleared of the Uzbek crowd already before noon.<sup>457</sup>

According to official information, Marat Shadybekov, inspector of the Batken customs service, died after being shot in the head on Aytiev Street on 11 June (other details of this incident are unknown).<sup>458</sup>

### **Alisher Navoi Street**

Alisher Navoi Street stretches from the Zapadny Microdistrict to the center of Osh, up until the first hills on the north side of Suleyman-Too Mountain. Residential areas in

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449 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-450.html>

450 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/11/stolknoveniya-v-oshe-privodyat-k-chrezvychajnomu-polozheniyu/>

451 Interview with journalist from Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

452 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-450.html>

453 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

454 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-500.html>

455 Statement to NGO Citizens Against Corruption (name withheld), 6 December 2010.

456 Statement to NGO Citizens Against Corruption (name withheld), 2010.

457 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>; <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/11/stolknoveniya-v-oshe-privodyat-k-chrezvychajnomu-polozheniyu/>

458 [http://www.customs.gov.kg/content/news14072010\\_sobalexnovanie/](http://www.customs.gov.kg/content/news14072010_sobalexnovanie/)

the north-western and central parts of the street are part of the Kyzyl-Kysthak village in Kara-Suu District.

On the morning of 11 June, APCs with soldiers<sup>459</sup> as well as trucks with armed soldiers in masks drove by on Navoi Street, some of whom threatened residents with automatic weapons.<sup>460</sup>

At 9:20 AM, around 500 Kyrgyz came from the direction of Zapadnyy Microdistrict to the border base checkpoint (military unit 2024) by the western hill of Suleyman-Too mountain, demanding that they be given weapons and ammunition for the war with the Uzbeks. The command of the unit managed to convince them to leave. However, after forty minutes, from 500 to 700 people again gathered at the checkpoint, and the Deputy Chairman of the State Border Service, general-major Rysbek Mirzamatov went to negotiate with them. The crowd dispersed only after it was made clear that the border guards were ready to use their weapons to defend the base.<sup>461</sup> According to unofficial information, the attempt to break into the checkpoint was stopped by “unknown people who had an effect on the crowd”.<sup>462</sup>

Approximately between 9 AM and 10 AM on 11 June, clashes between several hundred Uzbeks and Kyrgyz took place not far from the Provincial Traffic Police building. Participants in the clashes on both sides were armed with pitchforks, sticks and rocks. Firearms were not used. Kyrgyz moving from the direction of the Zapadnyy Microdistrict were forced to pull back. After some time, a wheeled APC came to the aid of the Kyrgyz crowd. “The Uzbeks thought that the military would stop the crowd. Instead, they started shooting from the APC, and four people immediately fell to the ground”, recalls a witness. “People started running in different directions in panic. I ran into the mahalla. After some time, a young guy fell ten meters away from me; he had been hit in the leg. I couldn’t understand where the bullet that hit him had come from; I started looking around and could see that there were some people on Suleyman-Too, probably snipers. The crowd of Kyrgyz we had fought back the first time came back, walking behind the APC”.<sup>463</sup>

According to a witness from the Kyrgyz side, there were about 200–300 Kyrgyz on the western end of Navoi Street around 10 AM, a member of the City Council was trying to stop them. Unexpectedly, two or three people were wounded by gunshots by unknown person, who were shooting from the roof of a private house. A Kyrgyz tried to catch the man shooting, but he ran away 100 or 200 meters, after which new

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459 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

460 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

461 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of GSNB. From the official report it is unclear whether this information regards the checkpoint on Navoi Street or on Aytiev Street. In a report from journalist Zhyldyz Bekboeva, the number of participants in the morning “attack” on the border post was estimated to be 300 people. (<http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/11/stolknoveniya-v-oshe-privodyat-k-chrezvychajnomu-polozheniyu/>).

462 Letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name withheld), 21 October 2011.

463 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.



shots were fired. "People stopped listening to the parliamentarian; some started yelling "Forwards!". I didn't watch any more; I turned my car around and drove home."<sup>464</sup>

A resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village, whose house laid a few hundred meters from to the south of the Traffic Police building, describes the attempts of the Uzbek population to block Navoi Street:

On 11 June after the attack on the Cheremushki Microdistrict, we tried to block the road with trees, metal containers, but it was impossible to block it completely. We had just started when soldiers with automatic weapons arrived in two military vehicles; they looked like ambulances, shooting in the air, demanding that we remove everything. We let there be an opening for cars to drive through, but barricaded the sides. Around 10:30 AM a crowd of about 100 people came following an APC, more than 10 of them had AK rifles. They immediately killed four people. 10 were wounded. The guys observed them from a distance. On the first day, the crowd only reached the Traffic Police building. There were barricades further up the street, and they decided not to attack them. They started looting houses, loaded what they stole into our own cars and drove off with it. They didn't hurry; they behaved calmly, as the snipers were covering them from above. Then they started torching the houses. At noon, the fires could already be seen. The looting and torching continued that day until the evening. We started sending the women and children to Uzbekistan.<sup>465</sup>

Around 2 PM, an army APC drove up to the mosque on the eastern end of Navoi Street. The military personnel asked the Uzbeks who were coming out after Friday prayer, "Why have you gathered here?" Then they fired a few shots at one of the nearby fences in order to intimidate people and left in the direction of the center of the city.<sup>466</sup>

Participants of the events recall that on 11 June, an elderly man was gathering young Uzbeks after the Friday prayers and told them that a woman had called from the Cheremushki Microdistrict asking for help. According to her, the attackers were not only looting and burning houses, but were raping girls and killing peaceful civilians. About 40 young Uzbeks, armed with rocks and sticks, "went in the direction of the Traffic Police building to help the guys from Cheremushki". Near the border base behind the Traffic Police building they came upon some 100 Kyrgyz who were coming to meet them. Three soldiers with automatic weapons were standing nearby; one of them was talking on a mobile phone. The Kyrgyz and Uzbeks stopped in front of each other near the soldiers and started exchanging insults. "At some point, around 30 armed people in uniform came out of the border base and opened fire

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464 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

465 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh Province, 20 June 2010.

466 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh City, 23 June 2010.

on the Uzbeks”, says a witness. “Right in front of my eyes two people fell down – a man around 40s year of age and a 14-year old boy. We all ran across the field. Five bullets went past me. I immediately called my father and said that the women had to be brought to Suratash, to the border with Uzbekistan. I convinced him to leave as well.”<sup>467</sup>

At 3:20 PM on 11 June, when pogroms were taking place and shots could be heard on the eastern end of Navoi Street, about 200 Kyrgyz went to the checkpoint of the border unit, demanding to “either hand out weapons or join them”. After the commencement of the curfew at 6 PM, armed people tried to break into the military base and seize weapons. They were able to take over the nearby building of the Provincial Traffic Police. By 8:30 PM, the building was freed by the Boru special forces (29 people) and the Special Rapid Reactions Force (SOBR) of the UVD of Batken Province.<sup>468</sup>

At 7:40 AM on 12 June, 20–30 people forced their way into the residential area of the border patrols through the upper checkpoint on Aytiev Street, demanding weapons. The special forces were able to force them outside of the territory of the base. After negotiations with the heads of the border forces, the attackers dispersed.<sup>469</sup> Around 8 AM on 12 June, those carrying out pogroms again came to the Traffic Police building from the Zapadny Microdistrict and started stealing and torching houses on Navoi Street, moving in the direction of the center of the city. This continued until the evening.<sup>470</sup>

This is how one of the witnesses describes the events:

We live near the building of the Provincial Traffic Police. Around 7:30 AM, soldiers came and chased all the residents from the street and into their houses. My husband said that our son and I should climb up on Suleyman-Too to the seismological station... After half an hour, a crowd of Kyrgyz came to our house. About 30 people came into the yard – young guys from 16 to 25 years old with sticks and weapons, some of them wore masks. My husband was taken hostage; they took him to the Zapadny Microdistrict. They stole the car, robbed our things, and then torched the house. They threw a grenade into the yard. There are bullet holes on the gates still. We hid on Suleyman-Too for about four hours. 20–30 soldiers went up on the mountain, four of them were snipers. We saw how they were shooting. When the military found out that we were Uzbeks, they sent us in a convoy to the border force base. Around 8 PM, my brother picked us up. After three days, the military helped free my husband, he was held in the mosque.”<sup>471</sup>

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467 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

468 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GKNB.

469 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GKNB.

470 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

471 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village, (name withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2010.

“Women and youngsters walked behind the crowd and also looted the houses. My brother saw how they called on a guy with automatic rifle to “clea” one of the Uzbek houses near the Provincial Traffic Police building. They fired on my brother too, but he ran away.<sup>472</sup>

In the documentary film *“Padaiushie Gory” (“Falling Mountains”)* a witness recalls the beginning of the torching of houses around 9 AM, and the torching of the small mosque called Margilan Darvaza inside the Uzbek neighborhood to the north of Navoi Street on the same day.<sup>473</sup> This information was confirmed with other residents of the area by the members of the mission.<sup>474</sup>

The Kyrgyz crowd came to the central part of Navoi Street around 10 AM. “They were about 100 people. An APC drove in front, clearing the road, and behind them some 10 people in uniform and with automatic weapons, and then – the crowd. When they looted houses, they would sometimes beat up women and invalids who were unable to run away”.<sup>475</sup>

According to another resident, he saw from the roof of his house how the crowd was moving from the direction of the Provincial Traffic Police building around 10 AM. Soldiers were walking in front, shooting from automatic rifles, while looters walked behind them. There were also women among them. After some time, when the gates of his house were being broken down, he hid on the second floor. The attackers took out the television, electrical appliances and some other things. Other items in the house were destroyed. What had been stolen was loaded on Kamaz trucks, and the house was then torched. The man left the building when the looters had gone. However, on the street he came under fire from people in military outfits, who were shooting from automatic weapons from Suleyman-Too, and he was forced to take cover in the cemetery. Due to the shooting from the military, he was unable to put out the fire, and his house burned down completely.<sup>476</sup>

A resident of one of the houses located on the central part of Navoi Street recalls:

On Saturday morning they started writing SOS on the asphalt on the street. Around 11 AM, shooting broke out. People ran away. My son and I hid behind the house, then on the cemetery. Around 1 PM they started looting houses here, they torched my neighbor’s house. A wheeled APC went ahead of those carrying out pogroms, shooting in the air and on the houses. Behind them a group of soldiers came by foot. From time to time they would stop and open fire. At a distance of

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472 Interview with resident of Osh City, (name withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2010.

473 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HcbnJa9ilEM>

474 Interviews with residents of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (names withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2010 and 23 December 2011.

475 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh Province, 20 June 2010.

476 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh, 22 December 2010.

100 meters behind them came a crowd of looters, about 100 people. One would carry things out of the houses onto the streets; others arrived in cars and took things away, while others again set fire to the houses. This went on here for about an hour. Then I started putting out the fire on the neighbor's house... After an hour or two they came back, without the soldiers. They started shooting again.<sup>477</sup>

Around 2 PM, the wheeled APC, accompanied by soldiers and the crowd, reached the eastern part of Navoi Street. As one of the residents describes,

The APC did not shoot, but the armed soldiers scared people with "firecrackers" (possibly, he means noise grenades). When they were about 100 meters away, we started to retreat. The shooting came mainly from snipers on the mountain. Behind the APC walked 20–25 people, from ages 15 to 25. They went into some houses in groups of three–four, taking everything that they wanted. Afterwards, guys in masks with sprayers and containers of gasoline hanging on their backs doused the houses in gasoline and lit it. There were three firestarters carrying sprayers. I saw this from the roof of the neighboring house. Afterwards, I ran away. My house was burned down that day.<sup>478</sup>

During the afternoon, the 58-year old Shakhodatkhon Kirgizbaeva and her 18-year old son Murodillo, who lived on Navoi Street, were shot and killed in their house on 113A Navoi Street.<sup>479</sup> "Approximately between 11 AM and 12 PM, the military personnel on Suleyman-Too opened fire", recalls a witness. "At first they fired in another direction, and then they fired on us. Several people were wounded on our side-street. They were shooting purposefully, with single shots. The snipers started coming down from the mountain, walking in the direction of our side-street." Many residents were trying to leave the dangerous area at this time. The witness continues:

Murodillo drove the car. On the bend in the road from the side-street out on Navoi Street the sniper on the mountain hit him in the head. The car crashed into a pole and stopped. People dragged both of them out of the car, and probably that was when a bullet hit Shakhodat. From the bullet holes in the car, it was evident that they had been shooting from above and from further down.

The witness walked up to the dead, but came under fire himself. He saw the bodies of five–six people lying on the asphalt nearby, and two cars with the bodies of dead people near the mosque. On one of the neighboring streets he saw how the 30-year old Khurmatillo Rayimkhodzhaev was mortally wounded by a bullet.<sup>480</sup> All this happened before the crowd of looters entered this part of the city.

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477 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh Province, 20 June 2010.

478 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 September 2010.

479 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 20 June, 25 September 2010; 21 June 2011.

480 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2011.

Another witness describes the situation in this area in the same manner:

After 11 AM they started shooting from Suleyman-Too and from a two-story shop where an APC and a crowd were standing. I was put in a car along with two other wounded. They started shooting at us from automatic weapons, but they missed. When we drove out on the big street, the driver, Nabi, was shot to death and my son was wounded. I and two others ran away, while two seriously wounded were left in the car. Nabi died on the spot, and his brother died in Uzbekistan.<sup>481</sup> “A wounded woman was lying in the middle of the street. She was calling for help, but nobody helped. When I went across the rooftops to the mosque on Navoi Street, I saw that Kyrgyz guys were standing below, shooting. I looked around, and in the driver’s seat of a car was Shavkat, half dead, but he still had a pulse. We brought him to Tuleyken Hospital, but nobody was there. The doctors, the security guards – they had all run away. We decided to take him to Suratash. When we came out of the hospital, a fountain of blood came out of Shavkat, and he died.”<sup>482</sup>

On 12 June around 3 PM, an Uzbek man who was in his home on the eastern part of Navoi Street was taken hostage by armed Kyrgyz.<sup>483</sup> As the man describes:

Three people came to my house, one of them had an automatic weapon, one had a knife, the third stood by the door, I didn’t see him well. They threw a bottle of fuel oil. They took me out on the street. Some Kyrgyz people I know told them, “Don’t touch him, he is a baker.” I was scared of the shots from the snipers on Suleyman-Too. But the Kyrgyz said, “Don’t be afraid. If you hold your arms on your back, they won’t shoot at you.” They took me to the cafeteria one bus stop away, then to the bazaar in Zapadniy Microdistrict... On the second day I was exchanged for some other hostages.<sup>484</sup>

One of the residents of the area told members of the mission that on the day of 12 June, having heard about the pogroms in the central part of Navoi Street, he took a hunting rifle, got close to the Kyrgyz crowd and fired some shots. On the block where the pogroms were taking place, he saw a Zhiguli car with agitated Kyrgyz driving in circles, waving the state flag of Kyrgyzstan.<sup>485</sup> Another witness recalls that a young Uzbek took the hunting rifle from an old man standing on the street and started shooting in the direction of the Kyrgyz crowd.<sup>486</sup>

On 16 December, Kara-Suu District Court sentenced a resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak, Dilshod Rayimzhanov, to life imprisonment, having found him guilty of the murder

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481 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011

482 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2011.

483 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2011.

484 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

485 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

486 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh, 23 December 2010.

of the ethnic Kyrgyz 22-year old Aybek Karybekov from Uzgen District on 12 June around 12:30 PM. According to the investigation, Karybekov had arrived to the village “to pick up his car, which was being repaired”. In the Shamshat area, the man was stopped by a crowd of Uzbeks and struck with an axe.<sup>487</sup> Three other residents of the village who were arrested in the same case were sentenced to different terms for robbery, participation in mass disorder and concealment of crimes, another one was found not guilty by the court.<sup>488</sup>

There are unconfirmed reports about an attempted attack on a border guard unit around 11:30 AM on 12 June.<sup>489</sup> According to official information, Major in the border service B. Azhiev was wounded by a shot from a hunting rifle from the direction of Suleyman-Too at 12:30 PM. At 3:30 PM, the Kyrgyz crowd made a last attempt at acquiring weapons from the border guards. 200–300 people walked to the upper checkpoint of the border guard base on Aytiev Street. However, after negotiations with the chairman of the State Border Service, Colonel Kurmanakun Matenov, his deputy Rysbek Mirzamatov and the commanders of the unit, “those who had gathered dispersed”.<sup>490</sup>

At the time of these events, tens of Uzbeks from nearby areas were hiding at the border base. “We were at the residential area of the border base for three days”, recalls a witness.

The situation was such that we didn’t understand ourselves who we were – refugees or hostages? We were detained on the street while fleeing from the war. The military said, “If we let you go, they will kill you. It is better if you sit in the cellar.’ Nobody gave us anything, we only drank water. Apart from the women, there were 22 guys. Afterwards, they let us go, saying that peace had come between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz.”<sup>491</sup>

The pogroms in the western part of Navoi Street on 12 June continued until the commencement of the curfew.

As seen on the satellite images published by UNITAR/UNOSAT, private homes on both sides of Navoi Street were totally destroyed over a distance of about 1700 meters. On the north-west part of Navoi Street, where the pogroms started on 11 June, the attackers went half a kilometer into the residential areas. The maps show that on the blocks neighboring Navoi Street no less than 422 buildings were completely destroyed, another eight were partially destroyed. Residents in the Kyzyl-Kyshtak village built a string of barricades on the streets leading deeply into the residential

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487 <http://89.108.120.121/osh/88992-v-gorode-oshe-kyrgyzstan-sud-vynes-reshenie-po.html>

488 Verdict of Kara-Suu District Court in the case of D. Rayimzhanov and others, 16 December 2010.

489 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4195203-259.html>

490 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GKNB.

491 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

areas, part of which were placed at a distance of 70 to 150 meters to the north of Navoi Street. On Navoi Street and inside residential areas in the Kyzyl-Kyshtak village, one can make out seven large written “SOS” on the satellite images.<sup>492</sup>

All witnesses interviewed by the members of the mission speak of victims of shooting from snipers on Suleyman-Too Mountain. The first shots from Suleyman-Too from the northern direction were registered on the day of 11 June.<sup>493</sup> Not long before this, around 11 AM, residents in the Kyzyl-Kyshtak village noticed 15–20 soldiers with guns who were climbing up the mountain from the border base, some of them taking up fighting positions.<sup>494</sup> Around mid-day on 12 June, several witnesses saw five–eight persons in military uniforms moving to the northern hillside of Suleyman-Too, and how they fired their weapons. Residents in one of the side-streets in the eastern part of Navoi Street described in detail to the members of the mission how they hid behind the fences that day from sniper fire coming from the mountain to the east-west of their block.<sup>495</sup>

According to a witness, on the evening of 11 June “snipers” shot on the roofs near Navoi Street in order to scare people, and later – on people (at least one person died).<sup>496</sup> On the next day, from approximately 10–11 AM until 2–3 PM, more intensive shooting in the southern direction came from Suleyman-Too. Local residents estimate that they were shooting from three or four spots, also from automatic weapons.<sup>497</sup> Among those who died from sniper fire were Abdurasula Tokhtabaeva, killed in her home (Navoi Street 256) and Makhamadali Baymatova (Boston Street 24).<sup>498</sup> According to local residents, the use of firearms was not connected to any attempts at stopping violence. All the victims were unarmed civilians, who died outside the zone where the two sides in the conflict were in a stand-off.

It should be noted that there is no mention at all of the events on Navoi Street on 11–12 June in the report of the National Commission, the Parliamentary Commission or in the report of the Ombudsman.

### **Cheremuski Microdistrict**

The Cheremushki Microdistrict stretches from the southern hills of Suleyman-Too, between the Zapadnyy Microdistrict and the center of Osh.

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492 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1461>

493 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

494 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh Province, 4 September 2010. Similar numbers were given by residents on nearby blocks, interviewed by members of the mission.

495 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 21 and 23 June 2011.

496 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh Province, 4 September 2010.

497 Interview with residents in Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (names withheld), Osh Province, 20 June 2010 and Osh, 22 December 2010.

498 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh Province, 4 September 2010.



Distress signal in Osh.

A new attack by Kyrgyz youth on the Cheremushki Microdistrict leading to numerous murders, lootings and burning of private houses started on 11 June around 2 PM.<sup>499</sup> Not long before this, local journalists reported a very stretched-out “enormous crowd” moving from the Zapadnyy Microdistrict in the direction of the center of the city along Aytiev Street, armed with automatic weapons they had taken from soldiers. When part of the crowd neared the intersection of Aytiev Street and Amir Temur Street, shooting broke out.<sup>500</sup> It is probable that the crowd split up and that the attackers entered the Cheremushki Microdistrict from two sides; from the north near the Kyrgyzstan Cinema and from the west.<sup>501</sup> According to a witness, a crowd of about 400 Kyrgyz was moving in the direction of the center around 2 PM, with up to 3000 people following them at a distance of 150–200 meters.<sup>502</sup> Another estimate says that the crowd on Abdykadyrov Street consisted of 1000 to over 1500 people.<sup>503</sup> A second group started forming in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict around 2:40 PM, in support of the first crowd, as some were concerned that the first group could “become entrapped”.<sup>504</sup>

According to a former military conscript whose house was located in the western part of Abdykadyrov Street, the shooting on 11 June started around 1:55 PM-2 PM. This almost completely coincides with the first reports of shooting on the diesel.elcat.

499 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-600.html>

500 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/11/stolknoveniya-v-oshe-privodyat-k-chrezvychajnomu-polozheniyu>

501 Interview with residents in Osh City (names withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2011 and Osh, 19 June 2010.

502 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

503 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 19 June and 6 July 2010.

504 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/11/stolknoveniya-v-oshe-privodyat-k-chrezvychajnomu-polozheniyu>



kg internet forum. Armed with sticks, young Kyrgyz threw rocks at windows, broke into nearby private homes, yelling, “Sarts, come out, get out of here!” “I had just had an operation, but managed to throw a couple of rocks at them. But a uniformed soldier on an APC started shooting at my house with an automatic weapon. I had to leave over the fence on the other side of the house”. Half an hour before the clashes near the house of the witness began, two APCs which were patrolling the street stopped outside his house. Armed special forces were sitting on top of the APC. The commander of the group was an officer he was acquainted with. The witness overheard a conversation in Kyrgyz; one of them said “If anything happens, we’ll shoot at their windows”. When the attack on the residential houses began, the soldiers did not only fail to stop the attackers, but “the armoured vehicles were actually providing them with cover”.<sup>505</sup>

A man living in a house on the south end of Chkalov Street describes the events in this way:

Around 2 PM, immediately after Friday prayers, Kyrgyz came into the area with serious forces. An APC was moving along Internatsionalnaya Street (old name for Abdykadyrov Street), people with weapons came behind them. Grandfather was at home in our house. They burst into the yard, struck him a few times on the chest and on the legs. But they didn’t kill him – he speaks Kyrgyz well, he grew up in Otuz-Adyr village.

Afterwards, some Kyrgyz doctors we know came from the hospital across the street and convinced them to let him go. They looted for about 40 minutes, took things out of the house, and then loaded them onto minibuses that arrived there. They took our car as well. They took everything out of three–four houses there, even old shirts and slippers, and then they started torching the houses.

There were people in masks, who were hiding their faces. There were also Kyrgyz that we had never seen in the area before. They were the ones who were shooting and torching houses. Others did the looting. Women and minors were also looting. Houses where poor people live were burnt almost immediately, but the richer ones were robbed first. About 150–200 people came into our mahalla, they were armed – seven–eight of them had automatic weapons, others had rifles, guns, sticks, Molotov cocktails, whatever they could find...

In one of the nearby houses they killed an old man – the 70-year old Manapzhon. He was lying sick in his bed. They went in and shot him right there. This went on for two to two and a half hours. Then they went further, in the direction of the birth clinic. In our mahalla, 10–15 houses were left whole, mainly those where

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505 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

Kyrgyz live, and over 100 houses were burnt in the course of two days. A Kyrgyz who served in the law enforcement agency saved his neighborhood, he came out with his son, even shot in the air from an automatic weapon, he wouldn't let anyone pass and said, "If you torch here, the fire will spread to Kyrgyz houses." Between 4 PM and 5 PM I went home. Nothing was left except for a cooking pot, some belts and documents. At that moment yelling and whistling started on the street outside again. I had to run away over the roof. My house was burnt to the ground.<sup>506</sup>

A woman who lived on Karimov Street recalls:

My Kyrgyz neighbors hid me; I could see everything from their house. First, a ZIL truck came to the mahalla. People in black masks and with black clothes were sitting in the driver's cabin. Afterwards, an APC showed up, and I thought they were coming to protect us, and that everything would be over now. But at that moment, an enormous crowd came down the street. This terrifying crowd started smashing up everything. It was like in the movies.<sup>507</sup>

Another woman living in the area lost her closest family members during the unrest:

Several helicopters flew by, and we were happy, thinking that the military would protect us. We started calming down everyone who was calling us on the telephone. At some point lots of people broke into our house. They were young guys, Kyrgyz. They broke the gate. They dragged us out of the basement where we were hiding and demanded the keys to the minibus which my brother had rented. They started beating us. They beat us until they found the keys in my brother's pocket. We ran out on the street and saw that everything was burning around us. I took two children and ran in the direction of the neighboring mahalla; I didn't know myself where I was going. My mother, sister and brother remained at home. Later, they told me that my brother had also run, but something happened to him, and he died in the hospital. We found the bodies of my mother and my sister three days later right outside our house.<sup>508</sup>

A resident in Muminov Street no. 205, Ilkhom Akbarov, wrote in his statement to the UVD of Osh City that on 11 June 2010, a group of people (some in masks) armed with firearms, knives and hammers broke into his house and while threatening him with weapons, stole his money as well as his documents and the keys to a car in the yard. The attackers drove the car out on the street, and then started robbing the house. When the owner of the house started complaining about what was happening, the robbers shot 24-year old Zarifa Akbarova, while her husband was beaten up and then

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506 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

507 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

508 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

shot at. Having lost consciousness, the criminals threw Akbarov out on the street, from where his relatives managed to bring him to the City Hospital. The house was torched.<sup>509</sup> Around 2 PM, the crowd broke into the yard of one of the nearby houses on the same street, where they broke the windows and torched two cars. The owner of the house managed to save one of them by telling the attackers that he was an ethnic Kyrgyz.<sup>510</sup>

Women and children from different families who were hiding in house no. 38 on Volgogradskaya Street ran out on the street when the Kyrgyz crowd torched the building, and were taken hostage. Two young girls were raped. Those carrying out pogroms, armed with axes and knives, took money and then killed and burned the 41-year old Iftikhor Nazirzhanov, who was trying to buy out the hostages. The crowd, which included women, took jewellery, clothes and furniture from the buildings. The house and the car belonging to the family of one of the female hostages were torched. In the evening, the hostages were freed in exchange for money.<sup>511</sup> Several residents in the area speak of dead near the local mosque:

After the morning namaz I heard that an attack was being carried out from the direction of Zapadny. I thought to myself, there is a government in place, everything will settle down. At lunchtime, I went to the Acha-Mazar mosque. I could see smoke from nearby burning houses. When people started leaving after the prayer, my friend Abdumutalib Alimov was killed near the mosque. A sniper shot him from the roof of the dormitory. The sniper shot at least two other people, one of them was Makhmudzhan the hairdresser, he worked on our street.<sup>512</sup>

After Friday prayer, people came out of the mosque. Kyrgyz and Uzbeks were standing about 200–300 meters away from one another. There was no one there from the government forces. A man came out from the Uzbek side, he wanted to negotiate, but they shot him. They shot him right down. They say that six–seven people were killed there.<sup>513</sup>

They started shooting in the direction of the Uzbeks, and Makhmudzhan the hairdresser, Erkin (Ergashev), Nodir and other people from our mahalla were killed. Kyrgyz who were standing near the mosque were yelling, saying that the Uzbeks should leave their houses.<sup>514</sup>

The following is what a resident of Chkalov Lane on the west side of the Cheremushki Microdistrict recalls of the events on 11 June. The lane can be considered a relatively

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509 Statement from Ilkhom Akbarov to the Uvd in Osh City, 7 July 2010.

510 Statement to the Uvd in Osh City (name withheld), 6 July 2010.

511 Statement by victim (name withheld) to an international organization, August 2010.

512 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

513 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 August 2010.

514 Complaint filed to UVD in Osh City (name of complainant withheld), 7 July 2010.

“calm” place, as it was only partially destroyed during the pogroms and there were no deaths on that particular street. During the Friday prayer, a group of armed Kyrgyz, some 200 people, arrived in minibuses from the direction of Suleyman-Too Mountain. They were also walking along Internatsionalnaya Street (Abdykadyrov Street).

An APC drove through here, dispersing Uzbeks who were trying to protect their block. We became surrounded. My father, I, my younger brother, his wife and four-year old daughter were in my house on Chkalov Lane. We hid in the cellar. When they torched the house, we had to get out through the window. About 50 Kyrgyz were running along the lane. When I broke the window, they asked me “Who are you?” I answered, “Uzbek. What do you want; you have already torched the house?” They said, “Uzbek, you have to die, come out.” I went outside, and one of them took my four-year old niece. I said, “Let her go; what do you want from a child?” I took the child, handed her to my brother and said, “Run away fast”. They started beating me, I lost consciousness. My neighbor, an ethnic Tatar, picked me up, he saved me; otherwise they would have finished me off. In the evening we all gathered at my brother’s house on Volgogradskaya Street (the houses were still not destroyed there) and decided that we would go to the border with Uzbekistan in the morning. A crowd of Kyrgyz threw rocks at us on the way there.<sup>515</sup>

Those who attacked my neighbor were young people from 17 to 30 years of age. In the beginning they had only knives and axes, later they also came with guns. There were guys from the worker’s family dormitory in our area among them, whoever wants to can live there now. I recognized them.<sup>516</sup>

There were local Kyrgyz guys among them, who participated. We are also Kyrgyz, and tried to calm them down, otherwise, how could we ever look our neighbors in the eyes again. We said, “A Kyrgyz lives here, a Tatar lives there”, so that they would not touch our neighbors. But they knew the names of the people who lived there. They said, “You’re lying, in that house so-and-so Uzbek is living, and in that house, so-and-so”. The first fourdays, different people drove through our lane a few times. We tried to convince all of them. They answered that the Uzbeks had raped 300 girls at the student dormitory. They showed us pictures of killed girls, a recording of the speech by Karomat (Abdullaeva). They had all of it on their mobile phones; they were probably spreading it among them. They said, “The Uzbeks are uprising, and you’re just sitting here”. They also said that someone among the Uzbeks had shot at them from our street. On the first day, they told us “Write KG on your house”. We refused. We thought that if we would write that,

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515 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

516 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

suddenly someone from the other side would do something. On the third day they came themselves with a spray box and wrote it.<sup>517</sup>

After the pogroms began, the Uzbek population left their homes in a panic. Residents tried to hide with neighbors from other ethnic groups or on more quiet streets. Large groups gathered in some of the houses (up to tens of people), assuming that this would be much safer. In some places, men tried to withstand those carrying out pogroms, and as a result shoot-outs and violent confrontations occurred. “There were guys with guns on our side too. They had five–six hunting rifles, an automatic weapon, three pistols, but there were not many bullets”, recalls one resident of the area.<sup>518</sup>

Around 3 PM, 24.kg news agency reported that residents in the Cheremushki Microdistrict were asking the Interim Government to secure their safety, as military were right outside the area where large numbers of armed people were “shooting in the air”.<sup>519</sup> Ten minutes later, the Deputy Head of Government Omurbek Tekebaev informed journalists that on the request of residents in Cheremushki, additional military and police forces had been sent there, and that armoured vehicles were blocking the road to the Provincial birth clinic.<sup>520</sup> At 3:30 PM, the information that armoured vehicles (APCs, IVFs, military trucks) had been moved to Cheremushki was confirmed by residents in the area. However, an hour later, a witness reported that as before, the security forces were not getting involved when armed people broke in and robbed residential houses.<sup>521</sup>

According to a message posted on [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg), Uzbeks who had been shooting back using hunting rifles retreated deep into the mahalla. A crowd of 1000–2000 Kyrgyz was moving through the area in the direction of Amir Temur Street, torching almost everything in their way<sup>522</sup>. The attackers who were moving along Abdykadyrov Street and Muminov Street managed to get through only somewhat east of Rustaveli Street. They stopped by the barricades that the Uzbeks had erected. In front of the crowd were men armed with automatic weapons, their faces hidden with cloth.<sup>523</sup>

“We held the defense for two hours. Our guys also had hunting rifles. After this, they were scared of coming close; they retreated in order to re-group. The APC came to their assistance, but was unable to break through the barricade.”<sup>524</sup>

The pogroms continued until around 5:30 PM, when the authorities declared that the curfew would commence not at 8 PM, but rather at 6 PM. From 5 PM, additional

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517 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

518 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2010.

519 <http://www.24kg.org/community/75847-ocheidcy-v-gorode-oshe-v-mikrorajone.html>

520 <http://www.24kg.org/politic/75848-v-gorode-oshe-v-mikrorajon-laquocheremushkiraquo.html>

521 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-700.html>

522 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-700.html>

523 Complained filed to the UVD in Osh City (name of complainant withheld), 7 July 2010.

524 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

armoured vehicles were brought to the area,<sup>525</sup> dispersing the most active group of people carrying out pogrom on Abdykadyrov Street before the curfew set in.<sup>526</sup>

Around 6 PM, a witness noted that the “defenders” of the Zapadnyy Microdistrict were returning from the “campaign against Cheremushki” armed with knives and sticks.<sup>527</sup> The youth was carrying the items from looted houses.<sup>528</sup> The curfew was not yet being observed on the streets of the Zapadnyy Microdistrict. As a local journalist noted, “the government forces did not demand it”.<sup>529</sup> There were also no attempts to arrest looters.

The fires continued through the night in Cheremushki, and towards the morning several blocks were almost completely burnt out.<sup>530</sup> “On my 30th or 40th attempt, I managed to get through to the fire brigade on the telephone. I explained which house was burning (where our friends lived). The on-duty officer answered “All the guys are beaten up. We have no gas for the car. Listen girl, how can we go anywhere?”<sup>531</sup> According to official information, the fire brigade received reports of fires in 40 residential houses on Abdykadyrov Street, Chkalov Street and Uritskiy Street from 1:45 AM on 11 June until 7 AM on 12 June.<sup>532</sup> However, these numbers are extremely low and do not reflect the real scale of destruction.

The situation on the streets continued to be very serious throughout the night. Around 10 PM on 11 June, 22-year old Azamat Amatov, an ethnic Kyrgyz, helped his mother and the children to get from their rented home on Abdykadyrov Street to the Zapadnyy Microdistrict. Afterwards, he went again to the Cheremushki Microdistrict along with four other young men, in order to pick up another Kyrgyz woman, but died that night. The circumstances of Amatov’s death remain unknown. According to his mother, when she identified the body of her son on 18 July 2010, it had bullet wounds and stab wounds, cigarette burns, and the gold crowns had been removed from his teeth.<sup>533</sup>

At 3:40 AM, the military reported shootings between civilians in the south-eastern part of the microdistrict.<sup>534</sup>

On the morning of 12 June, the pogroms in Cheremushki started up again. Already at 7 AM several men were driving in cars around the Zapadnyy Microdistrict, calling for Kyrgyz to come out to participate in the war with the Uzbeks.<sup>535</sup> By 8

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525 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/11/stolknoveniya-v-oshe-privodyat-k-chrezvychajnomu-polozheniyu/>

526 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

527 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-800.html>

528 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-850.html>

529 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/11/stolknoveniya-v-oshe-privodyat-k-chrezvychajnomu-polozheniyu/>

530 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-850.html>

531 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

532 <http://www.centrasia.ru/news.php?st=1276581420>

533 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

534 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

535 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=140>

AM unrest accompanied by shooting had begun again.<sup>536</sup> By 11 AM, the houses on Volgogradskaya Street and on Gastello Lane were “engulfed in flames”. By 11:45 AM, houses on Chkalov Street had been torched.<sup>537</sup> According to several different witnesses, on Saturday those carrying out pogroms on Saturday did so more purposefully, in a more organized manner and more brutally. As before, the security forces were inactive during the day and did not try to stop the acts of violence.

