

EXPERIENCE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE EXAMPLE OF KAZAKHSTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN

Sergey Alekseevich Konovalov^{*}, Almaz Zhanatovich Seidumanov^{**},
Zarema Kaukenovna Shaukenova^{***} and
Sholpan Mulkimanovna Zhandossova^{****}

The article analyzes the experience of political development of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. The authors carry out a comparative analysis of political systems of the countries of Central Asia. The elections in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan are considered as the entrance to a new political cycle. The main criteria for the further modernization in Central Asia are revealed.

Keywords: political system, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, political modernization, evolution, elections.

INTRODUCTION

Kazakhstan is going through an important stage of its socio-economic development. In May 2015, the Nation's Plan "100 specific steps, a modern state for all" was adopted. This is a plan of a new level, generating ideas aimed at modernization of the economic system, bringing it into line with international standards, in particular, OECD standards [1].

In the context of implementation of the Nation's Plan, the experts in Kazakhstan expect the continuation of reforms. The development model "from economics to politics" is practiced in the country [2]. In this regard, it is important for Kazakhstan to consider the experience and the current stage of political development of the neighboring countries in Central Asia (CA).

Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are part of Central Asia. In recent years, the region has passed the transition period, in the framework of which its identity and subjectness in global politics have been established. In the words of the president of the Association of Sociologists of Kazakhstan, Doctor of Sociological Sciences M.M. Tazhin, "Central Asia is a collection of states with the independent, national and state interests. And we have to get used to such political vocabulary" [3].

^{*} The Executive Office of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, "Akorda" Presidential Residence

^{**} Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, 71 al-Farabi Ave, Almaty, 050040, Republic of Kazakhstan

^{***} Institute for Philosophy, Political Science and Religion Studies of Committee Science of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 29 Kurmangazy street, Almaty, 050010, Republic of Kazakhstan

^{****} Institute for Philosophy, Political Science and Religion Studies of Committee Science of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 29 Kurmangazy street, Almaty, 050010, Republic of Kazakhstan

The region is constructing its own system of relationships and is not part of a game of outside actors. Kazakhstan is not a supporter of the theory of “great game” in Central Asia and adheres to the “large benefit” principle, as it is noted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan E. Idrisov: “Kazakhstan is by no means at the epicenter of a new “Big Game”, but, if you will, is in the heart of what can be called “Large benefit” for all in the field of regional and global stability and prosperity, and our country is strongly promoting this vision for all” [4].

Central Asia today is a participant of a major continental regional project: the Silk Road Economic Belt, which was launched by the Chinese President Xi Jinping during his visit to Kazakhstan in the campus of Nazarbayev University in 2013 [5]. The project is supported by the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, where the main role is played by China. Currently, the bank’s capital reaches \$100 billion.

Another major project, in which the region is involved, is the Eurasian Economic Union. Both Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan participate in it, and they opened their borders to each other in August 2015 [6].

Now an issue is on the agenda of integrating these two global projects, which corresponds to the interests of not only Kazakhstan, but also Russia, as was stated by the Russian President Vladimir Putin at a meeting with the Foreign Ministers of the SCO member states in June 2015. Within the framework of EEU, the participants have already ensured the freedom of movement of goods, services, capital, and labor [7].

Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Road Economic Belt are solely economic projects and do not relate to the domestic policy. However, the interest toward the way of life of the neighbors, the borders with which are now common, is certainly increasing. Kazakhstan has the largest economy in the region; it plays the role of an investment hub, whereas its advantage is openness, readiness to integration, delicate attitude towards its neighbors in view of 13.3 thousand kilometers of borders, including more than 4 thousand kilometers with the Central Asian Republics and 1.2 thousand, with Kyrgyzstan [8].

In 2005, in his speech in the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan, on the background of “orange revolutions” that were occurring in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan, President Nursultan Nazarbayev proposed an idea of creating the Union of Central Asian states. Formally, this union has not been realized; however, Kazakhstan is moving to this purpose via an “echeloned way”. “The primary task of the Head of State became the design of a new, more competitive scheme of organization of the life of population, which would provide the necessary transition to the next phase of social development. To this end, a methodology was developed for implementing social changes, an infrastructure was formed of “switching” into the future, a layered system of transitions into a more efficient system of activities was built” [9].

