

#### RUSSIA / MOVE TO COUNTER TALIBAN THREAT

### Moscow forges 5-nation body

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, OCT. 10. Russia and four former Soviet states have agreed to set up a new economic organisation, the Eurasian Economic Community, in a move driven by Moscow's compulsion to counter the growing threat of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia.

The new body, established by the leaders of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus and Tajikistan at a meeting in the Kazakh capital, Astana on Tuesday replaces the moribund customs union between the five states formed two years ago. The customs union never got off the ground because Russia failed to ratify a key accord on a free trade zone fearing that a massive inflow of cheap commodities from the other member-states would undermine its own industry.

In the Eurasian Economic Community, customs duties will be decided among participants on a bilateral basis. In a major concession to its partners, Moscow withdrew its demand for dominating the economic union. Although Russia will have four votes, as against two for Kazakhstan and Belarus and one for Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, decisions must be supported by at least three countries to become effective

Russia is keen to forge closer ties with Central Asian states in the face of the decisive military gains of the Taliban in Afghanistan, which sparked fears in Moscow that the fighting would spill into the neighbouring Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. The latter two were shaken this summer by armed attacks mounted by Muslim insurgents who were allegedly trained in Afghan camps.

"Russia has certain worries connected to the situation in Afghanistan," the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, said at the start of his two-day visit to Kazakhstan on Monday. "According to our information, the Taliban movement continues to support terrorism and does not hinder the spread of drugs."

According to Mr. Putin, the main tasks before the five member-states of the Eurasian Economic Community will be fighting against international terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking and illegal arms sales.

The five countries which set up the Eurasian Economic Community will be joined by Armenia on Wednesday for a summit meeting of the Collective Security Pact which will discuss regional security in Bishkek, capital of Kyrgyzstan. The meeting is expected to approve a five-year regional security plan of action, envisaging closer military and political integration and the formation of regional armed forces, the Kyzgyz President, Mr. Askar Akayev's press centre said. The union's budget, international terrorism and security threats to the Central Asian region were also said to be high on the agenda.

THE HINDU

1 1 OCT 2000

#### TAJIKISTAN / TALIBAN FORCES ADVANCING

#### Moscow rushes troops

By Vladimir Radyuhin Hij-1

MOSCOW, SEPT. 26. Russia has rushed army reinforcements to the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border and put its border guards on alert while stepping up diplomatic pressure on Pakistan to rein in the Tajiban, whose forces have advanced within kilometres of the Tajikistan border.

der.
General Alexei Kozhevnikov, deputy head of the Russian border guards, told ORT Televisipn that forces guarding the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border had been placed on combat alert and

reinforced with troops and armour of the 201st army division stationed in Tajikistan. At the same time, he said there were no plans to send more troops to Tajikistan from Russia as the military did not perceive any immediate threat from the Taliban, although it was concerned over a possible flow of refugees from Afghanistan. More than 10,000 Russian and Tajikistan soldiers guard the border, and Russia has another 8,000 troops in the 201st peace-keeping

infantry division.

The situation in Afghanistan is reported to be on top of the agenda of a special envoy the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, sent to Pakistan on Tuesday to meet that country's military ruler, General Pervez Musharraf. Kremlin sources told the Interfax news agency that Mr. Sergei Yastrzhembsky, who carried a letter from Mr. Putin to Gen. Musharraf, was going to discuss "issues pertaining to fighting

terrorism", but observers said the envoy would try to press Pakistan into calling for peace talks between the Taliban and Afghanistan's ousted President, Mr. Burhanuddin Rabbani.

A senior Russian diplomat today denied that Mr. Putin's envoy to Pakistan was going to discuss anything but Islamabad's role in supporting terrorism. He also denied Russia was trying to strike any separate deal with the Taliban.

Meanwhile, Mr. Rabbani's envoy, Mr. Abdul Wahid, arrived in Moscow on Monday to seek Russian military aid to the Northern Alliance, which is opposing the Taliban. However, Moscow said it had no plans to interfere in the fighting in Afghanistan. "The current conflict in Afghanistan is an internal matter and any intervention in the conflict can be undertaken only under a U.N. Security Council mandate," the sources said.

