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**«...democracy is the worst form of government except  
all those other forms that have been tried...»**

*ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ ПЕРЕВОДЧИКА: оригинал цитаты*

*Sir Winston Churchill*

*The greatest politician of the XXth century*

The mankind development history is showing that viability of a nation and the most even distribution of livelihood resources are provided by the democratic forms of government (*Greek: demos - people and krátos - rule, strength; i.e. Democracy – The rule of the people*), since the democratic institutes allow the most efficient utilization of social and state resources channeling them into well-being of as much people and social groups as possible.

In the democratic countries, where democratic institutes do function, individuals clearly relate themselves to certain social groups and give preferences to one political party or force or another, which protect their interests or promise to. In their turn, the parties accumulate the interests of social groups, due to their political and economic strategies, and advocate those interests of social groups, so of the entire society, by participating in political competition (elections).

An essential element of guaranteeing functioning of the governmental institutes and democratic mechanisms is a citizen's access to exercise the right of voting. It is because this fundamental right is inseparably linked with the freedom of speech and initiates the rest of human rights, such as economic rights, providing livelihood, security of person, freedom of movement and many others.

Therefore, realization of the right to vote is providing feedback from a citizen (social group) to the authorities. Political parties are the instrument of the people's will implementation, the link between the society and the authorities, and secure responsibility and accountability of the authorities to the electorate. To put it plainer, a party is a store. If a store with a pretty-looking showcase, billboard and nice sales people is selling poor quality goods, refuses to replace them when returned, goes on defrauding shoppers, people stop buying at such shop and it goes bankrupt. In the democratic countries, where the right to vote is secured by political competition, political parties vigorously fight for votes of electorate, accumulate most competent personnel striving for materialization of their election pledges that are built on their political and economical concepts. Thus, the political competition system forces the ruling party to do optimizations of administrative processes and to make the use of the governmental and social resources most efficient.

After the protest of 27<sup>th</sup> April 2009, occurred an opinion that “the resolution of these mass actions makes no economic demands, which infringes upon citizens' interests”. It is necessary to realize that on the threshold of early elections the economic demands are not the issues of current importance. Besides the authorities have a premeditated answer: “We're sorry. It's all the global

economic crisis. When the Russian credit is received all the economic troubles will disappear.” This is, hypothetically, the authorities’ argument.

As the saying goes, leaving the general issue unsolved we will keep stumbling on component issues and economic issues are derived from politics, governmental system, efficiency of authorities and their accountability to the people. Therefore, on the threshold of the presidential election the most essential issue is modernization of authority. This is due to the outcome of the events of 24<sup>th</sup> March 2005, when the “bad” president replaced with a “good” one, but nothing has changes in the country. Even vice versa – against the destructive background of 24<sup>th</sup> March events the problems has aggravated. Hopes and expectations of the people and the society haven’t turned true, accounting for the unceasing crisis in the country for the last four years.

Any system has a corporate memory and its own logic and this logic is often stronger then the president’s will. After the events of March 2005 President Bakiev has lost the chance to improve the structure of authority due to unwillingness to conduct constitutional and systematic reforms. Right after the March events the administrative system got shocked and was ready for fundamental changes. But after retardation of reforms recovered from shock previous system started working not only on restoration but on own strengthening: Bakiev-Kulov tandem fall apart, December Constitution, Referendum on the following constitution, dissolution and election of the puppet Parliament, deprivation of judiciary independence, puppet government, termination and persecution of the press etc. The new authorities have leaned towards unconcealed autocracy, suppressing any appearances of dissidence with help of police and criminal methods.

Finally the actual president Bakiev as well as the previous president Akaev, became a hostage of autocratic familial system of government.

There is an opinion that “the elite in Kyrgyzstan is weak, hence cannot form efficient government”. Here how a saying says: what came first Egg or Chicken?

By the functional characteristics the elite (*French: elite – best, selected, most notable representative of a social group, upper class in social hierarchy.* (ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ ПЕРЕВОДЧИКА: *Latin: relatively small dominant group within a large society, which enjoys a privileged status envied by individuals of lower social status.*)) is subcategorized to: Political, Financial, Scientific, Administrative and Cultural/Informational.

The existing system of government does not allow forming real elite by suppressing it with victimization, it is developing a controlled window-dressing affiliated elite, pushing it to further marginalization (*Latin: Marginalalis – a person standing on the edge of falling apart system of values. A Marginal is a person without moral, ethic and political values and principles. Unlike a lumpen, a marginal in not necessarily poor.* ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ ПЕРЕВОДЧИКА: *Marginalization is the social process of becoming or being made marginal (to relegate or confine to a lower social standing or outer limit or edge, as of social standing; Marginalization involves people being denied degrees of power.)*)

Therefore formation of real elite is impossible without changing the system of government. That means that authority is primer. Until there is an accountable authority a real and robust elite is impossible. An example of this are ministers Jekshenkulov, Isakov and Kadyrbekov, who represented the administrative elite. Who are they now? Two of them are being detained, the other one is under investigation and all are most likely candidates for “penitential elite”. This is why representatives of the other elites (political, scientific, cultural and financial) have to adjust themselves i.e. marginalize to survive or flee. The process of marginalization of a significant part

of society is a sign of society's destruction (destruction of social structure) and demoralization. Finally, marginalization of the society is one of the pre-conditions of dictatorship.

With all this going on such system of government is always unstable this has been proved by the fall of Akaev's regime. The elite of such system is embellish and marginal and is not linked with the real interests of one or another social group. The authorities for the time being buoy on repressive measures. For all that vast national resources are spent on preservation and protection of the ruling regime and suppression of otherwise-minded. Nor intellectual resources demanded by this neither enabled institutional resources.

