The evolution of political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (comparative analysis)

The problem of establishment and development of political systems of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic is in that the concept of transitology created within the framework of understanding the western experience of global democratization and which discloses the sequence of events and the general logics of planned transition to democracy does not quite work while analyzing the political processes taking place at the post-Soviet space.

The President of Kazakhstan N.A.Nazarbayev on the day of elections to the Majilis and the maslikhats of all levels on March 20, 2016 while answering the question of the correspondent from the USA noticed that each young state had its own stages of development: “USA history is already 2500 years old and it’s still developing. Right? We remember the times when the women and the farmers didn’t have the right to vote, there existed racial discrimination. All these reforms you implemented during the 150 years of your statehood and we are only 25 years old. That is why the issues of transformations belong to the future. We gradually reform, adopt laws and move in that direction. And one should not drive us on because we are others. In Asia there are other relations: family relations, the other religion, the other possibilities between people. That is why all the states have to learn to respect the traditions, history and culture of each other”.

The actuality of the dissertation research is the determination of the ways and possibilities of democratization at the post-Soviet space, the deepened and conceptual understanding of the consequences of the political transformations and the prospects of further development.

The purpose is the comparative analysis of the establishment of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

The tasks are the following:

1) to elucidate the efficacy of the heuristic possibilities of the theoretical – methodological basis of comparative politological and transitological methods for the research of the political systems of the post-Soviet states;

2) to elucidate the specifics of the political processes and the establishment of the political institutions of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in the post-Soviet period;

3) to show the evolution of the institution of presidency in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan;

4) to carry out the analysis of the possibilities of establishment and development of parliamentarism of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan;
5) to elucidate the internal factors which exerted influence upon the establishment and functioning of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan;

6) to elucidate the external factors which exerted influence upon the establishment and functioning of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan;

7) to determine the prospects of development of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan;

**The object** of the research are the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan;

**The subject** of the research is the comparative analysis of the process of establishment and development of the political systems of the two countries.

**The methodological and theoretical basis** of the research are the works of the representatives of the politological and philosophical thought dedicated to the studying of the political system as a social one which functions as a quite independent complex of social institutions and political relations.

As the main ones there are considered the conception of transit, modernization and transformation of the social-political systems.

In the research of the evolution of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan there have been used the general scientific methods: the systemic analysis, the structural-functional analysis, the comparative method, the institutional approach etc.

The systemic method makes it possible to reflect in the work the evolution of the political system in the interaction with the surrounding social environment, to elucidate the peculiarities of its “exits” and “entries”, the retrospective link between the political system and society.

The institutional method, together with the structural-functional one makes it possible to elucidate the functions and the roles of separate institutions of the political system which produce influence upon its transformation.

The comparative and historical methods make it possible to understand how the political transformation developed in time, to single out the characteristic historical stages and compare the political processes of transformation in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

**The sources** of the research were:
- The legislative acts;
- The documents testifying to the change of the status of statehood;
- The documents of the political parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan;
- The statistical data;
- The speeches, statements and addresses of the state and political figures and the interviews with them.

**The degree of the problem already studied** are to be found in the works of domestic and foreign authors in:
- Comparative politology and transitology,
- The processes of transition from one system to another,
- The analysis of the political processes at the post-Soviet space,
- The political transit,
- The stages of establishment of presidential power,
- The dual interrelations between the countries in Central Asia,
- The influence of world processes upon the development of the former Soviet republics,

On the whole, the degree of the thematical problematics studied in the dissertation research makes it possible to study the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and make a comparative analysis of the achievements, problems and prospects of the given states in the development of democratic institutions.

**The novelty** of the research and its scientific-theoretical significance is in that there on the basis of the complex analysis there are disclosed and justified the systemic basics in the evolution of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, the trajectory of their trend within the framework of dynamically developing political processes.

**The scientific novelty** of the dissertation research is in
- systematize the theoretical innovations of domestic and foreign authors pertaining to the process of democratization at the posy-Soviet space on the whole and on the territory of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in particular.
- to elucidate the characteristic traits of the democratic processes on the territory of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan taking into account the consequences of the political events of the past few years.
- on the basis of the systemic analysis to show the evolution of the institution of presidency in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.
- the carrying out of the dual analysis of the peculiarities of establishment and development of the institutions of political power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.
- the elucidation of external and internal factors which exerted influence upon the establishment and functioning of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.
- determination and justification of the prospects of development and perfection of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

**The practical significance of the dissertation research** is in its use as analytical material for the state, research, academic and practical institutes, as recommendations for interested persons who are responsible for the intensification of democratic tendencies in the Kazakhstani and Kyrgyz societies, while elaborating concrete measures in the activity of political powers and societies of both countries in the cause of building democratic institutions.

In the conditions of renovation of the methodological basis of the domestic politological science still topical remains the development of heuristic capabilities of comparative analysis and transitology.