Russia is concerned that the Taliban's recent gains may send up to 100,000 refugees fleeing across the border into Tajikistan, destabilising the fragile peace that has settled over that Central Asian republic following a bloody civil war.

Furthermore, control of Afghanistan's border with Tajikistan could encourage Afghanistan-based Islamic extremists to stage incursions into the former Soviet republic as well as the Uzbek part of the impoverished Fergana Valley, said Mr. Pavel Felgenhauer an independent defence analyst.

India's policy towards Central Asia directionless'

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Pakistan is also present.

Udayan Namboodiri New Delhi, September 12

IGHT YEARS after the central Asian countries emerged as independent enti-ties, India's policy on this resource-rich region is still direction-less. This fact emerged clearly during the two-day India-Central Asia seminar organised by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) which concluded

here today.

Though India enjoys excellent political relations with each of these countries the goodwill has not been translated into economic collaborations. "India adopted a wait and watch policy. It did not show as much initiative as some coun-

It did not show as much initiative as some countries did," pointed out Ms A. Dilshot, a strategic affairs specialist from Dushanbe (Kyrgyzstan).

The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA)'s joint secretary in charge of the region Aloke Sen admitted that the Indian private sector saw

many of the 'transitional problems' which marked the emergence of these countries as insurmountable. "The government can only create the goodwill, it is up to the private sector to invest. Without getting involved we cannot get anywhere" anywhere'

He announced a string of proposals to facilitate greater participation by Indian companies in the development of these countries. One of them is creating a corpus fund to be managed by a lead bank to enable investment. "There are lots of possibilities for Indian investment like in agriculture and construction in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. After all, Indians had built the three biggest hotels in Uzbekistan," he said.

On the political plane, all these countries are fighting the growing menace of terrorism backed by Islamic fundamentalists of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the narcotics trade. India all the graphers agreed early here. trade. India, all the speakers agreed, could be a valuable partner in this counter - jihad'. But as

Pakistan is also present.

As long as the Afghan problem remains, India cannot hope to make a significant impact on the economic life of the central Asians, almost all the speakers agreed. There is no land route to the region and few air links. Besides, as Mr Sen pointed out, there are real problems of convert-ibility and repatriation. Banking channels are

yet to develop.

The two-day seminar saw a large number of experts exchange useful information on what's going on in the region. How Russia, the United States, Iran and China are grinding their respective axes for control over gas, swinging deals on pipelines and securing contracts. And how the Pakistan, using Afghanistan as a prop.

is spreading terrorism.

Meanwhile, India still talks of tapping the "potential" of this region.

## Tajik rebels strike

Ry Vladimir Radyuhin

Moscow Aug. 11. Dozens of Islamic militarity stormed into Kyrgyzstan from heighbouring Tajikistan on Friday, a week after another rebel group invaded Uzbekistan, Russian media reported today.

A spokesman for the Kyrgyz government told reporters that about 40 armed rebels crossed the Kyrgyz border from Tajikistan on Friday morning, attacking a border post in the mountainous Batken region and wounding two borderguards.

The spokesman said the rebels belonged to the opposition Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan led by the warlord Djuma Namangani, whose men had invaded Uzbekistan about 10 days ago.

A year ago, several hundred militants from the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan took hostage four Japanese geologists in the same region of Kyrgyzstan and held them for several months until the Japanese government reportedly paid a \$4-million ransom. This time the rebels are believed to be pushing for the Fergana valley in Uzbekistan, where they want to set up an Islamic state.

Security forces in the neighbouring Uzbekistan have been battling 70 to 100 well-armed fighters of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan since last week. The rebels crossed from Tajikistan and captured a strategic road on a 4,000-metre mountain pass. Uzbek military said the invaders,

trained in Afghanistan, were seeking to create a base to store weapons and food for further terrorist attacks on Uzbek territory and open a transit route for drugs and weapons.

The Uzbek authorities admitted their forces had suffered casualties in the fighting, but claimed the rebels had been surrounded and were being destroyed. Unofficial reports however said the rebels had cut the only road linking the Fergana Valley with the rest of Uzbekistan and were holding their ground. The rebels are armed with sniper rifles, night-vision goggles, grenade launchers and even Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. On Wednesday, they shot down an Uzbek military plane.