Residents on Obidzhan Karimov Lane describe the events in this way:

A crowd of no less than 1000 people carrying the state flag of Kyrgyzstan was moving along Abdykadyrov Street at 10 AM. They started looting and torching what they hadn't burnt down on Friday. I saw all of it from the roof of the neighboring house. It was mostly youth around 20 years of age, but there were also men who were five–10 years older, who led small groups. For instance, one of them said, “Don't burn this house, Kyrgyz live behind it, their house could catch fire”. There were also girls and more grown up women among the looters. The women were like supervisors. The youth would drag out the property, load it in cars, and the woman would stand and give orders about what to take. The cars were taken right out from the houses. The ones that worked were wrenched open and driven away, and the ones they couldn't start they torched. This continued almost until the evening prayer, “sham”. When the crowd started coming into our lane right before noon, someone fired from a hunting rifle. They called in the APC, it drove in, and two machine-gunners sitting on top of it shot rounds at the houses. Then the armed crowd entered.<sup>538</sup>

In house no. 8, an entire family died. When the shooting started, they hid in the cellar and then they couldn't get out of the burning house. The house was burnt with bottles with gasoline. We found six bodies. Three of them were children; one was a woman over 70 years of age. A young man from this family tried to run away over the fence, they shot at him, and we still don't know what happened to him. In the neighboring house, the owners ran away early Saturday morning, they seized two Kamaz trucks and took all their things, burnt down their house. In another house, one of the looters was talking with his relatives while they were robbing the house. They were discussing which things to take. You could hear all of it.<sup>539</sup>

On Saturday around noon they came here and started burning and looting. The neighbors drove their close family members away; the windows on the car were broken right in front of me. Somewhere from the direction of Volgogradskaya

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536 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=160>

537 <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=14937&mode=snews>

538 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

539 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

Street, a girl of about 14 years of age came running. People with sticks grabbed her right on the street and raped her. She screamed a few times, she was raped probably by 10 guys. It went on for an hour or two. Then it became quiet. Probably, they killed her and threw her into one of the burning houses.<sup>540</sup>

Residents on other streets in the microdistrict also describe numerous instances of deaths and rape on this day.

Approximately at 2:15 PM about 50 Kyrgyz men armed with AK automatic rifles and sticks broke into house number 211 on Muminov Street. Finding women hiding in the cellar, they brought out three of them and started beating them. They took the mini bus, using it twice to drive off the things in the house. Then they torched the house, using bottles of fuel oil.<sup>541</sup> A 65-year old paralyzed woman, Mukhtabar Kasimova, and her 41-year old daughter Nasiba died in the fire. The 34-year old son Rustam “managed to get out of the burning house into the street, almost naked. He managed to say, “My mother and sister are there”. Then he lost consciousness. He was brought to the hospital, he died there. The house was completely on fire, it was impossible to save the people there.”<sup>542</sup> The 40-year old Iftikhor Nazirzhanov died in house number 47 on Volgogradskaya Street.<sup>543</sup>

“My family and I were in our neighbor’s house”, recalls one of the residents of the area.

We were only two men. In total, around 35–40 women and children from neighboring houses had gathered. Some 20–30 people carrying out pogroms, some of them in masks, with knives and metal rods in their hands, broke the door and came into the house. I went up to them, in order to speak for the women. Without saying anything, they started beating everybody. They beat me with metal rods, breaking both my arms; I still have to have a second operation. I lost consciousness. They turned my other neighbor into an invalid. They beat the women too. Most of the girls were raped. Only one Kyrgyz lives on our street, he spoke up for us, so that we would saved our lives. They kept us hostage for one day in the neighboring house, then we were brought to the hospital on Sunday.<sup>544</sup>

The gang rape of a 16-year old girl described in the HRW report is possibly related to this group of hostages.

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540 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

541 Video interview with a witness to the events is included in the documentary film “Falling Mountains” (“Padaushie Gory”), part 5. (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HcbnJa9iEM>).

542 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), 19 June 2010.

543 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

544 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.



The HRW report also includes fragments of an open-hearted interview with a representative of the law enforcement agencies, who was patrolling the Cheremushki Microdistrict on an APC on 12 June. According to him, “The Uzbeks were shooting from behind the barricades and people were upset, saying that we were just sitting in our APCs, not able to do anything, while the Uzbeks were killing them. People wanted us to enter the Uzbek neighborhoods to take away their weapons. Everybody was angry (about rumors) that the Uzbeks had raped women”.

The requests of the crowds in the microdistrict were met. The representative of the law enforcement agencies cited in HRW report continues:

There were barricades almost everywhere in Cheremushki. When we could, we removed the barricades and drove into the neighborhood. If we were not able to, we just left. Almost everywhere, the Kyrgyz were running behind us. Especially when we were moving into the Uzbek neighborhoods where they were shooting at us, there were many people running behind us, taking cover behind the APC. We didn’t stay behind in these neighborhoods, but continued on to wherever there were barricades, removing them.

All these actions were carried out by security forces without any clear order to remove barricades. “There were no concrete orders to remove the barricades, but we had orders to control the situation so people did not get out of control.” The man interviewed by HRW himself became witness to a horrific crime but his team did nothing to “control” the situation:

In one of the houses in Cheremushki, we watched as Kyrgyz looters took a car. They caught the owner of the car. First, they beat him with metal rods; then they tied him to the bed in his house, which they burned down with the man inside. We fired in the air, but they did not pay any attention to us. We could not do anything else because we did not have orders to shoot directly at people.<sup>545</sup>

Witnesses interviewed by ICG mention several incidents when those carrying out pogroms met with serious resistance in the Cheremushki Microdistrict and “called the APC for help”.

During the day of 12 June, there was an attempt at negotiations between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks on Abdykadyrov Street. Participants of these negotiations recall:

Around 11 AM the crowd torched four houses and entered Shors Lane near the mosque, we had to defend ourselves. To avoid unnecessary casualties, my friend Nurmukhammad took a white flag and went up to them. He returned after

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545 <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2010/08/16/where-justice-0>

about 10 minutes, saying that he needed 10 older people; we would try to start reconciliation talks. 10 elders from our side went out on Internatsionalnaya Street (Abdykadyrov Street) and sat down. Six people came from the Kyrgyz side. There were no elders among them, only one person with a beard who was more or less grown up, the rest were youth. This was on Saturday at 11:30 AM. We said, "You have weapons. 100 people on our side will die, 10 on your side. Who needs this? Let's stop the war." They agreed to meet at 3 PM after the namaz to discuss everything thoroughly. The Kyrgyz said, "We will go to our people, encourage them to agree, you also tell your people". At 3 PM we went there again, there were other people this time from the Kyrgyz side. Half of those who had been there the first time were not there now. They said, "We weren't able to call off our people. There is a lot of rage. You (Uzbeks) brutally murdered Kyrgyz. Now we can't stop the youth. Let's go, you can talk to them yourselves."

We agreed, and went, six–eight people. Yakubzhon kori was with us. He lived in a multistory building among Kyrgyz, his sister, wife and daughter had been taken hostage. When we were about 15 meters from the crowd, three–four grown-ups came running. They came up to us, greeted us, saying "We don't know how this happen. Forgive us, but the youth can't be stopped anymore". All of them had very somber looks in their eyes. The crowd was 100% drunk, furious young people. They started screaming at us, "Uzbeks, leave Kyrgyzstan, you have no business here." Some of the guys had learned how to read the Koran from me earlier. They recognized me and started moving further into the crowd. While the negotiations were going on, two houses were burnt inside one of the streets, but we didn't see that when it happened.<sup>546</sup>

Our aksakals and theirs tried to negotiate. They said, "Take all your children and a white flag and go to Uzbekistan, leave Osh". We said, "We were born here, we grew up here, we are not going anywhere". After that violent confrontations started again, shooting, rock-throwing, there were victims on both sides.<sup>547</sup>

During the negotiations the Kyrgyz suggested that all the Uzbeks should leave their houses, set up white flags at the end of each street, and then leave through the Dostuk border post to Uzbekistan, as the owners of the land were Kyrgyz. These demands were categorically refused, and our aksakals returned back. After that the Kyrgyz started screaming again that the Uzbeks should leave their houses, otherwise they would shoot everyone. At that moment, a Tiko car appeared with an Uzbek driver, next to him was an elderly woman and old people were in the back seat, also Uzbeks. When they saw that the Tiko wanted to drive in

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546 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

547 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

our direction, the Kyrgyz started shooting at the car, and as a result some of the passengers were killed.<sup>548</sup>

According to one of the witnesses, the negotiations which continued until about 5 PM helped prevent new clashes between large numbers of people. "When they wanted to attack again, soldiers arrived, the curfew set in and the crowd left".<sup>549</sup> According to AKIpress, the clashes ended by 5 PM, and military that arrived were "negotiating with those carrying out pogroms".

Another witness speaks of a more active role among the military in stopping the clashes: "Around 3:30 PM a special forces unit arrived. The commander called for both sides to end the clashes and disperse; otherwise the forces would open fire. They first chased off those who had weapons. They started shooting in the air. They chased the crowd in the direction of Zapadny. Without the support of the military, they would have smashed up everything there."<sup>550</sup> According to unconfirmed information, in response to the calls from the crowd to "help the Kyrgyz", one of the military said in Kazakh that the special forces represented the army of Kazakhstan, and would therefore take up weapons against people carrying out acts of violence regardless of their ethnicity.

On 13–14 June, groups of looters continued to move around Cheremushki, armed with sticks, however, there were no more serious clashes.<sup>551</sup> A witness confirms that he personally saw how police men participated in the looting of several shops together with civilians<sup>552</sup>. At this time, many houses had writing in large letters saying UZ, UZBEKS, KG, KYRGYZ, RUSSIAN – indicating the ethnicity of the people living there. These words were written by those carrying out pogroms as well as by the residents themselves, in an attempt to protect their houses. On the walls of buildings one could also see writings expressing the mood of those carrying out the pogroms: "Death to the Uzbek", "No place for Uzbeks", "Forwards, Kyrgyz" and swear words.

According to KIC, Kyrgyz men took several Uzbeks hostage in Cheremushki Microdistrict on 13 June. These were soon released for money, with the help of members of the law enforcement agencies.

Residents of a house on Muminov Street who were interviewed by the members of the mission on 19 June explained that the parts of the area that had not been destroyed had been divided into sectors where groups of five–10 men were standing guard 24 hours a day. "We were constantly in touch with one another. At night, cars without registration plates sometimes drove by, they started shooting from the cars. The day

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548 Complaint to UVD in Osh City (name of complainant withheld), 7 July 2010.

549 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

550 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

551 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 20 June and 6 July 2010.

552 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

before yesterday (17 June), in the daytime, a Mercedes drove by, and they opened fire on the guys who were walking on the street. Sometimes they stopped at the beginning of the street, yelling "Death to Uzbeks!"<sup>553</sup>

The hunt for cars with armed extremists also led to the deaths of two policemen from the Patrolling and Posted Services (patrul'no-postovaya sluzhba) of the UVD of Osh City, sergeant Begaly Aydarov and sergeant-major Bakyt Baykishiev. According to the testimony of a witness, around 5:30 PM on 14 June the police men, who were ethnic Kyrgyz, were grabbed by a crowd of 200 Uzbeks inside the microdistrict on the intersection of Muminov and Sidov Streets, where they had arrived in a car without registration plates. The car was smashed up by the crowd. The police men, armed with pistols and dressed in black t-shirts, were disarmed, beaten and laid on the ground. In order to calm the crowd down a bit, the witness had to shoot in the air from a traumatic (non-lethal) gun. While he was reporting about the police men to the command center by telephone, they were people killed with cold weapons.<sup>554</sup> The bodies of the dead police men were found on 2 July in the basement of a building which was still under construction.<sup>555</sup> On 14 December, the Osh City Court found the 42-year old Nematilla Kasymov guilty of murdering one of the police men with a knife and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Five other co-defendants were given different prison sentences for participation in mass disturbances, for damaging and illegally driving a car and for concealing a crime.<sup>556</sup> There is information regarding the use of brutal torture during the investigation.<sup>557</sup>

The last of the incidents involving firearms took place on 15 June around 5:40 PM on Amir Temur Street, where there was a shoot-out between special forces from the border service and unknown persons who opened fire on a passing Kamaz truck carrying soldiers.<sup>558</sup> Soldiers who arrived to the scene drove the APC into the fence of the building, yelling "Sarts, come out", shooting at residential buildings. During a check of houses, mobile telephones, jewellery was stolen. The soldiers beat up and detained one of the residents; he was later released.<sup>559</sup>

On the map published by UNITAR/UNOSAT, it is evident that several blocks of residential houses across along Abdykadyrov Street were completely destroyed.<sup>560</sup> The area of the most severe mass destruction stretching from the north to the south and from east to west comprises over 500 meters. The greatest numbers of destroyed

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553 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

554 Complaint to UVD in Osh City (name of complainant withheld), 7 July 2010.

555 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/78087-v-gorode-oshe-zaderzhany-podozrevaemye-v.html>

556 Verdict of Osh City Court in the case of N. Kasymov and others, 14.12.2010.

557 Interview with lawyer from Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010; statement by Nasibakhon Kasimova to the Prosecutor General of Kyrgyzstan, 18 October 2010.

558 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GKNB. In reports from the border guards and the Ministry of Defense only very limited and contradictory information about this incident is given.

559 Statement to NGO Citizens against Corruption (name withheld), 2010.

560 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1461>

residential houses were on Abdykadyrov Street, Volgogradskaya Street, Chkalov Street, Muminov Street, and on Bobir Lane, Gastello Lane and Chkalov Lane. No less than 341 buildings were completely destroyed here, while another 12 were partially destroyed. These numbers do not include another 40 destroyed buildings along Aytiev Street and the eastern part of Muminov Street. On the eastern part of Abdykadyrov Street and the crossing Amir Temur Street, which were protected by barricades, 12 large written SOS were identified on the satellite images. According to preliminary evaluations by the local self-governing organs, there were about 30 dead and 70 wounded at 5 PM on 12 June, a notable part of the wounded being in a serious condition.<sup>561</sup> However, the numbers would rise considerably after this, in spite of the general opinion that there were some tens of dead. When presented with the terrible images of mass destruction, many observers were left with the impression that the numbers of dead must be hundreds or even thousands (the question of numbers of dead is discussed in a separate part of this report).

In general, and as seen from the accounts of witnesses, the “success” of the attack on Cheremushki by groups of Kyrgyz youth on the day of 11 June was ensured by their domination in terms of weapons (those seized from the military and also those they had received from unknown sources). The estimated number of people armed with automatic weapons while carrying out pogroms varies from 30 to 60 persons. The fact that they were supported in the first period by armoured vehicles from the government forces, who were acting against the self-defense groups in Uzbek areas under the pretext of clearing barricades from the street and ending disturbances, also played an important role both in the military sense as well as the psychological. However, on the second day, the attackers were unable to expand the territory they controlled in any noticeable sense, there being pockets of resistance located inside this territory. After the losses they had suffered during previous shoot-outs, many of those arriving to carry out pogroms were scared of entering smaller streets inside the mahallas. Only very brief visits to these streets were made, often under the cover of armed support.

One of the residents in the area told the members of the mission about a street shoot-out which occurred on the day of 12 June in the western part of Cheremushki, between looters who arrived on Hyundai Porter trucks, some of them armed with automatic weapons, and on the other side, about 10 bearded men in long clothes, three of whom also had automatic weapons. Some of the looters were killed or wounded during the shooting, those who survived retreated, taking with them the injured.<sup>562</sup>

Around mid-day on 12 June, Damir Ismailov and Daniyar Abdimutalip uulu, who had arrived from villages in Kara-Suu and Aravan Districts in Osh Province, were detained on Fizuli Street by residents in the area. The documents of the criminal case note that

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561 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

562 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2010.

one of them had brought a bottle of gasoline, and that the other was arrested while looting one of the torched houses. Their written and oral testimonies were taken and filmed on video. The next day, the detained were handed over to GSNB Colonel Zhanybek Kurbanaliev and a former MP, Buribay Zhuraev. According to the official version, the detained received light physical injuries before they were handed over to the GSNB. Later, a criminal case was opened against the men who had participated in detaining those carrying out pogroms, and they were also subjected to brutal torture, while no legal evaluation was made of the actions of the attackers themselves. Their admittance to the involvement of a number of government officials in the organization of pogroms, as recorded on video, was dismissed by the authorities as “consciously provided incorrect information” without any serious investigation of these claims.<sup>563</sup>

It is worth noting that the materials from the trial do not confirm the information found in the report of the National Commission, according to which the man sentenced in this matter, Avazkhan Davudov, a citizen of the Russian Federation, allegedly “organized an armed group during the June events who were involved in kidnapping and murder of citizens of Kyrgyz ethnicity”.

Many residents of the Cheremushki Microdistrict interviewed by the members of the mission recall that during the active phase of the conflict the microdistrict came under fire from the Suleyman-Too Mountain, something that further intensified the situation and caused victims among the civilian population. In some instances, the bullet hole could be seen on walls of private houses.<sup>564</sup> The KIC report includes similar cases.<sup>565</sup> An article published by Ferghana news agency speaks of sniper fire on Cheremushki and Amir Temur Street between 11 AM and 12 PM on 12 June coming from the area by the museum on Suleyman-Too Mountain.<sup>566</sup>

On 11 June, one witness saw a RAF minibus drive up to the museum on the south hill of Suleyman-Too, carrying nine armed people, some of whom took up military positions near the foothills of the mountain. The minibus was followed by an APC and police forces. Later, fire was opened on Cheremushki from several spots on the mountain.<sup>567</sup>

Another resident in the area, who formerly had served in the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, explained that he had regularly observed the border guards exchanging one another on Suleyman-Too through binoculars and an instrument for night-vision.

The groups of armed people in uniform came and left from the side of the border base. Four–five people with automatic weapons, one of them had a weapon with

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563 Verdict of Osh City Court in the case of A. Saydarov and others, 21 January 2011.

564 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 19 June, 25 June 2010, and Moscow, 6 April 2011.

565 [http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kic\\_report\\_english\\_final.pdf](http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kic_report_english_final.pdf)

566 <http://www.ferghananews.com/news.php?id=14937&mode=snews>

567 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 19 June 2010.

optical scope. On Friday morning, when it was still quiet, I tried to walk up to them to find out about the situation, but a bullet flew by me. They were shooting from the direction of the border base. When the clashes had already begun, I could see how one of the uniformed men on the mountain was firing his weapon towards the south.<sup>568</sup>

The authors of the official reports which have been published in Kyrgyzstan avoid the topic of the tragic events that took place in the Cheremushki Microdistrict on 11–12 June. For instance, the report of the National Commission does not even include a short mention of the clashes and pogroms in this part of Osh. The report of the Ombudsman's Commission limits itself to three sentences: "On 11 June, close to lunchtime, a crowd of about 1000 ethnic Kyrgyz gathered in the Cheremushki Microdistrict to withstand the crowd of about 1500 citizens of Uzbek ethnicity. As a result of violent confrontations, "some" houses belonging to Uzbeks were smashed up and burned. During the violent confrontations, both sides took up firearms."<sup>569</sup> This kind of description can hardly be called anything but a conscious attempt to belittle the proportions of the tragedy. It is impossible that the authors of the report did not know about the hundreds of destroyed houses, the numerous incidents of murders, rapes and beatings of unarmed residents, and of the mass-scale looting.

In the chronicle of the UVD of Osh City, the events in Cheremushki are described only in the context of the "successful work" of the police to prevent clashes on 12 June:

At 11 AM, a crowd of about 2000 Kyrgyz came from a western direction and entered the Cheremushki Microdistrict, which has a predominantly Uzbek population. A group of officers of the UVD of Osh City and military personnel led by the Deputy Head of UVD of Osh City, M. Orozbaev and the Deputy Head of the Criminal Police Division (OUR) T. Nurbaev managed to stop the crowd. As a result of negotiations and preventive work the crowd of ethnic Kyrgyz was stopped and left the Cheremushki Microdistrict at 7 PM. Former Member of Parliament A. Sulaymanov took active part in the preventive work.<sup>570</sup>

Not a word is said in the document that the "halted crowd" in the course of the day carried out murders, lootings, gang rapes, burning of houses and so on. Although the security forces indeed helped to stop the clashes after 3–4 PM, there is no information of them having played any kind of positive role inside the area during earlier hours.

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568 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 6 April 2011.

569 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

570 Information from UVD in Osh City.

## “Snipers” on Suleyman-Too

Many witnesses recall that on 11 and 12 June the Cheremushki Microdistrict and blocks on Navoi Street (with a predominant Uzbek population) were fired upon from sniper weapons and automatic weapons from the Suleyman-Too mountain, as well as from the roofs of some multistoried buildings. The victims of “snipers” were unarmed civilians who were killed or wounded, some while inside their own houses.

According to the report of the commander of the border guard service, two snipers from the border unit were placed on Suleyman-Too mountain at 11:15 AM on 11 June. This happened five minutes after the border service received reports that Uzbeks allegedly had shot three Kyrgyz (probably, this regards the armed incident to the south of Suleyman-Too), and connection with this the Boru special forces Unit of the border service (30 persons) was sent to the border unit.<sup>571</sup>

According to the version given in the comments of the government of Kyrgyzstan to the report of the KIC, around 11 AM border guards were sent to the mountain around 11 AM, as a group of people who were passing on information by telephone were reported seen on the hillside 80–100 meters from the base of the border guards. When the border guards approached, the “suspicious group dispersed”. After this, a post of the commandant’s office was kept on Suleyman-Too. For security reasons, from 12 June to 30 June, the border guard post on the hillside kept two observers in the daytime and eight at night.<sup>572</sup>

A local resident confirmed that on the morning of 11 June on the western part of Suleyman-Too Mountain there were small groups of Uzbek youth, who were observing the movements of the Kyrgyz crowds from the direction of Zapadnyy Microdistrict. The observers left the mountain when soldiers started approaching them from the border guard post.<sup>573</sup>

It is obvious that the open placement of armed groups on Suleyman-Too and their use of firearms after 11 AM on 11 June 2010 could not have taken place without the control of the security forces. However, in available official documents there are comments in connection with the fact that for several days, civilians were being shot at from Suleyman-Too, towards the north and the south (some of these episodes are included in the description of events on 11–12 June on Navoi Street and in the Cheremushki Microdistrict.)

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571 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Service of the GSNB.

572 [http://k-ic.org/images/stories/kg\\_comments\\_russian\\_final.pdf](http://k-ic.org/images/stories/kg_comments_russian_final.pdf) In the report by Ismail Isakov it is claimed that before the border guards arrived, a “suspicious group” on Suleyman-Too was not only passing information by telephone, but was carrying out “pinpointed shots”. However, other sources do not mention this.

573 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kysthak (name withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2011.



One is left with the impression that the numerous testimonies regarding “snipers” on Suleyman-Too have not been studied in the appropriate manner during the official investigation. Available reports from government organs are full of mistakes and omissions. For instance, it is evident that the number of armed people in camouflage or military uniform observed on the mountain on 11–12 June is notably higher than the number of “observers” reported in the comments of the government.

The lack of reliable information led to rumors among the Uzbek part of the population that the snipers on Suleyman-Too were provided with ammunition from the military helicopters which were flying over Osh from the morning on 11 June.<sup>574</sup>

### **Night-time panic in the Western part of Osh**

The KIC report confirms that “Kyrgyz crowds” started to retreat from the Cheremushki area approximately at 3 PM on 12 June, when “the rumor about the expected intervention of the Uzbekistan military acquired currency”.<sup>575</sup> According to our information, the rumors of the start of an intervention from Uzbekistan indeed had a noticeable stabilizing effect and helped end the pogroms. However, as many sources confirm, this rumor which caused panic in the government structures and among parts of the Kyrgyz population, did not start circulating in the daytime but on the night between 12 and 13 June.

On the day of 12 June, the rumors of the imminent arrival of military forces concerned Russian forces, and not Uzbekistani forces. These rumors appeared around 2 PM, after the head of the Interim Government, Roza Otunbaeva, requested military help from Russia. This news were received positively by the population and led to a decrease in violence in Osh.<sup>576</sup> “People are positive to the request of Otunbaeva for Russian forces, as they consider that local law enforcement agencies are unable to protect them”, noted a local journalist.<sup>577</sup> The Russian military (in contrast to Uzbekistani military) were considered to be a neutral force, able to reestablish control of the situation. However, already that evening, the press secretary of the Russian president, Natalia Timakova, stated that what was happening in Kyrgyzstan was an internal conflict and “Russia does not yet see the necessary conditions for our participation in the regulation of the conflict”.<sup>578</sup>

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574 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyshtak village (name withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2011.

575 [http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kic\\_report\\_english\\_final.pdf](http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kic_report_english_final.pdf)

576 Letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name of the author withheld), 21 October 2011; <http://yangidunyo.com/?p=21476>.

577 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/12/12-iyunya-situaciya-v-oshe-ostayotsya-nespokojnoj-obnovleno-v-1153/>

578 <http://ria.ru/world/20100612/245519720.html> On the day of 13 June, 270 Russian paratroopers from the 31st separate airborne brigade in Ulyanovsk arrived in three airplanes of the type IL-76 to the Russian airbase in Kant in the north of Kyrgyzstan, reportedly “for the security of the Russian soldiers, members of their families and to strengthen the security around Russian military objects”. The rumors that the paratroopers would be sent to the south were not correct. During the next months, Russia attempted to establish an international legal mechanism which would allow for a reaction to such crises within the framework of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (ODKB in Russian).

The pogroms in Cheremushki ended with the commencement of the curfew, before the rumors began regarding possible armed groups from Uzbekistan crossing the border.

Information about an alleged night-time invasion to protect the Uzbek population in southern Kyrgyzstan was reported through the channels of the security services. This information was officially reported by the GSNB to the special representative of the Interim Government in the southern region, General-Lieutenant Ismail Isakov (who was simultaneously holding the post of Minister of Defense) and the Commandant of Osh Province, Major-General of the police, Baktybek Alymbekov, approximately between 11 PM on 12 June and 12:30 AM on 13 June.<sup>579</sup> Afterwards, the commandant's office was immediately moved from the UVD to an army base.<sup>580</sup>

Around midnight, Isakov led a meeting with participants from the heads of administration and the commandants of the city and the province, the heads of the law enforcement agencies, GSNB and the army, where he stated that Uzbekistan was preparing a military operation. According to his information, 20 flights with army personnel had been reported landing in Andizhan that day. On the border, a group of 5000 people with experience from military operations in Andizhan and Khudzhand were concentrated. At 4 AM, forces of Makhmud Khudayberdiyev would begin entering the country and within an hour, the plan was to take over or put out of action key objects of government and infrastructure.<sup>581</sup>

The signal for the beginning of the operation would be the call to prayer from the mosques.<sup>582</sup> The participants at the meeting discussed plans for resisting the attack, including strengthening security at the borders, at check posts and in the patrolling services; sending heavy armament in the direction of where the attack may come; handing out weapons from the army depots to the law enforcement agencies; preparing military and technical equipment currently in storage, transferring aircrafts to airstrips etc.<sup>583</sup>

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579 The report of Ismail Isakov and his interview with Ferghana News Agency gives the time as 12:30 AM. Alisher Sabirov and Melisbek Myrzakmatov give an earlier time. The Parliamentary Commission notes that Isakov was informed by the Deputy Chairman of the GSNB, Kolbay Musaev, while the Directorate of the GSNB in Osh City and Osh Province informed the Governor and the Mayor.

580 Interview with Alisher Sabirov, Bishkek, 29–30 June 2010.

581 Makhmud Khudoyberdiyev is a former brigade commander of the army of Tajikistan. He led the anti-government insurgency in 1996–1998. Since 1997 he has lived in Uzbekistan. According to unconfirmed reports, Khudoyberdiyev's fighters played an important role in repelling the uprising in Andijan on the side of the government.

582 Myrzakmatov, M., *Men izdegen chyn dyk*. Bishkek, 2011, pp. 66–67. According to Ismail Isakov's version, "at 12:30 AM, the Deputy of the GKNB came to me and gave me written information...that at 4 AM, General Khudoyberdiyev would arrive with 1500 men...I gathered the heads of our forces, the governors, the Mayor, the Akims, and within 20 minutes made the decision that we would remove some checkpoints and send them to the border, put the army under full military alert..." (<http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6897>). Information from GSNB about the invasion of 5–7000 of "Khudoyberdiyev's fighters" is mentioned also by other sources.

583 <http://www.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>

It was also decided to organize self-defense groups in the population and start evacuation of women and children.<sup>584</sup> Around 2 AM, the personnel at the military bases were given their orders,<sup>585</sup> after which part of the forces were moved to the state border with Uzbekistan. The Mayor of the city, Melisbek Myrzakmatov, gave the order to establish checkpoints at the exits from Osh, so that men would not leave the city, and to begin the evacuation of women and children, and ordered his deputy to start erecting barricades.<sup>586</sup>

Apart from the military aspects of the situation, we should also note here that these plans of mass evacuation of the population did not have a minimum of necessary technical resources and could not have been carried out in the course of the few hours that were left until the expected military invasion. Soon after the authorities had declared that it was necessary to leave the city due to the threat of a military conflict, panic broke out among the Kyrgyz part of the population in the western part of Osh. The situation was worsened by the unreliable information being circulated through official and unofficial channels. Some officers of the security forces immediately began transporting their families out of the city.<sup>587</sup>

The report of the UVD in Osh City mentions that around 12:30 AM, information was received that “an armed group are arriving from Uzbekistan to Kyrgyzstan allegedly to support the Uzbek population... They intend to attack the UVD buildings in Osh City and Osh Province in order to seize weaponry”.<sup>588</sup> From 12:30 AM such information also started continuously coming in on the hotlines open to ordinary citizens.<sup>589</sup>

At 3:20 AM, the command of the Southern Group of Forces received incorrect reports from from the commandant’s office of Osh City that “around 1000 armed people” had crossed the state border and were currently in the KhBK Microdistrict in Osh City. After this, “civilians and families of soldiers living in the military residential area no. 11” started arriving to military unit 36806 and the Military Institute, “their numbers grew to around 1000 people”.<sup>590</sup>

This is how a resident in a multistoried house in the Tuleyken block describes the effect of these rumors on the situation in the western part of Osh:

Around 1 PM on 12 June, residents in the microdistrict organized food for the “defenders”. But as soon as the rumors of Russian peacekeepers appeared, they threw their bags on Porter cars and took off in a hurry towards Nookat. (Later),

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584 Myrzakmatov, M., *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.66–67.

585 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

586 Myrzakmatov, M., *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.68

587 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 18 June 2010.

588 Information from Osh City UVD.

589 Information from the Prosecutor’s office in Osh Province.

590 Information from the commander of the Southern Military Force of the Ministry of Defense.

many "defenders" walked along the new road, dragging things with them, electronics, televisions, in the direction of Cheremushki, none of the items were new. From 6 PM until 12 AM there were no particular incidents, everyone was waiting for the Russian peacekeepers. At 3 AM, I was awoken by a call from my neighbor, saying there were rumors that enormous crowds were coming from Uzbekistan. I looked out the window and could see in almost complete darkness and silence a large part of my neighbors were leaving their apartments. Some of them went by car to their relatives, mostly in the direction of Papan and Nookat. Some of them went towards the army and the border bases. At the moment, about 50% of the residents are left in our house, maybe less. Many of the men were forced to turn back, while some of the women and children were let through.<sup>591</sup>

Nobody was transported out, if you mean a sort of planned evacuation. Only those who have the possibility to do so are leaving the multistoried houses. This process started impulsively around 3 AM, and towards 1 PM on 13 June it is still going on, but not as intensively.<sup>592</sup>

A female resident recalls:

Around 3:30 AM on the morning of 13 June, we had to leave the city. We left with our eyes close. My first thought was: If they kill us, let them kill me first, so I don't have to see my children suffer. Because a car with alarm signals was driving around the Zapadnyy Microdistrict, saying in a commanding voice through a loudspeaker, "Save your children, the Uzbeks have crossed the border, they are going to bomb". I couldn't see the car, but we could hear it. I returned home only on 18 June.<sup>593</sup>

Traffic jams were forming on the roads. Part of the residents tried to take cover in the army division located nearby; others were worried that exactly the army division would be a point of attack from Uzbekistan. Women and children were sent in different directions; the men gathered and started guarding the territory. Nobody slept at night. Several families gathered together in the same apartment.<sup>594</sup>

I woke up in the suburb somewhere around 5 AM. I had 30 missed calls on my mobile phone. At 8 AM I called an acquaintance who works at the commandant's office. According to him, terrible panic had broken out that night. Several rows of cars full of people had been driving along the streets. Some tried to leave the city by foot. Residents from surrounding villages started to stop cars and take out young men. They said, "You're leaving us in trouble. If you leave, who will defend

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591 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=120>

592 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=140>

593 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 5 September 2010.

594 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

the city?" Some managed to drive through, paying money to do so. It took at least two hours to calm people down. Those who left started returning home after two–three days.<sup>595</sup>

According to AKIpress news agency, "at 2 AM a car with unknown people was driving in the western parts of Osh, using a loudspeaker to spread information that Uzbekistan had sent military forces to the territory of Kyrgyzstan". At 10 AM, the number of ethnic Kyrgyz who wished to leave the city "was not dropping". However, "in Kyrgyz residential areas and around the city, checkpoints had been set up; forcing residents of the city to return to their homes and protect them".<sup>596</sup>

A participant in the events recalls, "Kyrgyz were driving around the city at night and through loudspeakers, including from the minarets of the mosques, it was declared that fighters were crossing the border from Uzbekistan to loot Kyrgyz villages. They even mentioned the number of fighters, from 500 to 5000 people. This caused mass-panic."<sup>597</sup>

Kyrgyz from the villages Kirov and Telman in the Saray village district and from Ken-Say village in the Savai village district in Kara-Suu District started leaving their houses to go to relatives in the Otuz-Adyr and Mady rural districts.<sup>598</sup>

In this increasingly chaotic situation, at 6 AM on 13 June border unit commander Colonel Askarbek Alimbaev ordered the head of the weapons storage to give out 15 AK-74 automatic weapons and 850 bullets to "unknown civilians, expressing a wish to help the command of the border base to fight back a possible attack on the military unit. Having been given the weapons, the men disappeared."<sup>599</sup>

Only towards the morning did it become clear to the leadership in Kyrgyzstan that the information from the security services could not be confirmed, and that there had been no invasion.

During a morning meeting the First Deputy Mayor of Osh, Timur Kamchybekov, criticized the actions of the Mayor, Melisbek Myrzakmatov, on whose order instructions had been given that night for the Kyrgyz population to leave the city due to the alleged "intrusion across the border of Uzbek military forces". The Mayor himself had moved his family to one of the villages outside the city during the night.<sup>600</sup>

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595 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 11 September 2010.

596 <http://centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

597 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 30 June 2010.

598 Information from the Prosecutor's office in Osh Province.

599 Information from the Military Prosecutor's office.

600 Interview with the former First Deputy Mayor of Osh City, Timur Kamchybekov, Osh, 13 September 2010.

On the morning of 13 June, the authorities used mass-SMS to calm down the population and to end rumors about the intention of Uzbekistan to send military forces to Kyrgyzstan.<sup>601</sup>

Among the participants of the events on both sides there are still differing opinions as to whether Uzbekistan really prepared for a military invasion in Osh on the night between 12 and 13 June 2010.<sup>602</sup> In our opinion, the Parliamentary Commission was right in considering this information from the GSNB as incorrect. It is not unthinkable that the rumors of an invasion were part of a successful game of disinformation from the security services of Uzbekistan in order to stabilize the situation.

