**COVID-19 AND THE RIGHTS TO HOUSING**

**Central Asia network on the right to adequate housing**

**June 2020**

**Report to the Special Rapporteur on the right to the adequate housing**

The Central Asia network on the right to adequate housing [[1]](#footnote-1)provides an overview report on the situation of the right to adequate housing in Central Asia during the COVID-19 pandemic for the report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing, Mr. Balakrishnan Rajagopal.

A brief information on the organizations that prepared this report from Central Asia network on the right to adequate housing:

**Kazakhstan:**

Kazakhstan parliamentary development fund. Astana (Nur-Sultan)

**Kyrgyzstan:**

Public Foundation “Our Right”, Bishkek

Osh branch of PA **“**IC Interbilim” , Osh

**Tajikistan:**

NGO "Independent Center for Human Rights Protection ", Dushanbe

NGO "Lawyers Association of Pamir", Khorog (GBAO)

NGO "Hukukshinoson", RRS

**Uzbekistan:**

NGO “Institute of Democracy and Human Rights”, Tashkent

NGO "Humanitarian Legal Center", Bukhara

Below, by responding to the questions posed, we are providing our inputs on the measures taken by the government and other non-governmental entities in the realm of housing and related spheres to address the issues caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

**CONTENT**

Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Kazakhstan………………………………………4

Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Kyrgyzstan………………………………………7

Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Tajikistan………………………………………...11

Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Uzbekistan………………………………………14

**Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Kazakhstan**

1) **Please describe in detail the measures taken by national, Federal, provincial, or local authorities to protect people from the virus in their homes or places of residence:**

a) has your country Declared a prohibition on evictions? If the prohibition was declared, specify its legal basis and duration. Please, indicate whether this is a general prohibition and whether it also applies to people living in informal settings or informal settlements. Was the prohibition on evictions limited only to tenants or mortgage payers who could pay rent or service the mortgage, or was the restriction broader?

The government of Kazakhstan did not declare a prohibition on evictions during the pandemic.

**b) If a general prohibition on evictions has not been declared, please indicate how many evictions took place, how many people were affected, as well as specific details of the time, place, and reasons.**

There are no Statistics on evictions in Kazakhstan. During the pandemic, people who lost their income were evicted from private rental housing. The number of groups in social networks (Facebook) on mutual assistance to victims has been increased. Civil society has announced the collection of funds on the Internet to pay rent to socially vulnerable segments of the population or people who find themselves in a difficult life situation.

**с) have any measures been taken to ensure that households are not cut off from water, heating, or other utilities when they are unable to pay their bills?**

On April 18, 2020, the order of the Minister of industry and infrastructure development "on approval of the rules for reimbursement of public utility payments in the state of emergency in the Republic of Kazakhstan" was issued, according to which 1,2,3 disabled people, disabled people, and participants of the Great Patriotic War, persons equated to them, families raising disabled children, large families, pensioners with a minimum pension or less, single pensioners, families of persons who died in the performance of state or public duties, military service, during the preparation or implementation of a flight into outer space were entitled to compensation for utility payments when saving human life, when Protecting law and order, citizens receiving Targeted Social assistance.[[2]](#footnote-2)

During the state of Emergency (March 16, 2020 - May 11, 2020), all citizens of Kazakhstan were granted a deferral on utility payments.

**2) Please provide any information on other legal or financial measures to ensure that people do not lose their homes if they are unable to pay their rent or mortgage. Have any other measures been taken to protect tenants in response to the pandemic?**

In Kazakhstan, you can get a deferred mortgage, but you need to get the consent of the Bank. The amount for the months that the deferral was granted will be distributed over the remaining months of the loan. Thus, the monthly debt load of borrowers was increased.

People living in rental housing did not receive support during the pandemic. The situation was entirely civil in nature. Landlords and tenants agreed on their own to defer or reduce the amount of rent. Many tenants were forced to leave their homes (were evicted), others received a delay in payments - in this case, landlords lost their income (for many it was the only source of income).

**3) What measures have been taken to protect people living in informal settlements, refugee or IDP camps, or in a situation of overpopulation in the context of COVID-19?**

No action is taken

**4) What measures have been taken by the authorities to ensure that migrants and domestic workers living in the houses of their employers continue to have access to safe housing during and after the pandemic? If migrant workers have left their places of work to return to their places of origin, what measures have been taken to ensure their right to housing?**

No action is taken. Internal migrants lost their jobs and lost their employer-provided housing. Starting from March 22, 2020, roadblocks were introduced between regions and cities of national significance. For this reason, people were unable to return to their place of residence and found themselves homeless.