According to the report of the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, among the four scenarios for the Central Asian region, the strengthening of regional unity is expected by the year 2020. The most favorable scenario is the emergence of the Central Asian Union and the region moving away from the fragmented state. Another variant is sub-regional cooperation by groups of countries, which is already happening now [10].

In 2015, the region experienced several election campaigns. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan held presidential elections, whereas the ones in Kazakhstan were ahead-of-schedule. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan held parliamentary elections. Thus, the region joined a new political cycle that will be gaining momentum from the presidential election campaign in the US in 2016 and the elections to the State Duma of Russia till the presidential elections in Russia in the year 2018. The Central Asian countries carried out constructive campaigns; and this was very positive in view of emerging instability in other parts of the former Soviet Union: Moldova, Armenia, and Ukraine.

Of particular interest is Kyrgyzstan, which has experienced two political cataclysms in 2005 and 2010. This prompted Kyrgyzstan to perform a soft evolution from a parliamentary to a parliamentary-presidential model. Kyrgyzstan introduced a 7-percent electoral threshold, as well as Kazakhstan did. In addition, Kyrgyzstan, as well as Kazakhstan, holds parliamentary elections according to a proportional system, abandoning the majority system [11].

The elections to Jogorku Kenesh (Parliament) were held in Kyrgyzstan on October 14, 2015. The total voter turnout was 1630122 persons or 59% of the registered people [12]. A new composition of the Parliament was formed which included 6 parties. Altogether 14 parties participated in the elections.

Kyrgyzstan has tested some advanced technologies of biometric registration during the elections. Each voting station was equipped with computers and special equipment allowing reading the voters' fingerprints; each station was also provided with automated readers urns, able to count the ballots in real time. Altogether 2374 polling stations were created in the country, as well as 36 stations in 26 countries of the world.

An important outcome of the elections was the improved voter confidence in the political system. The number of voters who came to vote increased. The Kyrgyz parties managed to mobilize more of the electorate: 40% more people than in 2010 gave their votes [13].

The assets of A. Atambayev's ruling regime strengthened. The party close to him, the Social Democratic Party of Kyrgyzstan, came to the first position, greatly improving its position relative to the year 2010 (from 7.8% to 27.56%). Unlike Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz President is not the chairman of a party [14].

The second place went to the "Republic – Ata-Jurt" coalition. Electoral coalitions of parties are allowed in Kyrgyzstan, but not in Kazakhstan. It improved

its position from 15.4 to 20.1%. The “Butun Kyrgyzstan Emgek” opposition party was suddenly superseded by the “Kyrgyzstan” party, concerning which no breakthrough was expected. The “Ar-Namys” party dropped out of parliament, gaining less than 1%, while it got 7.57% in 2010. The “Ata Meken” party, improving its figure from 5.5% in 2010 to 7.8% in 2015, once again entered the Parliament in view of raising the electoral threshold.

Pre-term elections were not applied in Kyrgyzstan; however, the circumstances were such that Kyrgyzstan was the first to enter into the electoral cycle of the crisis period. Russia and Kazakhstan, for example, had to speed up the timing and start elections earlier than scheduled. The Russian State Duma elections were moved from December 2016 to September of the same year. In Kyrgyzstan the Constitutional Law is in force, which provides for separate regulation of the election of the President and the deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh [15]. In Kazakhstan there is a combined election law also of the constitutional level.

The Kyrgyz electoral law stipulates the mandatory and periodic character of elections. Moreover, in accordance with Clause 2, Article 7 of the Law, the elections of the President and the Jogorku Kenesh Deputies are mandatory and conducted periodically in the time periods set by the Constitution.

The Kazakhstan electoral legislation includes a certain “clearance” for early elections. The Election Law of Kazakhstan (Article 85) provides for setting the elections of the Majilis of the Parliament in the event of early termination of its powers, in addition to the established periodicity [16].

In the years 2003-2005 Kazakhstan experienced a major electoral cycle, supplemented by unscheduled elections to Majilis and maslikhats in the year 2007, the elections of some senators in 2008, and the elections of akims of the district level in 2006 [17]. Three compositions of the Majilis of the Parliament did not complete their work, and for some reasons stopped their powers ahead of schedule in the years 2007, 2012, and 2016. Political scientist D. Ashimbaev, commenting on the initiative of the Majilis deputies, noticed that the early dissolution of Parliament is a good political tradition in Kazakhstan. During all the years of independence, only a third of parliaments worked their entire constitutional term. The Supreme Council of the 12th convocation dissolved itself; the one of the 13th convocation was disbanded because of illegitimacy of elections; the Majilis of the first and second convocations completed their terms; the powers of the third, fourth and fifth ones ended prematurely [18].