The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, financed by Osama bin Laden, and extremist Wahhabi groupings, is said to be trying to exploit considerable discontent among impoverished ethnic Tajiks who make up a majority of population in the Fergana Valley. Analysts said the rebels were also trying to destabilise the situation in the region where the borders of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan converged and to pit the three Central Asian states against each other.

The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, spoke on telephone with the Uzbek President, Mr. Islam Karimov, offering Russian military aid in repulsing the aggression.

#### MON IMPORTANCE OF CENTRAL ASIA 515

THE VISIT OF the Uzbekistan President, Mr. Islam Karimov, has come at the right time. The spate of bilateral agreements signed between India and Uzbekistan signifies the growing importance of Central Asia on New Delhi's radar. Apart from the new line of credit for an additional \$ 10 million and cooperation agreements in various spheres ranging from agriculture to information technology, the cornerstone of the partnership seems to be security. Central Asia has become a critical area in the foreign policy of both the West and the Orient. The U.S. has provided a new direction to cementing a new partnership with some of these former Soviet Republics. Russia itself is trying to build a new cooperative framework and China is no exception to this trend. India has so much more at stake and so much more in common with this region, since they were once part of the India-Soviet Union umbrella of strategic cooperation. For the new millennium, New Delhi is making a serious bid to forge new equations with chosen countries in Central Asia and in the Islamic world. Uzbekistan fits ideally into both these realms and emerges as a key, potential ally in that region, and she too looks upon India as a natural partner in combating terrorism, religious extremism and drug trafficking.

Even if economic cooperation may be on top of Mr. Karimov's agenda, the persisting problem with Taliban-ruled Afghanistan must surely be a major issue, even for his stability. Sharing a border with Afghanistan, as India does, makes it all the more important for the two countries to share information and brief each other on the developments in the Taliban country. After the Indian Airlines hijack and the drama in Kandahar, it is obvious that the Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, has taken the Afghan problem quite seriously. At the recent Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' meeting, Pakistan and Afghan-

istan were both at the centre of the debate on cross-border terrorism. The U.S. State Department, in its latest report on terrorism, also focusses on Pakistan and Afghanistan for sheltering terrorists. With the United Uzbek Opposition converging at Kandahar, it is natural for New Delhi and Tashkent to plan a common road map to fight terrorism. With the Taliban controlling most of Afghanistan and the Northern Alliance marginalised in the process, the threat of destabilisation to Uzbekistan is real. This is something that all the new Republics must be worried about, because they must protect their oil wealth and get on with the development process.

The rise of Islamic fundamentalism and mushrooming of terrorist groups across Asia stretching up to the Philippines in recent years make it imperative for Governments which face this threat to pool their intelligence and resources to combat terrorism in all its manifestations. For India, the involvement of Afghan mercenaries in Kargil and their support to terrorist groups in Kashmir has to be dealt with at the local, regional and international levels. By teaming up with like-minded countries, it may be easier to expose the elements behind the terrorist menace and evolve a framework of cooperation to contain the movement of terrorists as well as arms. This bilateral relationship has been more political than economic in the past. It is about time to provide the much-needed economic dimension and work on a security partnership. Protecting the oil reserves in Central Asia becomes a major concern for both producers and buyers. New Delhi must push for the firming up of a land or rail link with Central Asia as that will provide a fillip to trade. It is significant that the visiting Uzbek President met the captains of Indian industry at the CII. He has not only highlighted the potential for bilateral trade, but invited Indian industry to invest in Uzbekistan.

THE HINDU

1 5 MAY 200

#### TERRORISM THREAT / MOSCOW TO PLAY PROTECTIVE ROLE

## Russia, Uzbekistan forge defence ties

**Moscow**, **MAY 19**. Russia and Uzbekistan have agreed to step up defence cooperation to face a growing threat from Islamic extremism in Central Asia.

The agreement, reached by the visiting Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, and the President of Uzbekistan, Mr. Islam Karimov, after intensive three-hour talks in Tashkent on Friday, provides for massive Russian weapon supplies to Uzbekistan and direct military aid from Russia in case Uzbekistan comes under attacks by Islamic rebels, military sources said.

The Uzbek leader said Russia had pledged "to do everything necessary to guarantee the territorial integrity, non-violability of borders, independence and sovereignty of Uzbekistan."