**5) have any measures been taken to provide safe housing for people in situations of homelessness? If Yes, how many people were provided safe housing, in what form, where and for how long? How will it be ensured that people who have received temporary housing have access to housing after the crisis**?

Homeless people were forcibly moved (taken) out of the city, behind erected roadblocks, to exclude their presence in cities. In Kazakhstan, there are social adaptation centers for people who do not have a specific place of residence (homeless), but they were overcrowded during the pandemic. One center can accommodate up to 150 people at a time. After a public statement, including The Foundation for the development of parliamentarism in Kazakhstan, the authorities of Kazakhstan announced the creation of a tent city for the homeless, which was able to accommodate 300 people, but only in one city - Almaty.[[3]](#footnote-3) According to media reports, homeless people in the tent city were beaten and starved.[[4]](#footnote-4) The police department denies violence against the homeless.[[5]](#footnote-5)

After the end of the state of Emergency, the tent city was disbanded. The homeless were left on the street again.

 **6) can you give examples of any other measures taken or planned by national, federal, provincial, or local authorities in your country to protect the right to adequate housing during and after the pandemic?**

No

**Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Kyrgyzstan**

**Has your country declared a prohibition on evictions? Have evictions continued to take place during the pandemic? If yes, when, where and who was affected and has adequate alternative accommodation been provided?**

Unfortunately, Kyrgyzstan has not banned on evictions during the pandemic – nor has it declared so verbally, neither through the adoption of any regulative act. Therefore, formally, evictions (mostly from leased dwellings) may have taken place because of the absence of an official prohibition. The problem is that one could not track eviction cases during the pandemic since there is no roster and any reliable government data to draw on.

However, it’s informal housing rental market that raised our concerns the most. Renters involved in this market are usually people who get by on day-to-day earnings and lease the most affordable dwellings they can get their hands on. They choose to not be bound be contractual obligations and consequently, they are not protected by the law and extremely vulnerable to evictions.

Our concerns were underpinned by the families turning for help to our organization that were on the verge of being evicted by their landlords due to the failure to pay rents. In total, within the period of two months (April-May), 23 families living in the city of Osh (the southern Kyrgyzstan) reached out to our organization. Our organization helped those families retain their homes and was instrumental in preventing those families from being evicted.

We have cited this example to show that the problem with adequate housing during the pandemic does exist and is still pertinent. The government has not yet taken any measures to mitigate or address this issue.

**Have any measures been taken to ensure that households are not cut-off from water, heat or other utility provision when they are unable to pay their bills?**

Again, as in the case of the prohibition on evictions, the government has passed no regulative act which would obligate utility service providers to postpone payments of utility services by population until after the pandemic ends. However, in all fairness, it is worth noting that on April 4th the vice-prime minister made a verbal declaration that no household in Kyrgyzstan would be cut off from utility service provision and no fine shall be imposed due to the failure to pay in the next three months[[6]](#footnote-6) and recommended respective providers against doing so. Based on the factual situation with the postponement of payments, we can claim that utility services providers have made good on the vice-prime minister’s promise and do not cut off households from utility services provision to date.

**Please provide any information about other legal or financial measures aimed to ensure that households do not lose their home if they cannot pay their rent or mortgage?**

On March 19th the Central Bank of the Kyrgyz Republic issued a decree under which it obligated all banks and other bank-like financial institutions to postpone payments of interests on loans and mortgages by three months for entrepreneurs and commercial entities[[7]](#footnote-7). The head of the Central Bank clarified that those measures are specifically directed to help entrepreneurs and enterprises. Yet the State Mortgage Company and other banks applied the decree to cover general population as well[[8]](#footnote-8). According to them, any individual who is in need of the postponement of his/her loan/mortgage payment must apply to his/her bank and make a request in writing. Indeed, many of the national banks met their clients halfway and extended the terms of their mortgage and regular loan payments.

As far as the measures on rent payments are concerned, none was taken on the part of the government.