METHODS

The research in the framework of monitoring showed that people did not really approve of early elections until the time when they were initiated by Majilis and supported by the President. “If we talk specifically about elections, then the main part of population saw as an acceptable option holding them in the time period set

by law. There is here an element of stability and citizens' confidence in the future" [19].

A preliminary research demonstrated that the mobilization factor of elections should be reserved for the people in Kazakhstan. In 2015, the early presidential elections contributed to consolidation of the political agenda and ideological platform. As it turned out, they were carried out in a timely manner, when the economic situation had not yet so dangerously bent as in the period when the transition was performed to inflation targeting and floating exchange rate. Thus, about 62% of respondents were in favor of the elections being held on time, as it should be in accordance with the established terms and without speeding up. The share of the people supporting other options (to speed up or to cancel altogether) decreased from 20.4 to 16.8% (Table 1).

TABLE 1: DO YOU THINK IT IS RIGHT TO HOLD PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2016 AS THEY SHOULD, SOONER, LATER, OR THEY SHOULD BE CANCELED? (ACCORDING TO THE STUDY DATA IN KAZAKHSTAN)

	<i>3d quarter of 2015</i>	<i>4th quarter of 2015</i>
They should be held according to the timing set earlier	54.9%	61.9%
Better to hold them sooner	14.9%	11.6%
Better to hold them later, or to cancel them altogether, prolonging the terms for the current institutions	8.5%	5.2%
Other	0.2%	0.1%
Against	0.2%	-
Don't know/no answer	21.2%	21.2%

However, ultimately, the correctness of the decision was confirmed by 93% of respondents in various surveys [20]. The events went unexpectedly quickly, as it was reported in the address to the nation by the President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who announced early parliamentary elections on January 20, 2016 [21] and then commented at the congress of the ruling "Nur Otan" party on January 29, 2016 in the light of the past forum in Davos [22].

The President made it clear that the time cannot be stopped. The regular World Economic Forum which took place on January 20-23, 2016 in Davos demonstrated great discoveries and expectations of the world's economists and the general public. The world is entering an era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, a period when there will take place "a big leap" from digitizing books, creating the Megabases of data, supercomputers and electric vehicles to the digitization of substances, the creation of the human organic tissues. That is, Kazakhstan sees the context, aspires to move to the epicenter of global changes, overcoming the historically predetermined peripheral location and restraint within the vast Eurasian continent.

The Nur Otan Party Congress on January 29, 2016 marked a major shift in our political life: an extension of the political leadership of the public sector, representatives of sports, culture, media and journalism, NGOs, and the scientific sector.

The new composition of the Parliament will correspond, to a greater extent, to the growing social leadership of women. In the Nur Otan list, 30 people out of 127 are women (21%).

All this is not accidental. Kazakhstan has set targets for reducing state participation in the economy. The state is demanded at the stage of formation; further, in order to evolve it is necessary to provide more economic freedoms, the creative, innovative environment. We will not be able to climb higher without this. After all, there are such enormous challenges as the creation of International “Astana” financial center. Today, such personnel and representatives of the people are in demand that are capable of active actions.

If we look at the parliaments of other countries, then we see that they are serious platforms for the formation of policy. Each deputy, member of the US Congress or the British Parliament represents an entire trend, lobby groups that are legalized and institutionalized there. In Britain, the Parliament model is a two-party one; and the official status of the ruling and opposition parties in Parliament is fixed. Their being in opposition to each other, alternativeness is even emphasized by the seating. And there, the policies and political solutions are born in hot debates.

In these circumstances, governments are in a difficult position; parties, in order to strengthen their standing in the conditions of electoral democracy, have to conduct serious research and development. So it did, for example, the Labour Party in the days of Tony Blair, when for the development of a modernization course they engaged the best creative minds, including sociologists, in particular, Anthony Giddens, a leading figure of world sociology, who created the theory of the “third way”.