Concluding the summary of night-time events in the western part of Osh, we would also note that the dispersal of large crowds of people carrying out pogroms in the Zapadny Microdistrict due to rumors of the arrival of Russian and Uzbekistani forces, indirectly confirms that the situation was characterized by impunity and a lack of willingness by the army and the law enforcement agencies of Kyrgyzstan to use force to stabilize the situation on 11 and 12 June, and that these were important factors in the escalation of violence in the parts of the city that were exposed to large-scale destruction.

## The Eastern suburbs of Osh

Towards the morning of 11 June, the village of Furkat on the eastern outskirts of Osh became one of the three most dangerous zones, where confrontations between large groups of Uzbek and Kyrgyz youth were reported near the roundabout.

Only most fragmented and often unconfirmed information is available regarding how the events in Furkat unfolded during mid-day on 11 June.

According to witnesses, around 6 AM, the road to the city was blocked by a crowd of Uzbeks of about 1000–2000 persons.<sup>603</sup> Near the roadside tea house, Kyrgyz from nearby houses started gathering. At the same place, about 40–50 cars of those returning from Bishkek was concentrated, or those who arrived from Alay District with the intention of getting their relatives out of the conflict zone. From the direction of

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601 <http://yangidunyo.com/?p=21476>

602 Ismail Isakov's report claims that "the possible attack did not take place" thanks to the military measures taken by them, something which can hardly be taken seriously. In June 2010, rumors were circulating among the employees of the security services in Kyrgyzstan that the invasion was avoided thanks to external involvement of the leadership of Russia. Some Uzbek émigrés claim that the Kremlin on the contrary sanctioned the introduction of Uzbek forces, but that the operation was cancelled by President Islam Karimov due to concerns that Russia wanted to drag his country into a serious conflict in the Fergana Valley.

603 Interviews with residents of Osh Province (names withheld), the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010, and Furkat village, 10 July 2010; [http://www.presskg.com/uch/10/0701\\_10.htm](http://www.presskg.com/uch/10/0701_10.htm)

the city, smashed up cars were arriving and drivers and passengers explained that they had been attacked by Uzbeks.<sup>604</sup>

Some sources recall that during the morning, groups of Kyrgyz and Uzbek youth were throwing rocks at one another near the roundabout in Furkat village.<sup>605</sup>

Toktosun Zhaparov (the main specialist on religious matters in the provincial administration) tried unsuccessfully to carry out negotiations with Uzbek *aksakals* in order to remove the barricades from the road.

“They said, “Toktosun-aka, do an ablution and go home and relax”. Also, Bakhtiyar, a member of our local council, who was killed near his house the next day, said, “5–10,000 people have gathered here. If needed, we will gather 100,000. Uzbekistan is behind us.” The youth on our side started gathering. We walked up to the crowd, started clarifying the situation; asked them not to go to the city. But when the Kyrgyz guys found out that the (Uzbek) youth had gathered at the school, they stormed ahead, picking up rocks and sticks.”<sup>606</sup>

Around 300–500 Kyrgyz with rocks and sticks “started to destroy shops and houses along the road”, reaching Karimov Street. “From afar I could see they had the flag of Kyrgyzstan. That means, they had prepared in advance”. Afterwards, the Uzbeks walked up from the direction of the city and chased the attackers to the roundabout.<sup>607</sup>

A Kyrgyz witness saw how the Uzbek crowd came closer from the eastern outskirts of Furkat village. “They torched the gas station, they torched a house and four small hops belonging to Kyrgyz, they also torched a Golf car belonging to my neighbor. At some point shooting started. A sniper shot one of the well-known people in the crowd. They guys standing in front started falling from the bullets.”<sup>608</sup>

A resident of Furkat village, Nurlan Orozbaev, gave his version of the beginning of the events in Furkat on the morning of 11 June to the Kyrgyz-language newspaper Uchur. According to him, about 500 Kyrgyz arrived to the village where 2000 Uzbeks had blocked the road near the roundabout, and after an hour they agreed to open the road. The elders called on the youth to disperse, saying that 15 cars had been let through, “but we didn’t believe them”. Only 10 cars were able to get through from the city, these were cars where Kyrgyz were bringing their relatives. All the cars were damaged from rocks and gunshots along the road. After this, the Kyrgyz tried to attack a village, during which some of them were killed. A friend of Orozbaev by the name

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604 Interview with resident of Kara-Suu District (name withheld), Osh Province, 10 July 2010.

605 Interview with resident of Kara-Suu District (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010; Open letter from M. Toychibaeva, July 2010.

606 Interview with resident of Kara-Suu District (name withheld), Osh Province, 10 July 2010.

607 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2011.

608 Interview with resident of Kara-Suu District (name withheld), Osh Province, 10 July 2011.

of Oybek was killed by a shot to the head, and there were many wounded. "It was not possible to understand where the shots were coming from".<sup>609</sup>

An ethnic Kyrgyz from Shark village district recalls how a crowd of Uzbek youth arrived around 9 AM and torched the gas station at the exit from Furkat, then small shops, yelling insults against the Kyrgyz. At the roundabout from the eastern direction, about 200 Kyrgyz gathered, armed with sticks and rocks. Unexpectedly, shots were fired. "In front of my eyes, a sniper shot Askar Shakirov, who was calming us down, as a member of the city parliament. After that, people in the crowd started shooting at us. A bullet struck me, and I lost consciousness."<sup>610</sup>

On the diesel.elcat.kg internet forum, a message was posted at 10:25 AM, that an armed crowd had torched the gas station in Furkat village.<sup>611</sup> After less than an hour, a new message was posted about a fire at the gas station and about torching of cars, as well as about windows broken by the crowd and looting of a small shop selling mobile phone credits.<sup>612</sup>

According to available documents, between 9:45 AM and 11 AM, the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village received 30 Kyrgyz with gunshot wounds, including member of the city parliament Askar Shakirov, who died from a gunshot.<sup>613</sup> According to doctors, the victims had numerous wounds from rifle pellets, "we removed two bullets from a Montekristo rifle, and there were penetrating wounds from automatic rifles."<sup>614</sup>

According to AKIpress news agency, "Together with the Deputy Governor of Osh Province, Kushbak Tezekbaev, Shakirov was attempting to carry out preventive talks and (convince people) not to start clashes. However, after some time one of the groups tried to push aside the speakers, after which some shots were fired. Shakirov was killed."<sup>615</sup>

An 18-year old resident of the Kyrgyz-Chek village told members of the mission that around 10 AM on 11 June, when wounded started being brought to the local hospital, he went along with three friends to Furkat village. The road was closed by law enforcement officers. Further up, there was "a very large" crowd of Uzbeks. Nearer to the roundabout, there were about 100 Uzbeks, three or four of which were armed with hunting rifles, while the others had sticks and iron bars. A fire truck was standing

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609 [http://www.presskg.com/uch/10/0701\\_10.htm](http://www.presskg.com/uch/10/0701_10.htm)

610 Interview with resident of Kara-Suu District (name withheld), the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

611 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-400.html>

612 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-450.html>

613 The list of victims requesting medical assistance at the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village between 11 and 16 June 2010. In the KIC report it is claimed that Shakirov died at 6:30 AM, however this information is contradicted by the available medical documents and the testimony of witnesses interviewed by the members of the mission.

614 Interview with doctor at the village hospital (name withheld), hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

615 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/123805/> The same information was confirmed by Dzholdosheva during a meeting with the members of the mission on 19 June 2010.



in the middle of the road, surrounded by Uzbeks. They dragged the Kyrgyz driver out of the truck and “slaughtered” him, throwing his body on the ground. Someone got in the driver’s seat and the truck ran over the body. When the Kyrgyz tried to come closer, a police officer fired a warning shot in the air. The Uzbeks started shooting, wounding an officer and taking his automatic weapon. The Kyrgyz started running away. Shots could be heard from the direction of the Islamic school (medrese). One of the witnesses was wounded by a bullet. “I saw that the Uzbeks were coming nearer, I tried getting up some shotgun pellets had hit me behind. Someone threw an iron bar at me. I managed to run to our people and fell into the crowd.”<sup>616</sup>

Another witness recalls that “in the Uzbek crowd there were six–seven people with hunting rifles and one automatic weapon. From a height far away, two “snipers” were also shooting (I heard that one guy was later caught and that they burned him up)”. He also recalls the death of two firemen, whose bodies were run over by the wheels of the fire truck that had been taken over.<sup>617</sup>

In the official lists of dead there are no firemen. However, the Ministry of Emergency Situations provided information on three firemen who were hospitalized on 11 June, two of which were brought to the division for neurosurgery of the Osh Provincial Clinical Hospital, and one to the the local hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village.<sup>618</sup>

According to Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva, chairperson of the Kurmanjan Datka Foundation and currently a member of parliament, on 11 June the 62-year old resident of Mady village Sabyrbek Anarbaev, who had “tried to reconcile the conflicting sides”, was soaked in gasoline and burned in front of other villagers on the road.<sup>619</sup> There is no person with this last name in the lists of dead published by the Prosecutor General of the Kyrgyz Republic. Possibly, this regards Mamasabir Samiev, who died on 11 June from “thermal burns of the head”. Additional details of this incident are unknown.

Judging by the registration documents of wounded brought to the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, the shooting which started around 9:30 AM continued for over an hour. At 9:30 AM, AKIpress news agency reported that law enforcement officers were being sent to the area where “people are concentrated” in Furkat village,<sup>620</sup> however, there is no information about police or military taking the necessary actions to stop the violence.

In the version presented by the Prosecutor’s office, soldiers from the Ministry of Defense were sent in armored vehicles to Furkat at 9 AM to stop clashes.<sup>621</sup> However,

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616 Interview with resident of Kyrgyz-Chek village (name withheld), hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

617 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

618 <http://mes.kg/?p=5998>

619 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/125889>

620 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

621 Information from the Prosecutor’s office in Kara-Suu District.

the soldiers limited themselves to patrolling the main roads, which did not have any noticeable effect on the situation. “Beginning at 10 AM, an APC drove by two–three times. They would chase off Uzbeks, threaten with automatic weapons, people ran away, and they would leave”, recalls a witness.<sup>622</sup>

A resident of Furkat village recalls how about 500 Uzbeks came from the direction of the Amir Temur Microdistrict. As a result, Kyrgyz who were standing by the fork in the road at the entrance of Furkat were blockaded from two sides.<sup>623</sup> The blockade was probably not in place for very long, as new groups of Kyrgyz arrived from Alay, Karakuldza, Uzgen and Chon-Alay Districts, their numbers reaching 2–4000 people by mid-day.<sup>624</sup> At 2:40 PM, AKIpress news agency reported that a large number of people were coming to Osh from Alay District in buses and trucks.<sup>625</sup> Around 11 AM, a witness reported movement of crowds from the fork in the road in Furkat in the western direction.<sup>626</sup>

During the period of calm between 11 and 12 AM, members of the Interim Government Azimbek Beknazarov and Ismail Isakov and the leader of Ata-Zhurt political party Akhmatbek Keldibekov landed in the conflict zone in a helicopter.<sup>627</sup> Their attempts to convince the Kyrgyz youth not to enter the city were not met with understanding. The crowd, which President Roza Otunbaeva called “very drunk young guys”,<sup>628</sup> demanded from the members of the government that they be given automatic weapons in order to confront the armed Uzbeks. The security guards had to fire warning shots in the air.

According to unconfirmed information, the situation became extremely tense after Beknazarov’s unfortunate statement that victims could not be avoided “during a war”.<sup>629</sup> According to those serving in the State Security Service (SGO in Russian), they were worried about an unpredictable development of the situation, and used force to put Beknazarov back in the helicopter, and then place Isakov there as well.<sup>630</sup> The crowd started throwing rocks and other items at the helicopter, breaking the front window and damaging the propeller,<sup>631</sup> but the members of the government were unharmed. The incident made a strong impression on Ismail Isakov, who concluded that without the law enforcement agencies having access to special equipment, the Kyrgyz village youth “can not be stopped by anyone”.<sup>632</sup> The Mayor of Osh, Melisbek

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622 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010.

623 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 10 July 2010.

624 The estimation of 2000 people is given by the prosecutor’s office in Osh Province. The report by Ismail Isakov gives the number 4000.

625 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

626 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/lofiversion/index.php?t4188758-450.html>

627 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetMamytov.doc> Testimony of M. Toychibaeva, July 2010.

628 <http://www.24kg.org/community/75865-zhiteli-oshskoj-oblasti-popytalis-zakidat.html>

629 Interview with Aziza Abdirasulova, Osh, 18 June 2010.

630 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1297412340>

631 <http://fergana.AKIpress.org/news:85561/>

632 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6897>

Myrzakmatov, later stated that he had convinced another member of the Interim Government, Omurbek Tekebaev, not to fly to Furkat, as he had received information from people in the crowd that people from Alay wanted to settle scores with Tekebaev due to his connection with the leader of the “Uzbek separatists”, Kadyrzhan Batyrov.<sup>633</sup>

The landing of a military helicopter on the field behind the Koran school led to rumors among the Uzbek population that the army was bringing weapons to the Kyrgyz.<sup>634</sup>

Around 12 PM on 11 June, an APC with special forces arrived to the fork in the road in Furkat village.<sup>635</sup> Driving through the village, the soldiers on the APC yelled swear words at the Uzbeks and threatened them with weapons. Soon, a truck with soldiers drove through in the same direction. Residents in the houses near the road started leaving the area that night. Greater numbers of the population started fleeing after shooting broke out in the morning.<sup>636</sup>

Members of the mission were unable to interview direct participants in the clashes that took place in Furkat after 12:30 PM on 11 June, therefore it remains unclear how the events unfolded over the next hours.

According to a witness, a crowd of Uzbeks used sickles to kill two Kyrgyz they had caught near the Pushkin school in Furkat village around 12:13 PM, then poured gasoline on their bodies and torched them. They placed a white kalpak (Kyrgyz national headwear) on the dead bodies. “Everything took place in the middle of the road, demonstratively, right in front of both Uzbeks and Kyrgyz. There were no weapons, so we could not do anything”, recalls a Kyrgyz witness. “After two-three hours after the Uzbeks had left, leaving the bodies, we managed to load them on a Porter truck and bring them to the hospital”.<sup>637</sup> A doctor at the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village also confirms that bodies with cuts in the throat area and with burns were delivered there.<sup>638</sup>

A former schoolteacher, female and Kyrgyz, whose family ran the café in Furkat, closed the gates only at 2 PM on the advice of acquaintances, in spite of the serious situation. At that time, a group of young Uzbeks came to the house, saying “This house belongs to Kyrgyz. Kyrgyz dogs!”, and started throwing rocks. However, soon the attackers ran along with the other Uzbeks, fearing violence from the Kyrgyz crowd, which was coming closer.<sup>639</sup>

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633 Myrzakmatov, M., *Men izdegen chyndyk*. Bishkek, 2011, p.32.

634 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 June 2010, Open letter of M. Toychibaeva, July 2010.

635 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=500>

636 Open letter of m. Toychibaeva, July 2010.

637 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

638 Interview with doctor of village hospital (name withheld), hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

639 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 21 December 2010.

According to the report of the prosecutor's office, at around 1 PM, the Kyrgyz crowd moving in the direction of Osh burned houses and property in Furkat village, and later in the area around Verkhne-Uvamskaya Street in Shark village. Also, both the Uzbek and Kyrgyz sides used firearms.<sup>640</sup>

Judging by the registration documents of wounded brought to the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, the shooting started up again around mid-day, and with a short pause, continued until 4 PM, after which the numbers of Kyrgyz requesting medical assistance fell sharply.<sup>641</sup>

A resident of Karimov Street in the suburbs of Osh who went to the mosque for Friday prayers saw how the Kyrgyz crowd started throwing rocks and shooting at those arriving to the mosque. He lost consciousness after being hit on the head with a stick.<sup>642</sup>

A Kyrgyz woman who tried to leave the city on 11 June told members of the mission that around 1–2 PM, the car she was driving in was shot at from two sides in the area near Osh Provincial Hospital. One of those travelling with her was mortally wounded in the head, and the driver was shot in the stomach. Only with great difficulty did they manage to drive to Furkat village. In a Tiko car driving behind them, there were also people killed and wounded from the shooting.<sup>643</sup>

In an interview in the Kyrgyz-language newspaper Uchur, a resident of Furkat village, Nurlan Orozbaev said that shooting against Kyrgyz came in single shots as well as in rounds. "There was no help from the police. Police men who were hiding from the bullets said that they did not have permission to shoot." "Our goal was to open the road." But in response to Uzbeks burning houses belonging to Kyrgyz in Furkat, "we started burning their houses". Orozbaev was wounded while removing one of the barricades the Uzbeks had set up.<sup>644</sup> Not everything in the interview can be considered correct, for instance, the claim that 11 police men were killed in Furkat is certainly not reliable information. Judging by medical documents, Orozbaev arrived to the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village at 12:25 PM after having participated in the attack started by the Kyrgyz soon after Isakov and Beknazarov had flown away in the helicopter.

According to the Military Prosecutor's office, about 1500 Kyrgyz surrounded the soldiers in military unit 30295 (the head of the group was Colonel A. Bulanov) approximately at 3 PM on 11 June in Furkat village, seizure of two APC-80s, two RPK-

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640 Information from Kara-Suu District Prosecutor.

641 From 12 PM until 4:05 PM, this hospital received six dead and 47 wounded, from 7 PM to 10:30 PM they received eight wounded.

642 Testimony of the victim (name withheld) to the Prosecutor of Osh Province, 6 July 2010.

643 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

644 [http://www.presskg.com/uch/10/0701\\_10.htm](http://www.presskg.com/uch/10/0701_10.htm)

74 machine guns, 24 AK-74 and AKS-74 automatic weapons, one SVD sniper rifle, 1000 bullets of 14,5 mm caliber (for heavy-calibered machine guns) and 8950 bullets of 5,45 and 7,62 mm caliber. Almost all this equipment (apart from the APCs) had not been returned by the end of July 2010.<sup>645</sup>

The events are described somewhat differently in the comments of the government of Kyrgyzstan to the KIC report. According to the comments, three army APCs which had been called out from their base in Mayli-Suu were stopped by a crowd of 4000 people near the Osh Provincial Hospital. Officers and soldiers were dragged out of the APC and beaten up. A mechanic/driver managed to put one APC out of use (it was later returned during a special operation carried out by the law enforcement agencies). The second APC was seized by the crowd. The third managed to get out of the crowd and reached the command center by sideroads.<sup>646</sup> Similar descriptions of the events are found in the report of Ismail Isakov, according to which the APCs were seized around 2 PM.<sup>647</sup>

In August 2010, Colonel Bulanov (the Chief of Staff of military unit 30295) told members of the National Commission that around 1 PM on 11 June, he reached Furkat with 3 APCs. At that time, a crowd of 2000–2500 people was gathering there, which surrounded the cortege and did not let them pass into the city.

I led negotiations with these people for fourhours, but without any results. Later, a black jeep without registration numbers arrived there, and the passengers of the jeep agitated the crowd and provoked them. At 5 PM I gave the order to the soldiers to leave the crowd, but people started beating up the soldiers and take their weapons, they beat me up too and tore off my shoulder-straps.

In the course of fourhours, Bulanov repeatedly called the command center that promised to send help, but did not.<sup>648</sup>

The weapons seized were used by the Kyrgyz crowd to break through the Uzbek barricades which were blocking the main road, Pamirskaya Street, which led to the center of Osh.

From the conflicting reports given above it is not clear whether the crowd may have used the APCs seized to support the crowd's movement towards the west (Osh) at 2:15 PM, or only after 5 PM. In any case, the seized sniper rifle could not have been used at 11 AM during the shooting at the Provincial Hospital, a possibility suggested in the KIC report.

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645 Information from the Military Prosecutor's office.

646 [http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kg\\_comments\\_russian\\_final.pdf](http://www.k-ic.org/images/stories/kg_comments_russian_final.pdf)

647 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>. In the KIC report, the time for when the APCs were seized is usually given as "early morning".

648 <http://south.kloop.kg/2010/08/07/podrobnosti-zaxvata-btrov-v-oshe-i-oruzhiya-v-majli-suu/>

A resident of Furkat village (an ethnic Uzbek) interviewed by the members of the mission claimed that he observed a crowd of Kyrgyz armed with machine guns and accompanied by an APC around 2 PM (during the Friday prayer).<sup>649</sup>

According to a former law enforcement officer, sub-divisions involved in keeping order on the streets were lined up at the main square at 5 PM on 11 June. In connection with this, checkpoints with armoured vehicles were taken down from the eastern part of Osh, something that led to an increase in the violence along Pamirskaya and Monuev Streets.<sup>650</sup> This information is confirmed by reports from AKIpress, according to which an intensive gunfight took place in the area around the Provincial Hospital at 6:30 PM, at the same time as “all armed forces sent from Bishkek were gathering on the central square”, including two wheeled and five tracked APCs and IFVs<sup>651</sup> (the KIC report mistakenly states that the armored vehicles were concentrated in the center on 12 June 2010)

According to a resident of Alay District interviewed by HRW, there were no checkpoints in the eastern part of Osh at this time, and no serious obstacles to entering the city. As a result, those who had arrived from Gulcha village to carry out pogroms left Osh and went home every night in the period from 11 to 14 June, returning in the morning to “beat the Uzbeks”.

According to AKIpress news agency, 3000 Kyrgyz who arrived from Alay District and other districts were confronted with over 1000 Uzbeks in Furkat, who were helped by groups from the Amir Temur Microdistrict.<sup>652</sup> Other estimates say there were about 1000–1200 people “doing the fighting” among the Kyrgyz who had gathered in Furkat.<sup>653</sup> Among the Kyrgyz gathered there, rumors were spreading that Uzbeks allegedly had killed and raped girls at the student dormitory of the univeristy, and that in the Amir Temur Microdistrict they had burned alive 30 Kyrgyz from the Alay District in a barn. In another version of the made-up story about the female students from Osh State University, it was claimed that Uzbeks were holding them as hostages and sexually assaulting them.<sup>654</sup>

A resident of Furkat village recalls that he could see from the rooftops of houses on Kadyrov Street that an APC was driving in front of the Kyrgyz crowd, and that people armed with guns were sitting on top of the APC. Behind them walked 20–30 people armed with automatic weapons and rifles, and further behind them, a crowd of 500–600 people. The Uzbeks had to run away, after which looting and torching of houses

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649 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010.

650 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 30 June 2010.

651 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

652 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

653 Interview with resident of Kara-Suu District (name withheld), Osh Province, 10 June 2010.

654 Interviews with residents of Osh Province (name withheld), the hospial in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

started towards evening.<sup>655</sup> This continued up to the intersection of Monuev and Gagarin Streets. After the beginning Kyrgyz attacks, some participants of the events were brought out to protect the nearby Kyrgyz villages by aksakals.<sup>656</sup>

At 9:30 AM on 11 June, soldiers with automatic weapons and an APC participated in the evacuation of a group of ethnic Kyrgyz from the area by the Provincial Hospital.<sup>657</sup>

On the intersection by the Osh Provincial Hospital, Uzbek youth were trying from the morning on to block Monuev Street with old tables and benches from a nearby café, something which was received negatively by older people. Around mid-day, 30–50 unarbed male Uzbeks between the ages of 16 and 25 were at this barricade.<sup>658</sup>

A resident of Tadzhiiskaya Street who returned home after Friday prayer saw that Uzbeks started running away from Monuev Street. Soon, his son told him by telephone that the first houses had been burned across from the Provincial Hospital, and that resident had started to evacuate women and children from Shavkat Rakhman Street. The entry to Tadzhiiskaya Street was barrickaded. People who were arriving from the direction of Monuev Street spoke of a shoot-out near the Provincial Hospital.<sup>659</sup>

After Friday prayer, a Kyrgyz crowd started gathering on the road not far from the Provincial Hospital, near an APC with soldiers. Within two hours, the crowd had grown from 1000 to 3000–5000 people.

In the beginning, they didn't do anything; they didn't even quarrel with us. Someone spoke in front of them. Then they moved forward. The crowd didn't enter the mahalla, but shot... They torched a house at the entrance on Kamil Ashur Street. At the beginning of Shavkat Rakhman Street, they looted and torched a house and a shop. They looted the small bazaar, the wine and vodka shop and a food products shop. They went at it until the morning here, eating and drinking.<sup>660</sup>

The 33-year old Ilkhom Zulumov was brutally beaten by a Kyrgyz crowd near the car repair factory (at the first kilometer along the Pamir main road). He was beaten with batons and kicked, and shot in the stomach. At 2 PM he was hospitalized in serious condition at the Osh Provincial Hospital, where he died on 18 June 2010.<sup>661</sup>

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655 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010.

656 Interview with resident of Kara Suu District (name withheld), the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

657 [http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar\\_rakhmanov\\_vse\\_svoimi\\_glazami/1-1-0-1017](http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar_rakhmanov_vse_svoimi_glazami/1-1-0-1017)

658 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

659 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

660 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

661 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

At 2:30 PM, the 28-year old Takhir Alimzhanov was brought to the same hospital, where he died the same day from gunshot wounds he had received on a nearby street.<sup>662</sup>

At 4:30 PM, the brothers Kobul and Takhir Nazarov were brought to the Provincial Hospital, after having been beaten up by those carrying out pogroms in house no. 20 on Bobur Street. The attackers had arrived in a firetruck they had taken over in Furkat village. The 53-year old Takhir was shot in the head and died on 18 June. The 55-year old Kobul was hospitalized with a concussion. When he returned to the village on 28 June, he found his house looted and burned down.<sup>663</sup>

A resident of Shark village in Kara-Suu District explained that on 11 June between 2 and 3 PM, the Kyrgyz crowd torched house on Monuev Street (across from the Provincial Hospital, by the intersection with Kamila Ashurova Street). A group of Uzbeks who were trying to put out the fire was shot at. Two people died from gunshot wounds.<sup>664</sup> Unknown “snipers” were shooting (probably from the direction of the dormitory and the water towers at the car repair plant.<sup>665</sup> Shots also came from an army APC, which was standing by the dormitory. Four soldiers from this APC first walked through Shavkat Rakhman Street and opened fire from automatic weapons. Residents started leaving their houses, and women and children were brought to safer areas.<sup>666</sup>

Another resident of the makhalla recalls that during the day, an armed Kyrgyz crowd of about 1500–3000 persons came from the direction of Furkat village. The crowd stopped near the APC carrying the soldiers, which was parked by the truck stop (“avtokolonna 2902”) at the first kilometer of the Pamir main road. After a few minutes, six trucks carrying people arrived from the direction of Furkat, and with the help of the soldiers they managed to fill gas on the cars at a nearby AZS. After some time, escorted by the APC and a KRAZ military truck, the crowd moved down the road in the direction of the Provincial Hospital. The soldiers opened fire on the Uzbeks. Out of 10 people who were standing at one of the barricades at the entrance to the makhalla, three received gunshot wounds, one of them died on the way to the hospital.<sup>667</sup>

On 11 June 2010, the 43-year old Khasil Gaziev, citizen of the Russian Federation, was shot by a machine gunner on an APC on Verkhne-Uvamskaya Street in Shark village. Around 5 PM he went to his sister’s, who lived in that area. When Khasil was

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662 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

663 Testimony of Kobilzhon Nazarov to the Prosecutor of Osh Province, 6 July 2010.

664 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

665 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

666 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2011.

667 [http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar\\_rakhmanov\\_vse\\_svoimi\\_glazami/1-1-0-1017](http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar_rakhmanov_vse_svoimi_glazami/1-1-0-1017)



talking with locals on the street, an APC with soldiers appeared and opened fire from automatic weapons. They started running away. Khasil was fatally wounded.<sup>668</sup>

According to a resident in a house on Gulchinskaya Street, heavy shooting broke out after mid-day on 11 June on the intersection of the main roads Monuev and Gagarin Street (about 200 meters from his house). "We were scared, started looking out, soldiers with an APC started shooting at us with rounds from automatic weapons."<sup>669</sup> Another witness recalls that during the day he saw an APC with 10 soldiers in uniform driving in circles near the intersection of Monuev Street and Shavkat Rakhman Street, shooting from automatic weapons (possibly, in the air).<sup>670</sup>

According to AKIpress, around 9 PM on 11 June, shooting could be heard near the Provincial Hospital.<sup>671</sup> "Until 10 PM, there was chaos", recalls a witness. "Looters were taking cigarettes, meat...At one shop they placed four cars, men and women were loading things from the shop, as if from their own house. Nobody stopped them. One Kyrgyz in uniform sat on the road drinking beer." Late at night, when the attackers left, the residents put out the fires in the buildings and opened the entry to the mahalla.<sup>672</sup> The residents on the block started writing SOS on the asphalt and the houses from 11 June on, explaining this by rumors of a possible evacuation of Uzbeks by helicopter.<sup>673</sup>

In the KIC report it is claimed that approximately at 11 AM "about 300 Kyrgyz, some carrying the flag of Kyrgyzstan, attacked Uzbek residents on Pamirskaya-Monueva Street. The Kyrgyz crowd was armed only with sticks and stones. The Uzbeks, who had established a barricade at the regional hospital, repelled the attack." However, witnesses interviewed by members of the mission state with certainty that the clashes by the Provincial Hospital took place not at 11 AM, but at 2 PM, and that they almost from the very beginning involved the use of firearms on the side of soldiers and "snipers". Possibly, the place where the incident on the morning of 11 June in Furkat village took place is not accurately given in the KIC report.

The KIC report also states that during the day on 11 June, automatic weapons were handed out to the Kyrgyz from APC and some cars in the area near the Provincial Hospital. However, in our opinion, this information needs to be confirmed. Residents of nearby houses interviewed by members of the mission do not mention this fact when describing the events.

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668 Statement to international organizations (name withheld), 26 July 2010.

669 Interview with resident of Osh city (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

670 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2011.

671 <http://www.centrasia.ru/news.php?st=1276581420>

672 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 23 June 2011.

673 Interview with residents of Shark village (names withheld), Osh Province, 25 June 2011 and 24 December 2011.

There is conflicting information also regarding the dates when the Kyrgyz crowd and the APC went deep into the mahallas on Shavkat Rakhman Street. In the KIC report and in the explanations of some residents in the area, these events are dated to the second half of the day on 11 June. However, during more detailed interviews, witnesses stated that the attempt to “break through” came on the second day of the conflict – on 12 June. Many details coincide in both descriptions. Some of the women who were interviewed in detail stayed in the cellars of houses until mid-day on 12 June, when the threat from the attacking Kyrgyz crowd became more direct. When reconstructing the events in this part of Shark village, we base ourselves on this version.

In order not to let those carrying out pogroms reach the southern and south-eastern parts of the city from the direction of Ak-Buura River, the population organized barricades on 11 June, including in the area near the grain factory, the Karl Marx School and by the final stop of minibus no. 102.<sup>674</sup> On the southern part of Masaliev Avenue, clashes took place on the morning and day of 11 June. According to AKIpress, towards 9 AM the building of the energy supplier company OshPVES was damaged.<sup>675</sup> Around mid-day near the PVES building, new clashes between groups of youth took place. Some participants threw rocks at one another.<sup>676</sup> Grammar school no. 13 (the Khamza School) on the southern part of Gagarin Street was torched (details and exact date are unknown).<sup>677</sup>

According to a resident in the northern part of Shark village, the entrances to the village were closed by barricades on 11 June, on the old road to Uzgen an excavator had been used to dig an anti-tank ditch, in order to stop soldiers on APCs and those carrying out pogroms to enter the village from that direction.<sup>678</sup>

On the diesel.elcat.kg internet forum, a message was posted at 7:54 PM about shooting from the direction of Furkat village from heavy calibered weapons. After a few minutes, an IFV (possibly, seized during the day by the crowd in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict) and a large number of cars with armed people drove in the direction of Furkat from the intersection of Masaliev Avenue and Zaynabetdinov Street. Judging by the cries of the crowd of armed people, they were going to “help people from Alay” who were not being let into the city.<sup>679</sup> After an hour, the IFV returned from the direction of Furkat village, and witnesses said that the crowds from Alay District had now broken through to the city.<sup>680</sup>

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674 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=800>

675 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

676 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=520>

677 <http://89.108.120.121/osh/77044-irina-karamushkina-v-xode-besporjadkov-na-yuge.html>

678 Interview with residents of Shark village (names withheld), osh Province, 25 June 2010.

679 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=880>

680 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=20>

Some sources recall a heavy Kamaz truck with metal sheets over the windows protecting the driver from bullets, which was used by the Uzbeks on the morning of 11 June to attack the Kyrgyz crowd in Furkat village.<sup>681</sup> One such Kamaz was later found left on the road with traces of blood inside and outside. The owner of the Kamaz was arrested. According to his relatives, he was charged with having brought people to Furkat around 11 AM on 11 June, who then torched the gas station and smashed up a GAZ-31 car, the passengers being hospitalized after beatings. The relatives of the arrested man, however, claim that this Kamaz was stolen from the barricades in the Amir Temur Microdistrict on 12 June, and that metal sheets were not attached to the truck when it was stolen.<sup>682</sup> Although witnesses to the clashes that took place in Furkat on 11 June between 9 AM and 1 PM, who were interviewed by the members of the mission, do not recall that a Kamaz with metal protection was used. This question needs to be studied further.

Articles on [www.uzmetronom.com](http://www.uzmetronom.com), an internet site based in Tashkent referring to “information prepared in Uzbekistan for a very small group of official persons” claim that around 9 PM on 11 June, 200 armed Kyrgyz armed with iron bars and hunting rifles broke into the Provincial Hospital “under the leadership of local criminal authorities”. Having chased away the Kyrgyz, they torched the building and shot Uzbeks fleeing the hospital, killing around 100 people.<sup>683</sup> Another version of the same events claims that around 100 Uzbeks were killed brutally inside the Provincial Hospital using various methods.<sup>684</sup> Today one can say with absolute certainty that the information of mass killings of people inside the Provincial Hospital is not based in reality.

Residents of a house on Kadyrov Street in Furkat village recall that on the evening of 11 June, looters went from house to house. “They even replaced batteries on broken cars and drove them away.” From mid-day on, writings had been made on the houses with the words “Kyrgyz” and “Sart”, indicating the ethnicity of the owner. “If there was no writing, they went inside and asked.” Later, the word “Sart” on buildings was removed. This proved that the pogroms were organized, in the opinion of this witness.<sup>685</sup>

In the evening, more and more residents of Kyrgyz villages kept arriving to Furkat, including armed people. At midnight, several thousand people were gathered here. They discussed plans for further movements towards the Amir Temur Microdistrict, where many Uzbeks living in the eastern part of Osh and in suburban villages had fled.<sup>686</sup> In the KIC report it is claimed that local residents organized food for those who

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681 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=80>

682 Interview with resident of Osh city (name withheld), Osh, 7 July 2010.

683 [http://www.uzmetronom.com/2010/06/22/beda\\_kotoruju\\_zhdali.html](http://www.uzmetronom.com/2010/06/22/beda_kotoruju_zhdali.html)

684 <http://yangidunyo.com/?p=17193>

685 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010.