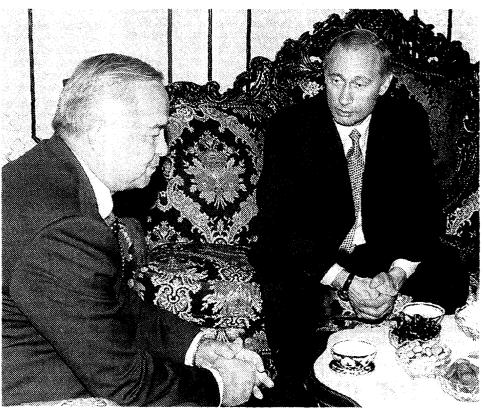
"Uzbekistan cannot defend itself singlehanded," Mr. Karimov joint a joint press conference with Mr. Putin. "We are looking for protection and have found it in Russia."

Uzbekistan, which until last year tried to distance itself from Russia and walked out of a collective security pact with Moscow, turned around after a series of terrorist bombings in Tashkent and an intrusion of Uzbek rebels into neighbouring Kyrgyzstan a year ago.

For its part, Russia, which has been fighting Islamists in Chechnya, has become aware of the need to fight Islamic terrorism at its source in Central Asia. Mr. Putin emphasised the importance Russia attaches to its relations with Uzbekistan by paying his first foreign visit after taking office to Tashkent.

The Russian President said an arc of instability had formed on the southern borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States and any threat to Uzbekistan was a threat to Russia.

"It's no secret to anyone that attempts have been made recently to recarve the post-Soviet territory by criminal methods, using religious extremism and international terrorism," he said. "If we do not stop these attempts here in the South jointly with our Uzbek friends, we will have to fight them at home."



The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin (right), and the Uzbek President, Mr. Islam Karimov, during talks in Tashkent on Friday. — AP

Mr. Putin stressed that joint efforts in opposing these threats will be intensified "up to taking pre-emptive measures." Both Moscow and Tashkent earlier warned that they could go as far as to carry out air strikes against terrorist training bases in Afghanistan.

The two countries were on the way to sign deals for the supply of \$32-million worth of Russian weapons to Uzbekistan, head of the Russian arms exporting company, Promexport, Mr. Sergei Chemizov, told reporters in Tashkent. Under an earlier agreement Russia

is to deliver 50 armoured personnel carriers to Uzbekistan. Defence experts said Russia would also supply Uzbekistan with jet fighters and artillery.

"Uzbekistan has in fact been declared Russia's strategic partner in Central Asia, at least as far as security is concerned," Russia's RTR state television said.

From Uzbekistan, Mr. Putin flew to Turmenistan to try and seal a mega-deal for annual import of 50 million cubic metres of Turkmen gas over the next 20 years.

TILL INVOLU

2 0 MAY 200

# A new great A sia

#### BY PHILIP BOWRING

Imaty, Kazakhstan:
Nearly a decade after
the dissolution of the
Russian empire, the
landlocked states of Central
Asia are searching for a better
balance in their relationships
with their immediate neighbours, the West and each other.

Developments elsewhere — in Russia, in Iran and in energy prices — are giving them an opportunity to leverage their geopolitical importance more successfully than they have up to now. But inadequate mutual cooperation on practical and economic issues is exacerbating the tyranny of distance from which they all suffer.

This part of the world should really be called Central Eurasia, as its historical and cultural links are more with the Slav lands to the west and north and Turkic and Persian ones to the south and southwest than to East or South Asia. Here in Almaty, China is little more than 160 kilometres away, but travelling to London or Frankfurt, let alone Istanbul or Moscow, is much easier than to Hong Kong or Tokyo.

Trade links to China (and Korea) are growing, and Kazakhstan hopes that a relationship with Beijing can enlarge its diplomatic options. Selling energy to China is a possibility, but Kazkhstan is going to have to find a lot more oil or gas than it has so far to justify a pipeline from the Caspian to users 4,800 kilometres away in northern China.

These countries will continue to think first about their relations with Russia, the West, Turkey and Iran, and on several fronts the picture has been changing.