The significance of a Parliament is determined not by the number of deputies, but by the quality and added value. In Kazakhstan, the optimal number of the Parliament members is 154 people, and the ratio of the number of voters to the number of deputies is 9180 thousand / 154 = 59.6 thousand. In Kyrgyzstan, with the population of 5.5 million and 2.7 million of voters, the number of deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh is 120 people (22.5 thousand voters per a deputy). That is, in Kazakhstan, this ratio is twice as large. When viewed in general in terms of the population number, in the countries with 16 “ 30 million people the ratio of the number of deputies to the population number ranges from 47 to 122. In Kazakhstan, this ratio is 112, that is, closer to the optimal value (Table 2).

The early presidential and parliamentary elections in Kazakhstan are a forced step considering the started difficult period. President Nazarbayev N.A. warned of its coming as early as 2003 in his book “Critical Decade”. At that time, the world

TABLE 2: THE AVERAGE INDICATORS OF THE NUMBER OF THE PARLIAMENT DEPUTIES AND ITS RATIO TO THE POPULATION NUMBER BY GROUPS OF COUNTRIES

<i>Groups of countries according to the population number</i>	<i>Total number of deputies</i>	<i>The ratio of the numbers of population and the deputies of parliament (thous. people / 1 dep.)</i>
Countries with 100 million people or more	535-2985	169-1307
Countries with 50"100 million people	290-945	41-219
Countries with 30"50 million people	299-628	50-164
Countries with 16"30 million people	220-595	47-122
Countries with 7—16 million people	125-386	26-96
Countries with less than 7 million people	60-235	7-55
Kazakhstan	154	112

was just beginning to come to its senses after the disaster of September 11, 2001 in New York. The world was threatened by terrorism; and in response to it, the freedoms were restricted under the plausible excuse of protection from the security threats and spreading violence. The threats of an entirely different quality appeared: asymmetric war, turbulence of economies, reforms of geopolitical systems, all of these based primarily on the growing disparities between regions. The instruments of changes are the revolutions of a new generation taking place from within societies, but under the influence of the initial outbreaks in a country [23].

RESULTS

Everything that is being done in Kazakhstan in the framework of the Nation's Plan "100 specific steps, a modern state for all" lies entirely within the sociological concepts and theories of deep modernization and integration of traditional structures and institutions into a new context. As it was noted by Dr. M. M. Tazhin at the IV Congress of Kazakhstan sociologists, held June 24-25, 2011 in Almaty: "Here a sharpness of sociological optics is necessary, because traditional institutions often act as a brake, and sometimes are the inner content of the national identity. Indiscriminate rejection of the traditional is a feature of precisely "formal modernization". As the experience of our time demonstrates, any modernization outside the national tradition is doomed to failure; it turns the modernized people into population. At the same time, immoderate idealization of the traditional just because of its antiquity leads any nation to a roadside picnic" [24].

Deep modernization relies on an avant-garde group, "headliners", a "creative class" which should encourage the nation to growth, to interruption of a stagnant equilibrium. As A.J. Toynbee said, decline of a civilization is the result of a lack of

organizational capabilities of the creative minority, thus the society loses its unity and is split into polarized social groups [25].

Kazakhstan has been developing on the basis of a strategic plan to the year 2030. Currently, it is being developed in accordance with the “Kazakhstan-2050” strategy, aimed at entering the group of 30 developed countries of the world. It has adopted a country program of cooperation with the OECD. Kazakhstan has managed to be included into 50 best competitive countries of the world according to the Global Competitiveness Index of the World Economic Forum, has realized the Millennium Development Goals of the UN in the year 2015 [26].

The adoption of a new strategy with a longer planning horizon to the year 2050 was due to global trends. Today, the developed countries are beginning to look beyond the 10-20-year planning scale. For example, in Singapore a possibility is being actively discussed of adopting a development plan until 2065, timed to coincide with the 100th anniversary of independence [27].

In a similar fashion, Kazakhstan is constructing a long-term development perspective, including the long-term projects such as the establishment of the International “Astana” financial center. Its base will be the EXPO-2017 site now under construction and the 88-storey Abu Dhabi Plaza business center.