The comparative analysis of the political systems of the post-Soviet states proves there are different levels of their transformation into the modern forms of political culture.
There for the politological science of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan the comparative analysis and transitology are effective while elucidating the ways for the forced modernization of the political system during the transit period.

The introduction of the institution of presidency in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan was conducive to the creation of the modern political system, although for each of the republics there were their own peculiarities, which appeared with the unique introduction of the given institution. There in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan the institution of presidency plays the focusing and stabilizing role in the stage-by-stage reformation of the political system of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and the further evolution of the presidential form of rule will be mainly determined by the social-economic, socio-cultural, internal political and geo-political factors which take place today in both countries.

The evolutorial shift during the process of establishment of parliamentarism in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan substantially influences and directs the political system of the states towards the adoption of the necessity of strong presidential power during the transition period and which adopts responsibility for the reforms carried out in all the spheres of public and state life. For Kazakhstan this is embodied in the form of the purposeful course upon the development of the presidential-parliamentary republic.

For Kyrgyzstan the political system of the state is still a continuing search of the ratio between presidential power (the state of its power) and parliamentary independent self-feeling of participation of the present power as a public attitude and as the cause of the state.

The preservation of some national traits in the political-state system of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan influenced the political processes I these countries in the period of independence.

The external factors of the international-political environment (the United Nations Organization, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) render a substantial influence in the form of documents (recommendations, estimates in reporting, reacting in the international press) and the political practice upon the evolution of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan from the point of view of democratization.

The main postulates and conclusions of the dissertation research gave gone through the approbation at the scientific conferences at different levels, there were made public through the publication of the magazines which are in the register of Control in the field of Education and Science Committee and also upon the pages of the journals with high rating with the non-zero impact-factor. On the whole the results of the research are reflected in 9 publications.

As a result of the research we came to the following conclusions:

1) In connection with the fact that both countries are the former republics of the Soviet Union and that is why they have on the whole the common starting sites for the development of their political systems, the comparative analysis is interesting from
the point of view of estimating the real achievements of the republics during the years of independence. The scientific potential of the analysis of transitological processes at the post-Soviet space is non-effective in connection with the fact that the political transformations in the former countries of the Soviet Union were studied within the framework of the classical, and thus non-adapted transitological conceptions. The post-Soviet political transformations differ from the Eastern-European ones as well as between themselves.

The comparative analysis of the political systems is important from the point of view of adoption of successful experience during the building of new democratic institutions of political power and also for the elucidation of ways of forced modernization of the political institutions of the protracted transition period of the sovereign states of the post-Soviet space.

The transitological researches presupposed the analysis of the political changes of transition character connected with the establishment of the new qualitative state of the political system. But in practice the term “transitology” acquired a more narrow meaning, because the subject of research of the given trend became the process of transition from the autocratic forms of rule to the democratic ones, and the subject of transitology as a relatively independent discipline within the framework of the political science were the problems of democratization. The general opinion for all the researches of the transitive political processes is in that there is acknowledged the role of all the components of the political process, but the most crucial one is deemed to be the activity of the state which is responsible for the reformation of the form of rule in the state.

During the transit period of development of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan there becomes evident the importance of strong presidential power. The international institutions of market economy and democratic reforms rendered and still render substantial assistance in the cause of reformation of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The further development of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is directly linked with the intensification of work in the inculcation of the democratic basics into the state and public institutions of both countries.

At the modern stage there are still not eliminated the methodological contradictions and there is still absent the complex and systemic approach in the studying of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The specifics of the political processes and the establishment of the political institutions of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in the post-Soviet period is in the following: there in the consciousness of the people are still preserved
the stereotypes of the political dogmas of the Soviet times which still are not overcome.

2) As for the specifics of development of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan one should note the peculiarity of transition of these countries from the post-Soviet political schematics to the elaboration of their own political systems. The given peculiarity does not have a ready scheme of development and it presupposes the problematic-search version of movement towards independence. The Republic of Kazakhstan was more cautious in this respect and it did not go after the revolutionaries, in many instances leaving as it was the experience of the perestroika variant of post-Soviet Kazakhstan. The symbol of development of the political system of Kazakhstan was the evolution and metamorphosis of the post-Soviet political experience. Based upon this process and watching the conduct of other post-Soviet republics, Kazakhstan decided nevertheless to give the initiative and responsibility of statehood to the President and his surrounding elite. Another version so development was chosen by the Republic of Kyrgyzstan that deemed it necessary to carry out a number of activities which were conducive to the democratization of the state structure without giving powers in the form of Presidential powers for its perfection.

Thus, some disregard by Kazakhstan of independent strivings of the society of power and as for Kyrgyzstan - the disregard of the ambition of the political elite has rendered to the average component of the political processes in Kazakhstan and in Kyrgyzstan the regime of instability for Kazakhstan from the point of view of engaging democracy to the development of statehood, and as for Kyrgyzstan - the regime of adherence to the influence of the internal environment in the conceptual arrangement of political power.