The emergence of Presidentelect Vladimir Putin has given greater cohesion in pursuit of national interest to Russian policy. That is not necessarily bad for Central Asia, which wants to continue to reduce economic dependence on its former master but also needs Russia to be actively cooperative rather than sulky or disorganised.

Meanwhile, Russia itself is having to take note of the reemergence of Iran as a competitor for providing outlets for energy. Russia is now showing more flexibility in dealing with Central Asian producers who are dependent on its pipelines, especially for gas.

Kazakhstan will be using a new pipeline through Russia to the Black Sea to export oil from its Tengiz field. But if there are more big finds, the Iran and (less likely) Chinese options will be available. Prospects appear increasingly bright that the Kashagan field being evaluated by a major consortium will be significant.

The improved prospect of the Iran option has probably killed US-backed plans for trans-Caspian routes bypassing both Russia and Iran and going via Azerbaijan and Georgia to the Black Sea or on through Turkey to the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, big gas discoveries in Azerbaijan are bad news for Turkmenistan, which wants to sell its gas to Turkey via either Iran or the Caspian.

Developments could be seen as a setback for US policy. The US has been very supportive of the Central Asian states. They needed to reduce dependence on

Russia, and it needed to enlarge its influence in the region.

But the Kazakhs have become irritated by the dominance of the Iran question in US policy, which many believe has been contrary to their interests. Nor do they like being viewed as pawns in a new Great Game in Central Asia.

Uzbekistan is stubbornly clinging to nonmarket economics. And the region's autocratic leaders have also been irritated by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's lectures on democracy. So while paying lip service to liberal democracy, they are finding more common ground with Russia and China.

hese states still look largely to the West for investment and trade. The Kazakhs badly need the American oil companies. But over expectations on both sides led to disappointments. There was no quick bonanza for investors, and the West could not provide a quick fix for stumbling economies. They must now exploit opportunities in different directions.

That, of course, includes mutual help, creating regional links and economies of scale. Small market economies surrounded by walls are likely to end up perhaps even worse off than being plugged into a creaky

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socialist system.

Economic reform, privatisation and fiscal discipline continue to progress in some countries, including Kazakhstan. But in Uzbekistan, which is populous and fertile and should be wealthy, they have moved into reverse. Uzbek currency and trade controls have badly damaged regional trade, and President Islam Karimov's government now wants to introduce visas for neighbours.

Most of the countries can agree on security issues, notably combating Islamic fundamentalism. But numerous regional and bilateral trade and cooperation pacts remain pieces of paper that are waved about by leaders but in practice are frustrated by old bureaucratic processes and new nationalism. With regionalism making slow progress, if Kazakhstan is to avoid marginalisation, it will have to play its energy and geopolitical cards well and without sentiment. But for now most external events are moving in its favour.

By arrangement with the International Herald Tribune THE ASIAN ACE

2 0 MAY 2000

## Court dismisses Elian custody case

REUTERS

MIAMI, April 13. — A Florida family court judge today ended one legal bid by the Miami relatives of Cuban castaway Elian Gonzalez to keep him in the USA, dismissing a lawsuit seeking custody of the 6-year-old at the heart of an international custody battle.

The ruling removed another potential roadblock in US government efforts to allow Elian's father, Mr Juan Miguel Gonzalez, to reclaim his son and return to Cuba with him.

In a 22-page ruling that made a plea for an end to Elian's plight, Miami-Dade Circuit Court Judge, Ms Justice Jennifer Bailey, ruled that her court had no jurisdiction over the case and that the relatives' bid for custody was preempted by federal law.

She said she had been following the saga on TV and called elian a "beautiful child."

"It is axiomatic in family court that a six-year-old is too young to make life altering decisions," she said. "What a lonely place for a six-year-old. This is so hard for him. This is so hard for us all... We are losing sight of him as a child and starting to treat him as a thing. We need to stop."

Elian's great-uncle, Mr Lazaro Gonzalez, who says Elian would have a better future in the USA and should not be returned to Communist Cuba, petitioned the family court in January for guardianship of the boy.

Meanwhile, an afternoon deadline from US Attorney General, Ms Janet Reno for Miami relatives to hand over Elian and fly with him to Washington to be reunited with his father was today defied by the refugee boy's great-uncle, while Ms Reno said she would not send marshalls to the home to remove the boy, adds DPA from Washington.