All this can be done in the presence of a Leader of the nation, able to perform social engineering, not wasting the efforts on the political debates. Kazakhstan had passed a stage of unproductive debates already in the first half of the 90s, and under the advice of foreign experts opted for the creation of a highly optimized political system. It may be called differently: “managed democracy”, “manual control”, “real politic” or, as the Reuters agency likes to say, “autocracy”. However, at its formation period, Singapore was criticized and talked about in this manner too. As Lee Kuan Yew said about it: “Singapore was different and is different from the “banana republics” which are commonly called “authoritarian” by the Western liberals ... In certain circumstances, authoritarianism can yield good results for a short period of time, but experience clearly shows that only democracy can ensure the ruling of a good government in the long term” [28].

DISCUSSION

Kazakhstan has proved by its experience that democracy cannot be transferred, copied, implanted. It must be grown at the site on the basis of the own strength and capabilities of the nation, which has a strong economic backup. Democratic transformations cannot be implemented in a moment or a day; they are not processes that yield quick results. As N.A. Nazarbayev noted: “We always remembered that democracy is our goal, not the beginning of the way. We knew that democracy cannot be decreed, it must be gained through suffering” [29].

Former British Prime Minister Tony Blair spoke recently about democracy and modernization in Kazakhstan: “*As I always say to people about Kazakhstan, I*

totally understand all the criticisms and the need for the country to evolve politically and in human-rights terms. But the work we are doing there is to help the country make reforms around things like civil administration, public procurement and rule of law, these are important reforms and Kazakhstan is an important country. It's the size of Western Europe with a population of 17 million people, between Russia and China yet an ally of the West, majority Muslim population country, yet moderate, and open-minded and tolerant. It gave up its nuclear weapons rather than retaining them, and multiplied its economic growth 10 times over the last 20 years. It's an important ally for the West and the work we do there is important for the future of the country. In the end, I work in places where I think it's justified. And I don't where I don't" [30].

In Kazakhstan, there are no discussions about the democratic development vector. However, the majority of the population supports the principles of a moderate multi-party system and a balanced presidential-parliamentary model (45%). A parliamentary model, similar to the one in Kyrgyzstan, supports about 7% of respondents (Table 3).

TABLE 3: WHAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT, IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE OPTIMAL ONE FOR KAZAKHSTAN?

	2011	2015
The presidential one (strong President, elected by the entire people, personally appoints the Government and akims (heads of regions))	43	52
The presidential-parliamentary one (President is elected by the entire people, however, he/she consults the Parliament, maslikhats concerning some issues; deputies can initiate the resignation of the Government or some of its members)	32	45
The parliamentary-presidential one (President carries out representative functions; the real power belongs to Prime Minister, which is elected from the party of the parliamentary majority or a coalition of parties)	7.5	7.3
Caliphate (religious political system based on sharia law) and others	0.5	1.4

A system of unlimited pluralism, i.e. the presence of many competing parties, is approved by about 13% of the respondents. Many more, 43% support a system of moderate pluralism (Table 4).

In general, for the countries oriented toward national unity, when the share of non-indigenous ethnic groups is greater than 10%, the 1.5-party model is more applicable. It consolidates the society, because in the case of two-party system the society can be split into the title and not-title parts; whereas if many parties are created, then each ethnic group will have its own party. In Kyrgyzstan, with its more pronounced share of the ethnic Kyrgyz core (about 80%) and over 92% of the Eastern, Muslim ethnic groups, the situation may differ. In Kazakhstan, ethnic interests are articulated through the institution of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan.

TABLE 4: WHAT PARTY SYSTEM, FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW, IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE ONE FOR KAZAKHSTAN AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT?

	2011	2015
A moderate multi-party system (several parties (5-7), capable of competing for the places in Parliament)	45.8	43.5%
A system of unlimited pluralism (many different parties according to the principle: the more parties, the greater the pluralism)	5.5	12.8%
One-and-a-half party system (one dominating party and several medium-sized parties, which form temporary or permanent unions with the main party)	3.6	8.0%
Two-party system (the ruling and opposition parties)	10.0	8.0%
Two-and-a-half system (two parties of equal weight and a weaker party, but on the union with which depends the preponderance of one of the first two)	14.4	3.2%
Single-party system	3.6	0.4%
Difficult to answer	17.1	24.1%

The proportional system of elections makes the political system more flexible, especially in the conditions of multi-ethnic composition. Kazakhstan did not introduce ethnic representation or quotas. In the Majilis there are 9 deputies from the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, but this is not a quota for ethnic minorities. This is a group representing an institute. There are Kazakhs there and other ethnicities, just as in the Parliament as a whole.