686 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=80>

had arrived, part of whom spent the night on mattresses taken from Uzbek houses. Some residents in the Kyrgyz-Chek village used the evening to prepare improvised weapons (knives tied to a stick), which were used in the following days for the “war against Uzbeks”.<sup>687</sup>

Among the Kyrgyz, including those living outside Osh, photographs were widely circulated showing dead bodies brought to the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village on 11 June. This was an important factor in the further ethnic mobilization.<sup>688</sup> To stop such pictures from being spread, a GSNB officer was constantly at the hospital hining photo and video recordings being taken of the victims.<sup>689</sup>

According to official information, at the military bases in Alay, Aravan, Kara-Suu, Kara-Kuldzha and Chon-Alay Districts of Osh Province, Kyrgyz crowds in the period 11–13 June seized 25 AK-74 automatic weapons, a SVD sniper rifle, two grenade launchers with 225 shells, 1 PM pistol, 14 F-1 grenades and 9999 bullets (see details below). On 12 June around 3 PM, military unit 30629 of the Ministry of Defense was stripped of its weapons, the attackers taking with them two AKS automatic weapons and 120 bullets.<sup>690</sup> On the evening of 12 June in a suburb outside Osh, a crowd of 500 people seized two AKS-74 automatic weapons and 240 bullets from the border guards from Ala-Bukin District in Jalalabad Province (military unit 2030), who at the time were escorting a cortege with food products.<sup>691</sup> Probably, some of these weapons were used during the pogroms in the eastern part of Osh and its suburbs between 12 and 14 June 2010.

Early in the morning on 12 June, a Kyrgyz crowd which had gathered in Furkat village started attacking farming areas (to the south of Pamirskaya Street) and then the residential area in Shark village to the north of the Provincial Hospital and the Amir Temur Microdistrict (the attack on this microdistrict is described in the next chapter of the report).

A resident of Furkat village who lived on Kadyrov Street recalls:

From the Saturday morning (12 June) and until 2 PM on Monday they were looting our street. It was done mainly by youth. I was on the roof, and saw how it happened. Groups of 10–15 armed people entered the houses. First they robbed the house; then they torched it. At night, during the curfew, the looting stopped, and in the morning everything was repeated. On Monday they burned houses which hadn't already been burned. When they torched houses, local Kyrgyz helped us to hide.<sup>692</sup>

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687 Interview with resident of Kyrgyz-Chek village (name withheld), Osh Province, 19 June 2010.

688 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 30 June 2010.

689 Interview with resident of Kyrgyz-Chek village (name withheld), Osh Province, 19 June 2010.

690 Information from the Military Prosecutor's office.

691 Information from the Military Prosecutor's office.

692 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010.

According to a resident on Karimov Street, at 4:50 AM:

Early in the morning when people were walking to the mosque, they started torching this street. They torched the mosque, houses. There had been no disturbances here. But soldiers on an APC came up here and started to shoot from a machine gun and automatic weapons. They killed one of my uncles, blew his head off, the other uncle was wounded. Young guys were wounded in two neighboring houses. The women were barely able to take the children out through another street to a secure area. The men also ran away. Those carrying out pogroms went inside and started looting. On the next day, cars with tinted windows and Kamaz trucks came, and people were loading onto them whatever they needed, while the soldiers protected them. My relatives and I went down here, we wanted to put out the fire in my house and my uncle's house, but the soldiers started shooting at us, we were barely able to run away. They stole everything; then they torched the house from the inside. This continued on Saturday and Sunday.<sup>693</sup>

According to the KIC report, on 12 June around 5 AM, one crowd was moving along Pamirskaya Street and Motuev Street, while a second crowd moved along Masaliev Avenue, burning Uzbek shops and cafés. Both crowds met at the Provincial Hospital, and after uniting, went into the mahalla in Shark village, using an APC to break through the barricade.

In the morning, people with automatic weapons entered the mahalla on Shavkat Rakhman Street, removing some Kyrgyz renting houses in the dangerous zones. Around mid-day, soldiers went deep into the mahalla escorted by a Kyrgyz crowd, reaching the Tolstoy school. Houses in this area were looted and torched. Residents started leaving the area in panic. From around 2 PM, "snipers" fired from the houses of the student dormitory and the water tower.<sup>694</sup>

According to the Prosecutor General's office, at 12 June "at 1 PM on the road behind the roundabout in Furkat village up to the Provincial Hospital residential houses were burning, and 1500–2000 people gathered near the Provincial Hospital."<sup>695</sup>

On the morning of 12 June, a resident on Gulchinskaya Street saw that houses and shops were burning on the intersection of Monuev and Gagarin Street. "Near our house, about 100 women had gathered with their children, we helped them get through the yards and out to Gagarin Street, and from there into the On Adyr Microdistrict."<sup>696</sup>

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693 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010.

694 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

695 Information from Osh Provincial Prosecutor.

696 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

In the morning those carrying out pogroms came from the direction of Gagarin Street, escorted by an APC. They started breaking down the gates of houses, throwing bottles with gasoline. Houses on Gulchinskaya Street caught fire. People with automatic weapons in uniform were standing in the direction of the Provincial Hospital (8 people). They shot rounds at people who were running along Tadzhikskaya Street. Near my house, two people were shot: One tried to hide behind a lamp post, the other was hiding in the bushes by the neighbor's house.<sup>697</sup>

At 11:40 AM on the [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg) forum, a message was posted about shooting between residents of the Uzbek village Padavan (Shark village district) and armed people attacking the village.<sup>698</sup>

A resident on Shavkat Rakhman Street recalls:

Around 2–3 PM I saw from the roof how a Kyrgyz crowd again was moving into our mahalla. First came six soldiers in camouflage with automatic weapons, and some ten meters behind them, 200 civilians with weapons, and then about 1000 people, including women and teenagers. They were accompanied by a wheeled APC, which drove deep into the mahalla up to the first turn. Four men who tried to run deeper into the residential area were shooting from the APC. The driver of the APC was not very experienced. When he skid to a halt, we started throwing rocks, the soldiers hid inside and opened fire. The tower with the machine gun got stuck, it couldn't turn. We tried to seize the APC, but the soldiers fought us off.<sup>699</sup>

Soon, the APC drove away.<sup>700</sup>

At the same time, several armed groups (about 20 people in each group) were “cleaning” streets and houses.<sup>701</sup> Looters arrived in cars (there were women among them). Moving in smaller groups, they started looting and torching residential houses. The torching in this area was massive.<sup>702</sup> The 25-year old Anvarzhon Emakov, who lived in house no. 20 on Shavkat Rakhman Street, died from a shot in the head from a sniper near his house.<sup>703</sup> The 62-year old Salizhan Akhmedov was dragged out of house no. 13 onto the street and killed. “They also shot at an invalid, a young guy by the name of Farid, and then they poured gasoline in his mouth and burned him near the house.” On one of the side-streets all the houses were burned except one, where the wife of the owner was an ethnic Kyrgyz. Her relatives worked in the police.<sup>704</sup>

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697 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

698 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=100>

699 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

700 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2011.

701 [http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar\\_rakhmanov\\_vse\\_svoimi\\_glazami/1-1-0-1017](http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar_rakhmanov_vse_svoimi_glazami/1-1-0-1017)

702 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 25 June 2010.

703 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 June 2011.

704 Interviews with residents of Shark village (names withheld), Osh Province, 25 June 2010.

Around 5–6 PM, the Kyrgyz crowd tried for the third time to enter the mahalla on Shavkat Rakhman Street. The pogroms continued until late in the evening. “This time, we fought back. Taking cover behind a Kamaz truck, we started getting them out of the side streets, throwing rocks”.<sup>705</sup> Another witness describes that a crowd of Uzbeks walked yelling behind a Kamaz truck which was moving forwards towards the Kyrgyz, throwing rocks and home-made “bang bombs” (a mix of carbides, lime carbonate, water and other materials in plastic bottles) from behind it.<sup>706</sup>

According to unofficial estimates, about 15 people died on this day.<sup>707</sup> Around 10 PM, residents in the area who were returning to burned-down streets blocked the entry to the mahalla with two cars.<sup>708</sup>

The fight of the Uzbek residents against those who were suspected of participating in the pogroms was sometimes carried with brutal methods. A 24-year old resident of Mady village told members of the mission that along with seven–eight young Kyrgyz he was trying to leave the city along Motuev Street on the morning of 12 June. However, near the Provincial Hospital, snipers were shooting at the road.

Someone in a blue t-shirt was shooting from the roof of the hospital, another in a red cap was in the mahalla, on the roof of a house. It was impossible to pass due to the shooting. An car drove up to us, and five Uzbeks came out. Two of them had automatic weapons. We ran deep into the mahalla, they started shooting. On one of the streets we found ourselves in a dead-end, the road was blocked with nets. There were four–five other Kyrgyz with me. We couldn’t get through the net. They were throwing burning bottles of gasoline at us. I tore up my t-shirt at started putting out the flames. I don’t know why they didn’t kill me. I fled, running I don’t know in what direction, I was in a state of shock. I don’t remember how I ended up on the road to Furkat. A passing car picked me up.<sup>709</sup>

According to medical documents, the man was hospitalized in Kyrgyz-Chek village with burns on his stomach and arms at 12:20 PM on 12 June.

At 6:55 PM, the 38-year old Iliyaz Adishev, a resident of Alay District, arrived to the same hospital. In the documentary film “Koogalan” it is said that was shot when he drove through the area by the Provincial Hospital.

In the chronology of the UVD in Osh City of the events on 12 June, the Provincial Hospital is mentioned only in the context of “successful work of the law enforcement agencies”. The version of the UVD states that on the day of 12 June, several thousand

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705 Interviews with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

706 [http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar\\_rakhmanov\\_vse\\_svoimi\\_glazami/1-1-0-1017](http://uzigabek.ucoz.ru/publ/sarvar_rakhmanov_vse_svoimi_glazami/1-1-0-1017)

707 Interviews with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

708 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 22 June 2011.

709 Interview with resident of Mady village (name withheld), the hospital in Kyrgyz-Chek village, 19 June 2010.

Kyrgyz were moving along Masaliev Avenue in the direction of Osh Provincial Hospital, where “citizens of Uzbek ethnicity were gathering”.

With the aim of preventing mass clashes, an APC was sent to meet the crowd, carrying the chairman of the city parliament, Davletbek Alimbekov, former members of parliament Kamchybek Tashiev, Akhmatbek Keldibekov, Altynbek Sulaymanov and Rustam Mamanov. In spite of the aggressive mood in the crowds, due to lengthy negotiations...they were able to stop the crowd and turn it back from the Osh Provincial Hospital towards Masaliev Avenue. Mass clashes between the two sides were avoided.<sup>710</sup>

The UVD document does not say a word about the murders, pogroms and burnings taking place at that time in the Uzbek blocks near the Provincial Hospital.

According to unconfirmed information from a witness in the law enforcement agencies, there was a Kyrgyz post between the villages of Furkat and Mady in the period from 12 to 16 June, through which women and children could pass, but it was demanded of Kyrgyz men that they stay in the city to fight the Uzbeks.<sup>711</sup>

On the day of 13 June, a smaller Kyrgyz crowd than on previous days again attacked an Uzbek block across from the Provincial Hospital.

A resident in the mahalla reported four attacks on this day on Shavkat Rakhman Street involving soldiers and civilians.

At first, the APC drove up to the school, shooting from a machine gun. Afterwards, soldiers without an APC came in twice. Behind them was a crowd of looters. Among them were also women and young guys. Then there was another attack where up to 200 people and an APC participated, the APC drove up to the mosque. Armed groups of 20–40 people came in from three sides... In previous days, the soldiers entering the mahalla first shot in the air, but on the 13 June both the soldiers and the APC immediately opened fire on Uzbeks. Snipers also continued shooting.<sup>712</sup>

According to the Prosecutor’s office, “due to the increasingly difficult circumstances in Furkat village, at 11:30 AM, 100 fighters (special forces) from the Sher group of the internal forces were sent to the area by the Osh Provincial Hospital.” It continues:

With the aim of not permitting the Kyrgyz crowds who had gathered in Furkat village to enter into Osh City, a group of 30 soldiers from the internal forces on

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710 Information from UVD in Osh City.

711 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 30 June 2010.

712 Interviews with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.



armored carriers were sent to the fork in the road in the northern part of Furkat village. At the same time, preventive work was organized among the crowds by people who held authority among residents from Alay and Kara-Kudlza Districts. At 1:10 PM, due to the increasingly difficult circumstances near the Provincial Hospital, an additional group of SOBR-officers from the UVD of Osh Province were sent there. Approximately at 3 PM, information was received that a crowd of 1500–2000 people of Kyrgyz ethnicity were moving from Furkat village towards Osh along Monuev Street. A special group on armoured vehicles was sent in the direction of Furkat village.<sup>713</sup>

As can be seen from the quotes above, the document of the prosecutor's office mainly contains a chronology of decisions to send this or that sub-division of the law enforcement agencies to areas where events are taking place. However, there is no information on the actions taken by these sub-divisions in the conflict zone. There is also no information on acts of violence among those participating in the mass unrest; these are instead veiled behind phrases regarding "increasingly difficult circumstances".

According to information from the military, a shoot-out took place near the Provincial Hospital at mid-day on 13 June.<sup>714</sup> The chairman of the Kurmanjan Datka Foundation Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva stated on the same day that about 200 residents of Kyrgyz-Chek village who were on the road near the Provincial Hospital had been shot at from the roofs of unfinished buildings, and that "at no point did members of the law enforcement agencies appear" at the scene.<sup>715</sup> At 1:17 PM, a group of soldiers (95 people) were sent to the conflict zone on a IFV, an APC and on two Kamaz trucks.<sup>716</sup> Probably, part of these forces tried to enter deep into the mahalla, where they suspected that Uzbek fighters might be hiding.

Witnesses recall that on 13 June, an APC drove much further into the mahalla than on previous days. It managed to remove two barricades made from sand bags, but the sidestreet by the mosque, which was protected by an anti-tank ditch, remained untouched. The core of armed civilian attackers reaching the area near the mosque was from 60 to 100 people. The peak of torching came on 13 June. The Uzbek grammar school (Tolstoy school) in Shark village was burned (it was also attempted burned the previous day, but the fire was put out).<sup>717</sup> Not only gasoline was used, but also special flammable grenades. Shooting near the Provincial Hospital started again around 3 PM, there were both Uzbek and Kyrgyz victims, something that led

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713 Information from Prosecutor's office in Osh Province.

714 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

715 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/76231-zhyldyz-Dzholdosheva-v-rajone-sela-kyrgyz-chek.html>

716 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

717 Interviews with residents of Shark village (names withheld), Osh Province, 25 June 2010, 22 June and 24 December 2011.

to rumors that Taliban or Chechens were acting in the interests of “a third force”.<sup>718</sup> The pogroms and burning on Shavkat Rakhman Street continued until around 5–6 PM, after which the Kyrgyz crowd went moved in the direction of Furkat, looting and torching houses along the Pamir main road.<sup>719</sup>

On this day, the Uzbek population actively used hunting rifles and other firearms for protection, shooting at attackers coming from side-streets. Also, for psychological effect, “bang bombs” were prepared – a mix of carbides, lime carbonate, water and other materials in plastic bottles. The bottles were shaken up and thrown in front of arriving looters. The bottles exploded with a loud bang. One of the residents in the village recalls how a group of Uzbeks arrived to the scene of the clashes in two lorries. “When the Kyrgyz heard the shooting, yelling and the noise from the lorries, they probably thought that help had come from Uzbekistan. They left the dead, loaded the wounded into jeeps and left in the direction of Mady.”<sup>720</sup>

During the last entry into the mahalla along Shavkat Rakhman street a man with a white flag on a stick and a white kalpak (Kyrgyz national headwear) came out from the Kyrgyz side. On behalf of Kyrgyz from Alay he demanded that the Uzbeks leave Kyrgyzstan. This demand was declined by a local religious leader who stepped out for negotiations with the attacker. Earlier, when an Uzbek negotiator left the meeting place near the mosque, shots were fired from the Kyrgyz crowd, and he was wounded in the neck. After some time, an APC came to the scene of the incident and opened fire in the direction of the Uzbeks.<sup>721</sup>

On the day of 13 June, a group of young men in masks threw bottles of flammable oil at residential houses on Pamirskaya Street and Gagarin Street.<sup>722</sup>

On 13 June the 49-year old ethnic Kyrgyz Kalybek Makeev, who had taken active part in the attempts to create peace a day earlier, was stabbed near the mosque on Pamirskaya Street. According to his wife, on the morning of 13 June her husband had saved an Uzbek who was being beaten up by Kyrgyz on the street, and also helped protect a house where 30 Uzbeks were hiding. After shooting began around 1–2 PM, Makeev’s family left the area, while he remained by the mosque where a crowd of Uzbeks was gathering. Later, his house near the mosque was torched.<sup>723</sup>

According to AKIpress News Agency, at 5:45 PM on 13 June in Furkat village there were “minor clashes”, the police dispersed the people who were standing on the

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718 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=200>

719 Interviews with residents of Shark village (names withheld), Osh Province, 25 June 2010 and 24 December 2011.

720 Interview with residents of Osh Province (names withheld), Shark village, 25 June 2010.

721 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

722 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/76135-elena-voronina-molodye-lyudi-v-belyx-maskax.html>

723 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

street.<sup>724</sup> Throughout August 2010, the bullet holes from heavy caliber machine guns atop APCs were still clearly visible on walls and gates of some residential houses, confirming the explanations of residents on Shavkat Rakhman Street regarding armored transporters being part of the attacks between 11 and 13 June. Visible were also bullet holes from “snipers” on the roofs of multistoried buildings. However, the authorities did not carry out a detailed investigation of these episodes.

The description of the events on 14 June, when looting and burning (to a smaller extent than in previous days) continued in Uzbek residential areas up to Pamirskaya and Monuev Streets (eastern part of Osh) in the chronology of the provincial prosecutor’s office is limited to a note that “at 11 AM a group of volunteers led by the director of GP Temir, Z. Kalamatov, who held authority among the residents of Alay District, was sent to carry out preventive work in the Furkat village”.<sup>725</sup> At the same time, “snipers” were shooting at passing cars and people. On the second half of the day, an operation to clear the area and to disarm the population began.<sup>726</sup>

A witness recalls: “One 14 June an old man and his grandchild were shot not far from the gas station, in house no. 5 on Bobur Street. The Uzbeks wanted to pick up the bodies. There were about 10 Kyrgyz on the road, two–three had automatic weapons and four had sniper rifles. They started shooting, chasing people. It was good that Kyrgyz neighbors stopped them and sent them down towards the main road.”<sup>727</sup>

According to AKIpress news agency, around 11 AM on 14 June it was impossible to deliver humanitarian aid to the Provincial Hospital, as “residents from nearby areas had started a shoot-out”.<sup>728</sup>

According to a resident of Shavkat Rakhman street, on the morning of 14 June, a Kyrgyz crowd of up to 200 people entered the mahalla, throwing rocks. However, there were no further clashes.<sup>729</sup>

Incidents involving weapons in the area around Furkat village continued until 15 June.<sup>730</sup> According to official reports, information was received late at night on 15 June that soldiers had been ambushed near Furkat village, and that one BMP-2 had been disabled (the trackers had gone off the rails). At 12:15 AM on 16 June a group of 25 soldiers on two BTR-80s were sent to the area where this incident took place, at 1 AM, a KETL pull tractor was also sent. Approximately at 3:30 AM, the soldiers and the armored transporters successfully returned to the base.<sup>731</sup>

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724 <http://www.centrasia.ru/news.php?st=1276581420>

725 Information from Prosecutor’s office in Osh Province.

726 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/14/14-iyunya-situaciya-v-oshe-i-dzhalal-abade/>

727 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2011.

728 <http://www.centrasia.ru/news.php?st=1276581420>

729 Interview with resident of Shark village (name withheld), Osh Province, 24 December 2011.

730 Interview with residents of Shark village (names withheld), Osh Province, 25 June 2010.

731 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

A resident of Furkat village living on Kadyrov Street recalls that “the last torching of a house took place on Tuesday 15 June”.<sup>732</sup>

The first arrest of possible participants in the mass unrest took place in an eastern suburb of Osh on the night between 14 and 15 June 2010. According to official information, “members of the UVD of Osh Province approximately at 1:30 AM detained a red Opel Astra car without registration plates near Furkat in Kara-Suu District”. In the car were three citizens. When searched, an AKM automatic weapon with three magazines with 84 bullets were found on the 40-year old Mukhtar Zulpukarov, resident of Zhoshol village in Alay District, as well as a homemade sword. All three were brought to the detention center of the UVD of Osh City.” A criminal case based on article 241 (illegal weapons possession) of the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic was opened.<sup>733</sup> Available sources provide no information on how the investigation of this case was concluded.

On the map published by UNITAR/UNOSAT three areas of mass destruction of residential houses in the eastern part and nearby suburbs of Osh are marked off (for 3,5 kilometers into Pamirskaya and Monuev Streets until the intersection of Monuev with Gagarin Street).

According to the satellite images, 107 residential houses were completely destroyed along a 1 kilometer stretch of Furkat village. Eight houses were partially destroyed. The depth of destruction on the streets in the eastern part of the village was from 100 to 300 meters.

In residential blocks between Furkat and the area near the Provincial Hospital, the destruction went up to Pamirskaya Street for 700 meters, the depth in separate directions being from 25 to 100 meters, in one of the areas 450 meters. Here, 155 buildings were completely destroyed, nine were partially destroyed.

The greatest destruction was in the area near the Provincial Hospital, where 357 buildings were completely destroyed and 12 were partially destroyed. The residential blocks across from the hospital were almost completely destroyed. In the eastern part of Verkhne-Uvamskaya Street and Shavkat Rakhman Street, the destruction goes up to 500 meters. On satellite images taken on 18 June 2010, three road blocks set up by residents were identified. A small block to the east of the hospital (21 buildings) was burned down, as well as houses in the area by the intersection of Monuev and Gagarin Streets (65 buildings).<sup>734</sup>

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732 Interview with resident of Furkat village (name withheld), Osh Province, 22 June 2010.

733 Information from the Prosecutor’s office in Osh Province.

734 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1461>

Including the buildings not included in the sector of mass destruction, the total number of residential houses destroyed during the mass unrest between 11 and 14 June in the eastern part of the conflict zone is 650.

## The Amir Temur Microdistrict (South-East)

The Amir Temur (On Adyr) Microdistrict, which has a predominant Uzbek population, is located on a height in the south-eastern part of Osh, and became a concentration point for Uzbeks from several areas in the city and villages to the east of the Ak-Buura River. For geographical reasons, it was difficult to get from these areas to Uzbekistan. By the estimates of member of the city parliament Mutalip Kadyrov, an additional 15,000 people joined the 38,000 already living here during the days of the events.<sup>735</sup>

After the beginning clashes in Furkat village on 11 June, the population organized protection of the area, blocking the main roads and bridges across the canal.<sup>736</sup> According to a resident, the road from the animal market was closed with two containers and two or three Kamaz trucks.<sup>737</sup>

Around 10 AM on 12 June, the microdistrict was attacked from the north, along the new road from the direction of the animal market near Furkat village. According to residents in houses along Orozbekov Street, one of the BTR-80s that had been seized by the crowds was used during the attack, and from 300 to 500 Kyrgyz, some of whom had firearms.<sup>738</sup> The APC, which was driven by civilians, went across the bridge and attempted to push away the container that was blocking the road in the direction of the brick factory, but got stuck.

The Kyrgyz crowd, some of which had firearms, also crossed the bridge and attacked residential houses on the height; torching and killing. After shooting began, local residents who had come out to protect their block started running away. From three to six people (including the 23-year old Farukh Nishanov) died near the bridge from the first shots fired. Up to 30 attackers went to the height near the apple garden and the brick factory, from where they shot at people, causing many deaths. The total number of deaths among residents of the microdistrict on this day was at least 42. Due to the shooting, it was difficult to evacuate the wounded.<sup>739</sup> The 33-year old Akmalidin Zakirov was shot and fatally wounded between 11 AM and 12 PM.<sup>740</sup> A resident of

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735 <http://fergana.akipress.org/news:84791/>

736 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010.

737 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 7 July 2010.

738 In the KIC report and Ismail Isakov's report, the first attack on On Adyr (Amir Temur) from the direction of Furkat village is usually dated as 11 June. The numbers of the Kyrgyz crowd escorted by the BTR is estimated in both reports as 200 people, who allegedly were confronted by 100 Uzbeks. However, none of the residents in Amir Temur Microdistrict interviewed by the members of the mission could confirm that there was an attack on this microdistrict on 11 June. The number of participants in the clashes is also too low.

739 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010, 23 June 2011. The HRW report quotes a participant in these events on the Kyrgyz side, who by mistake dates the episode with the stuck APC as 13 June 2010.

740 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

house no. 11 on Orozbekova Street, Azam Sadykov, was wounded by a shot from an automatic weapon around 2 PM, when he tried to help his neighbor put out a fire.<sup>741</sup> The body of the 28-year old Nosir Kamilov, who lived in house no. 48 on Orozbekov Street, was later found near his house.<sup>742</sup> 23 houses on the north-eastern outskirts of the microdistricts were looted and burned,<sup>743</sup> including a house belonging to a Kyrgyz family. The shooting continued until approximately 2 PM.<sup>744</sup>

According to the investigation materials in the case of 21-year old resident of Uzgen District Maralbek Chynybek uulu show that he was charged with having between 11 AM and 12 PM stolen a mobile telephone from a resident of Amir Temur Microdistrict, Oybek Akhmadzhanov, who was shot and killed by unknown persons. Chynybek uulu himself told the court that he found the phone across the bridge over the canal, not far from a burned body, and that he came to the microdistrict from the direction of Furkat village together with a crowd of about 2000 people, who had started moving between 12 PM and 1 PM. The explanation of the accused that he had to take part in the walk to Amir Temur, as he was taken out of a taxi in Furkat by the crowd while threatened with automatic weapons does not seem very likely.<sup>745</sup>

In the chronicle of Osh City UVD, it is mentioned that on 12 June 2010, a crowd of Kyrgyz who had gathered in the Furkat village started moving towards Amir Temur Microdistrict and that in connection with this, 30 soldiers were sent to the scene on an APC. The soldiers were under the command of the head of the crime division of the UVD in Osh City, B. Abdykalykov and the Deputy Head of the crime division of the UVD in Batken Province, B. Isakov.<sup>746</sup> The events themselves and the actions taken by the law enforcement agencies to stop the unrest are not described in the chronicle.

Witnesses interviewed by members of the mission recall that on mid-day, about 30 soldiers arrived on an IFV and a Kamaz truck.<sup>747</sup> After their arrival, the shooting stopped. The soldiers managed to reach the place where the clashes were taking place via barricaded streets in Uzbek areas thanks to the fact that they were escorted by the former head of Osh Bakhtiyarzhan Fattakhov. 2000–3000 Uzbeks who had gathered near the brick factory welcomed the arrival of the soldiers.<sup>748</sup> “People thought that we would unite and chase off those carrying out pogroms”.<sup>749</sup> However, the soldiers spoke in a friendly manner with the Kyrgyz standing near the broken APC, and threw something to them (possibly, bullets) and left the microdistrict soon after. Some of the

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741 Testimony of the victim (name withheld) to an international organization, 13 August 2010.

742 Information from the Investigative Department of the Uvd in Osh City, 31 March 2011.

743 List of victims among house-owners in the Amir Temur Microdistrict, Osh City, 7 July 2010.

744 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

745 Verdict of the Osh City Court in the case of M. Chanybek uulu, 18 October 2010.

746 Information from UVD in Osh City.

747 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 21 June, 2010; 23 June 2011.

748 Interview with the director of the National Agency for Local Self-Governing Matters, Bakhtiyarzhan Fattakhov, Bishkek, 26 December 2011.

749 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), 23 June 2011.

witnesses claim that the shooting started up again after the soldiers had left,<sup>750</sup> others claim this did not happen.<sup>751</sup> There are also differing opinions as to the time when the Kyrgyz crowd left the area, leaving behind the ruined APC.

By 21 June 2010, the local hospital had registered 61 dead (22 of them with burn marks) and 74 wounded,<sup>752</sup> most of whom were victims of the attack on 12 June.

The members of the mission examined two unofficial group graves on the outskirts of the microdistrict. In one of them, 23 people had been buried, in the other there were 12. According to relatives, at least 75% of the dead had been shot on 12 June. All those buried were registered at the local hospital.<sup>753</sup>

Many of the victims (Abdulaziz Abdirasulov, Alisher Musaev, Abdulaziz Teshaev and others) were soaked in gasoline after their death and burned. The body of 35-year old Abdulkhamid Turgunov was left with an iron bar in the behind and burned. According to his wife, the legs and one arm of 32-year old Murad Alimov were cut off with an axe after his death. The mother of 19-year old Oybek Akhmatzhanov told members of the mission that her son had called her on the mobile phone around mid-day on 12 June, saying he had been injured by a bullet in the leg. About two hours later, when his mother called his number, an unknown man answered, proposing that she pick up her son's body, "we have killed" him, and threatening that in two hours Kyrgyz would kill all Uzbeks in Amir Temur Microdistrict and burn their houses. According to the conclusions of the medical staff at the local hospital, Akhmatzhanov died from a gunshot to the head. There were burns on his body and bullet wounds in one leg.<sup>754</sup> The telephone was later found on a resident of Sherali village in Uzgen District, who in October 2010 was sentenced for participation in the mass unrest and for theft.<sup>755</sup>

The KIC report notes that rifles and semi-automatic weapons were distributed to the Kyrgyz crowd from cars in this area on 12 June. However, witnesses interviewed by the members of the mission recall possible distribution of bullets, but not weapons.

On 13 June, the bridge over the canal was again blocked by the self-defense forces in Amir Temur Microdistrict.<sup>756</sup>

There were separate episodes of shooting on 13–14 June on the outskirts of the microdistrict.<sup>757</sup> The documents from the Prosecutor's Office state that "at 6:45 AM, reports were received that a crowd of Kyrgyz were moving towards the Amir Temur

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750 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010.

751 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

752 List of victims in Amir Temur Microdistrict in Osh City, 21 June 2010.

753 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010.

754 Interviews with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

755 Verdict of Osh City Court in the case of Chanybek uulu, M., 18 October 2010.

756 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011.

757 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010, 23 June 2011.

Microdistrict from the direction of the animal market". "A unit" was sent to the scene ("a group on armored vehicle"). However, this report (probably, by mistake) is also found in the description of events on 14 June.<sup>758</sup> The exact date is unknown. It is possible that a mistake with regards to dates also exists in a different part of the same document, according to which a Kyrgyz crowd started moving from Furkat to Amir Temur Microdistrict on 13 June, as a result of which a police unit on armored vehicle was sent to the scene at 10:30 AM.

The Kabar News Agency reported on the evening of 13 June that a large number of people arriving from Alay and Kara-Kudlzha Districts had besieged Amir Temur Microdistrict, and that special forces and armored transporters were being sent there.<sup>759</sup>

On the day of 14 June after a relative stabilization of the situation, residents of the microdistrict proposed to the command center to remove the APC which had been left by the attacking Kyrgyz.<sup>760</sup> At 10 AM on 14 June, a group of soldiers were sent to Amir Temur Microdistrict to evacuate the BTR-80.<sup>761</sup> "We repaired it, put it in working condition, but did not use it. On Monday (14 June), it was taken away by representatives of the commandant's office", recalls a participant in the events.<sup>762</sup>

In an article on [www.uzmetronom.com](http://www.uzmetronom.com) referring to information prepared for the highest-ranking officials in Uzbekistan, it is claimed that the attack on Amir Temur Microdistrict on 12 June 2010 was led by Kyrgyz from Batken Province, who had arrived in 10 minibuses and 70 cars. Among them "are soldiers from the Ministry of Defense of the Kyrgyz Republic and Ministry of Internal Affairs, who have taken off their uniforms".<sup>763</sup> The claims regarding the role of residents of exactly Batken Province are doubtful and are not confirmed by any other available sources.

In the documentary film "Hour of the Jackal" ("*Chas Shakala*"), which is banned in Kyrgyzstan, there are fragments of video recordings of two witnesses who describe the demonstrative murders of burning of several Uzbeks which are likely to have taken place in Amir Temur Microdistrict. This information needs to be investigated further.

The self-defense forces which were organized by residents blocked the entry to the microdistrict until 19 June, when the authorities pressured them into removing the barricades.<sup>764</sup> According to AKIpress News Agency, the defense groups had small number of firearms.<sup>765</sup> According to unconfirmed reports, a local female resident was

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758 Information from the Prosecutor's Office in Osh Province.

759 [http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1335&Itemid=77](http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1335&Itemid=77)

760 <http://www.interfax.ru/news.asp?id=141099>

761 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense of the Kyrgyz Republic.

762 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010.

763 [http://www.uzmetronom.com/2010/06/22/beda\\_kotoruju\\_zhdali.html](http://www.uzmetronom.com/2010/06/22/beda_kotoruju_zhdali.html)

764 [http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1750&Itemid=41](http://kabar.kg/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1750&Itemid=41)

765 <http://fergana.akiexpress.org/news:84791/>



detained by the defense groups for giving information by mobile phone about defense being organized in the area.<sup>766</sup>

## The Central and Northern parts of Osh (Eastern Bank of Ak-Buura River)

The most intense clashes in the central and northern parts of Osh on the eastern bank of the Ak-Buura River took place in the Osh District. On 12 June 2010, a Kyrgyz crowd supported by armored vehicles attacked the Madzhirimtal area (behind the old bus station). There were numerous acts of looting and torching at the central market and the clothes markets, as well as of businesses and cafés on the main roads.

### North-East

Confrontations and clashes between groups of youth started on the night between 10 and 11 June 2010 in the area near the intersection of Masaliev and Razzakov Avenues, continuing until 8 AM.

The task of attempting to calm down the two sides involved in the conflict in this part of Osh was given to Kursan Asanov (who had been named commandant of the city that morning), the First Deputy Mayor Timur Kamchybekov, the Deputy Head of the Provincial UVD Shakir Zulimov and a former Member of Parliament and veteran of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Alisher Sabirov. Taking into account the ethnicity of the negotiators, Asanov and Kamchybekov spoke with the Kyrgyz youth while Zulimov and Sabirov spoke with the Uzbeks.

“On one side of the road near the seven-story building were private Uzbek homes, on the other was the student dormitory and multistory buildings where mainly Kyrgyz and other ethnicities lived”, recalls Alisher Sabirov.

The youth were throwing rocks at each other. They would near one another, and then disperse again. Some were standing around between the buildings. It was difficult to count them. I think there were about 300 Uzbeks and around 500 Kyrgyz. Many of them were armed with sticks with spikes attached to one end; others had hatchets attached to poles from shovels and so on. I did not see guns among the crowds. Sometimes gunshots could be heard, but it was not clear where the shots were coming from and who was shooting. I worked with the Uzbeks. The youth was upset and aggressive, of course. There were women who calling for the men to protect their homes. We tried to calm them down. We spoke to the aksakals, so they would not allow violence to break out.<sup>767</sup>

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<sup>766</sup> Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2010.

<sup>767</sup> Interview with Alisher Sabirov, Bishkek, 30 June 2010.

During the negotiations, several shots were fired at Zulimov, who had been injured near Hotel Alai. “I was the only one in a military outfit, my head was bandaged, probably they thought I was the main one”, Zulimov later said. “I can’t say who was shooting. I didn’t see guns among either of the two sides”. The first bullet went past him; the second went in the asphalt about 15 meters away, while the third bullet hit Zulimov in the leg. The special forces brought him to the Provincial Hospital. “On the road, Kyrgyz standing on the bus stop tried to stop the car. The special forces yelled, “One of ours, one of ours” and they let us through. In Osh District they were shooting not only at me, another police man was also injured that morning”.<sup>768</sup> Zulimov was hospitalized at 8:30 AM.<sup>769</sup>

Around 9 AM reports were received of attacks on private homes of the Uzbek population in the area near KhBK,<sup>770</sup> something which can be seen as a sign of the conflict entering the next phase (up until this time, residential homes in Osh had not been attacked). “When they went to torch houses in Osh District, neither soldiers or fire brigades took action to put out the fires and stop the fires from spreading, this was very strange”, recalls Sabirov.<sup>771</sup>

After the negotiations with the crowd near the seven-story building in Osh District, Asanov and Sabirov went to the area around Dzhiydalik Street (northern suburb of Osh, where according to UVD of the city “two crowds from both ethnicities gathered at 7:30 AM and started throwing rocks at each other”).<sup>772</sup> According to Sabirov, he asked the Uzbeks to calm down and move away from the area where the conflict was intensifying, and promised that if the Uzbeks “will stay calmly in their mahallahs, there will be no attacks on them”.