**Have any measures been taken to provide safe accommodation for persons in situation of homelessness during the pandemic and in its aftermath?**

The whole support that came from the State during the pandemic, or rather when the state of emergencywas in place, was mostly confined to the provision and distribution of humanitarian aid to the vulnerable. The human aid came in the form of food packages.

Returning to the provision of safe accommodation, the government did not provide the homeless with any accommodation whatsoever. Instead, local authorities reached out to organizations providing shelters to homeless persons for them to open, for the duration of the state of emergency, their shelters to all homeless persons seeking one. In this case, local authorities provided the shelters with food supplies. During the state of emergency being in place, our organization contacted the shelter based in the city of Osh to inquire about the number of homeless persons housed in the shelter at the time and to what extent their needs were met in terms of the provision of sanitation, sanitizers, soaps, etc. (the shelter is funded by private contributions). We found out that food was regularly supplied by the local authorities in ample amount. As for sanitation and sanitizers, it was reported that there was not enough of them to go round because the shelter was packed to its capacity during that period. Yet, all in all, the shelter offered more comfortable and safe conditions to the homeless compared to the risks they may run by staying out on the street or in makeshift dwellings. There were 59 homeless persons living in the shelter during the lockdown being in place in the city of Osh.

**What measures have been taken to ensure protect older persons, persons with disabilities, migrants, women, and children from the pandemic, abuse, neglect or violence at the place where they are living or have been asked to stay? Please specify in particular measures taken to protect persons housed in institutions, shelters, care homes, psychiatric hospitals or detention.**

**Domestic violence**. From the beginning of the pandemic outbreak, Kyrgyzstan has experienced the surge in domestic violence cases. According the governmental data, domestic violence and abuses rate during the state of emergency increased by 65 per cent in comparison with the same period of the last year.

Again, here just as in the cases of homeless persons and tenants to be evicted, the most important role in addressing this issue was taken on by CSOs, crisis centers and non-governmental entities rather than the State.

For instance, when our organization reached out the crisis center for women based in Osh, we were told that they received twice as many applications and calls for help as they normally had done in the pre-pandemic period. They said that due to restrictions and the constraints of the crisis center they can accommodate all those in need. Yet they helped them to the best of their capacity by giving consultations (including by a therapist) and referring them to other organization that were in a better position to help them. Aid was organized in a complex manner: psychological counselling, short-term shelter and clothes were provided. Also, as regards food supplies and legal counselling, those were provided by the network of CSOs – “Regional Civil Forum”.[[9]](#footnote-9)

It also is worth noting that the offices of the EU and UN in Kyrgyzstan within “Spotlight Initiative” provided funding to Kyrgyzstan with a view to establishing short-term crisis centers for women who were abused during lockdown and since the pandemic outbreak [[10]](#footnote-10).

**Have you relied on the**[**COVID-19 guidance notes**](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Housing/Pages/COVID19RightToHousing.aspx)**developed by the previous Special Rapporteur in your work? Would you have any additional recommendations to protect the right to adequate housing during the pandemic and in its aftermath?**

Yes, we have. After Ms.Farha issued her guidance notes on the measures to be taken by states to tackle housing issues arising during the pandemic of COVID-19, we reviewed measures taken by our government as against the recommendations made by Ms. Farha. On top of that, in our review we summarized and translated the recommendation made by Ms. Farha into Russian with a particular emphasis made on the housing issues pertinent to Kyrgyzstan[[11]](#footnote-11).

Additional recommendations that we would like to suggest are as follows:

To conduct regular monitoring of shelters for homeless persons and abused women for compliance with the sanitation requirements. Due to the absence of such sort of facilities owned by authorities, they have to refer the homeless and women to the shelters. However, they rarely meet the sanitation requirements and there is a risk of them contributing to the spread of the virus. Similarly, the above said is true for orphanages and nursing homes;

To enshrine the legal relations between landlords and tenants into the domestic legislation. It turned out that at most 10 of 100 tenants have concluded lease contracts. Thus, the issue of informal housing rental market is rampant and needs addressing. This issue poses serious threats to tenants (both psychological and legal ones);

To increase the number of online discussion platforms for the discussion of urban/zoning planning. We raise this problem with you since the State by seizing on the situation promotes unlawful norms related to housing policies, and given the situation (lockdowns being in place) residents cannot to the fullest extent take part in the discussions. For instance, now in the city of Osh authorities are in a great rush to pass the Detailed Urban Planning regulations, being fully aware that the participation of the general public will be restricted;