Famous political scientists E. Lakeman and J. D. Lambert called the majority system a primitive method to promote the interests of a more diverse contingent of voters [31].

However, when using the proportionality, the sizes of the party-political structure are important. According to G. Sartori (Italian political scientist), Kazakhstan has evolved from random Brownian party formation, first, to a controlled pluralism, and then to a one-and-a-half model.

A remarkable author A. Lijphart, who studied the problems of multipartite societies, noted that the limited pluralism better copes with their consolidation [32].

At the same time, J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner distinguished the competitive or non-competitive systems of parties [33].

Here in Kazakhstan the previous parliamentary elections showed that, besides Nur Otan, the competitive resource of other parties is not high and they need to be nurtured.

According to the Gibbs rule, the optimal size of a party system $N=2+n-r$. Here n is the total number of the most significant political groups in a social system; r is the number of the major, largest social groups or classes. In the stable and manageable societies with three classes (rich, middle and poor), the sum of the indicators should be equal to 2. In the USSR, with two main classes (workers and

peasants), there was a single party. In Kazakhstan the ethnic factor plays an important role: there is a titular and a non-titular nationality. Therefore, a one-and-a-half party system is optimal [34].

However, as the Kazakhs are becoming the majority and ethnic groups are being integrated into one nation, a demand is growing for alternative parties. There comes into action the 3-level structure of the society with the strengthening positions of the middle class. It is this middle class that creates the main request for political reforms, liberation of the political system and modernization.

CONCLUSION

In view of all the presented facts, Kazakhstan differs from Kyrgyzstan. The Kyrgyz Republic acted more boldly in terms of building a parliamentary republic, multiparty system and joined the WTO 17 years earlier. Kazakhstan did all this with caution, more slowly, but did not swerve away from democracy. The approaches are different; and we believe that each of them has its advantages and disadvantages, but the important thing is that the two republics are now developing together, somehow or other are integrated with each other and, accordingly, hope for a favorable future. Now some synchronization of the level and pace of development takes place. Kazakhstan as a powerful economic engine strengthens the Kyrgyz economy. The stronger Kyrgyzstan, the better it is for Kazakhstan. According to the EBRD estimates, the slowing growth in Kazakhstan decreases the growth in Kyrgyzstan by 1-2%.

Thus, it is important today to move together and to deepen the integration. After all, as it was already noted by a well-known political scientist F. Starr, Central Asia is a single region, which should be connected by common communication lines, including the Silk Road, of both 5 Central Asian Republics [35] and Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, China, and Iran. In addition, a professor at Oxford University, sir Halford J. Mackinder talked about Central Eurasia as Heartland [36]. It is just the sought-for geographical axis of history, where the fate of the world was decided in the past, where military processes took places already from the time of the Persians, where the great Genghis Khan built his empire, where Huns and Dzungars travelled. This territory of past wars and conflicts is now a peaceful land where peoples with a rich history and culture are peacefully developing.

Kazakhstan has become a headliner of democracy throughout Eurasia, moving toward democracy even in the extremely critical conditions. Many countries of Eurasia had to perform a reverse in the political transition. Kazakhstan did not do it because it did not hurry; it made careful steps, accustoming people to live in the civilized conditions and culture. And this policy is bearing fruit.