A female resident of the area (an ethnic Kyrgyz) recalls that around 10 AM soldiers arrived on two APCs to Kara-Suyskaya Street, one of which stopped at the beginning of Yashlar Street, near the market. On both APCs there were about 10 soldiers. Another 20–30 soldiers in helmets also participated in keeping order, some of them used masks to hide their faces. The Uzbek crowd, which was armed with sticks, iron rods and a few also with hunting rifles, drew back into the makhalla. From time to time, shots could be heard coming from the soldiers and the participants in the unrest, Uzbek women yelled insults against the Kyrgyz soldiers. However, after the military forces arrived the situation grew calmer. The residents of the multi-storied buildings started coming out on the street to buy food and water (a rush to buy bottled water started immediately after a rumor started circulating that “the Uzbeks have poisoned

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768 Translation of the video recording of Shakir Zulimov’s testimony.

769 Information from the Osh Inter-Provincial United Clinical Hospital.

770 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=320>

771 Interview with Alisher Sabirov, Bishkek, 30 June 2010.

772 Information from UVD in Osh City.

the water supply"). According to some reports, there were snipers on the roofs of some of the multi-storied buildings.<sup>773</sup>

The military forces were also stationed at some other points in the Microdistrict. Around mid-day, the commander of one of the units of the Ministry of Defense reported that Uzbeks and Kyrgyz had started throwing rocks at each other near the Provincial Children's Hospital, and asked that soldiers be removed from the area where the clashes were taking place. Arriving to the scene along with the head of the neighborhood committee, Alisher Sabirov saw that groups of youth of about 50 people on each side were throwing rocks at each other.

At that point the torching of houses began: The first, second, third...This was the second area where houses were torched. The Uzbeks were agitated, yelling, asking that fire trucks be sent there. I called repeatedly to the command center, but the trucks did not come. I stayed there approximately until 3 PM, until the houses had burned down. I mobilized the guys, so that at least items could be brought out of the burning houses.<sup>774</sup>

At 12:20 PM a message was posted on the [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg) forum saying that shooting had broken out, that the military were being sent it, and about rioting crowds in the Osh District. The shooting continued until around midnight.<sup>775</sup>

According to the KIC, an APC and a crowd of 200–300 armed Kyrgyz broke through the barricade near the Al-Khakim Hospital at mid-day, and moved to the center of the makhalla torching, killing and carrying out gang rapes. The attack was supported by sniper fire from a multi-storied building nearby. The trustworthiness and date given in this information remains unclear. An analysis of the satellite images show that residential houses in the area of the Al-Khakim Hospital were not destroyed.

The ICG report mentions that an APC was used to break down barricades on 11 June 2010, something which led to looting and destruction of residential buildings. However, witnesses living near the intersection of Masaliev and Razzakov Avenues claim that the attack on the nearby makhallas with support from armored vehicles began not on the first, but on the second day of the conflict.<sup>776</sup>

It is likely that seven-year old Bermet Alieva was killed by a stray bullet around 4 PM. The girl was in an apartment in a multi-storied building on Mir Street. The neighbors helped the mother bring the girl to Osh Provincial Hospital. On the way, they had to drive through the conflict zone near Osh District, where the military was dividing the

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773 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

774 Interview with Alisher Sabirov, Bishkek, 30 June 2010.

775 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=540>

776 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010; see also <http://afisha.zakon.kz/175781-r.otunbaeva-chislo-pogibshikh.html>

Kyrgyz and Uzbek crowds.<sup>777</sup> The unrest on the streets of the microdistrict continued at least until 11:30 PM, that is, after the onset of the curfew.<sup>778</sup>

The morning of 12 June started with attacks on the Uzbek population in the northern suburbs of Osh. According to a witness interviewed by HRW, two tracked armored vehicles broke through the barricade at the Dziydalik village outside the city at 8:30 AM, after which people in camouflage sitting on top of the APC opened fire from automatic weapons, killing at least five people. Among the dead was the witness' son.

In a posting on [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg), a resident of a nearby house describes a clean-up operation carried out by soldiers in a makhalla in Dzhlydalik village around 8 AM, where weapons were fired.<sup>779</sup> A resident of a house on Dzhim Street told members of the mission that among those killed by gunfire from the soldiers on an IFV in Dzhlydalik village was the 47-year old Yakubzhon Karimov, who was shot around 7–8 AM on 12 June.<sup>780</sup> The 72-year old Khasyl Zakirov was killed by shots from the IFV.<sup>781</sup>

On 12 June a Kyrgyz crowd which had gathered near the three-story building of the Kasiet medical center started throwing rocks, and then took over and torched the center.<sup>782</sup> On 12 June, the Kyrgyz crowd with support from an APC also attacked Uzbek homes in the area near Besh-Kuporok Street. After the crowd, which included women, had looted the valuables, the houses were torched.<sup>783</sup>

In the recollections of a resident of Osh District published in one of the internet forums, it is noted that around 11 AM on 12 June, a crowd of Kyrgyz who had gathered near the only seven-story building in the microdistrict, with the support of a IFV, opened fire from a machine gun, broke through the barricade and entered the makhalla. Shooting, pogroms and torching continued for three hours. A group of people carrying out pogroms, including women, started looting shops and residential homes. The witness describes an endless line of looters who stole everything that could be stolen.

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777 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

778 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=80>

779 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=440> The death of five people during an attack from an APC on 12 June in the Nariman village districts, which Dzhlydalik village belongs, is also mentioned in an article from Ferghana news agency (<http://www.ferghananews.com/news.php?id=14945>).

780 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010. According to the KIC report, an attack supported by an APC on Zhim and Zhiydalik villages during which people were killed took place after 10 AM, something which is not supported by reports from other sources.

781 Statement by Ulpatkhon Zakirova to NGO Citizens Against Corruption, 15 July 2010.

782 <http://www.ferghananews.com/news.php?id=14975> In the KIC report this episode is mistakenly dated to 11 June 2010. However, a resident of one of the burned houses next to the Kasiet building told members of the mission that until the evening of 11 June 2010, when he left the area, and there were no seizures or torching of buildings here (interview 23 December 2011). According to KIC, a sub-division of special forces did not try to stop what was happening. It is unclear how trustworthy this information is.

783 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Bishkek, 4 July 2010.

They stole cars, even cattle. Outside my window they were carrying off television, telephones, carpets, lamps and other things...I saw this scene from the windows on both sides of the apartment. Then I noticed that new items were being carried away. I understood that the looters had broken into the shopping center and had started looting the market. Young girls were carrying washing machines... Later, they started looting the Mukharram supermarket. My own neighbors were also not ashamed to participate. The curfew was completely ignored, and the crowds of looters kept coming all night.<sup>784</sup>

A female resident in a multi-storied building on Mir Street describes the situation on 12 June as being more dangerous than on the day before. On that day, her family left the area after unknown persons torched the apartment on the first floor, where ethnic Kyrgyz were living.<sup>785</sup> Another witness recalls that many residents left the multi-storied houses, and that those who remained gathered several families in one apartment for security reasons.<sup>786</sup> At 11:42 AM cars with armed people in masks could be seen near the KhBK, waving the state flag of Kyrgyzstan and yelling something.<sup>787</sup> There are unconfirmed reports of snipers located or shooting from the roofs of multi-storied houses near the intersection of Masaliev and Razzakov Avenues.<sup>788</sup>

On 12 June, officers from the Osh City UVD freed seven Kyrgyz who had been taken hostage in Osh District.<sup>789</sup>

The comments of the government of Kyrgyzstan to the KIC report and also the report of Ismail Isakov include information on the death of a member of the city council, E. Myrzabekov, on 13 June. He had allegedly “attempted to take it upon himself to negotiate” and “to stop the clashes”. More detailed information from the Prosecutor General’s office states that the 34-year old ethnic Kyrgyz Ermek Murzabekov from Jalalabad was killed in Osh District on 12 June 2010 (details unknown). The report of the National Commission characterizes him as “one of the criminal authorities in the south”.<sup>790</sup>

On 13 June large armed clashes are likely not to have taken place. However, during the day the torching continued. This is confirmed by the satellite images. Numerous acts of looting and violence were reported.<sup>791</sup>

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784 <http://afisha.zakon.kz/175781-r.otunbaeva-chislo-pogibshikh.html>

785 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010.

786 <http://afisha.zakon.kz/175781-r.otunbaeva-chislo-pogibshikh.html>

787 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=280>

788 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 December 2010; <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=14947>

789 Information from UVD in Osh City.

790 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6871> According to T. Akerov, the dead was one of those who participated in the torching of the houses of the relatives of former president Kurmanbek Bakiev in Teyit village in Jalalabad Province in May 2010; <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1295390280>

791 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 4 July 2010.

On the map published by UNITAR/UNOSAT it is evident that residential areas to the east of Razzakov Avenue were completely destroyed at a distance of around 650 meters. The depth of the zone of destruction was from 100 to 200 meters. In total, 160 buildings were completely destroyed up to Razzakov Avenue and Besh-Kuporok Street, another 10 were partially destroyed. Tens of buildings were also destroyed in nearby blocks, including the makhalla on Yashlar Street. The streets leading from Osh District to Shark village were barricaded, and in the area near Dzhidalik Street SOS signs could be made out on the satellite images.<sup>792</sup>

Around 9 AM on 13 June, about 20 Uzbeks broke into the Russian-Cypriot business Limateks on Privokzalnaya Street, one of them armed with a rifle, the others with sticks. The attackers broke the windows of the building. Accusations were directed at the security guard of the factory (an ethnic Uzbek) that he had “sold himself to the Kyrgyz”, and the men started beating him up. He lost consciousness from a blow to the head. The second security guard, the 52-year old Kudayberdi Usonov (an ethnic Kyrgyz) was then dragged into the yard and killed, and his body was thrown in the canal. On 2 November 2010, the appeal’s court found two local residents guilty of murder and mass disturbance and sentenced them to 25 and 30 years’ imprisonment respectively. Another suspect who shot Usonov with a rifle was listed as wanted.<sup>793</sup>

On 13 June, a young Uzbek (about 17 years old) who tried to call for help after being detained by a group of Kyrgyz was beaten up and then shot near the multi-story building on Kara-Suyskaya Street. A woman was tied up to a fence across from the neighboring house No. 32 and tortured.<sup>794</sup> The next day, her body was found wrapped in cellophane in a garbage can with writings made with a knife on her chest.<sup>795</sup> These murders were probably carried out by a criminal group based in the Nostalzhí Café (see below).<sup>796</sup>

On 14 June attempts to reconcile the conflicting groups were made with the participation of residents of Dzhidalik village and the KhBK residential area,<sup>797</sup> however the situation remained tense. In Osh District, acts of violence and looting were still taking place, and hostages were being taken. Around 9 PM, intense shooting broke out in the KhBK area with the participation of an IFV. The shooting lasted for at least half an hour.<sup>798</sup>

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792 <http://www.unitar.org/unosat/node/44/1461>

793 Verdict of the Osh Provincial Court in the case of D. Kurbanov and others, 2 November 2010; interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010.

794 Information from human rights activist Rozikhon Imadinova.

795 Interview with former female hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

796 Possibly, an anonymous witness wrote about these murders on 18 June 2010 in a text which was spread through several internet sites. From the window of a multi-storied building near Nostalzhí café he saw a burning dead body, as well as shockingly brutal treatment of an Uzbek woman tied to a table, which ended with her murder. (<http://afisha.zakon.kz/175781-r.otunbaeva-chislo-pogibshikh.html>).

797 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276581420>

798 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4206691&st=200>

On 15 June at 9:45 AM, with reference to the command center in the province, AKIpress news agency reported violent confrontations in the Osh District. Officers of the law enforcement agencies managed to calm people down.<sup>799</sup> During the day, a local resident reported to the on-duty officer of the border service that “about 15 unknown persons (Uzbeks) armed with automatic weapons have opened fire on our citizens” on Anoshin Street. At 4:40 PM, soldiers from the SOBR division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs carried out checks along this street.<sup>800</sup>

### **Mistreatment of hostages in Nostalzhi Café**

Particular attention should be paid to the actions of the criminal group working from the Nostalzhi café on Kara-Suyskaya Street in Osh District. An armed gang brought Uzbek hostages to the café where they were beaten, raped and humiliated. These events drew public attention.

According to KIC, a “Kyrgyz headquarters” was established in the café on the morning of 12 June and functioned there over the next several days. Members of the mission were able to interview two of the former hostages (a man and a woman), who were taken on 14 June 2010. Also, documents collected by local human rights activist Rozikhon Imadinova and a video recording of interviews with a few other hostages taken immediately after their release have also been studied by the members of the mission.

According to witnesses, there were at least 26 hostages in Nostalzhi café on 14 June, half of whom were women.<sup>801</sup>

Most of these hostages were taken from multi-storied buildings in nearby residential areas. Although the streets appeared peaceful on the surface, some of the residents informed the armed groups based in the café about the presence of Uzbeks in the apartment blocks. As one of the former hostages recalls, “About 20 minutes after I took out the garbage, which was at around 11 am, 30–40 men in masks and uniforms forcefully entered our apartment and started demanding money from us. I gave them 20,000 Soms (430 USD), so that they wouldn’t hurt our daughters. They also forced my neighbor and me to give them our earrings. The men seemed high on drugs. One of them took my earrings and swallowed them. Then they started beating me with something like a baton and dragged me down the staircase. They left my daughters in the apartment.”<sup>802</sup>

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799 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276581420>

800 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of GSNB.

801 Among the hostages there were three families (six men and six women) taken in the apartment of the nearby apartment block building, three young women from Uzbekistan, a Tajik woman with an under-aged son, an elderly man who had been taken hostage on June 13 when he was looking for his relatives in mortuaries, two Uzbek women living in the house behind café “Kyrgyzstan”, an Uyugur cook and an Uzbek man from Sun’ Yatsen Street, a resident of Amir Temur microdistrict and his friend who were held up in the morning of June 14 on Alay Street, and foreigners “who looked like Afghans”.

802 Interview with a former female hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

It was later discovered that girls who were 16–22 years of age were gang raped in various ways. One of them had knife cuts on her back.

On 14 June around 11 AM, two men were held up at the beginning of Alayskaya Street by civilians carrying automatic weapons, while police officers were standing by. The men were taken to a café near the Kelechek bazaar, on the way to the café they were kicked and beaten with rifle butts. The beatings continued in the café. They were also threatened with knives. Two other men, 50–60 years of age, who were brought in by the militants from Sun' Yatsen Street were also beaten. Around 2 PM they were brought to Nostalzhi café in the trunk of a jeep. A former hostage stated that he recognized people connected to Almanbet Anapiev's criminal group among the hostage takers.<sup>803</sup>

Hostages who were kept in the halls of Nostalzhi café were subjected to violence and mistreatment.

There were at least 20–30 militants in uniform, with automatic weapons. They treated us as if we were criminals, made us stand on our knees, told us not to look up from the floor. They beat us for every little thing. Every time a new militant would come in, he would beat us. They even jumped on us. They also threatened with knives and demanded ransom from some of the hostages. They would take two–three women from the hall, and even took a boy, we could hear cries, but I don't even know what they did with them there. They also made us sing the national anthem of Kyrgyzstan. We didn't know the words, but a nine-year old boy among the hostages knew them, so we just repeated after him. They also demanded us to say, "Uzbeks are asses!" and recorded it on their mobile phones. In the course of a conversation with three young female hostages from Uzbekistan it became clear that they were taken to Otuz-Adyr village and forced to perform sexual acts with a donkey in front of a video camera. One of the militants said, "You have two wives, a car, transport containers, and you live in the center of the town. You have been spoiled. We've come from Bishkek especially for you... to wipe you out". When the negotiations on the release of hostages started, the main guy told everyone not to touch us anymore.<sup>804</sup>

In one of the halls of Nostalzhi café 12 hostages taken from the neighboring house were kept.

They took away everyone's mobile phones. They tied our hands. They ordered us to look down. They us with sticks and bats and kicked us. They broke the head of two of our neighbors. They cursed at us and shouted, "Death to Uzbeks! Tell your Karimov that this is is a Kyrgyz town". They mistreated us in all kinds of ways.

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803 Interview with a former male hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

804 Interview with a former male hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.



They pissed and spat in a glass and then made our neighbor's son drink it. Their daughter was raped right there.<sup>805</sup>

A 22-year old girl was raped in the VIP room of the café. The perpetrator threatened that if she resisted, her parents who were in the common hall would be killed. When one of the female hostages protested what was happening, they hit her over the head with iron rods.<sup>806</sup> There was a Kyrgyz woman among the militants who distributed masks to them.<sup>807</sup>

Video recordings made immediately after the release of the hostages from Nostalzhi café show the victims describing the gang rapes, beatings and brutal treatment. One of the female hostages recalls how the militants discussed the fate of the prisoners, saying that young women should be let go while the rest should be killed.

The violence in Nostalzhi café became known on 14 June after a wounded Kyrgyz woman found in the bazaar was exchanged for an Uzbek woman held in the café. During the second half of the day other hostages were also released.<sup>808</sup> Most of them had been held hostage for only a few hours. The exchange was done using Kyrgyz who had agreed to play the role of the victims in order to save the hostages in the café. One of the hostages was freed two hours after the others because he had to pay for his release.<sup>809</sup>

An elderly man who was badly beaten and possibly raped in the café in the evening of 13 June died an hour after his release. Some of the raped women received assistance in the hospital in Dzhallolkuduk District of Andizhan Province in Uzbekistan. However, on 24 June 2010 the authorities in Uzbekistan forced them to return home to Kyrgyzstan. "Nothing was left at home. The apartment had been looted. There were used condoms, bats, two bullet cases and the clothes of the militants".<sup>810</sup>

Former hostages have given names details, which allow for the criminals to be identified. However, none of the hostage takers have held accountable by the authorities. In spite of these being high profile crimes, the necessary investigation has not been carried out by the law enforcement agencies. Only one suspect has been declared wanted.<sup>811</sup>

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805 Interview with a former female hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

806 Information from human rights activist Rozihon Imadinova.

807 Interview with a former female hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

808 Information from human rights activist Rozihon Imadinova.

809 Interview with a former male hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

810 Interview with a former female hostage (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

811 <http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/article/24440723.html>

The reports by the National Commission and the Parliamentary Commission and the report by the Ombudsman's Commission do not mention the crimes committed in Nostalzhí café at all.

### **Masaliev Avenue and Zaynabetdinov Street**

From the early morning on 11 June 2010, the area near the intersection of Zaynabetdinov Street and Masaliev Avenue became one of the areas where groups of Kyrgyz youth gathered, before attacking the Osh District and carrying out pogroms at the market and businesses along Masaliev and Razzakov Avenues.

Around 9:30 AM, residents in nearby houses started looting the Mukharram supermarket and nearby cafés.<sup>812</sup> Soon after, the market and businesses along Masaliev Avenue were looted. Looting carried out by both local residents and people arriving from outside the city continued throughout the day, also after the onset of curfew. On Zaynabetdinov Street, a crowd of aggressive youth grew larger towards nightfall. From time to time, single shots could be heard fired in the darkness, as well as calls to loot remaining shops.<sup>813</sup>

An article from AKIpress news agency mentions the movement of a large crowd (probably Kyrgyz) along Masaliev Avenue around 9 AM on 11 June.<sup>814</sup>

A participant at a seminar at Hotel Sunrise who tried to drive down Masaliev Avenue towards the airport in the daytime, recalls that at the first intersection, cars were checked by "people with batons", while at the second intersection next to burned-out cars was an APC whose commander warned that further up "there are 800 people gathered, many are drunk, the crowd is extremely restless". When the car neared the crowd, they started throwing rocks at it, yelling "Uzbeks! Revenge!" The witness saw two bloodied people being dragged out of another car, which had been smashed up by the crowd. "A Mercedes without number plates was standing there, and young people in sports suits were handing out vodka to the crowd from the car".<sup>815</sup>

Around mid-day on the roundabout by the old grain factory, a group of 40 young Kyrgyz armed with sticks tried to attack the car in which the former head of Osh Bakhtiyarzhan Fattakhov was travelling.<sup>816</sup>

During the day and evening of 11 June, Kyrgyz youth tried to seize weapons from soldiers from the Central Apparatus of the State Border Service, whose main office

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812 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=360>

813 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&mode=linear>; <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=20>

814 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

815 <http://www.gzt.ru/topnews/world/-hotelosj-smytj-krovj-s-ulits-i-ploschadei-osh-a-/310521.html>

816 Interview with the director of the National Agency for Locall Self-Governing Matters, Bakhtiyarzhan Fattakhov, Bishkek, 26 December 2011.

was located in house nr 13 on Masaliev Avenue (north of the intersection with Zaynabetdinov Street). At 2 PM, a group of 50 people stripped the weapons from the head of the counter-intelligence unit of the Main Division of Operative Work, Colonel A. Kutmanov, who was guarding the territory of the Central Apparatus of the State Border Service. The attackers seized an AKS-74 automatic weapon and 30 bullets. Four hours earlier, an AK-74 machine gun without bullets was seized from the warrant officers of the communications division of the border forces, K. Kabulzhanov, who was attacked by 40 people.<sup>817</sup>

At 4:30 PM, about 50 people tried to get weapons from the checkpoint of the Headquarters.<sup>818</sup> At 6:27 PM, a witness reported an attempt by a crowd to break into a post of the border unit near the intersection with Zaynabetdinov Street.<sup>819</sup> At 7:10 PM, between 300 and 400 Kyrgyz gathered at the gates of the Headquarters of the border forces, demanding that they be given weapons and ammunition, but “after negotiations with the volunteer watchgroups”, the crowd dispersed at 7:25 PM.<sup>820</sup>

Between 10 PM and 12 AM, cars drove along Masaliev Avenue, their drivers and passengers looting businesses.<sup>821</sup> A Matiz car with a Kyrgyzstani flag was reported seen, the passengers loudly singing the national anthem.<sup>822</sup>

It is likely that an IFV which had been seized by the Kyrgyz crowd on the day of 11 June in the Zapadnyy Microdistrict was based in the area near Zaynabetdinov Street on the night from 11 to 12 June. According to a witness, civilians armed with automatic weapons were sitting on top of the IFV. The military did not try to disperse the crowd or stop the looting. A particular kind of union arose between the armed forces and the crowd of Kyrgyz youth. On the morning and evening of 11 June, Kyrgyz youth, including armed fighters, escorted soldiers when they were entering certain conflict zones. For instance, around 9:50 PM, when two army IFVs, one APC and one truck drove in the direction of the market, some of the youth and a large number of private cars with armed civilians followed them.<sup>823</sup>

The ICG report mentions an IFV moving along the main road (probably Masaliev Avenue) with a flag, escorted by a small cortege of cars with looters who “stopped frequently to check the ethnicity of shopkeepers and café owners”.<sup>824</sup>

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817 Information from the Military Prosecutor’s office.

818 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

819 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=840>

820 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

821 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=80>

822 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=60>

823 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&mode=linear>

824 [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/central\\_asia/kyrgyzstan/193%20The%20Pogroms%20in%20Kyrgyzstan.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/central_asia/kyrgyzstan/193%20The%20Pogroms%20in%20Kyrgyzstan.pdf)

The chronicle of Osh City UVD speaks of about 400 Kyrgyz arriving from the northern parts of the country around 11 AM on 12 June, who “were convinced to return back after preventive talks”. After this, a crowd of several thousand aggressive Kyrgyz moved in the direction of Osh Provincial Hospital. It was organized for the chairman of Osh city council, Davlatbek Alimbekov, and former Members of Parliament Kamchybek Tashiev, Akhmatbek Keldibekov, Altynbek Sulaymanov and Rustam Mamanov to go out on an armored vehicle to meet the crowd. As a result of lengthy negotiations, they succeeded in stopping the crowd and direct them away from the Provincial Hospital toward Masaliev Avenue, where looting took place.<sup>825</sup>

Towards mid-day on 12 June 2010, the situation on Zaynabetdinov Street became relatively stable, although another car was torched around 4 PM.<sup>826</sup> During the day a resident of one of the multi-storied houses saw that looters brought out flour, sugar, oil, televisions, refrigerators and other goods from the market.<sup>827</sup> Before noon, food products and goods were taken away in cars. Later, residents came with wheelbarrows to take away what was left after the looting.<sup>828</sup> Late at night on 12 June, AKIpress news agency reported a large fire at the market.<sup>829</sup>

The KIC report mentions that weapons allegedly were handed out to the Kyrgyz crowd from a helicopter on 12 June in the area near the market. This information seems dubious and is not confirmed by other sources.

On the day of 12 June, a group of Kyrgyz men armed with automatic weapons entered a residential building on Ashimakhunov Street (near the intersection of Masaliev Avenue and Navoi Street), and threatened to kill the houseowners and take their money. Earlier the same day, another group stole a car belonging to the owners of the building.<sup>830</sup>

On the evening of 12 June an Uzbek man who went out for cigarettes was kidnapped by four Kyrgyz in civilian clothing in a black BMW on Masaliev Avenue. He was taken in the direction of the Zapadniy Microdistrict via sideways. He was brutally beaten with iron rods and a pistol, and then left on the ground for dead. Two of the attackers were recognized by the victim as police officers. However, Osh City UVD refused to register the incident. No investigation was carried out.<sup>831</sup>

At 8:15 PM, Kyrgyz who were heading for Uzbek residential areas in two Kamaz trucks and eight private cars were stopped on Masaliev Avenue near Osh District

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825 Information from Osh City UVD.

826 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=440>

827 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=280>

828 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=460>

829 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

830 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 25 September 2010.

831 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 21 June 2011.

by, among others, former Members of Parliament Rustam Mamanov and Altynbek Sulaymanov. At 8:40 PM the police stopped an attempted looting on Zaynabetdinov Street.<sup>832</sup> The members of the law enforcement agencies shot in the air to disperse looters near the clothes market.<sup>833</sup>

On 13 June residents in houses along Zaynabetdinov Street gathered some of the goods that remained among the rubble of the market and nearby shops.<sup>834</sup> At 10:30 AM, 60 members of the patrolling and posted services were sent to the market on armored vehicles to stop the looting.<sup>835</sup>

On 14 June a list of nine well-known cafés and shops which had been looted and torched along Masaliev Avenue were published by Ferghana news agency.<sup>836</sup>

On 14 June from 12:20 PM to 1 PM, a shoot-out took place between the northern and eastern buildings of the Headquarters of the State Border Service. At 12:49 PM, the on-duty officer of the border service reported to the military that an APC with unknown persons had entered the territory of the unit and had shot from a heavy-calibered KPVT machine gun at the central building before leaving the area.<sup>837</sup>

### **Madzhirimtal Street**

Madzhirimtal Street begins by the old bus station on Navoi Street (three blocks to the east of Hotel Alai).

“From the morning of 11 June the bazaars didn’t work, and rumors were spreading all over the city that the Kyrgyz are coming from so-and-so directions, that Uzbeks are gathering there and there. It became frightening to leave the makhalla to try to find out what was really happening”, recalls a witness.

In the morning at the entrance to the residential area a small barricade was erected. Madzhirimtal Street was not completely closed off from the beginning. Kyrgyz who arrived to buy bread were chased off by young Uzbeks. However, after aksakals intervened, the Kyrgyz shoppers were convinced to return to buy bread. Clashes and pogroms did not take place in this area. The market at one part of the old bus station was not looted. Later, the barricade was strengthened and entry to Madzhirimtal Street was closed off by ZIL trucks and loaded Kamaz trucks which had been parked at the market by the old bus station. After Friday prayer, violent clashes in Cheremushki

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832 Information from Osh City UVD.

833 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=60>

834 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=160>

835 Information from Osh Province Prosecutor’s office.

836 <http://www.fernews.com/news.php?id=14975&mode=snews>

837 Information from the main office of the Border Forces of the GSNB and the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

Microdistrict were reported. The police evacuated some Kyrgyz families from a five-story building.

During the day, three residents of the block went out to the intersection of Masaliev Avenue and Navoi Street and were attacked by Kyrgyz youth. They were beaten, doused with gasolin and threatened to be burned, but one of the attackers convinced the others to let them go. Residents in the area called an ambulance for the victims.

Fearing that pogroms would break out, many did not sleep at night. On 12 June around 3 AM, numerous shots could be heard from the west. After an hour, two tracked armored vehicles drove up to the end of Madzhirimtal Street. One stopped on Navoi Street while the other unsuccessfully tried to break through the entry to the makhalla which had been barricaded with trucks. The soldiers shot in the air from machine guns and automatic weapons, but did not manage to open the road.

The second attempt at an attack came around 7 AM, when a tracked armored vehicle arrived from the direction of the Kelechek bazaar. Six–seven armed people in military uniform were sitting on top of it. Behind them came 50–60 Kyrgyz in civilian clothing with automatic weapons, wearing red and blue armbands. They carried the state flag of Kyrgyzstan. Behind the armed people were two groups of youth of about 200–300 people. Without warning, fire was opened from automatic weapons at the six–seven Uzbek men standing by the barricade. The volunteer watchgroups ran deep into the residential area, at least two of them were wounded.

After this, a ZIL truck standing across the street was removed and the attackers moved along Madzhirimtal Street, escorted by the armored vehicle. According to a witness, they continued to fire weapons inside the residential area. Residential homes were attacked and then torched by civilians. The pogroms continued for about two hours. Preliminary information indicates that at least 13 residents were killed (most of them died in their homes)<sup>838</sup>. In total, 41 houses in the makhalla were looted and torched.<sup>839</sup> Part of the loot was taken away in cars, including in a Porter truck.<sup>840</sup>

During the pogroms, women with children living in house no. 123 on Madzhirimtal Street managed to hide in their neighbors' house. According to relatives, the attackers yelled "Death to Sarts!" and broke into the yard, beating up the women there, taking their money, mobile phones and jewellery. The 72 year-old Makhbubukhon Tulanova and her five-year old grandchild Mokhizar died from gunshots. The items in the

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838 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), 22 July 2010, letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name of the author withheld), 13 April 2011.

839 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6652>

840 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2011. According to unconfirmed information from the same source, at least in one instance APC were used to break down the gates of residential houses, opening the road for those carrying out pogroms.

house were taken away in trucks, before the house was torched.<sup>841</sup> At the gate of the neighboring house, the 71-year old Rakhmatullo Dhzuraev was fatally wounded, and died after a few days at the hospital. An invalid teenager from Uzbekistan who was trying to hide from the people with automatic weapons died in the same yard.<sup>842</sup> In house no. 140-A, two students from Batken Province were killed as well as a citizen of Pakistan, Ali Raza, who was studying at the medical faculty of Osh State University.<sup>843</sup>

The 38-year old Alisher Abidov, a citizen of Russia, died on the same day from gunshot wounds (the shot is assumed to have come from a “sniper”) near the Kymyz Bar café. According to residents in the area, the fire in one of the torched houses spread to the Kymyz Bar, whose owner was an ethnic Kyrgyz woman. Later, accusations were presented on TV that Uzbeks had allegedly burned down the café on purpose.

Two Uzbek women were taken hostage by the attackers and brought in the direction of the bazaar. However, thanks to the interference of a Kyrgyz acquaintance, the women were freed.

Later, a witness was threatened by two young Kyrgyz near his house, one of whom had a knife and was wearing a mask.

On 13 June, a private car without registration plates came from the direction of the old bus station to the mosque inside the residential area, the people in the car fatally wounding a local resident who looked out of the gate of his house on Gulchinskaya Street.<sup>844</sup>

## The Central and Northern parts of Osh (Western bank of Ak-Buura river)

### The area around the new bus station

On the morning of 11 June an Uzbek crowd gathered near the roundabout at the intersection of Lenin Street and Osmonov Street, using rocks and bottles of flammable oil to attack the building of the city division of the traffic police and the new bus station.<sup>845</sup> The building of the traffic police of Osh City UVD was smashed up and torched.<sup>846</sup> Possibly, some cars were torched at the same time, which were still standing at the intersection when the members of the mission visited on 18 June 2010.

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841 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010; statement by the victims (names withheld) to a human rights organization, 23 August 2010.

842 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6652>

843 Information from Citizens Against Corruption human rights organization.

844 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), 22 June 2010; letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name of the author withheld), 13 April 2011.

845 Information from the Prosecutor General's office.

846 Information from UVD in Osh City; interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2011.

The book of the Mayor of Osh Melisbek Myrzakmatov mentions an attack by an Uzbek crowd around 4 PM on 11 June on a nearby municipal transport base (the former trolleybus station).<sup>847</sup> However, in his statement, the director of the transport base Ilyas Radzhapov told members of the National Commission that the attack took place on 12 June. On 11 June the base was still untouched. On the order of the commandant staff, on the morning 15 buses and their drivers were transporting members of the security services and civilians around the city. When the buses ran out of gasoline, they returned to the base for refueling.<sup>848</sup>

One of the documents from the Prosecutor General's office quotes the testimony of a 33 years old suspect who claimed that after the torching, the chairman of the Uzbek National Cultural Center of Kyrgyzstan Zhalaldin Salakhutdinov arrived to where the crowd was gathered, escorted by six–seven people in two BMWs. He allegedly handed out guns and ammunition and gave certain "orders".<sup>849</sup> This information has not been confirmed.

Approximately at 5:40 PM an armed incident took place at the Dostuk border crossing (one kilometer to the north of the new bus station), which caused serious concern among the highest authorities in Bishkek.

According to the Headquarters of the border forces, "citizens of Uzbek ethnicity arrived to Dostuk demanding that they be allowed to cross into Uzbekistan". At that time, three armored vehicles arrived to the border post on the Uzbekistani side to strengthen security at the border. Possibly, their arrival was a catalyst in what happened. Two Kamaz trucks without drivers from the Uzbek crowd broke through the border fence, upon which shooting started between civilians and the Kyrgyzstani border guards.<sup>850</sup> In contrast to the first panicked reports, the attackers were unable to break through the border. The size of the Uzbek crowd was estimated by the law enforcement agencies to be 1000 people.<sup>851</sup> It is unclear who among them were armed.

In some official reports this incident is described in the vein of "conspiracy theories". The crowd at Dostuk allegedly consisted of "supporters of Kadyrzhan Batyrov" who according to "operative information" planned to seize the border post "in order to open fire on the Uzbekistani forces", in order to provoke them to invade and establish an Uzbek autonomy in the areas with low population density in the south of

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847 According to Myrzakmatov, the armed crowd broke in and torched the building. Uzbek youth armed with automatic weapons fought back the first attempt by the military to interfere, but during the second attempt and with the support of an APC they managed to bring out 15 drivers from the base (Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p. 28)

848 <http://south.kloop.kg/2010/07/30/rasskaz-direktora-oshskoj-avtobazy-foto/>

849 Information from the Prosecutor General's office. This version is also presented without reference to any source in the report by Ismail Isakov.

850 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB. The report by the Parliamentary Commission mentions three Kamaz trucks.

851 Information from Osh Province Prosecutor's Office.



Kyrgyzstan.<sup>852</sup> At the moment there are no convincing materials to confirm speculative theories like this one.