To improve the State practices on monitoring and keeping records of the people having been left homeless and those facing a danger of being evicted;

To recommend that authorities widely spread the information on the location of currently functioning short-term shelters and on organizations that can help, if the persons is to be evicted. Unfortunately, the State has not yet envisaged funding for this sort of advertisement or public information activities;

To recommend that the parliament and the government of the Kyrgyz Republic should abstain from taking steps aimed at persecuting the mass media and NGOs and at the passage of laws burdening and reinforcing the control over the civil society. Especially during the current pandemic outbreak when NGOs provide psychological counselling and food supplies which certainly contributes to making dwellings and households more comfortable and safer. NGOs should be fully immersed in rendering help to people rather than waste their energy and resources on the attempts to prevent unlawful and discriminatory legislative initiatives from being enacted into laws. At the moment there are three bills that could potentially restrict the activities of NGOs under the consideration of the parliament.

**Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Tajikistan**

**1) Please describe in detail the measures taken by national, Federal, provincial, or local authorities to protect people from the virus in their homes or places of residence:**

**a) has your country Declared a prohibition on evictions? If the prohibition was declared, specify its legal basis and duration. Please, indicate whether this is a general prohibition and whether it also applies to people living in informal settings or informal settlements. Was the prohibition on evictions limited only to tenants or mortgage payers who could pay rent or service the mortgage, or was the restriction broader?**

The Government of Tajikistan was the latest state among other Central Asian countries, which announced about cases of Covid-19. Officially it was proclaimed on the 30th of April 2020. A denial of cases of Covid-19 was highly criticized[[12]](#footnote-12). There have been several state measures taken since the announcement. However, there was no decision made about the banning of eviction during Covid-19. Whether such a decision will be taken or not is not known.

b**) If a general prohibition on evictions has not been declared, please indicate how many evictions took place, how many people were affected, as well as specific details of the time, place, and reasons.**

As a result of lacking a state decision on protection of households from eviction, Independent Centre for Human Rights Protection (ICHRP) documented a case of forcible eviction of a family in June[[13]](#footnote-13), before easing restrictions starting from 15th of June[[14]](#footnote-14). A victim of forcible eviction, a woman, by police and brought to a police station. She was subjected to physical abuse, which was later has been medically examined and documented. The victim was pressured to sign an agreement to demolish her own house on her expenses. While she was in the police station, the house was partially demolished (roofs, kitchen, bathroom) while her 3-year old son was at home and received some injuries[[15]](#footnote-15). ICHRP submitted a complaint to a prosecutor office for unlawful and dangerous demolition action. Currently, the victim is offered some alternative option to live, but none of those options is adequate and proportional to her half-demolished house. All these constitute a breach of the right to adequate housing and other civil rights, such as arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, and others.

 Due to Covid-19 measures of limited communication, it is challenging to document other violations. It is believed that this case is not the only case that occurred during the quarantine. ICHRP continues to monitor the situation with Covid-19 and the right to the adequate housing in Tajikistan.

 **с) have any measures been taken to ensure that households are not cut off from water, heating, or other utilities when they are unable to pay their bills?**

Cut-off water is one of the most problematic issues, which people face during summer. The problem is not always related to the inability to pay. The population is posting information about cut-offs on Facebook. There were a number of complaints about the cut-off of water for up to 5 days. Besides, newly built houses do not still have contracts with water, heat, or other utility companies or institutions. Therefore, such households do not have appropriate conditions to live. People are forced to ask neighboring houses to share water. These problems existed before Covid-19 but intensified and became critical during Covid-19.

 **2) Please provide any information on other legal or financial measures to ensure that people do not lose their homes if they are unable to pay their rent or mortgage. Have any other measures been taken to protect tenants in response to the pandemic?**

On the 5th of June, the President of Tajikistan[[16]](#footnote-16) declared to postpone consideration of raising tariffs for services, including electricity, water, irrigation, communications, and utilities in order to reduce production costs of enterprises, prevent the growth of prices for domestic products, paid services to the population and the inflation rate until the end of 2020.