3) As for achieving the goals set in the proposed project and the solution of the task for estimating the role of the institution of presidency one can note as the common trait of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan the stabilizing-conciliatory role of the institute of presidency for the political power: although Kyrgyzstan has been declared a parliamentary republic, juridically the President remains in fact the plenipotentiary and strong Head of state. At the modern stage there in Kyrgyzstan in fact has been implemented the mixed form of rule – the parliamentary-presidential one.

The other ratio of the institute of presidency and the political power one can see in Kazakhstan: the institution of presidency in Kazakhstan has given for democratization as a process a longer distance of development of this very democratization. In the course of it there takes place the stage-by-stage rearrangement of society, there appear new possible sections of population (the average and small businesses, bureaucracy with their interests). But still the development of democracy looks more actualized and accordingly more provided for future by the process of democratization. Thus, there during the transit period of development of
the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan there becomes evident the importance of strong presidential power which is responsible for the completion of the reforms begun and in the long run for the democratization of the power-state processes.

4) There for the solution of the task set out in the introduction it is necessary by tracing the establishment and development of parliamentarism in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, to make the conclusion that at the very beginning of its independent existence the parliament of each republic made a colossal amount of work for the adoption of the most important legal acts and for the carrying out of necessary reforms which strengthened their state sovereignty. Of course, one should note that parliamentarism in Kazakhstan and parliamentarism in Kyrgyzstan are quite differing political-public existing processes. The given processes are marked by intensity, parametrality, different textures of these processes. A more purposeful work of the parliaments in the given key after 2000 is present in the parliamentary process for the Republic of Kazakhstan. There in the political process of parliamentarism in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan is still preserved the awaiting of progressive changes in future of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan on the whole (without revolutionary cataclysms), and all this taking into account all the benefits of the state of parliamentarism from the democratic point of view for Kyrgyzstan, and for Kazakhstan it gives a substantial advantage while advancing in the legislative processes. The prospects of the given developments presuppose successes, problems, mistakes and their correction. But as for the ratios of the given comparative analysis, both states are (when compared with Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan) at the actual and progressive stages of perfection of the political process in Central Asia.

5) The common character of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is that they are unstable and are open to the influence of the internal and external environment. The political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have their own model of development although they are based upon common typological characteristics. The institution of presidency plays a stabilizing role in the stage-by-stage reformation of the political system of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and the future evolution of the presidential form of rule will be mainly determined by the socio-political, socio-cultural, internal-political and geopolitical factors which take place today in both countries. One of the common negative factors which exerted and is still exerting crucial influence upon the formation and the functioning of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is the absence in both countries of developed institutions of political and legal culture. The laws and models of development of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan gave common shapes, namely: at the present moment they are unstable in character and are not formed completely; they are under a strong influence of external environment and internal factors which are equal in importance.

6) in the solution of the task set out in the introduction one should note the priority of large international organizations (the UNO, the OSCE) in rendering
good services, giving consultations and recommendations for the carrying out of the political process in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The international organizations besides their considerable authority in estimating the world politics as the phenomenon of the modern texture of international mutual relations are effective assistants to the afore-mentioned countries for the provision of the ways of development and evolution of the political international interrelations within the context of systemic structure and security, helping the transformation and stage-by-stage practice of shifting towards the improvement of the political system, and more adequate ratio of it with the political systems of the developed countries. Nevertheless one should note that especially in Kazakhstan we did not refuse the adoption of experience of international environment and the recommendations of politicians of large countries with the large political-procedural traditions. In Kyrgyzstan they are mostly oriented upon the recommendations of such large organization like the OSCE.

7) For the solution of the task set out in the introduction it is necessary to state that Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan – the republics going to democracy from the constitutional aspect of transformation of the modern political system have come out upon the next distance of political development. One should note of course that at the present time the Republic of Kyrgyzstan is solving the primary tasks connected with the given transformation: from 2010 it continues to perfect the form of parliamentary-presidential republic. The Republic of Kazakhstan is at a longer transformational stage, it carries out the promising work for the development of legislative and legal-usage practice for the perfection of the political process. But the plans and the strategies in both republics by the tasks set out for solution can be harmonized in the cooperation programme understandable for both of them for the provision of transformational evolution of the political process.

The comparative analysis as the method of research of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is promising from the point of view of the world achievements of the given analysis during the process of studying the political systems. In connection with the fact that both countries are the former republics of the Soviet Union and thus having the common start sites for developing their political systems, this comparative analysis is interesting from the point of view of elucidating real achievements of the republic during the years of independence.

The further development of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is directly linked with the intensification of work in the inculcation of the democratic basics into the state and public institutions of both countries. One of the negative tendencies in the development of the political systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan one can say to be the striving of the political powers to limit the influence of the opposition upon the political processes, in particular upon the adoption of important decisions in the political and economic spheres.