According to the statement of the director of the municipal transport base, an Uzbek crowd was near the base during the night and on the day of 12 June, throwing rocks and bottles with flammable oil on the fence. Around 4 PM, the gate of the base was broken in two places by Kamaz trucks. About 200 young people armed with rifles, knives, home-made spears and bottles of flammable oil broke into the base. They “started shooting in the air and torching everything they came across”. 27 buses were stolen, the others were torched. There were threats made against about 30 employees who were observing the events from the roof of the building.<sup>853</sup>

Later on the same day, officers from Bishkek GUVB led by the head of the Suleyman-Too police division B. Israilov brought eight people and four trolleybuses out from the base.<sup>854</sup>

Available sources do not mention other incidents in this area.

On 15 June, the security services checked another piece of dubious information stating that former Member of Parliament Inom Abdurasulov allegedly had gathered 1500 armed Uzbeks in the Kashkar-Kyshtak village district, which he had planned moving in the direction of Osh City.<sup>855</sup>

### **The Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict**

On the day of 11 June after Friday prayer, residents in the Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict started evacuating women and children in the direction of the border with Uzbekistan.<sup>856</sup> The mass evacuation started after reports of attacks by armed Kyrgyz crowds on the Cheremushki Microdistrict. As one witness recalls, “we were warned that we could not trust the military”. During the day, the residents started writing “SOS” on the asphalt as a signal they imagined could be seen by the air force of Uzbekistan. Towards evening, some barricades were erected.<sup>857</sup>

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852 Information from the Prosecutor’s Office in Osh Province. These claims are also presented in the reports by Ismail Isakov and the Parliamentary Commission. The report by Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva contains fantastic claims that the attackers supposedly “took the clothes and weapons from the border guards and started shooting in the direction of Uzbekistan”.

853 <http://south.kloop.kg/2010/07/30/rasskaz-direktora-oshskoj-avtobazy-foto/>

854 Information from UVD Osh City.

855 Information from the Prosecutor’s Office in Osh Province.

856 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 20 June and 3 September 2010.

857 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2011.

The attack on the microdistrict started between 8 AM and 9 AM on the morning of 12 June.<sup>858</sup>

A resident on Lenin Street in the southern part of the microdistrict recalls how he went outside with his son at 7:30 AM in order to build a barricade. After about one hour, shooting broke out. From the direction of the philharmony, at least 30 Kyrgyz men in black clothes and with military-style boots came and opened fire without warning. Rounds from automatic weapons could be heard, as well as single shots. The residents started fleeing deep into the makhalla, some tried to take shelter from the bullets behind the barricade. "A guy fell beside me, and I tried to help him and was shot in the leg. Three of us were wounded."<sup>859</sup> The same episode is mentioned by another witness, who said that the attackers were shooting from at least 10 weapons.<sup>860</sup>

After some time (possibly less than half an hour), an IFV arrived from the south carrying soldiers. Behind it was a group of armed Kyrgyz youth between the ages of 18 and 30.<sup>861</sup> At the beginning of the street was a weakly constructed barricade which was easily removed by the IFV.<sup>862</sup> The soldiers fired down the street from a heavy-calibered machine gun atop the IFV.<sup>863</sup> A week later, the residents on Lenin Street showed the members of the mission a large number of bullet holsters from heavy-calibered machine guns which they had collected inside the makhalla.

A Kamaz truck whose driver's cupé had been protected from bullets by metal sheets tried to block the road in front of the IFV, but was shot at and caught fire.<sup>864</sup> Following the IFV into the makhalla were men carrying automatic weapons and looters who opened fire from automatic weapons, killing residents (ethnic Uzbeks), looting and torching houses.<sup>865</sup>

The IFV moved a bus and a truck which were blocking the road inside the makhalla, but stopped before reaching the gate to the local mosque,<sup>866</sup> where the road had been blocked by self-defense groups. Up to this spot, many residential houses were looted and burned down.

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858 The KIC report also mentions unsuccessful attacks by Kyrgyz crowds on 11 June from 1 PM to 8 PM and on 13 June at 7 AM. However, residents of the microdistrict interviewed by members of the mission stated clearly that an attack took place only on 12 June. We were unable to confirm the information from KIC regarding the Kyrgyz crowd seizing weapons in the Teshik-Tash area (Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict).

859 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 9 September 2010.

860 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

861 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

862 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

863 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

864 Letter from human rights activist Ravshan Gapirov, 10 January 2012.

865 Letter from human rights activist Ravshan Gapirov to President of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev, 24 June 2010.

866 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010 and Moscow 17 October 2010.

Shooting also started from the entry from Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict to Kurmanjan Datka Street (however, the attackers did not enter the makhalla from this side).<sup>867</sup>

According to KIC, “Uzbeks who were guarding the barricades inside the makhalla opened fire in response”.

However, the version in the KIC report, according to which the Kyrgyz attack was stopped when a garbage truck driven by an Uzbek allegedly lifted the APC from the ground, killing several attackers when it was dropped, seems unlikely.

According to an resident in the area who was interviewed by HRW on 18 June 2010, a “tank” (IFV) which was taking down the barricades around 10 AM, “turned around when local residents threatened to set fire to a fuel truck blocking the road”. The HRW report refers to photographs of tracks on the asphalt which could be seen where the “tank” turned around.

These versions of events should be studied further.

The reports of “snipers” shooting from the vodka factory in this area also need to be investigated further.<sup>868</sup> The documentary film “Koogalan” contains video recordings where one can see two people on the roofs of the Osh Aragy factory, one of whom is armed with a sniper rifle. It is unknown when and by whom this recording was made.

Residents described the pogroms following the entry of the Kyrgyz crowd into the makhalla with horror.

In house no. 546 on Lenin Street, three men in military uniforms and masks with automatic weapons broke in around 9 AM and immediately attacked the house owners. The 60-year old Ergash Mamadaliev died from fractures in the head, and his body was left in the house which was then torched. His 37-year old son Erkinboy was beaten to the floor with a rifle butt. One of the attackers then stabbed him in the stomach and head with a knife. He was also shot and burned during the fire. Erkinboy lost consciousness from the blow to the head. He was saved by his neighbors who sent him to Uzbekistan.<sup>869</sup>

“I saw a wounded man lying on the street”, recalls a witness.

He waved to us, asking for help, but we couldn’t help him. After half an hour, when the shooting stopped, we ran back to put out the fire, and could see that his body was already burning... The attackers spared one old man. They put him

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867 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

868 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6669>

869 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

on his knees, beat him, threatened him with weapons, but let him go home. They hurried, as they were scared of staying inside the makhalla too long. Items from the houses and sheep were loaded into cars and taken away. When we started putting out the fires here, the Kyrgyz came back and we ran away again... Some guys told me that after the APC, a military truck arrived, and six people opened fire from each side...This continued for about three hours, everything was over before mid-day.<sup>870</sup>

Around 9 AM, 18 people in military uniform broke into house no. 451 on Lenin Street, armed with automatic weapons and knives. They shot one of the neighbors, and then beat up the 60-year old ethnic Uighur Shaigul Narynbaeva, breaking her leg. Her son, 39-year old Erkin Narynbaev who was trying to hide in the neighboring building was burned alive in the house. The house of the Narynbaev-family was also burned down.<sup>871</sup>

Preliminary information indicates that 17 local residents died during the attack on Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict on the morning of 12 June, including one person whose remains were found in a burnt-down house when dogs started dragging them out a week later<sup>872</sup>. Among the dead was Bakhtiyar Zakirov, Anvar Kochkarov, Gafurdzhan Tashmatov, Israil Umarov, Toychubay Dzhuraev, Takhirzhon Nurvaliev and others.<sup>873</sup> Rumors circulated outside the microdistrict of 150 dead in Sheyit-Dobo (this is mentioned in one of the interviews in the film “Chas Shakala”).

At 12:07 PM, five wounded officers from the Ministry of Defense and Emergency Situations were brought to the military medical unit 34594 (Lenin Street no. 271), as well as the 25 year-old Kanzharbek Shadybekov, an officer from the security unit of the Sverdlovskiy ROVD in Bishkek, who died from a gunshot wound in the head.<sup>874</sup> According to AKIpress news agency, Shadybekov died when the police unit sent to Sheyit-Dobo came under fire from local residents.<sup>875</sup> According to unofficial reports, the officers were sitting on an APC when they were wounded.<sup>876</sup>

Information regarding the use of armored vehicles and subdivisions of government forces in Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict during the first half of the day on 12 June 2010 is not mentioned in available official reports. The report of Osh City UVD does not mention that any forces were sent to this area. It is merely said that at 10 PM “as a result of negotiations carried out by commandant Kursan Asanov with the leaders of

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870 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

871 Statement by Shaigul Narynbaeva to NGO Citizens Against Corruption, 15 August 2010.

872 Interview with residents of Osh City (names withheld), Osh, 20 June and 9 September 2010. <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6669>

873 Information from the Prosecutor General's office.

874 Information from the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense.

875 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276326420>; <http://kg.AKIpress.org/news:219321>

876 Letter to Memorial Human Rights Center (name of the author withheld), 21 October 2011.

the Uzbek diaspora, 7 hostages of Kyrgyz ethnicity were freed in the Sheyit-Dobo area."<sup>877</sup>

The KIC report states that a certain "police brigade from Batken" arrived to the makhalla approximately at 10 AM, but that they "failed to intervene at all", as an oral order not to shoot. This information should be studied further, as it runs contrary to statements given by some witnesses above.

There is information that self-defense groups detained Uzbeks who were handing over information to Kyrgyz by telephone.<sup>878</sup>

As can be seen on the satellite images published by UNITAR/UNOSAT, 122 residential homes on each side of Lenin Street (to the north of Navoi Street) were destroyed at a distance of about 400 meters. Several other buildings were destroyed from the eastern side of the makhalla (by the Ak-Buura river), where during the first half of the day on 12 June shooting also took place.<sup>879</sup> On the northern part of Kurmanjan Datka Street, six large written "SOS" can be seen on the satellite images.

According to information from Ferghana news agency, 81 residential homes and 17 other buildings were burned down on Lenin Street and Bakhramov Street. Among them were the center for adaptation and rehabilitation of minors of the Osh Province UVD.<sup>880</sup> The house of the local human rights activist Ravshan Gapirov was also in the destroyed area.

The attack on Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict on 12 June provoked acts of violence in response. According to official information, on the evening of 12 June a group of aggressive Uzbek youth who had gathered near school no. 65 on Mamazhan Street broke into a house which was being rented by a Kyrgyz family from Jalalabad. The 36-year old Kyyal Pratova and her 14 year-old daughter Aselya were raped and brutally murdered. Kyyal's nine-year old son Dayyrbek was also killed.<sup>881</sup> On the night of the next day the bodies of the dead were buried at the Eski-Mazar cemetery, where they were found during an exhumation at the end of June 2010. A resident of Osh City and two residents of Kara-Suu District were arrested on suspicion of the murders in July 2010. Two employees at the cemetery were also arrested.<sup>882</sup>

Entry to Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict was closed by barricades until 19 June 2010.<sup>883</sup> Fearing new attacks, the residents established fiveobserver posts and ran volunteer

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877 Information from UVD in Osh City.

878 Letter from human rights activist Ravshan Gapirov, 10 January 2012.

879 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 20 June 2010.

880 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6669>

881 <http://for.kg/ru/news/140689/>

882 <http://svodka.AKlpress.org/news:53551/> The trial took place at the end of 2010. Fivemen and one woman were charged. (<http://for.kg/ru/news/140689/>).

883 The KIC report gives the date as 17 June.

self-defense groups (up to 100 people who had about six hunting rifles). In order to prevent possible entry by armored vehicles Lenin Street was closed off by trucks and containers. Sheets of steel were attached to some of the trucks to protect the drivers from bullets.<sup>884</sup>

### **The center**

After the clashes on the night between 10 and 11 June, the central streets Kurmanjan Datka and Lenin Street (up until Navoi Street to the north) came under the control of the law enforcement agencies and groups of Kyrgyz youth.

On 11 June between 10 AM and 11 AM, several cafés and small shops on the intersection of Kurmanjan Datka and Aytiev Streets were smashed up.<sup>885</sup>

The former owner of OshTV television company recalls that around 10 AM he saw from the window of the fire brigade building that the office of the company was being looted.<sup>886</sup> "Fourteen, sixteen and 20-year old bandits were smashing up our office, taking out computers, while the older ones kept guard with automatic weapons."<sup>887</sup>

At 11:15 AM the 16-year old schoolboy Dilshabek Abdullaev (an ethnic Uzbek) was brought from Kurmanjan Datka Street to the City Hospital. After 15 minutes he died from a gunshot wound to the chest.<sup>888</sup>

The area around the building of the provincial administration was guarded by military and police during the night. At 11:15 AM, 30 border guards were sent here.<sup>889</sup> Large groups of ethnic Kyrgyz civilians were also concentrated here, including women and children, who were getting ready for evacuation. One could also see Kyrgyz men in civilian clothing armed with automatic weapons.<sup>890</sup>

In the film "Chas Shakala", an incident is described when an ethnic Uzbek trying to cross Lenin Square that day was wounded by police officers who opened fire on him. The members of the mission were unable to find any further details of this incident.

On 12 June around 9 AM, the 60-year old Sharopat Abdukarimova was walking down Stepnaya Street towards the center of the city. Near the Dom Politprosvesheniya, which is next to the building of the provincial administration, she was grabbed by an unknown man. Then, several Kyrgyz women beat her and placed her in the cellar of

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884 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

885 Interview with owner of café (name withheld), Osh, 23 June 2010; <http://www.fernews.com/news.php?id=14919&mode=snews>

886 <http://www.knews.kg/ru/politics/6495/>

887 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6931>

888 Information from the Prosecutor General's office and the Ministry of Defense.

889 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

890 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 12 September 2010.

the administration building, taking all her clothes and jewellery. A police man who was on duty at the entrance did not interfere in what was happening. “Later, I heard a helicopter landing on the square. I thought that probably Bakiev’s people had taken the governor”. After six hours, a Kyrgyz man hid her in a different location, and later that night he freed her, saying “Go with God. May no soul know that you are an Uzbek”.<sup>891</sup>

On the first half of the day on 12 June, cars without registration plates were driving in the center of the city from the intersection of Masaliev Avenue and Zaynabetdinov Street to the City Hospital on Kurmanjan Datka Street, “pointing hunting rifles and automatic weapons out of the car windows.” A group of youth moved along the road armed with iron bars, knives, pipes and sticks with nails attached. When an APC drove by, “everyone who had sticks...threw them in the bushes”. In the area near the City Hospital looters walked along the street with toys and other things from a looted shop. The entry from Kurmanjan Datka Street to Abdykadyrov Street was closed off with felled trees.<sup>892</sup>

On the day of 12 June, a large group of Kyrgyz men from Alay came to a residential house on Kurmanjan Datka Street no. 276, armed with sticks, knives and pipes. They started checking passing cars, telling residents that they had come to clear the area.<sup>893</sup>

“On the first floor they took up an apartment and organized an office”, recalls a woman living in the house. “They walked around with sawed-off guns and knives; one had a home-made axe. We were scared to leave the house. Our son-in-law is an ethnic Russian. On the second day he went outside, and they told him that they wouldn’t touch Russians and Koreans, but Uzbeks – they showed him a knife and how they would cut their throats”.<sup>894</sup> In the yard of nearby houses no. 349 and no. 351 on Lenin Street, “protectors” from Alay, Kara-Suu and Kara-Kuldzha Districts stored looted items, including a large number of computers.<sup>895</sup> The office was up and running for about a week,<sup>896</sup> however the activity noticeably decreased from the morning of 13 June, possibly due to the rumors of a possible introduction of foreign military forces.<sup>897</sup>

Starting from 11 June 2010, relatives of Uzbeks who had been hospitalized at the City Hospital on Kurmanjan Datka Street tried to bring them to safer places. On 12 June, unknown armed persons in masks came to the hospital, looking for “Sarts”. “On Saturday a guy in a black mask who brought a dead body, hit a doctor from Bishkek and dragged him by the jacket around the corridor. When he found out that the man

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891 Interview with Sharpat Abdugarimova, Osh, 12 September 2010.

892 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=320>

893 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/12/12-iyunya-situaciya-v-oshe-ostayotsya-nespokojnoj-obnovleno-v-1153/>

894 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

895 <http://www.paruskg.info/2010/06/13/26440>

896 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

897 <http://www.paruskg.info/2010/06/13/26440>

he brought had died, he started shooting. We were scared of working under such conditions.”

Armed people stopped ambulances on the street, asking who they were carrying.<sup>898</sup> Due to the threat of attacks, on the day of 11 June the groups of ambulance workers served mainly the central districts of the city<sup>899</sup>, and at night almost did not go out in response to calls, which “were very many”. Towards the morning of 12 June unknown persons attacked one of the groups of ambulance workers and torched their car.<sup>900</sup>

On 11 June the area around the Frunzenskiy Market on the intersection of Kurmanjan Datka and Sovetskaya Streets were guarded by military and an IFV. However, they did not stop and check passing cars with armed people and without registration plates.<sup>901</sup> After mid-day, residents of nearby blocks started cutting down trees which were used to close off the entry to the makhalla. On 12 June around 11 AM, cars with people armed with automatic weapons started arriving to the barricades, but local Kyrgyz convinced them that the situation in the area was normal. “They came to us three times that day”, recalls a resident in the area. “On 13 June cars without registration plates drove by at high speeds, shots could be heard fired from the cars”.<sup>902</sup>

A message posted on the [diesel.elcat.kg](http://diesel.elcat.kg) forum also mentions that on the day of 12 June, stolen cars without registration plates were driving in the area around Frunzenskiy Market, carrying young men with sticks and guns, faces hidden with cloth.<sup>903</sup>

On the evening of 12 June, the security services arrested several armed people in the center of the city. At 10 PM, two cars without registration plates were stopped for checks on Kurmanjan Datka Street. In the trunk were two AK-74 automatic weapons with four magazines (90 bullets) and 16 grenade launcher shells.<sup>904</sup> On the same night, a 20-year old resident of Osh Province was arrested, armed with a 7,62 mm caliber AK automatic weapon.<sup>905</sup>

On the night between 12 and 13 June, the buildings of the City and Provincial UVD, the GSNB department, the Mayor’s office and Provincial Administration were all preparing to defend themselves against a possible attack from Uzbekistan. “The entire staff of the UVD was put on alert, and the employees were given weapons and

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898 Interview with employee at Osh City Hospital (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

899 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/123919/>

900 <http://www.24kg.org/politic/75928-v-gorode-oshe-kyrgyzstan-minuvshej-nochyu-tolpa.html>

901 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=20>

902 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 6 July 2010.

903 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=300>; <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4195203&st=380>.

904 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/124452/>

905 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/76343-v-gorode-oshe-k...o-neskolko.html>



ammunition.”<sup>906</sup> “Many thought that they would not live to see the morning”.<sup>907</sup> The book by Melisbek Myrzakmatov mentions a night-time telephone conversation with the commandant of the city Kursan Asanov, who asked the Mayor to look after his children “if something should happen”.<sup>908</sup> By morning, it was still quiet.

There is no information of other incidents in the center of Osh in the next days.

On the night between 14 and 15 June, the security guards at the Ministry of Emergency Situations (Muminov Street no. 11) fired one shot in the air to prevent three unknown persons from entering the territory.<sup>909</sup>

## The Southern and South-Western parts of Osh

The Uzbek areas in the south of Osh managed to avoid mass destruction. On 11 June 2010, entry to Turan Microdistrict and Dostuk Microdistrict were blocked by volunteer self-defense groups.

On the satellite images published by UNITAR/UNOSAT, one can see that the bridge across the channel leading to Turan Microdistrict from the north, east and west, as well as some streets, had been barricaded. On Avtozavoskaya Street, Korlev Street, Musy Dzhilil Street, Tolonov Street and Furmanov Street, one can see written SOS signs from the satellite. In the Dostuk Microdistrict the barricades closed off entry from Mamyrov Street. These objects were only part of the elements of defense in the Uzbek residential areas, as on 19 June (when the satellite images were taken), part of the barricades had already been removed.

On the morning of 11 June, separate clashes in the south-western part of Osh were reported. For instance, around 8:30 AM, 30 Kyrgyz armed with sticks and rocks attacked a smaller group of Uzbeks on the hill leading down from Nookat. Women from neighboring houses tried to calm down the crowd.<sup>910</sup>

In the book by the Mayor of Osh Melisbek Myrzakmatov it is claimed that on the day of 11 June, he managed to stop the movement of an aggressive crowd of Kyrgyz of 3000–4000 people, including drunk people, towards the south-western suburbs of Osh.<sup>911</sup>

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906 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Bishkek, 29 June 2010.

907 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 18 June 2010.

908 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.69.

909 <http://mes.kg/?p=6022>

910 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4188758&st=300>

911 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.32.

On 11 June at 9 PM, AKIpress news agency reported that clashes had broken out in Turan Microdistrict in the south of Osh (the information is unconfirmed).<sup>912</sup>

In an article on [www.uzmetronom.com](http://www.uzmetronom.com) referring to information prepared for the highest-ranking officials in Uzbekistan, it is claimed that approximately at 1:30 AM on 12 June 2010 over 200 “bandits” seized 15 automatic weapons from the checkpoint on the road between Osh and Nookat, and that around 4 AM the same group supported by two seized APCs destroyed the houses of Uzbeks on Kirpichnaya Street. Furthermore, “in one of the houses, Kyrgyz killed a two-year old child and his mother with an axe, and raped the 12-year old daughter of the owner of the house”.<sup>913</sup> This information is incorrect and is a rumor circulating among the Uzbek population.

The report of the Ombudsman’s Commission claims that after mid-day on 12 June, a group of Osh City UVD officers on an armored vehicle “arrived to the residential area near the hill from Nookat, where a crowd of citizens of Uzbek ethnicity had gathered”. Shots were fired at the policemen from the crowd, as a result of which several of them were hospitalized with gunshot wounds.<sup>914</sup>

Around 3 PM, shooting broke out near the Farkhad teahouse (near the intersection of Mamyrov and Ferganskaya Streets). As a result, a 37-year old citizen of the Russian Federation, Makhamat Isakov (an ethnic Uzbek) died from a gunshot wound to the head.<sup>915</sup> There are different versions of this incident.

According to a witness interviewed by members of the mission, the shooting started after a tracked APC, a truck in camouflage colors with a machine gun, a bus and a Gazel minibus with special police forces arrived to the student dormitory on the intersection of Mamyrov and Atabaev Streets. From the Gazel, which stopped near the gas station, three SOBR officers came out and opened fire from automatic weapons on containers that Uzbeks used to block the sidestreet. Some tens of Kyrgyz came out of the dormitory and started yelling insults at the Uzbeks. Then this group went by foot and in cars, escorted by the APC, along Mamyrov Street in the western direction. Some of those being evacuated threw rocks at Uzbek barrickades. Two Uzbeks tried to attack the moving APC with rocks. One of them was stopped by friends while the other was shot by the soldiers from the APC after he threw a rock.

After about 15 minutes, a Golf car came from the direction of Amir Temur Microdistrict, and fire was opened from both sides from automatic weapons. The front of the car was smashed by an Uzbek Kamaz truck which came from the parking lot by the gas station. The Kamaz came under fire and left the scene, whereupon three

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912 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276326420>

913 [http://www.uzmetronom.com/2010/06/22/beda\\_kotoruju\\_zhdali.html](http://www.uzmetronom.com/2010/06/22/beda_kotoruju_zhdali.html)

914 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

915 Interview with relative of Makhamat Isakov (name withheld), Osh, 4 September 2010.

police officers came out of the burning Golf, two of them in armor. They fired several rounds from automatic weapons in the direction of the Uzbek barricades, and then went in towards the dormitory. During the evacuation of Kyrgyz, two policemen were located in the dormitory. Over the next two days, they came out on the roof from time to time and fired from automatic weapons.<sup>916</sup>

On the day of 12 June, Mamyrov Street was patrolled by an APC, and cars without registration plates were driving along the street. Civilians with automatic weapons inside the cars yelled for people to go to their houses. Residents were scared that the crowds would break through along Amir Temur Street (from the north), however, the crowd was unable to bypass the Uzbek defense in the Cheremushki Microdistrict.<sup>917</sup>

On the second half of the day on 12 June, there was an unconfirmed report regarding the movement of a crowd of 300 “extremists” escorted by the APC in the direction of Turan Microdistrict.<sup>918</sup>

A resident of the microdistrict told members of the mission that on 12 June around 6 PM, when a Kyrgyz negotiator from Uchar village tried to receive money for the release of Uzbek female hostage, a shot was fired from the Kyrgyz side. Over about an hour, four defenders of the area died on Ishmatov Street (in the south-western part of the microdistrict). The Uzbek crowd consisted of up to 500 people here. The Kyrgyz crowd was at a distance of several hundred meters and did not approach the Uzbek barricades. An APC which arrived to the scene fired some shots in the air, but could not pass the barricades established by the residents and left the area. In Uchar village, a shop belonging to an ethnic Uzbek was torched.<sup>919</sup>

A member of the self-defense groups told Radio Liberty that an attack on the microdistrict was prevented on 12 June; four persons had died in a shoot-out, and before the attack, snipers had been firing on them from a distance. According to him, the self-defense forces consisted of 500 to 1000 men who had a small number of guns, one automatic weapon seized during fighting and 7 to 10 hunting rifles. Bottles of flammable oil were prepared to fight off the possible attack from APCs.<sup>920</sup>

According to official information, at 6:30 PM, the chairman of the Osh city council Davletbek Alimbekov and the head of the Financial Police Division in Osh City Gulamzhan Anarbaev helped stop a crowd of Kyrgyz who were moving from Uchar village (south-western suburb of Osh) in the direction of Turan Microdistrict. At 8 PM after new information had been received about movement of a Kyrgyz crowd from the direction of Uchar village, two checkpoints manned by officers from Osh City UVD

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916 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 24 December 2011.

917 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=60>

918 <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=14945>

919 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 23 December 2011.

920 <http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/article/2070226.html>

and soldiers from the internal forces were established on the bridges near the exit from Uchar village and near the Geological Town. At 8:30 PM, Osh City UVD received a report that about 500 Kyrgyz were moving from the country garden districts in the direction of Turan Microdistrict. A group of special forces from the Issyk-Kul Province UVD led by the Deputy Head of UVD in Osh City Marat Orozbaev was sent to the scene.<sup>921</sup>

According to the Prosecutor General's office, two ethnic Uzbeks were killed by gunshots on 11 June on Ishamtoev Street. These were the 36-year old Alisher Saipzhanov and the 26-year old Khabibillo Khusanov. On 12 June, the 41-year old Akhmad Alimov was killed, and on 14 June the 35 year-old Zakirzhan Sadykov. However, unofficial sources claim that all these four deaths took place on 12 June.

According to unconfirmed reports, residents of Turan Microdistrict used two training-APCs from the local DOSAAF center for disassembled weapons to strengthen their defence. They were set up in the direction of possible attacks from the Kyrgyz crowd. On the tower of the APC, tubes imitating machine guns were set up.<sup>922</sup>

In the service notes of the First Deputy Mayor Taalay Sabirov, he mentions his participation in negotiations between the two sides in the Turan Microdistrict on Mamyrov and Amir Temur Streets (details are unknown).<sup>923</sup>

On the night between 12 and 13 June, rumors were circulating that an armed crowd of Kyrgyz was moving towards Dostuk Microdistrict from the direction of Ak-Tilek Microdistrict (south-west) and from the south.<sup>924</sup> On the morning of 13 June, members of the self-defense groups in Dostuk Microdistrict (Uzbeks) and Ak-Tilek Microdistrict (Kyrgyz) agreed to help each other in the case of an attack from people carrying out pogroms.<sup>925</sup>

On 14 June a meeting between representatives of the Kyrgyz and Uzbek population took place near the brick factory, where the question of forming inter-ethnic groups to keep the order was discussed.<sup>926</sup>

During the day, two cars of police officers drove into Saint-Petersburg Street (Dostuk Microdistrict), where they shot at one of the residential houses. Earlier, gas pipes had been ruined by shots from passing cars on this street.<sup>927</sup>

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921 Information from UVD in Osh City.

922 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 24 December 2011.

923 Myrzakmatov, M. Men izdegen chyndyk. Bishkek, 2011, p.160

924 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=60>

925 <http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4202175&st=100>

926 <http://kloop.kg/blog/2010/06/14/14-iyunya-situaciya-v-oshe-i-dzhalal-abade/>

927 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 24 December 2011.

In Turan Microdistrict on the same day, unknown persons took a Kyrgyz woman and three children hostage, demanding an automatic weapon from their relatives as an exchange. The offer to buy the hostages out was declined. After a few hours of negotiations, the hostages were freed in exchange for three Uzbeks, including a pregnant woman, who were let out of an area with a predominant Kyrgyz population.<sup>928</sup>

## Nariman and Nurdar villages in Kara-Suu District

As mentioned above, the road from Osh to the airport was blocked by Uzbeks in Nurdar village in Kara-Suu District on the night between 10 and 11 June.

According to KIC, on the morning 250 men gathered in the center of Nariman village. An APC with soldiers entered the municipality without incident and left after carrying out an inspection.

The entry to Nariman village was closed with sacks of sand and guarded by local residents. The situation became uneasy after reports from Osh were received. Evacuation of women and children towards the border with Uzbekistan began.<sup>929</sup>

On 11 June an Uzbek crowd on the outskirts of Nariman village seized the base of the regional Center for reaction to emergency situations (the building belongs to the Ministry of Emergency Situations, and contained over 7000 tons of fuel and other strategic supplies)<sup>930</sup>. Among the soldiers guarding the base, one was seriously wounded while another was taken hostage.<sup>931</sup> Later, a MES commission examining the base noted that torching and theft of special technical equipment had taken place.<sup>932</sup>

After a short time, an oil base and gas station came under control of the self-defense groups in Nariman. "We were just protecting ourselves", recalls a participant of the events. "In the course of three–four days an APC and a crowd of 300–500 Kyrgyz tried to enter from the direction of the city. We didn't let anyone through. Although some were in uniform, you couldn't know who was a policeman and who was a looter. Clashes, looting and torching did not take place in the village."<sup>933</sup>

According to KIC, at 2 PM on 11 June, the authorities demanded that the road to the airport be opened and to ensure access to fuel tanks. The crowd agreed to let a fuel truck escorted by two APCs pass through, but warned that if an attempt was made to attack Nariman village, the oil tanks would be blown up. According to another version, which needs to be further investigated, an APC with soldiers arrived twice

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928 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276581420>

929 Interview with the head of Nariman village district Abdulatif Shadmanov, Nariman village, 20 June 2010.

930 Information from the Prosecutor's office in Osh Province.

931 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetlsakov.doc>

932 <http://mes.kg/?p=6324>

933 Interview with resident of Nariman village (name withheld), Nariman village, 20 June 2010.

on 11 June (with intervals of three–five hours) to carry out negotiations. At first, youth participated in the negotiations, then the aksakals of the village. The gasoline truck was allowed to enter the base only on the next day.<sup>934</sup>

Around 8:30 and Uzbek crowd of 200 people torched the two-story building of the Nariman village division of the police.<sup>935</sup> The police accused local residents of the attack.<sup>936</sup> The head of Nariman village district Abdulatif Shadmanov declared that the attack on the police building was carried out by refugees from other regions.<sup>937</sup>

Around 3–4 AM on 12 June, residents in Nurdar village went out on the main street (the road to the airport) because of rumors of a planned attack by a Kyrgyz crowd from Osh. Residents began sending women and children to Uzbekistan. Towards 8 AM, 1500–2000 Uzbek men were gathered at the entry to the village. The youth was mostly armed with sticks. A witness noticed three-four people with hunting rifles. Seeing the smoke from fires in two–three districts in Osh, the population started preparing the defense.

Two containers were placed on the road, rocks were brought, and people started filling gasoline in bottles. Older people were asked to step aside. At this time, thousands of Uzbek refugees in cars and on foot were moving from Osh towards the border of Uzbekistan. Approximately at 9:30 AM–10 AM, a wheeled APC and two Kamaz trucks arrived from the direction of the city, one of the trucks carrying special forces. On top of the APC were soldiers in camouflage. The APC stopped 50 meters from the barricade and started shooting in the air from a machine gun. People at the barricade started yelling, throwing rocks and bottles of gasoline. The rocks and the bottles did not reach the APC. In response, the APC fired some rounds at the containers, and then drove away. A witness recalls that the bullets went through the container, injuring people who were trying to hide behind it. Three people died from the shooting from the APC. They were sent to the hospital in Nariman village.<sup>938</sup>

One of those killed in the shooting was the 27-year old Sanzharbek Rasulov, who was brought to the hospital in Nariman village around 10 AM. Only a formal examination of the cause of death was carried out.<sup>939</sup>

The HRW report refers to a resident in the village who claims that the Uzbeks fired on Kyrgyz from an automatic weapon when repelling “a large crowd of attacker accompanying an APC in Nurdor village”. This information should be investigated further.

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934 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Moscow, 17 October 2010.

935 Information from the Prosecutor’s office in Osh Province.

936 Interview with officer of Kara-Suu ROVD (name withheld), Nariman village, 21 June 2010.

937 Interview with the head of the Nariman village district Abdulatif Shadmanov, Nariman village, 20 June 2010.

938 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), 3 September 2010.

939 Statement by Rakhimakhon Rasulova, July 2010.

Around mid-day, when there were 100–150 people left at the barricade, a car which were carrying Uzbeks and Kyrgyz arrived, asking that the road to the airport be opened in order to allow for humanitarian aid to be let through. They promised that the village would not be attacked. An agreement was reached. Approximately after an hour, residents removed the containers from the road. Barricades were set up at the entry to side streets. After this, at around 3–4 PM, transport along the main road was restored. Cars passed at high speed, fearing shooting from the Uzbek population.<sup>940</sup>

According to KIC, Uzbek crowds continued to threaten to blow up the gasoline tanks in Nariman village on the morning of 12 June, in order to prevent an attack by Kyrgyz. Unofficial sources also mention that only the threat of blowing up the gasoline base prevented violence from breaking out.<sup>941</sup>

At 11:45 AM on 12 June while driving on a military vehicle, the 29-year old senior officer of the Headquarters of the State Border Service, Major Kanat Abdyldaev was killed by a shot to the head.<sup>942</sup> In the comments by the government of Kyrgyzstan to the KIC report and the report of Ismail Isakov, it is noted that the border guard died when accompanying a humanitarian shipment to the area near Nariman village.<sup>943</sup>

According to AKIpress news agency, a shoot-out took place at 5:40 PM between special forces and “snipers” who were located in a nearby Uzbek village.<sup>944</sup>

On the evening of 12 June soldiers on APCs and IFVs opened fire from automatic weapons at residential houses on the road to the airport when travelling through Nurdar village. The 54 -year old Sanobar Kulieva was killed by a bullet from the soldiers on the APC when she was inside her home. At 7:20 PM her body was brought to the Hospital in Nariman village. Windows and furniture were hit by bullets from the soldiers in neighboring houses. No investigation of the incident was carried out.<sup>945</sup>

On 13 June the authorities again considered the road to the airport through Nurdar village to be a dangerous area, through which one could travel “only with escort from armored vehicles and armed special forces.”<sup>946</sup>

Referring to a witness, AKIpress reported that around 12 PM “unknown persons are driving around Nariman village in cars and calling for people through a loudspeaker to

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940 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

941 Interview with resident of Osh Province (name withheld), Bishkek, 4 July 2010.

942 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of GSNB.