 **3) What measures have been taken to protect people living in informal settlements, refugee or IDP camps, or in a situation of overpopulation in the context of COVID-19?**

However, no measures were taken to ban cut-offs and other utilities when people are unable to pay their bills. Electricity was cut-off in the victim's house, whose case is described above until the 15th of June, before the complaint was brought to a prosecutor's office.

The President of Tajikistan has declared a tax holiday for paying a real estate tax from the 1st of May until the 1st of September 2020.

Some banks in Tajikistan continue to request payment of a mortgage or any other kind of credit from the population[[17]](#footnote-17). Such a situation may lead to losing a house due to the inability to redeem the mortgage. Those banks, which incorporated a break for paying the mortgage during Covid-19, they warned that they would sill request to redeem after Covid-19. National Bank of Tajikistan recommended all private and state banks to provide a tax holiday. Still, banks will not be able fully to implement the recommendation if the state does not offer any assistance.

**4) What measures have been taken by the authorities to ensure that migrants and domestic workers living in the houses of their employers continue to have access to safe housing during and after the pandemic? If migrant workers have left their places of work to return to their places of origin, what measures have been taken to ensure their right to housing?**

We do not have information.

**5) have any measures been taken to provide safe housing for people in situations of homelessness? If Yes, how many people were provided safe housing, in what form, where and for how long? How will it be ensured that people who have received temporary housing have access to housing after the crisis?**

The state does not yet recognize the problem of homeless people. Therefore, the state does not take any steps to solve the problem. At the same time, the number of homeless people may be increased after Covid-19 time due to the inability to cover the mortgage or/and bankruptcy. In 2019 a state agency on the statistic (Agency) informed that there are only about 20 homeless persons in Tajikistan based on population census conducted in 2010[[18]](#footnote-18). The Agency added that law enforcement bodies might have more information about it. A next population census was planned to be conducted in 2020[[19]](#footnote-19).

**6) can you give examples of any other measures taken or planned by national, federal, provincial, or local authorities in your country to protect the right to adequate housing during and after the pandemic?**

The president declared that small and medium entrepreneurs should be freed from paying rent fee for spaces provided only by the state[[20]](#footnote-20).

**Covid-19 and the rights to housing in Uzbekistan**

1) **Please describe in detail the measures taken by national, Federal, provincial, or local authorities to protect people from the virus in their homes or places of residence:**

**a) has your country Declared a prohibition on evictions? If the prohibition was declared, specify its legal basis and duration. Please, indicate whether this is a general prohibition and whether it also applies to people living in informal settings or informal settlements. Was the prohibition on evictions limited only to tenants or mortgage payers who could pay rent or service the mortgage, or was the restriction broader?**

The government of Uzbekistan did not declare a prohibition on evictions during the pandemic. But in each region oral orders were issued by the Khokims[[21]](#footnote-21) about the suspension of evictions in the context and for the duration of quarantine…Red zones with a particularly strict regime suspending the eviction of mortgage payers and renters even if they are in arrears…

**b) If a general prohibition on evictions has not been declared, please indicate how many evictions took place, how many people were affected, as well as specific details of the time, place, and reasons.**

Counting evicted people is difficult due to restrictions on movement and meeting both people who are being evicted and those who are being forcibly evicted. Despite verbal orders from the local Government. Only in Bukhara, we stopped the artificial evictions of 16 families. However, none of the proposals is proportionate to what they had, so the right to adequate housing is violated.

The center continues to assess the situation with RAH during the pandemic. The possible number of evictees may be higher.

**с) have any measures been taken to ensure that households are not cut off from water, heating, or other utilities when they are unable to pay their bills?**

This is stated in the decree of the government of Uzbekistan dated March 23, 2020 "on additional measures to prevent the spread of coronavirus infection".

During the restrictive measures in response to the threat of coronavirus, consumers will not be disconnected from public services for debts, and fines and penalties will not be accrued for late payment of services of water and heat supply organizations, as well as wastewater treatment enterprises to support the population. Debtors will not be sued and will not be disconnected from the water supply, consumers who are in arrears in paying for electricity will not be disconnected from the electrical network.

It is recommended to pay for utilities from home, using payment systems and mobile apps.