References

- Nazarbayev N.A.* 100 specific steps, a modern state for all. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2015. – May 20.
- Nazarbayev N.A.* Kazakhstan on the way of accelerated economic, social and political modernization. Message to the People of Kazakhstan. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2005. – February 17.
- Central Asia is not a guinea pig, but a set of states with independent, national interests. <http://www.nomad.su/?a=3-200404260020>.
- Idrisov E.* The great gain, not the great game. *Diplomatic Courier*. – 2015. – November 13.
- Tulesheva G.* To a new historical height. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2013. – September 8.
- Kalymov A.* The EEU's borders are expanding. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2015. – August 13.
- Putin V.V.*: integration of the "Silk Road" and EEU projects corresponds to the interests of the countries of the region. <http://inform.kz/rus/article/2782996>.
- "Kazakhstan in the year 2014" / Statistical yearbook / in Kazakh and Russian / The Statistics Committee of the Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Editor-in-chief *Smailov A.A.* – Astana 2015. – 485 pages.
- Burkitbai A., Auanasova A.* Nursultan Nazarbayev and the Kazakhstani model of state building (a historical aspect). – Almaty: TOO "Litera-M" 2012. – pp. 85-102.
- Central Asia – 2020: four strategic concepts. Analytical report. Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of RK. – Astana, 2015. – 51 pages.
- Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic. http://www.gov.kg/?page_id=263&lang=ru.
- The final results of the parliamentary elections in 2015 in Kyrgyzstan are determined. http://russkg.ru/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5529:-2015-&catid=67:2012-01-16-18-22-49&Itemid=1.
- Revolution in Kyrgyzstan is cancelled. *Nezavisimaya gazeta*. – 2015. – October 6.
- A moment of truth for Kyrgyzstan. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2015. – October 7.
- Constitutional Law of KR "On the elections of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic and the deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic". http://grs.gov.kg/ru/articles/election_2015/166-konstitutsionnyi-zakon-kr-o-vyborakh-priezidenta/.
- Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan" of September 28, 1995 no. 2464 (as amended on 07.31.2015). <http://bestprofi.com/home/document/448483481?1>.
- Shaukenova Z.K., Konovalov S. A., Rakisheva B.I.* Sociological analysis of the results of the election publicity campaigns in Kazakhstan 2003-2008. *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya*. – 2009. – no. 5. – pp. 144-146.
- Dissolution again " according to a good Kazakh tradition. <https://zonakz.net:8443/articles/86261>.
- Shaukenova Z.* A proactive step. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2016. – January 14.
- 93% of respondents supported carrying out the Kazakhstani parliamentary elections. http://kazakhtv.kz/pda.php/ru/view/news_kazakhstan/page_143396_93-oproshennykh-kazakhstantsev-podderzhali-provedenie-parl.
- Message of the Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev in connection with signing of the Decree on dissolution of the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan and

- the appointment of early elections of the deputies of Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2016. – January 21.
- Kazakhstan-2021. Unity. Stability. Creation. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2016. – January 30.
- Nazarbayev N.A.* Critical Decade. – Almaty: Atamura, 2003. – 240 pages.
- Welcome address by the President of the Association of Sociologists of Kazakhstan, Doctor of Sociology, Professor M.M. Tazhin / Social modernization of Kazakhstan's society: achievements, problems and prospects: Proceedings of the IV Congress of Kazakhstan sociologists / – Almaty, 2011. – 568 pages.
- Shaukenova Z.K.* Tectonic shift. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2016. – February 3.
- Nazarbayev N.A.* Building a road into a new future. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2015. – September 29.
- Singapore 2065: leading insights on economy and environment from Singapore icons and beyond / edited by Euston Quah (NTU, Singapore&Economic Society of Singapore, Singapore). – 456 p.
- Lee Kuan Yew.* From Third World to First: the Singapore Story. – Moscow, 2005. – 420 pages.
- Nazarbayev N.A.* Message from the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the people of Kazakhstan “Kazakhstan on the way of accelerated economic, social and political modernization”. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2005. February 16.
- Tony Blair on Israel-Palestine, Putin, Eurozone, ‘Brexit’ and Kazakhstan. *The Wall Street Journal*. – 2014. – November 25.
- Lakeman E., Lambert J.D.* A study of the majoritarian and proportional electoral systems. – Moscow: Foreign Literature Publishers, 1958. – 368 pages.
- Lijphart À.* Multipartite societies and democratic regimes. *POLIS. Political research*. – 1992. – no. 1-2 (7-8). – pp. 217-225.
- Political science: a textbook for the students of higher education institutions. – Almaty: Akyl kitaby, 1998. – 367 pages.
- Parties and party systems of modern Europe / A problem-topic collection. Ed. cand. hist. sci. V.P. Lyubin. – Moscow: INION RAN, 1994. – 220 pages.
- Central Asia: 1991-2009. Monograph / Ed. B.K. Sultanov. – Almaty: Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. – 300 pages.
- The sought-for history axis. *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. – 2015. – October 7.