943 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>;

[http://k-ic.org/images/stories/kg\\_comments\\_russian\\_final.pdf](http://k-ic.org/images/stories/kg_comments_russian_final.pdf)

944 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276581420>

945 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

946 <http://www.interfax.by/mosaic/1074278>

come out and join the Jihad". Later, residents in the village opened fire when members of a group from KhBK calling for reconciliation neared the area.<sup>947</sup>

On 13 June, senior lieutenant Bakhtiyar Sharipov from military unit 50967 deserted, taking with him an AKS-74 automatic rifle and four magazines with 120 bullets.<sup>948</sup> This is the only instance mentioned in the report from the Military Prosecutor when army weapons were seized by ethnic Uzbeks during the days of the conflict. According to unofficial reports, Sharipov, who lived in the Zarbdor area in Nariman village district, left his unit in order to save his sister. On 13 June he was seen in the VLKSM village (Nariman village district).<sup>949</sup> In July 2010 when Sharipov is likely to have left Kyrgyzstan, the weapons were returned to the authorities.<sup>950</sup>

On 19 August 2010 Kara-Suu District Court sentenced police major Dzhakhangir Umarchodzaev, a traffic police inspector from Osh City UVD living in Nariman village, to four years' imprisonment for participation in mass disturbances on 12–13 June and for illegal weapons' possession. The police officer was accused of carrying an automatic weapon stolen by Sharipov during the disturbances. Based on his testimony, a hiding spot was found in the yard on an unfinished house in the Zarbdor area on Navoi Street in Nariman village district on 5 July, where authorities discovered a carbine, two hunting rifles, two grenades and 330 bullets of different calibers, which had been hidden there by one of the members of the self-defense groups in the village.<sup>951</sup>

Around 13–14 June, several Kyrgyz families living in the KhBK area in Osh walked by foot through the village from the airport towards the city, escorted by Uzbek men from the self-defense groups in Nurdar village. Over several days, cars and armored vehicles passed through the village at high speeds, fearing to be shot at. The government forces did not attempt to cross through back streets. Around 14 June, an APC with soldiers stopped at the minimarket in the village. The soldiers shot a few times in the air, took beer and food products from the shop, then left Nurdar.<sup>952</sup>

At 6:30 PM on 14 June, special forces from the Sher group of the internal forces on an APC shot at Nurdar village.<sup>953</sup>

At 2 AM on 15 June, unknown persons tried to stop a cortege of 12 cars carrying humanitarian aid when it was passing through one of the villages near the airport. The front and back windows of one of the cars were broken.<sup>954</sup>

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947 <http://www.centrasia.ru/news2.php?st=1276581420>

948 Information from the Military Prosecutor's office.

949 Verdict of the Kara-Suu District Court in the case of D. Umarchodzaev and others, 19 August 2010.

950 Letter from human rights activist Ravshan Gapirov, 13 June 2011.

951 Verdict of the Kara-Suu District Court in the case of D. Umarchodzaev and others, 19 August 2010.

952 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

953 Information from the Prosecutor's office in Osh Province.

954 <http://mes.kg/?p=6022>



On the morning of 15 June, AKIpress news agency referred to the Commandant Staff of the Osh Province, reporting that “a crowd of people” had gathered near the police station in Nariman (details are unknown).<sup>955</sup>

According to Ismail Isakov’s report, on 15 June a group of demobilized subdivisions from Bishkek consisting of ethnic groups other than Kyrgyz and Uzbeks were sent to Nariman village district to keep order.<sup>956</sup>

The blockade to Nariman village was removed on 19 June 2010.<sup>957</sup>

Residents from Nurdar village removed the blockades to side streets around 17–19 June. At the entry to the village from the airport a checkpoint was set up, where Russian-speaking soldiers were stationed.<sup>958</sup>

### **The murders of officers from Kara-Suu ROVD**

The brutal murders on of the head of Kara-Suu ROVD colonel Adylbek Sultanov and the sergeant major of the police accompanying him, Uran Shamurzaev, in Nariman village district on 13 June 2010 provoked a new wave of unrest.

According to official information, the car in which police officers Adylbek Sultanov, Uran Shamurzaev and the former First Deputy of the head of the district administration Abdusattar Shayatov were travelling in was stopped by an Uzbek crowd around 2 PM on 13 June in the Tadzhiik-Abad area of Nariman village. The police officers (ethnic Kyrgyz) were dragged out of the cars, beaten with sticks and rocks and then killed.<sup>959</sup> Late at night, Shamurzaev’s body was found without a head and with numerous stab wounds in the river near one of the villages in Kara-Suu District. On the demand of the heads of the law enforcement agencies, residents in Nariman village returned the remains of an unknown person (likely to be Satalinov) at 3 PM on 13 June, who had been burned along with the car in the yard of the village police station.<sup>960</sup> The materials from the criminal case contain shocking details of the brutal murder of the police officers, which in the opinion of local human rights activists were collected mainly through torture of suspects.<sup>961</sup>

Abdusattar Shayatov (an ethnic Uzbek) who was travelling in the same car as the murdered police men is currently wanted by the police.<sup>962</sup> According to the official version he was not injured during the attack on the police officers. At the

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955 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276581420>

956 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetsIsakov.doc>

957 Interview with residents of Nariman village (names withheld), Nariman village, 20 June 2010.

958 Interview with resident of Osh City (name withheld), Osh, 3 September 2010.

959 Verdict of the Kara-Suu District Court in the case of A. Tashirov and others, 29 October 2010.

960 Document opening criminal case, 14 June 2010.

961 Detailed information on torture can be found in materials distributed by human rights activist Ravshan Gapirov, who participated as an advocate for civil society during the handling of complaints to the Supreme Court of Kyrgyzstan.

962 Information from human rights activist Ravshan Gapirov.

same time, Shayatov's relatives claim that he was brutally beaten by the attackers, lost consciousness and that his mobile phone was taken away. On the evening of 13 June Shayatov was brought by unknown people to the hospital, and was later hospitalized.<sup>963</sup>

In the course of the investigation in June 2010, nine residents of Nariman and Mady village districts in Kara-Suu District were arrested.<sup>964</sup> On 7 July, Azizullo Tashirov (an ethnic Kazakh from Osh) was arrested in Kazakhstan,<sup>965</sup> and extradited to Kyrgyzstan in the beginning of August. On 27 December 2010, the appeal's court sentenced five of the accused to life imprisonment for participation in the murders, and two of them to 25 years' imprisonment. Another two were sentenced to prison for participation in the mass disturbances and for concealment of a crime, while one was sent to psychiatric evaluation and his case separated from that of the others.<sup>966</sup>

A detailed discussion of the official version of these events, which raises numerous questions, is beyond the scope of this report.

Residents in Nariman village interviewed by the members of the mission stated that the attack on the police officers took place at the intersection of Kara-Suu and Suleymanov Street, where an agitated and uncontrollable crowd of about 300 persons were located at that time. Among them were many young people and persons who had fled from the clashes in Furkat village. The crowd stopped passing cars and took out Uzbek men, demanding that they participate in the defense of the area. Unexpectedly, the car with the police officers drove up to the crowd, and was almost immediately attacked. The tragic incident could probably have been avoided if an agreement had been made in advance to carry out negotiations between persons of authority in the village and the local authorities.<sup>967</sup>

The murder of the police officers from Kara-Suu ROVD gave rise to numerous rumors (some of them also presented in interviews and in official documents), something that led to an increased anti-Uzbek atmosphere among ethnic Kyrgyz. For instance, the report by Ismail Isakov claims that Shamurzaev "was beheaded publicly in front of a crowd of ethnic Uzbeks". The report by Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva connects the murder of Shamurzaev with the fact that former Member of Parliament Inom Abdurasulov allegedly "promised 500 dollars for each head of a Kyrgyz". Earlier, Dzholdosheva said that the ROVD officers were killed in front of the crowd after a reconciliation effort, where they had been offered plov by the Uzbeks.<sup>968</sup> None of these claims have any factual basis.

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963 Interview with relative of Abdusattar Shayatov (name withheld), Kara-Suu, 23 June 2010.

964 Verdict of the Kara-Suu District Court in the case of A. Tashirov and others, 29 October 2010.

965 <http://www.kyrtag.kg/?q=news/389>

966 Verdict of the Osh Provincial Court in the case of A. Tashirov and others, 27 December 2010.

967 Interview with residents of Nariman village (names withheld), Nariman village, 20 June 2010.

968 Interview with Zhyldyzkan Dzholdosheva, Osh Province, 19 June 2010.

## The disturbances in Aravan district

On 11 June, mass disturbances took place in the district center of Aravan (26 kilometers to the west of Osh), including an attack by an Uzbek crowd on the buildings of the police station, the prosecutor's office and the GSNB. Acts of violence against police officers and the attacks on police stations were reported also in Tele-Korgon and Chek-Abad village district, where there is a predominant Uzbek population.<sup>969</sup>

The situation in the Uzbek villages in the district grew still more serious when reports were received from Osh about attacks by armed Kyrgyz crowds on Uzbek makhallas. Between 1 PM and 2 PM, a crowd of Uzbeks of 100–200 people gathered in the center of Chek-Abad village, calling to seize weapons. Part of the crowd went by car to Aravan, in spite of attempts by the head of the village district Mukhtar Mamirov to stop them from doing so.<sup>970</sup>

After Friday prayer, a crowd of people started gathering on the streets of Aravan village, discussing the events taking place. At 3:15 PM, around 150–200 Uzbeks were outside the House of Culture, where the office of the district division of the Social-Democratic Party was located. The head of the division, D. Abdukerimov, was unable to calm down the crowd.<sup>971</sup>

Soon, the size of the crowd grew to 400–500 people. Calls to get armed and to leave for Osh to help Uzbeks were heard. The head of the district and the aksakals did not manage to calm down those who had gathered.<sup>972</sup>

Around 4 PM, a crowd blocked the central street near the district administration building and tried to seize the weapons from the police officers.<sup>973</sup> Trying to save themselves, four police officers ran into the building of the district division of GSNB. People from the crowd broke into the building and beat up the police officers and one of GSNB's drivers, K. Eraliev, torched two cars at the entrance and broke windows.

Around 5 PM, 100–150 people armed with rocks, sticks and iron bars walked up to the ROVD building. One of the leaders (Zhorobek from Kommuizm village) spoke through the fence with the police officers through the fence, demanding that they hand over weapons, as "in the center, guys in a black BMW shot at us and drove away". The crowd started growing. After some time, the crowd started throwing rocks and bottles of gasoline at the ROVD building. The police fired in the air, but this did not stop the attackers. In order to calm down the crowd, an agreement was made with the heads of the police permitted the release of Makhamadali Nodirov

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969 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010.

970 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010.

971 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

972 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010.

973 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

(suspected of murder). The demand to hand over weapons was declined. Having been refused, the attackers tried to use a fire truck to break through the gates of the ROVD. However, the attack failed, as the police opened fire on the tires of the truck. A drunk man armed with an iron bar managed to get into the passport office of the ROVD.<sup>974</sup> According to official information, nine Uzbeks were wounded when the police opened fire.<sup>975</sup> 11 police officers received bodily injuries.<sup>976</sup>

At around 5:15 PM, another group came to the district prosecutor's office from Osh-3000 Street, where 350–400 people had blocked the road. The attackers were unable to open the gates, and instead threw rocks at the windows of the prosecutor's office for 10–15 minutes.<sup>977</sup>

According to the Ombudsman's Commission, attacks were also made on shops belonging to Kyrgyz.<sup>978</sup>

The participants in the unrest in Aravan villages dispersed after an APC with special forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs arrived around 8 PM.<sup>979</sup>

Around mid-day on 11 June, residents gathered in the center of Tepe-Korgon village to discuss the situation in Osh. The head of the village district, Mairmzhon Khaliov, tried to calm people down. Around 5–6 PM, when rumors started spreading that Kyrgyz were nearing the village, around 50 people started throwing rocks at the windows of the local police station. The attackers were armed with iron rods and rocks, one had a rifle, another (a citizen of the Russian Federation) had a home-made pistol. Two police officers had to run away to save themselves. In Chek-Abad village, residents threw rocks at a low-ranking local police officer.<sup>980</sup>

According to the Ombudsman's Commission, around 3000 Kyrgyz from the village districts of Kerme-Too, Mangyt and Too-Mojun in Aravan District gathered at the small town of Zheti-Ogayni "to organize countermeasures to the arising threat". At that time, part of the Uzbek population started leaving for Uzbekistan.<sup>981</sup> On the night between 11 and 12 June, a Kyrgyz crowd in the Too-Mojun village district seized several automatic weapons with bullets from a border post (see details below).

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974 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010.

975 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

976 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010.

977 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010. The report by Ismail Isakov estimates the size of the crowd that attacked the prosecutor's office to have been 200 people.

978 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

979 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010. In the version presented by Ismail Isakov and the Parliamentary Commission it is claimed that the special forces with an APC arrived to Aravan around 7 PM.

980 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010.

981 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/akuna.html>

According to AKIpress news agency, a meeting was held at the district administration building on 12 June, where the leadership of the district, the heads of the village districts and representatives of the Kyrgyz and Uzbek populations participated. An agreement was reached to end the disturbances, to remove barricades on the roads, to carry out preventive talks among the population and united “social” investigations of the events that had taken place in the district.<sup>982</sup>

From the morning on, the Uzbek population transported women and children to the border with Uzbekistan in Kamaz trucks.<sup>983</sup>

On the day of 12 June, a police officer who had been taken for a Kyrgyz was threatened with a home-made pistol by drunk villagers on the street in Tele-Korgon village, who later went looking for him in order to kill him. A group of Uzbeks used gasoline to torch the local police station.<sup>984</sup>

15 of the participants in the mass disturbances were sentenced by the Aravan district court on 10 November 2010.

## Attacks on military bases in Osh Province

The documents from the Military Prosecutor’s office, the Southern Group of Forces of the Ministry of Defense, the Headquarters of the State Border Service and the report by Ismail Isakov describe eight episodes where firearms and ammunition were seized between 11 and 13 June 2010 from military units located in the Alay, Aravan, Kara-Suu, Kara-Kudzhin and Chon-Alay Districts of Osh Province. Weapons were often handed over to attacking Kyrgyz crowd without any serious resistance. Part of the weapons was later used during attacks on Uzbek areas in Osh. Due to the almost mono-ethnic make up of the military units in the south of Kyrgyzstan, it is unlikely that there were any instances when Uzbek groups seized weapons in the same manner.

On 11 June around 5 PM, a crowd of Kyrgyz of about 2000 people attacked the military unit 92843 in Gulcha village in Alay District, seizing 10 AK-74 automatic weapons, 1966 bullets and 14 F-1 grenades.<sup>985</sup>

At 8:30 PM, around 2000 residents of Chon-Alay District attacked the Sary-Tash border post (Alay District). In spite of warning shots being fired, the attackers broke into the border post and after causing light bodily injury to the border guards, seized 25 AK-74 automatic weapons, one SVD sniper rifles, 1750 bullets, two mouted

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982 <http://for.kg/ru/news/124035/>

983 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

984 Verdict of the Aravan District Court in the case of M. Rakhmanov and others, 10 November 2010.

985 Information from the Military Prosecutor’s office. The report by Ismail Isakov estimates the size of the crowd to have been 1500 people.

grenade launchers with 225 VOG-25 grenades, two signal pistols and 136 bullets for them, a bayonet and five small entrenching shovels.<sup>986</sup> In Ismail Isakov's report it is stated that "former police officers from the Ministry of Internal Affairs S.Matorozov, A. Matorozov, A. Mamtmusaev, serviceman of the Chon-Alay military district commissariat T. Zhusupov and the Deputy Akim of Chon-Alay District I. Tagaev were involved in this attack".<sup>987</sup>

At 10:50 PM, 500–600 local residents surrounded the Too-Mojun border post in Aravan District, demanding that all available weapons and ammunition be handed over to them. The attackers brought canisters with gasoline and threatened to torch the border post. Negotiations went on for about two hours but did not give any results. Around 2 AM on 12 June, the Kyrgyz crowd broke into the territory of the base and tried to torch it. Threats were made to "take care of" the staff. The command agreed to hand over four AK-74 automatic weapons and 200 bullets to the attackers on the condition that they signed a receipt for them.

On 12 June, about 300 people broke into the Karamyk-Avtodorozhniy border post in Chon-Alay District. After negotiations with the command of the unit, the crowd was given two AK-74 automatic weapons, a PM pistol and 108 bullets.

400 residents of the Zhekendi village district in Chon-Alay District came to the Karamyk border post at mid-day; the attackers were given six AK-74 automatic weapons and 120 bullets on the condition that they signed a receipt for them.

At the same time, 300 local residents surrounded the Kyzyl-Dzhar border post in Kara-Kudlzha District and through negotiations managed to get four AK-74 automatic weapons and 200 bullets.

At 2 PM, 700–800 residents of the Savai village district in Kara-Suu District threatened to torch the Yntymak border post, and through negotiations managed to get four AK-74 automatic weapons and 200 bullets.

On 13 June at 11 AM, about 30 people surrounded soldiers from the Ikkizyak border post in Alay District who were on their way to the command center, seizing from them six AK-74 automatic weapons, 1 AKS automatic weapon and 325 bullets. Having armed themselves, the attackers left in the direction of Osh City.

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986 Information from the Military Prosecutor's office and the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB. The chronology of the Headquarters of the Border Forces gives a later date for these episodes than the one given in the materials from the Military Prosecutor's office. Possibly, the reason is that the information on the seizure of weapons in far-away locations was reported to the Headquarters later. We have used the chronology of the Military Prosecutor's office as the basis for this chapter.

987 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>

At 12 PM, 300 residents of Sary-Tash village and Nur village in Alay District broke into the Irkeshtam-Avtodorozhniy border post and used violence against the soldiers to seize seven AK-74 automatic weapons and 4080 bullets.<sup>988</sup>

A considerable part of the weapons and over 90% of the bullets seized by the Kyrgyz crowds in the village districts of Osh Province were not returned after the end of the pogroms in Osh. There is no information that any of the civilians who attacked the border posts to seize weapons have been held to account by the authorities.

## The events in Batken Province

Batken Province was created in 1999, on the basis of the three western Districts of Osh Province. The province still has close ties with the districts in Osh.

At 6:45 PM on 11 June, the press service of Batken provincial administration reported that about 200 people had gathered in Batken, demanding that the authorities provide transport to Osh. Parents of students studying in Osh asked that “hotlines” be organized so that they could learn about the fate of their children. Some people who called for an attack on UVD to seize weapons were arrested by the police.<sup>989</sup> In the evening, around 250 people travelled in the direction of Osh in spite of attempts by the authorities to stop them from doing so.<sup>990</sup>

A local non-governmental organization reported that the Dom Byta shopping center in Kadamzhay District was looted during the night, and that clashes had taken place at the bazaar in Khalmion village.<sup>991</sup> According to border guards, Uzbek women with children from Khalmion and Tash-Dobo villages in Kadamzhay District were crossing the border to Uzbekistan at 11:20 PM on 11 June outside the border crossing points.<sup>992</sup> However, the information regarding clashes in Kadamzhay District and in the town of Suliukta was denied by official persons.<sup>993</sup>

From the morning of 12 June, the authorities started sending transport from Batken, Kadamzhay and Lyaylak Districts to pick up the students from Osh.<sup>994</sup> During the night around 600 students from Batken Province were brought out of the city.<sup>995</sup>

During the day of 12 June a group of Kyrgyz youth tried to get weapons from the border guards. At 11:15 AM, about 20 persons demanded weapons and ammunition

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988 Information from the Military Prosecutor's office and the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

989 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1276418160>

990 <http://www.azattyk.org/archive/ky-russiannews/20100612/829/832.html?id=2068720>

991 <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=14940>

992 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

993 <http://tazar.kg/index.php?dn=news&to=art&id=549>

994 <http://www.24kg.org/community/75941-tashtemir-yeshaliev-sotrudniki-batkenskoj.html>

995 <http://tazar.kg/index.php?dn=news&to=art&id=549>

from the Sogment border post of the Bozadyr border unit. At 11:20 AM, about 230 people threatened to storm and take over the Samarkandek border post if by mid-day the border guards would not give weapons to them.<sup>996</sup>

Around mid-day unconfirmed reports were received that a crowd in Batken had attacked a border post and seized weapons.<sup>997</sup>

The KIC report also includes mention of seizure of weapons in Batken (details are not given). However, human rights activist Aziza Abdirasulova expressed doubts as to whether this information was correct.<sup>998</sup>

Official sources do not confirm the reports that weapons were seized. It is likely that these were simply rumors that started circulating during the days of the crisis.

On 13 June 2010, a group of Kyrgyz youth attacked an Uzbek man with rocks in Kyzyl-Kyya. On the same day, representatives of the Uzbek population demanded that the authorities establish checkpoints to control cars that were entering the city from the direction of Uch-Kurgon village. After the leadership of the Mayor's office and GSNB declined doing this, more than 1000 people gathered at the intersection by the entry to the city. The authorities were forced to establish checkpoints, after which the crowd dispersed.<sup>999</sup>



Member of the mission speaks with women in the outskirts of Osh.

996 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

997 <http://debaterage.livejournal.com/426459.html>

998 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6959>

999 Interview with resident of Kyzyl-Kyya (name withheld), Bishkek, 16 February 2012.



## 4. Statistics and ethnicity

### Deaths

The question of the actual number of dead and the make up along ethnic lines became the subject of heated discussions during the first days of the conflict. For a long time, the authorities declined requests to publish an official list of dead, something that gave rise to myths and exaggerated estimates of the number of deaths.

Although the press service of the Ministry of Health of the Kyrgyz Republic (MOH) from 11 June 2010 on presented the media with updated numbers of victims on a daily basis, official representatives had to admit that these numbers were not complete. In a situation where authorities in many parts of the city had stopped functioning, people started burying their dead without waiting for the authorities to register the names of the deceased. On the morning of 15 July, when the mass unrest was finally stopped, the MOH had information only of 171 dead.<sup>1000</sup> Later, the official number of dead would exceed 400.

In the period of June–July 2010, mass media published exaggerated estimates of the number of victims with reference to official persons and local self-governing organs. Some of these estimates were later used by analyst and journalists.

For instance, on 16 June, Ferghana news agency reported that unofficial sources in the local self-governing organs in Osh and nearby regions claimed 1526 people had died, most of which were Uzbeks.<sup>1001</sup> In an interview with a resident of the Cheremushki Microdistrict published on the same day, no less than 1170 deaths among ethnic Uzbeks were reported.<sup>1002</sup> However, when members of the mission spoke to representatives of the Uzbek population in Osh in June 2010 to gather additional information, we were shown a table divided into territories, where by 23 June the preliminary number of 237 dead Uzbeks was given, based on information from local self-governing organs.

On 14 June, Interfax news agency reported that according to one of the leaders of the Uzbek population, about 700 ethnic Uzbeks had been killed in Jalalabad.<sup>1003</sup>

According to the Uzbek service of RFE/RL, the number of dead on 15 June 2010 in the south of Kyrgyzstan had allegedly risen to 2608 people.<sup>1004</sup>

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1000 <http://newskey.ru/news/9092>

1001 <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=14997> Possibly, the same source earlier reported the death of no less than 520 people at mid-day 12 June 2010 in Osh City, including 400 residents of Cheremushki Microdistrict and 100 in the Mazhrintal area. (<http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=14937&mode=snews>).

1002 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6615>

1003 <http://www.interfax.ru/news.asp?id=141128>

1004 <http://www.ozodlik.org/content/article/2072467.html>

On 17 June, the RIA Novosti news agency, citing an anonymous source in the security services in one of the CIS member states, reported that the number of dead was up to 1800 people. The person speaking with the news agency said that these numbers had been “collected based on monitoring of the situation, interviews with witnesses and operative information.”<sup>1005</sup>

These publications may have had an effect on the statements of the head of the Interim Government of Kyrgyzstan, Roza Otunbaeva. In an interview with the Russian newspaper Kommersant, published on 18 June, she admitted that the number of victims “undoubtedly is higher” than in the official summaries, saying that “I would multiply the official numbers by ten” (at the time, MOH reported 191 dead).<sup>1006</sup> The estimate of 2000 dead, based on this statement by Otunbaeva, would be used in publications by analysts and media (often without any reference to the source), although there was nothing to support this number.

It is worth noting that exaggerated numbers were indeed circulating among the population in the south of Kyrgyzstan at this time. For instance, members of the mission were told of 800 dead and even 2000 dead in the Cheremushki Microdistrict in Osh or of 150 dead in the Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict. On 20 June 2010, journalist of Russian Newsweek, Orkhan Jemal, wrote with reference to one of the leaders of the Uzbek population that the losses on the Uzbek side could be from 1500 to 3000 people.<sup>1007</sup> These kinds of estimates were not based on real numbers but were probably a result of the visual impact made by the mass destruction in residential areas. Although such numbers could be explained in the chaos of the first days of the conflict, there is no basis today to refer to these estimates as a serious alternative to the official materials. We underline that there was no official or unofficial organ functioning in Osh during those days, which could possibly provide trustworthy information on the number of victims (on the whole as well as with regards to each ethnic group involved in the conflict).

On 12 July 2010, Deputy Prime Minister of the Interim Government, Azimbek Beknazarov, said in an interview with Kommersant that 893 people had been officially registered as killed during the inter-ethnic conflict in June 2010 had been officially registered, not counting the large number of unregistered burials.<sup>1008</sup> Neither at the time of the publication, nor later, was any kind of explanation given as to the significant discrepancy between these numbers and those of the Ministry of Health. Unfortunately, this incorrect number has been used in recent publications outside of Kyrgyzstan.

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1005 <http://www.rian.ru/world/20100617/247223927.html>

1006 <http://www.kommersant.ru/Doc/1387772>

1007 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1277325840>

1008 <http://www.kommersant.ru/Doc/1412452>

The first numbers provided to mass media by the Ministry of Health were based on the lists from medical facilities at that time. However, from the fall of 2010, the inclusion of a given person in the list of the dead was based on decisions by the investigative organs in accordance to the procedures established by the criminal and criminal-procedural legislature.

According to the information from the MOH as of 1 December 2010, the number of dead was 418 persons (a table with deaths divided into region, ethnicity, gender and type of injury is given below).

**Table 1: Deaths**

	Osh Province	Jalalabad Province	Total
Total	348	70	418
Identified	306	69	375
Not identified	42	1	43
Uzbeks	225	41	266
Kyrgyz	77	27	104
Other nationalities	4	1	5
Unknown	42	1	43
Men	318	63	381
Women	26	6	32
Unknown	4	1	5
Gunshot wounds	212	52	264
Stab wounds	40	5	45
High-temperature burns	29	3	32
Drowning	1	1	2
Head injuries	47	9	56
Beheading	4	0	4
Strangling	4	0	4
Other injuries	4	0	4
No diagnose (fragments)	7	0	7

The MOH also produced statistics of dead according to age and profession. In Osh Province, the death of seven minors below the age of 14 was registered. Among the victims of the inter-ethnic conflict were also three children below school age, nine pupils from grammar schools, eight students of middle and professional schools and 22 pensioners.

The official list of dead was continuously corrected as new information was received.



Dead after the events in Osh.

According to the Prosecutor General's office, the number of dead by 7 June 2011 had risen to 433 persons (409 identified), and by 19 October to 444 persons (423 identified).<sup>1009</sup> Hereunder, in Osh City 185 persons (176 of them had been identified), in Osh Province 175 persons (165 identified), in Jalalabad Province 74 persons (72 identified).

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1009 <http://static.AKlpress.org/127/storage/news/files/900c74de3567d018c83bd269b4770c9a.doc>  
The numbers are given without the inclusion of five men (three Kyrgyz and two Uzbeks) who died in May 2010 in Jalalabad, which the Prosecutor General's office included in the total number of victims in 2011.

Among the dead in June 2010 there were nine members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, one officer of the border forces and one soldier from the Ministry of Defense.<sup>1010</sup>

The list also contains the names of 18 persons died a violent death or died from injuries and who were later were transported back to Kyrgyzstan by the authorities in Uzbekistan.<sup>1011</sup>

In May 2011, the Ministry of Health had information about the deaths of four citizens of the Russian Federation, two citizens of Uzbekistan and one citizen of Pakistan during the clashes.<sup>1012</sup> Unofficial sources report that at least another two citizens of the Russian Federation died.

By 1 February 2012, 21 persons were listed as having gone missing at the time of the clashes.<sup>1013</sup>

Only in June 2011 did the Prosecutor General's office publish the official lists of dead, removing the information about the ethnicity of the victims from the list. As the numbers showed a significant predominance of ethnic Uzbeks among the dead, the authorities were extremely hesitant to publish the information already from the outset of the conflict.

In August 2010, responding to criticism from the UN, the chairman of the Prosecutor General gave journalists the information indicating the ethnicity of the dead and those who had gone missing.<sup>1014</sup> However, due to conflicting statements being made by official persons and the lack of trust in government statistics, this information was received as an attempt to artificially lower the number of victims.

Later, the fact that NGOs in Kyrgyzstan presented similar numbers<sup>1015</sup> led to severe criticism against them from part of the Uzbek population, sometimes in a very emotional manner but without the necessary basis in fact.<sup>1016</sup>

The organization Osh Initiative, expressing the viewpoint of the Uzbek population, published two reports in January 2011. One of them speaks of the deaths of no less than 1000 ethnic Uzbeks,<sup>1017</sup> the other claims that the number of dead may be two

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1010 Response from the Ministry of Health to the questions of Memorial Human Rights Center, May 2011. All soldiers and six of the nine Ministry of Internal Affairs officers died in Osh City or in neighboring districts of Osh Province.

1011 Response from the Ministry of Health to the questions of Memorial Human Rights Center, May 2011.

1012 Response from the Ministry of Health to the questions of Memorial Human Rights Center, May 2011.

1013 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/122614-genprokuratura-kyrgyzstana-iz-bolee-5-tysyach.html>

1014 <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=15386>

1015 <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,6237397,00.html>

1016 See for instance <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1291929120>

1017 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/oshini.doc>

times higher than the official figures.<sup>1018</sup> Some representatives of the Uzbek population named even higher numbers. For instance, former Member of Parliament, Inom Abdurasulov, wrote in November 2010 about over 2000 killed Uzbeks.<sup>1019</sup> Publications prepared by the Committee for the Protection of Uzbeks from Genocide mentions over 3000 victims of genocide.<sup>1020</sup> A report from the association Human Rights in Central Asia claimed that in July 2010, the Prosecutor's office in Osh City was in possession of a certain "document" that listed 2089 dead.<sup>1021</sup>

Until mass exhumations were carried out in August–September 2010, claims that the official statistics were incomplete by several hundreds of dead were made also in official exchanges.<sup>1022</sup>

A step forward in establishing some trust in the differing numbers being presented was made in December 2010, when the head of the NGO Kylum Shamy, Aziza Abdirasulova, published a list of names of the dead (covering the period 10 June 2010 until the end of the state of emergency on 10 August 2010). The official figures were completed with figures from hospitals and local self-governing organs. During this work, it was established that some names had been repeated and some left out, as well as some other mistakes in the official documentation. Kylum Shamy managed to establish the names of tens of dead whose names were missing in the official list.<sup>1023</sup> The KIC report gives a later unpublished list from Kylum Shamy which includes 470 dead, 74% of which are ethnic Uzbeks (as opposed to the 433 dead and 65% Uzbeks in the official statistics).

The differences in the numbers from the Prosecutor General's office and Kylum Shamy are often explained by the fact that the Prosecutor's office considers some deaths not to have been the result of violence during the mass disturbances and do not include these deaths in the list of victims of the conflict. The list from the Prosecutor's office published in June 2011 does not include those who were killed by the military during the clean-up operation in Nariman village on 21 June 2010 and incidents on

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1018 <http://yangidunyo.com/?p=16629>

1019 <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1291788120>

1020 <http://uzbektragedy.com/ru/?p=242>

1021 [news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/12/ahrca.pdf](http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/12/ahrca.pdf)

1022 In the beginning of August 2010, the Head of UVD in Osh Province, Furkhat Usenov, stated in a document that was sent to the chairman of the National Commission that the numbers of dead "will be many times higher, as according to operational information, the majority of ethnic Uzbeks, living according to the rules of sharia law, buried a given number of bodies without carrying out medical examination and hence, without informing the law enforcement agencies". In order to establish the actual number of dead, Usenov suggested visiting all homes in some of the regions with a high Uzbek population in Osh and Kara-Suu District, together with representatives of the passport office and the local self-governing organs.

1023 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6841> On 27 January 2011, Kylum Shamy published an updated version of the lists, including 435 names of dead. An earlier version of the list included 420 names (the numbers were corrected with regards to mistakes discovered later, which were connected to double listing of three dead). By 31 December 2011, Kylum Shamy had the names of 482 dead (the list is unpublished). After January 2011, all additions to the list were made only on the basis of documents from the Prosecutor General's office and the Ministry of Social Protection of the Population. Also, an instance was discovered where relatives of a minor who died before the events of May-June 2010 in Osh had received material compensation. Another instance is also being investigated.

checkpoints (the last of which took place on 8 August 2010). There are cases where the cause of death was established to have been heart attacks or heart failure. As such, the discussion here regards differing criterias for the inclusion of deaths in the lists.<sup>1024</sup>

As can be seen from the documents of the Ministry of Social Protection of the Population, those who died during “clean-up operations” and during incidents at checkpoints were later recognized as victims of the June events. Compensation was paid out to their families.

By the spring of 2011, the estimates of the number victims of the conflict in the materials from official organs and non-governmental organizations in Kyrgyzstan, including missing persons, ranges from about 465 to 500 persons.

One may assume that tens of dead may still be missing from the official lists (partially because relatives are hesitant to turn to the police organs and due to unregistered burials and the effect of mass migration on the census and so on). However, in our opinion, there is no basis to claim that hundreds, and certainly not thousands, of names are missing from the lists.<sup>1025</sup>

In the report from the organization Osh Initiative, the argument is presented that the official statistics “register only those who were brought to hospitals”, while many dead were collected and buried unofficially by their relatives.<sup>1026</sup> However, in reality, the information from the MOH includes not only those who were brought to hospitals (101 persons), but also people who were brought to the morgue while by-passing medical facilities (171 persons) and those buried without medical investigation, who were found during exhumations (146 persons by 1 December 2010). Although some of the dead were found later, it is unlikely that there are graves left unfound after the mass exhumations in August–September 2010 in numbers comparable to those that were detected the course of the investigation.

Further discussions on the question of the number of victims of the conflict need to include a clarification of the methodology used, including the time-frames and criteria for registering victims.

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1024 We have made a comparison of the lists from the Prosecutor General’s office and Kalym Shamy Human Rights Center with the materials that were collected by the members of the mission in the south of Kyrgyzstan. These materials include information from some local self-governing organs, medical facilities, human rights organizations, unofficial lists of victims, interviews with relatives of dead and other materials. Although there are numerous differences in the documents in terms of names, dates and addresses of the dead, as well as some other details, as a whole one may consider both lists to have a high level of trustworthiness.

1025 Some names missing from the list are to be found in part in materials that were gathered by the members of the mission; however they make up only a few percent of the total number. Interviews with civil society activists and residents in some of the heavily damaged areas of Osh (Cheremushki, Sheyit-Dobo, Madzhirimtal, Amir Temur and others) also confirms that by the fall of 2010, a large part of the dead had been included in the official lists.

1026 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/oshini.doc>

## Wounded

Up until June 2011, the documents from the government organs in Kyrgyzstan provided contradicting numbers of wounded from the clashes in June 2010 in the south of Kyrgyzstan.

Starting from the first day of the conflict, mass media published the information from the lists of the Ministry of Health on the numbers of people seeking medical assistance. On 16 June 2010, it was reported that 1918 persons sought help at medical facilities in the south of Kyrgyzstan, 902 of which were hospitalized.<sup>1027</sup> By 28 June, the number had risen to 2239 persons (1047 hospitalized),<sup>1028</sup> by 5 July the number was 2319 persons (1075 hospitalized),<sup>1029</sup> by 18 August the number was 2327 (1086 hospitalized).<sup>1030</sup>

By 28 June 2010, 413 persons<sup>1031</sup> were being treated at the hospitals in the south of Kyrgyzstan, on 29 July there were 16 (another nine in Bishkek),<sup>1032</sup> by 18 August, three were left.<sup>1033</sup> 86 wounded were hospitalized in Bishkek with serious injuries received during the clashes. 19 of these sought medical help without first going through the medical facilities in the southern provinces of Kyrgyzstan.<sup>1034</sup>

In September 2010 the Ministry of Health made a correction to the lists of wounded, removing some information that had been listed twice (during the days of the conflict, some of the victims were registered in several different medical facilities). According to the corrected information, 1900 persons wounded during the events in the south of Kyrgyzstan sought medical assistance in the period from 10 to 30 June 2010 (1826 men and 74 women), including five children between the ages of five and 14; 1106 of them were hospitalized and 794 were treated on the spot.