**2) Please provide any information on other legal or financial measures to ensure that people do not lose their homes if they are unable to pay their rent or mortgage. Have any other measures been taken to protect tenants in response to the pandemic?**

Unfortunately, we do not have such information

**3) What measures have been taken to protect people living in informal settlements, refugee or IDP camps, or in a situation of overpopulation in the context of COVID-19?**

According to the monitoring carried out by the Center for inter-border zones between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Russia, we counted a total of more than 12 thousand Uzbek citizens living in no-man's-land in informal settlements as of May 20. Repeated observation on June 10-13 showed that this number was reduced to 2 thousand Uzbek citizens. Those who have not left these zones. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan organized buses for transportation to Uzbekistan, but the remaining people do not yet receive any help or opportunities to leave.

**4) What measures have been taken by the authorities to ensure that migrants and domestic workers living in the houses of their employers continue to have access to safe housing during and after the pandemic? If migrant workers have left their places of work to return to their places of origin, what measures have been taken to ensure their right to housing?**

No action has been taken.

**5) have any measures been taken to provide safe housing for people in situations of homelessness? If Yes, how many people were provided safe housing, in what form, where and for how long? How will it be ensured that people who have received temporary housing have access to housing after the crisis?**

The problem of homelessness in Uzbekistan is not recognized at the state level. This leads to the fact that the state does not take measures to protect the homeless. Except the local actions taken by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Mahalla to temporarily accommodate such persons in winter…

 **6) can you give examples of any other measures taken or planned by national, federal, provincial, or local authorities in your country to protect the right to adequate housing during and after the pandemic?**

No

1. The Central Asia network on the right to adequate housing was established in 2018, in response to challenges in ensuring the right to adequate housing in the countries of the region. The Central Asia network on the right to adequate housing includes civil society organizations from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. The CA network for RAH is not a legal entity. The network is an open, independent, and self-managed structure. Goal: Effective realization of the right to adequate housing. Tasks: 1) Increasing the capacity of CA Network members on the right to adequate housing; 2) Monitoring, Advocacy, and protection of the right to adequate housing in CA countries and the region; 3) Effective interaction of the CA Network: internal and external. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. <http://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/V2000020427> [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. <https://www.inalmaty.kz/news/2732406/palatocnyj-lager-dla-adaptacii-bezdomnyh-na-period-karantina-razvernuli-v-almaty> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. <https://vlast.kz/obsshestvo/39410-gorodok-prizrak.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. <https://vlast.kz/novosti/39687-v-departamente-policii-almaty-otricaut-nasilie-v-palatocnom-gorodke-dla-bezdomnyh.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. <https://kloop.kg/blog/2020/04/08/v-kyrgyzstane-ne-budut-otklyuchat-kommunalnye-uslugi-v-techenie-treh-mesyatsev/> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. <https://www.nbkr.kg/newsout.jsp?item=31&lang=RUS&material=97371> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. <https://gik.kg/ru/news_detail/delay-of-payments-on-loans> [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. <https://www.facebook.com/RGFKG/> [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. <http://kabar.kg/news/v-kyrgyzstane-organizovany-kratkosrochnye-krizisnye-tcentry-dlia-zhenshchin-podvergshikhsia-nasiliiu/> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. <https://www.interbilimosh.kg/2020/06/15/mery-prinyatye-oshskim-filialom-interbilim-i-rekomendaczii-dlya-obespecheniya-realizaczii-prava-na-dostatochnoe-zhilishhe-v-period-pandemii-covid-19/> [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/04/are-there-really-no-covid-19-cases-in-tajikistan/> [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. <https://www.asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/incidents/20200612/v-dushanbe-vlasti-nachali-snosit-dom-s-nahodyatshimisya-v-nem-detmi-odin-rebenok-poluchil-travmu> [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-tajikistan-idUSKBN23M0WC> [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. <http://www.ichrptj.org/ru/blog/tursunzoda-76-vlasti-demontiruyut-dom-s-nahodyashchimisya-v-nem-detmi> [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. <http://www.prezident.tj/ru/node/23055> [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. <https://www.currenttime.tv/a/tajikistan-problems-credit/30650544.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. <http://oldstat.ww.tj/img/prikaz2020.jpg> [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. <http://www.ichrptj.org/ru/blog/skolko-bezdomnyh-v-tadzhikistane> [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. <https://asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/economic/20200615/lgoti-v-tadzhikistane-dadut-lish-nebolshoi-chasti-predprinimatelei> [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. <https://upl.uz/policy/15288-news.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-21)