The family in Miami said it would not comply with the order and released a videotape where Elian says he does not want to go back to Cuba and he implores his father to stay in the USA.

Ms Reno said she would not send marshalls to the Little Havana home of Elian's greatuncle after the 2 p.m. deadline to pick up the boy.

Although she appeared discouraged that yesterday's talks with the relatives ended without an agreement, she said: "We're trying to do this fairly, in a straight forward way without specific actions."

out specific actions.

She said "we have the authority to take action" but she indicated no rash action would be taken. "the response has to be

gauged on what is being done."

Ms Reno said the offer remained on the table for Elian

remained on the table for Elian and his Miami relatives to travel to Washington on the government's expense and meet with the father at a secluded site.

the father at a secluded site.

The US President, Mr
Bill Clinton said he had
full confidence in Ms Reno and
her abilities to work out a solution. "We have a legal system
and it should be followed," said
Mr Clinton who pointed out
that a district court already
had ruled in the father's
favour.

"This is a case about the rule of law," the President said in brief remarks before a conference of editors and publishers.

A letter from the US Immigration and Naturalization service was given to the family telling Mr Lazaro Gonzalez to drop the boy off at Opa-Locka airport near Miami, where a woman immigration official would pick him up and fly out to reunite him with his father.

Alternatively, the family could fly with elian to washington where his father is staying to wait out court proceedings. Airline seats had been booked by the government.

If the relatives did not comply, Ms Reno said, she would take action to enforce the order.

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## Communists Kyrgyz polls

**PAK EXPULSION** 

Pakistan has expelled a

prominent Chechen official

trying to raise funds for mili-

tants fighting Russian forces

in the breakaway region, one

of the man's aides said today.

"We have been asked to pack

up and leave," the aide to Mr Zalimkhan Yandarbiyev, said. "We have been asked to

stop all our activities forth-

with and leave the country".

PESHAWAR, Feb. 21.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

JALAL-ABAD (Kyrgyzstan), Feb. 21. — Early returns from Kyrgyzstan's parliamentary polls showed the Communists gaining a lead over pro-government and opposition parties,

officials said today. Central by With about 57 per cent of the votes counted, the Communists had got 26.4 per cent. The progovernment Union of Democratic Forces has got 16.3 per cent, and the Democratic Party of Women, 13 per cent.

Yesterday's election was

marred by the exclusion of most Opposition parties and poll code violations that have tarnished the reputation of Kyrgyzstan as Central Asia's strongest democracy.

Tensions and police presence were high in areas where Opposition candidates were barred from the race, but no violence was reported.

At the Jalalabad University in southern Kyrgyzstan,

teachers, outside polling stations, handed out invitations to students who had already voted once. They were then permitted to vote a second time without showing their passports.

- Reuters

"There's been pressure from the government everywhere, including here," said the university's election commission head, Ms Claudia Svyatkina.

There was discipline during Soviet times ... What we have now is not democracy but anarchy.

Only 11 of the 27 registered parties were allowed to contest the polls. Most of the main opposition parties were barred from fielding their strongest candidates because of minor technicalities.

A total of 545 candidates were contesting 105 seats in the two Houses of parliament. Many ran as Independents, keeping their party affiliations unofficial to get on the ballot.

Despite the concern voiced by international organizations, the Kyrgyz President, Mr Askar Akayev, argued yester-

day that the election process was "fair, democratic and transparent as possible.

But Mr Akayev, in comments cited by Interfax the and Itar-tass news agencies, said that his former Soviet republic was not yet ready for a dominant parliament and needed "strong authority" to promote economic and political ref-

Russia criticised Pakistan earlier this month for allowing Mr Yandarbiyev to stay on its territory, accusing him of spreading anti-Russia propaganda after he opened a Chechen embassy in embassy Afghanistan in January. orms The munist Party's deputy head, Mr Nikolai Bailo,

said his party would seek to adopt laws banning the free sale and inheritance of land, revise the privatisation of large enterprises now allegedly controlled by an unspecified clan and push for Kyrgyzstan to join the union of Russia and Belarus, Itar-tass reported.

Kyrgyzstan, an impoverished mountainous country of four million people, had been considered the most democratic nation to emerge from the former Soviet Union.

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