Information on ethnicity, type of injury and the date of arrival to the medical facility is given in the table below:<sup>1035</sup>

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1027 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/76678-po-oficialnym-dannym-na-yuge-kyrgyzstana-pogiblo.html>

1028 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/126759/>

1029 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/127676/>

1030 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/80918-v-kyrgyzstane-chislo-pogibshix-v-oshskoj-i.html>

1031 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/126759/>

1032 <http://www.for.kg/ru/news/130051/>

1033 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/80918-v-kyrgyzstane-chislo-pogibshix-v-oshskoj-i.html>

1034 <http://thenews.kz/2010/08/02/467518.html>

1035 Identical numbers are given in the lists from the Ministry of Health as of December 2010.



**Table 2: Wounded**

	Osh Province	Osh City	Jalalabad Province	Total
Total	1119	254	527	1900
Gunshot wounds	700	114	351	1165
Contusions	154	26	89	269
Head injuries	128	66	60	254
Burns	18	1	4	23
Stab wounds	32	27	10	69
Fractures	49	17	11	77
Other conditions	38	3	2	43
10.06.2010	0	2	0	2
11.06.2010	365	108	4	477
12.06.2010	239	56	91	386
13.06.2010	143	24	275	442
14.06.2010	66	19	60	145
15.06.2010	31	5	24	60
16.06.2010	37	6	15	58
17.06.2010	26	6	10	42
18.06.2010	9	5	6	20
19.06.2010	14	4	2	20
20.06.2010	5	5	1	11
21.06.2010	43	1	0	44
22–30.06.2010	141	13	39	193
Kyrgyz	620	162	315	1097
Uzbeks	480	78	205	763
Russians	4	2	4	10
Uighurs	3	0	1	4
Tajiks	1	0	0	1
Germans	0	0	1	1
Ukrainians	1	0	0	1
Pakistanis	1	0	0	1
Japanese	1	0	0	1
Unknown	8	12	1	21

Later numbers were corrected further to include 113 wounded refugees who were transported back from Uzbekistan,<sup>1036</sup> and 229 wounded who were discovered during

1036 Response from the Ministry of Health to the questions of Memorial Human Rights Center, May 2011.

door-to-door investigations in two provinces in the south of Kyrgyzstan.<sup>1037</sup> Instances of hospitalization of victims of the conflict continued until 8 August 2011.<sup>1038</sup>

By 2 June 2011, the Ministry of Health reported 2244 wounded in their lists.<sup>1039</sup>

For unclear reasons, not only the total number but also the definition of wounded were sometimes changed during the work on the lists. For instance, by 21 December 2010, out of 1930 wounded persons, 925 had gunshot wounds<sup>1040</sup> (significantly lower than the number from the September version, which listed 1165 persons with gunshot wounds).

The report of the National Commission, which was published in January 2011, states that 170 representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were injured in the course of the conflict (127 officers, 43 corporals), two border guards and also two retired officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.<sup>1041</sup> Medical assistance was also given to two wounded soldiers from the border forces<sup>1042</sup> and 12 persons from the Ministry of Defense.<sup>1043</sup>

It is worth noting that the statistics presented above includes only victims who were registered by the national medical facilities. Medical aid was given to a large number of refugees in June 2010 by medical facilities in three Provinces in the Ferghana Valley in Uzbekistan (mainly in Andijan Province).

There is contradicting information with regards to the number of wounded refugees. According to the Ministry of Health of the Kyrgyz Republic, 228 refugees were brought to medical facilities in Andijan Province, including 113 persons who had been wounded in the June events (out of these, 81 had gunshot wounds, 10 had stab and cut wounds, 21 had head injuries and one with another diagnose). "The rest of the refugees were hospitalized with ordinary somatic diagnoses which were in no way connected to the events".<sup>1044</sup> Other sources give higher numbers.

For instance, according to RIA Novosti news agency, by 15 June 2010, 735 people were hospitalized in Andijan Province (not counting 77 female refugees who were brought to birth clinics), out of these more than 134 had gunshot wounds, and over

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1037 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/101806-v-kyrgyzstane-v-spisok-postradavshix-v-iyunskix.html>

1038 Response from the Ministry of Health to the questions of Memorial Human Rights Center, May 2011.

1039 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/101806-v-kyrgyzstane-v-spisok-postradavshix-v-iyunskix.html>

1040 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6871> These numbers are also given in the KIC report.

1041 <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6871> It is not impossible that the number 170 refers not to the number of wounded, but to the total number of Ministry of Internal Affairs officers seeking medical help. According to information from the end of July 2010, 149 police officers had been registered as wounded or lightly injured in the conflict zone, as well as 17 persons who were hospitalized with various illnesses. (<http://svodka.AKIpress.org/news:54941>).

1042 Information from the Headquarters of the Border Forces of the GSNB.

1043 <http://news.fergananews.com/photos/2011/06/otchetIsakov.doc>

1044 Response from the Ministry of Health to the questions of Memorial Human Rights Center, May 2010.

80 had other injuries.<sup>1045</sup> By 14 June, three of the refugees seeking medical assistance in Namangan Province had gunshot wounds and one had a serious stab wound.<sup>1046</sup>

According to the Prosecutor's office in Osh Province, 1822 refugees were hospitalized in Uzbekistan between 11 and 21 June 2010 (not counting pregnant women), out of these, 182 had gunshot wounds.

Information from the authorities in Uzbekistan are presented in the KIC report, according to which 2800 people were hospitalized, over 200 of them with gunshot wounds. The authors of the report have a list of refugees who were given medical treatment at facilities in Andizhan Province, which includes the names of 2681 persons, 271 of whom had gun shot wounds.

By 24 June, 589 refugees remained in medical treatment in Uzbekistan,<sup>1047</sup> out of these at least 188 had different kinds of wounds.<sup>1048</sup> Many were discharged from the hospitals by the end of June.

The return of injured refugees from Uzbekistan began on 29 June 2010. According to the Ministry of Health, between 29 June and 1 July, 97 refugees who had been wounded in the conflict were transferred from Uzbekistan to medical facilities in Kyrgyzstan.<sup>1049</sup> By 13 July 2010, the total number of refugees transferred from Andijan Province to medical facilities in Kyrgyzstan had risen to 129 persons.<sup>1050</sup>

During interviews in Osh in June 2011, members of the mission found that many wounded who had been given medical treatment in Uzbekistan and who had the documentation to prove it, had still not been registered by the authorities in Kyrgyzstan as victims of the conflict.

Considering this, one may assume that the total number of wounded will be corrected at a later time.

Another issue which should be commented on is the enormous discrepancy in ethnicity between dead and wounded (according to official information as of 1 December 2010, Kyrgyz made up 24,9% of the dead and 57,7% of the wounded, while Uzbeks accordingly made up 63,6% of the dead and 40,2% of the wounded).

In our opinion, the overrepresentation of injured ethnic Kyrgyz among the registered victims (as opposed to the number of dead) is likely to indicate the lack of a safe

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1045 <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1294189.html>

1046 <http://rian.ru/world/20100615/246504693.html>

1047 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/77542-v-stacionarax-meduchrezhdenij-uzbekistana.html>

1048 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/77360-ranenyx-bezhencev-iz-uzbekistana-perevedut-dlya.html>

1049 <http://www.24kg.org/osh/78007-iz-andizhanskoj-oblasti-uzbekistana-vozvrashheno.html>

1050 <http://www.24kg.org/community/78682-iz-andizhanskoj-oblasti-uzbekistana-v.html>

way for the Uzbek population to request assistance from the medical services, and the fact that tens of thousands ethnic Uzbeks fled the country, many of whom received medical treatment outside Kyrgyzstan. In the chaos of the first week after the beginning of the clashes, some of the ethnic Kyrgyz victims also did not request help from the medical facilities. As such, the number given in the official documents probably includes less than half of the real number of wounded in the course of the conflict.

On the other hand, some of the unofficial estimates are greatly exaggerated. For instance, a publication by the Committee to Protect Uzbeks from Genocide, gives a number of 10,000 wounded.<sup>1051</sup> The report by the organization Osh Initiative also claims that around 10,000 ethnic Uzbeks were wounded during the June events.<sup>1052</sup> However, these reports do not present any basis for these numbers, nor do they provide a source of information.



Mourning Kyrgyz women in Osh.

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1051 [www.uzbektragedy.com/ru/?p=242](http://www.uzbektragedy.com/ru/?p=242)

1052 <http://news.fergananews.com/archive/2011/oshini.doc>

# APPENDICES

## Maps

Uzbekistan

Around Osh

VLKSM Village

Nurdar Village

Nariman Village

Dostuk Border Checkpoint

Andjanskoe Village

City Traffic Police Building

Municipal Transport Base

New Bus Station

Manas Ata Microdistrict

Padavan Village

HBK Area

Kyrgyz-Chekov Village

Mady Village

Sheyit Dobo Microdistrict

Shark Village

Furkat Village

Amir Temur Microdistrict

Ishkavan Village

Suleyman-Too Mountain

Osh

Kalinin Microdistrict

Kurmanjan Datka Microdistrict

Amir Temur Microdistrict

Kerme-Too Mountain

Kulatov Microdistrict

Anar Microdistrict

Center

Kalinin Microdistrict

Kurmanjan Datka Microdistrict

Amir Temur Microdistrict

Military area

Ak-Tilek Microdistrict

Dostuk Microdistrict

Kurmanjan Datka Microdistrict

Amir Temur Microdistrict

Zhapalak Village

Turan Microdistrict

Teleyen Village

Kurmanjan Datka Microdistrict

Amir Temur Microdistrict

Orke Village

Image © 2012, GeoEye

US Dept of State Imagery Partner

© 2012 Google

Image © 2012, Bing, Terra Globe

Google earth

Дата съёмки: 11.12.2010

40°31'15.78"С; 72°48'22.95"В; Высота над уровнем моря: 230.08 м; Высота над уровнем моря: 15.65 км

# Center



Osh State University

OshTV Office

Pamfilov School

Ministry of Emergency Situations

City Hospital

GSNB

Marko Polo Weapons Shop

City UMD

Police Base

Provincial Administration

Provincial UMD

Fiunskenskiy Market

City Hall

Abdykadyrov Street

Lenin Street

Kurmanjan Datka Street

Central Square

Sovetskaya Street

Aliev Street

Stepnaya Street

Ashgabadskaya Street

Ferganskaya Street

Amir Temur Street

Mamyrov Street

Atabaev Street

Dormitory

Farkhad Teahouse

# Navoi Street Area

Kyzyl-Kyshhtak Village

Tyleyken Hospital

M. Sabirov School

Boston Street

Shamshat Street

Alebastrov Street

Margilan Darvaza Mosque

Navoi Street

Mosque

Suleyman-Too Mountain

Provincial Traffic  
Police Building

Border Force Base

© 2012 Mapbox.com

© 2012 Google

Image © 2012 Google

Дата съёмки: 10.15.2010

2012

40°32'07.16" С; 72°45'48.44" В. Высота над уровнем моря: 1093 м. Высоты над уровнем моря

Google Earth

248 км



# Cheremushki Microdistrict

Border Force Base

Suleyman-Too Mountain

Gapar Aytiev Street

Uzbek-Kyrgyz University

Police Station  
(Western Division)

Market for  
Auto Parts

Osh TV Studio

Shota Rustaveli Street

Lesnaya Street

Fizuli Line

4th Polyclinic

Muminov Street

Volgogradskaya Street

Bobir Line

Chkalov Street

Chkalov Line

Kyrgyzstan Cinema

Saidov Street

Schors Line

Amir Temur Street

Abdykadyrov Street

Черемушки

Acha Mazar Mosque

Krasnoflotskaya Street

Gastello Lane

Image © 2012 GeoEye  
Map data © 2012 Google

© 2012 Mapbox.com

Osh Provincial  
Birth Clinic

Дата сьєрєв: 10.18.2010 2012

Высота над уровнем моря: 625 м WGS\_1984\_Урєвнєнє: 2.18 км

Google Earth

# Masaliev Avenue and Provincial Hospital Area



Shark Village

Truck stop

Car Repair Plant

Provincial Hospital

Tolstoy School

Dom Byta Shopping Center

Kashgar Café

City Bath

OshPVES

Interior Ministry Forces Base

Former Grain Factory

Khamza School

Google Earth

Дата съемки: 11-12-2010 20:12  
40°31'28.91" С - 72°48'55.79" В. Высота над уровнем моря: 1602 м. Меры над уровнем моря: 1354 м.

# Osh Microdistrict Area

Al-Khakim Hospital

Dziydalik village

Ak-Buura Rivet

Dziyadalik Street

Dzhim Street

Provincial Children's Hospital

Saliev Street

Sary-Chelek Café

Kasiet Medical Center

Razakov Avenue

Osh Microdistrict

12-story building

Mir Street

Yashlar Street

Frunze School

Clothes Market

Besh-Kuporok Street

Elina Restaurant

Privokzalnaya Street

Anoshin Street

Limateks Company

7-story building

Masaliev Avenue

Kara-Saykava Street

Nostalzhi Café

Areopag Shop

Shark village

Google earth

Дата съемки: 11/12/2010 2012

40.133106 061.61724751 931.3 55.501311441. yppshom. wppr-19153 M10rps- H8Dyp08H10V. MAPS 3.008 km

# Sheyit-Dobo, Madzhirimtal and Zaynabitdinov Area



Clothes Market

Border Forces Headquarters

Sheyit-Dobo Mosque  
Mamzhan Street

Zaynabitdinov Street  
Imam al-Buhari Central Mosque

Sogdiana restaurant

Privokzalnaya Street

Ashmahnov Street

Sheyit-Dobo Microdistrict

Alayskaya Street

Bazaar Area

Ak-Buura River

Kurmanjan Datka Street

Lenin Street

Masaliev Avenue

Osh Aragy Factory

Philharmony

Crystal Hotel

Osh State University

Avtotrest office building

Sauna

Lehin School

Dormitory of the Osh State University

Ekobank Building

Old Bus Station

Kelechek Bazaar

Mosque

24 Hours Gambling hall

Provincial Library

Shirin Shop

Gambling hall

Madzhirimtal Street

Navoi Street

Crystal Hotel

Old Bus Station

Kelechek Bazaar

Alebastrov Street

24 Hours Gambling hall

Provincial Library

Shirin Shop

Gambling hall

Madzhirimtal Street

Navoi Street

Crystal Hotel

Old Bus Station

Kelechek Bazaar

Google Earth

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© 2012 Map data © 2012 Google, Imagery © 2012 Google





# OSH FOCUS MAP: DAMAGE CLUSTER 1

Note: Damage building symbols and imagery can be turned off for screen display or printing - See PDF Layers Tab

DAMAGE ANALYSIS BASED ON QUICKBIRD2 SATELLITE IMAGERY RECORDED ON 18 JUNE 2010



Analysis realised by UNITAR/UNOSAT

QuickBird Imagery QuickBird2  
 Provider: Orbis  
 Image Date: 18 June 2010  
 Source: Satellite 7.2.4  
 Copyright: Earthstar 2010

Admin Data: DDM  
 Address: UN09F14M3547  
 Acquired Date: 18 June 2010  
 Coordinates: UTM Zone 49N  
 Datum: WGS 84



Map Scale for A4: 1:3,500



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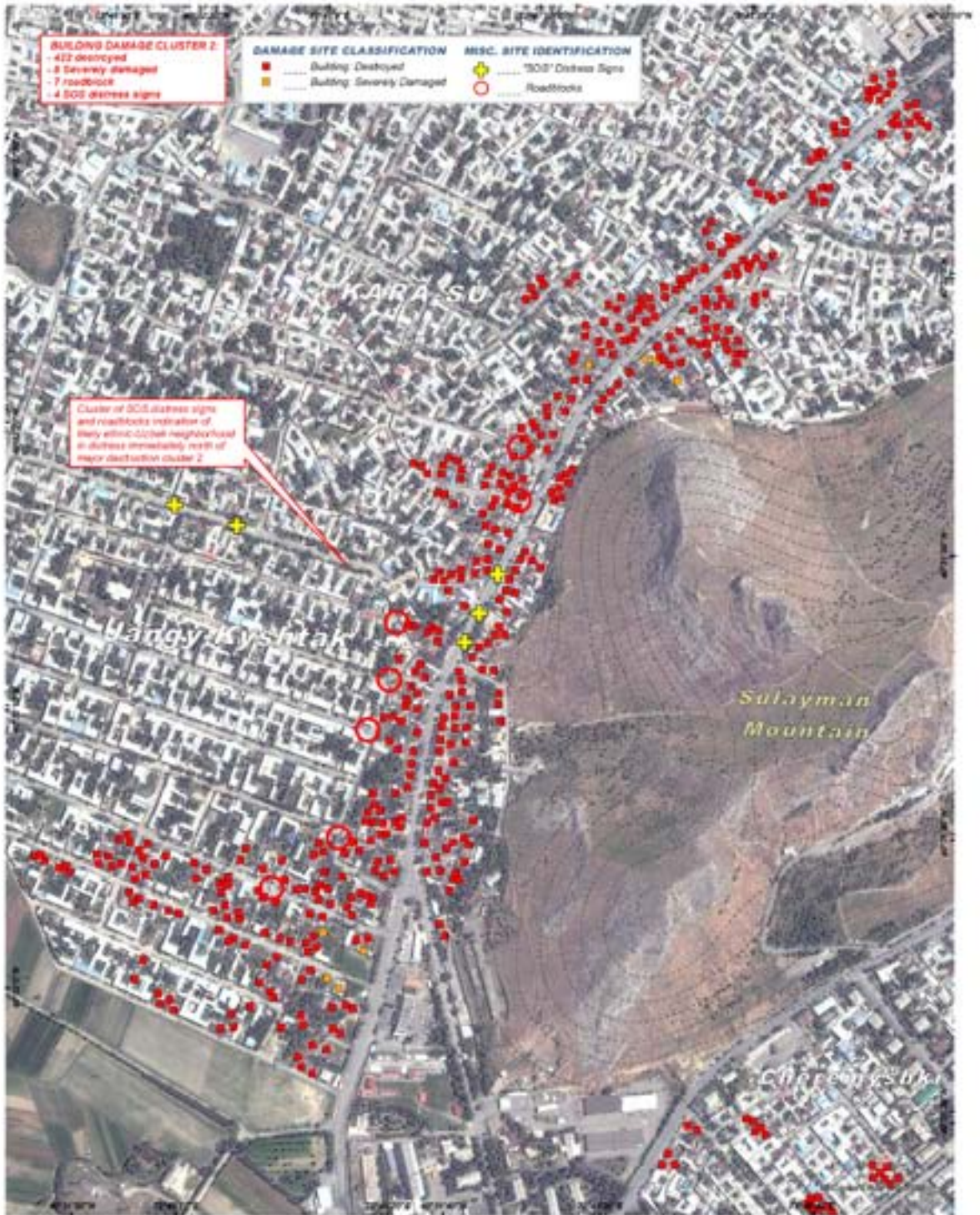
Contact information: [unosat@unitar.org](mailto:unosat@unitar.org) 24/7 Hotline: +41 78 487 4999 [www.unosat.org](http://www.unosat.org)



# OSH FOCUS MAP: DAMAGE CLUSTER 2

Note: Damage building symbols and imagery can be turned off for screen display or printing - See FCP

DAMAGE ANALYSIS BASED ON QUICKBIRD02 SATELLITE IMAGERY RECORDED ON 18 JUNE 2010



Analysis realised by UNITAR/UNOSAT

Satellite Imagery: QuickBird  
 Provider: Orbis  
 Mission Date: 18 June 2010  
 Mission: Emergency T & R  
 Copyright: Earthstar 2010

Admin Data: OCHA  
 Analysis: UNOSAT / UNOSAT  
 Report Date: 20/19 June 2010  
 Project: OCHA Core #20  
 Order: 90244



Map Scale for A4: 1:7,000

Map frame rotated 40 degrees from north

0 50 100 200 300 Meters

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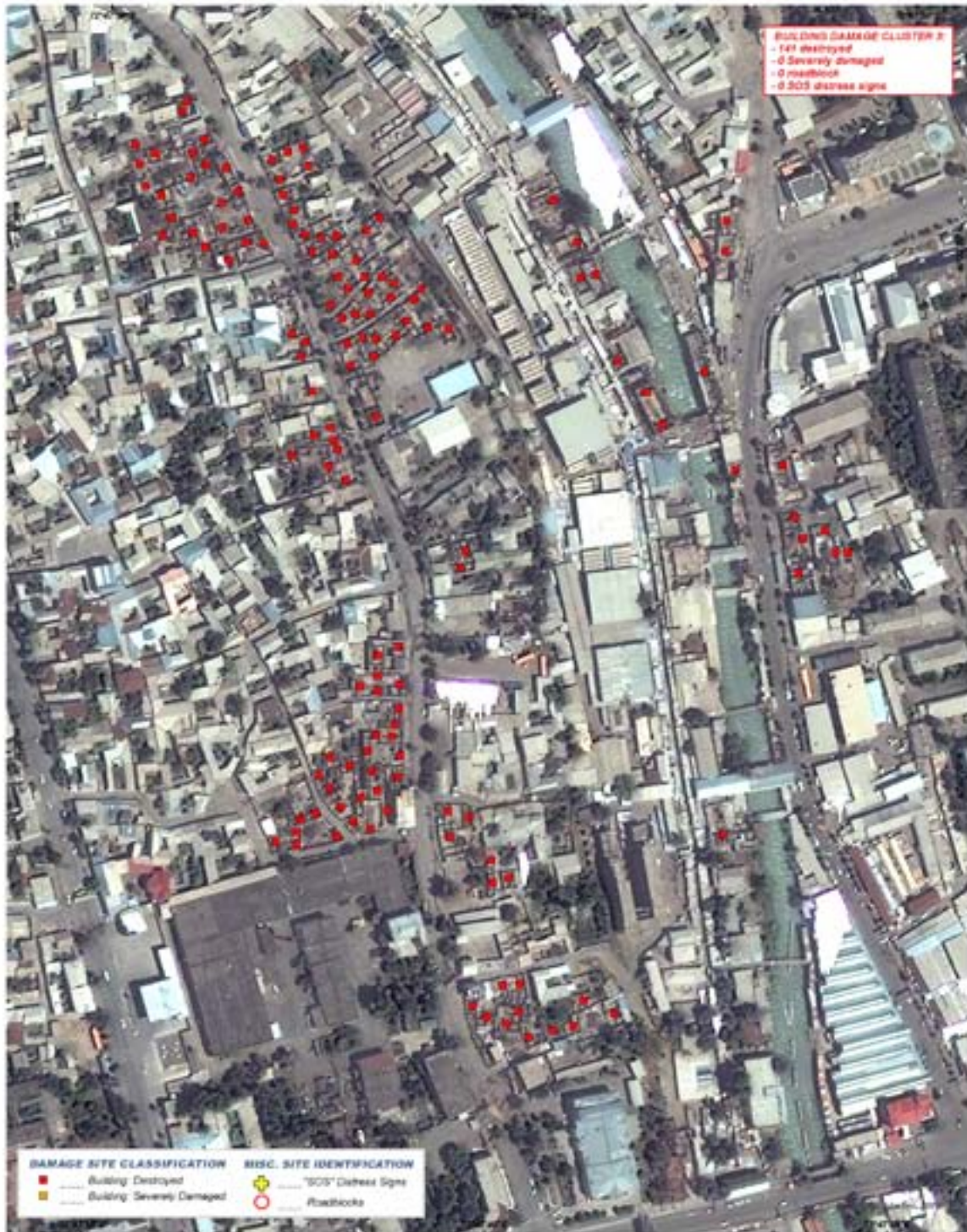
United Nations Institute for Training and Research



# OSH FOCUS MAP: DAMAGE CLUSTER 3

Note: Damage Building symbols and imagery can be turned off for screen display or printing - See PDF Layers Tab

DAMAGE ANALYSIS BASED ON QUICKBIRD2 SATELLITE IMAGERY RECORDED ON 18 JUNE 2010



Analysis realised by UNITAR/UNOSAT

Satellite Imagery: QuickBird2  
Processor: ESRI  
Imagery Date: 18 June 2010  
Sensor: QuickBird 2A  
Copyright: Earthstar 2010

Admin Data: OSM  
Mapset: UNOSAT/UNOSAT  
Mapset Date: 10/19 June 2010  
Shpfiles: C:\DB\Geo-DB  
Date: 10/22/10



Map Scale for A4: 1:3,000

0 50 100 Meters

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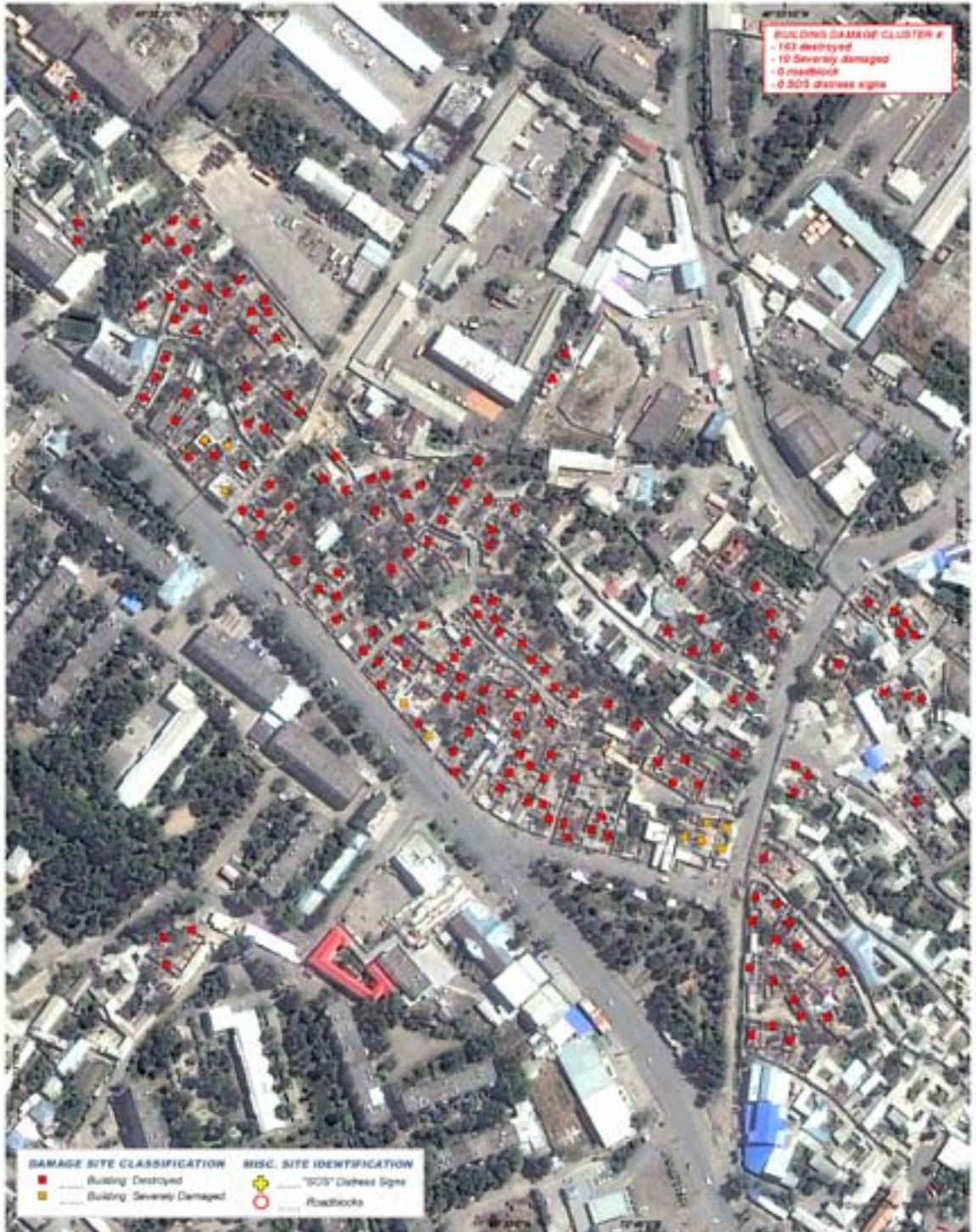




# OSH FOCUS MAP: DAMAGE CLUSTER 4

Note: Damage building symbols and imagery can be turned off for screen display or printing - See PDF Layers Tab

DAMAGE ANALYSIS BASED ON QUICKBIRD02 SATELLITE IMAGERY RECORDED ON 16 JUNE 2010



Analysis realised by UNITAR/UNOSAT

Satellite Imagery: QuickBird  
Resolution: 30cm  
Imagery Date: 16 June 2010  
Source: Earthstar 2 S.A.  
Copyright: Earthstar 2 S.A.

Admin Data: UNOSAT  
Analysis: UNOSAT / UNOSAT  
Analysis Date: 16-19 June 2010  
Project: UNOSAT Core #20  
Contact: UNOSAT



Map Scale for A4: 1:2.135

Map Frame rotated 55 degrees from north

0 50 100 Meters

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# OSH FOCUS MAP: DAMAGE CLUSTER 5

DAMAGE ANALYSIS BASED ON QUICKBURST2 SATELLITE IMAGERY RECORDED ON 18 JUNE 2010

Note: Damage Building symbols and imagery can be turned off for screen display or printing - See PDF Layers Tab



Analysis realised by UNITAR/UNOSAT

Satellite Imagery: QuickBurst2  
Processed: UNOSAT  
Imagery Date: 18 June 2010  
Source: Earthstar 7.0.0  
Copyright: Earthstar 2010

Admin Data: OCHA  
Analysis: UNOSAT/UNOSAT  
Report Date: 01/19 June 2010  
Coordinates: UTM Zone 42N  
Datum: WGS 84



Map Scale for A4: 1:4,309  
Map Frame rotated 104 degrees from north



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# OSH FOCUS MAP: DAMAGE CLUSTER 6

Note: Damage building symbols and imagery can be turned off for screen display or printing - See PDF Layers Tab

DAMAGE ANALYSIS BASED ON QUICKBIRD2 SATELLITE IMAGERY RECORDED ON 18 JUNE 2010



Analysis realised by UNITAR/UNOSAT

Satellite Imagery: QuickBird2  
Resolution: 30cm  
Mission Date: 18 June 2010  
Source: Comptel T & A  
Copyright: Earthstar 2010

Admin Data: OCHA  
Analysis: UNOSAT/UNOSAT  
Report Date: 20/19 June 2010  
Prepared by: UNOSAT  
Contact: 905-847



Map Scale for A4: 1:2,750

Map Frame rotated 90.4 degrees from north

0 50 100 200 Meters

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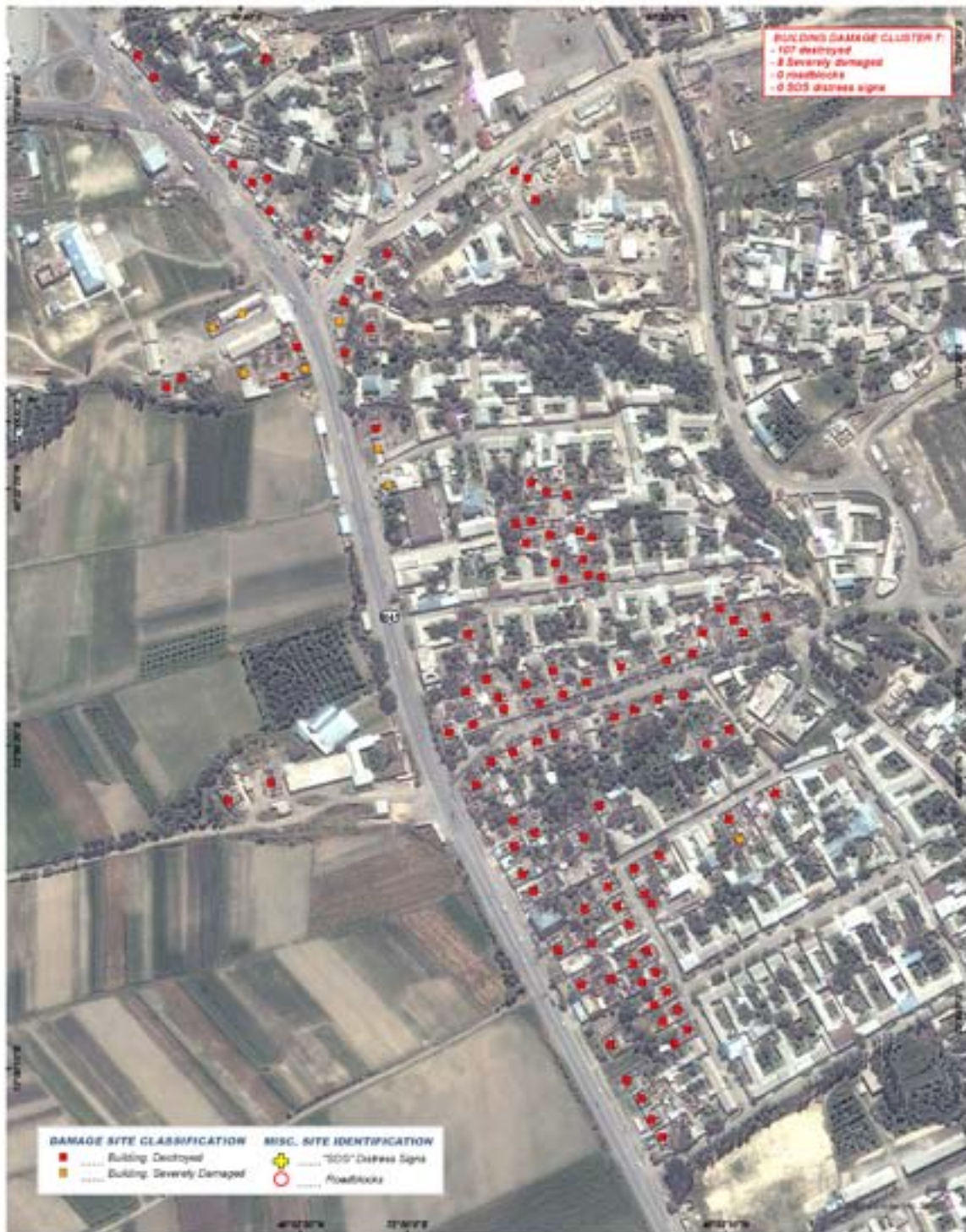
United Nations Institute for Training and Research



# OSH FOCUS MAP: DAMAGE CLUSTER 7

DAMAGE ANALYSIS BASED ON QUICKBIRD2 SATELLITE IMAGERY RECORDED ON 18 JUNE 2010

Note: Damaged building symbols and imagery can be turned off for screen display or printing - See PDF Layers Tab



Analysis realised by UNITAR/UNOSAT

Satellite Imagery: QuickBird2  
Processor: 8306  
Imagery Date: 18 June 2010  
Source: Catalogue 7.6.8  
Copyright: Earthstar 2010

Admin Data: ODW  
Analysis: UNOSAT/UMS107  
Report Date: 10/19 June 2010  
Report No: UNOSAT-001  
Date: 10/19/10



Map Scale for A4: 1:4,000  
Map Frame rotated 114 degrees from north



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