Of course, president Bakiev is not giving out orders for such persecutions, murders, beatings, raiders and so on personally. It is imbedded in the system's logics. As they say, one will reap what he has sowed. When not serving out the upper system, each subsystem is serving its own needs. As the result a certain group of individuals is getting richer at the expense of impoverishment of basic mass of population. Accordingly, if we turn back to the burden of this article – the democracy, the mankind has not come up with anything better yet, even in the age of globalization.

Thank to the new authorities, who have definitively revealed to the entire society that the root of evil is not in a person but in the vicious system of ruling and it must be changed drastically. At the threshold of the presidential elections the opposition leaders are facing a difficult choice. There is a grounded opinion in the community that all the oppositions wants is to come into power, since most think about boundless opportunities of the presidential powes, which can also serve one's personal enrichment.

If the opposition leaders really want to accomplish modification of the system of government, based on the model of "check and balances" (*"Check and Balances" – a governance model of powers separation accepted in democratic countries. Due to this system legislative, executive and judicial branches are separated not only organizationally but completely independent from each other. Each branch is empowered to control and limit the other branches*), political competition, transparency and accountability, then with this model the allurements of presidential powers becomes no longer relevant. And then it is just a hard and often ungrateful job that is not as profitable and high-paid. Of course the pay would be a possible recognition by the following generations and by the history.

Omurbek Tekebaev's decision of abandoning intent to nominate for elections was above all motivated by his will to demonstrate to the community and the opposition that the power itself is not the utmost value. For consolidation of the oppositional forces around the New Concept of Powers, which is aimed at powers modernization ensuring responsibility and accountability of authorities to the people, he is willing to support any candidate of the joint opposition. In this case the Ata-Meken party has not made any decision; in case of impossibility of uniting the oppositional forces around a worthy candidate the Ata-Meken party may nominate its leader for the presidential elections.

Due to the New Concept of Powers that was asserted by the leading oppositional forces and accepted at Peoples' Kurultai (Assembly) on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2008, in the transition period (up to one year) the new president's activity is going to consist in carrying out reforms. Then after delegation of powers to all branches the president becomes only a symbol of the nation, a guarantor of stability, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the nation, and also the president becomes an equidistant from all branches arbitrator in case of insuperable contradictions between or a crisis of the braches of government. The president must not interfere in neither foreign nor internal policies. The only submitted bodies for the sake of assurance of the above

functions are the reformed Ministry of Defense and National Security Service. The rest of governmental functions: economic, social, administrative, legal, political, cultural and educational, foreign affairs etc. must be delegated to the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government.

Under the parliamentary system presidency is necessary because of possibility of crisis and paralysis of the government due to confrontations between the branches or between the leading political forces, as we can see it recently in Thailand, in this case the President as the guarantor of the fundamental national interests and the arbitrator, dissolves the Parliament and calls an election. By that the President is allowing the public to decide on propriety of either political actor based on universal suffrage. Consequently, if the public (in majority) will have a possibility of forming the Parliament (representative body) hence an ability to correct or realize the economic policy through its representatives, then problem solution methods involving revolutions and protests will disappear and political culture traditions will arise.

### **On the Judicial system**

The second fundamental task is reformation of the judicial system, namely ensuring a real independence of the judicial branch. Yet the independence of the judicial branch does not imply permissiveness of the judges, but implies arrangement of conditions for and potentialities of the judges in the execution of justice, efficient protection of the civil rights and the business (including protection of investors) strictly within the legislative limits. Ensuring the Check and Balances principles, effective self-organization of the judiciary system is a separate subject. The key vectors of judicial reformation are: effective guaranteeing of the Presumption of Innocence; Judiciary liberalization, breakaway from Stalin's punitive principles of justice; ensuring a fair competition and openness of judicial proceedings; implementation of prejudicial models and aksakals' (elders) jury for settlement of minor disputes; government support and stimulation of faculty of advocates and lawyer associations as the public reviewing authority on judicial activities; etc. The judicial system must act so that when there is a violation of any individual, group or organization's rights, they should find protection in court instead of going round the instances, writing to the President and knocking pans against the "White House" (Presidential Palace) fence.

### **On the Government Structure**

At the new system of governance the central field of political, economic and social procedures is the Parliament and the Government. Here the unicameral Parliament is 70% formed of party list and 30% by single member constituencies. Parliament formation based on majority/proportional (70/30%) principle is necessary for ensuring balance between pan republican (pan republican party list) and territorial (aggregated territorial constituencies) interests. Formation of the Government is done by the party (or parties' coalition) that won more than 50% of the Parliament chairs.

For ensuring transparency of the ruling political authorities and fair holding of elections (as the mechanism of providing accountability and responsibility of the ruling political force) it is required to provide a legal safeguards of the minority (opposition): power to approve top officials of the Central Election Committee (CEC) and the Court of Auditors as well as 50% of their staff; chairmen of parliamentary committees on the budget and the press, etc.

In the presence of political opponents that have means of control over the ruling party, the government forming party or parties' coalition is accountable for the Government's activities. Accordingly, the Parliamentary majority and the Government will be partners. The Parliament will have to rapidly improve the legislation for provision of effective work of the Government and also to control its activities. This is because the opposition parties and the press will inform the public on any faults or improper actions by the Government or its members, which would lead to loss of votes on the next elections and all possible consequences.

### **On the Press**

Finally, it is necessary to ensure stimulation of the independent press development for the sakes of transparency and accountability of all levels of authority and transformation of the press into the "fourth branch of government".

In brief, these are the issues reflected in the New Concept of Power accepted by the Peoples' Kurultai (assembly) on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2008, the general intent of various oppositional forces. Certainly, on the other issues, first of all on the economic policy, the opposition by definition cannot have a common point of view or program. Just as the society is not a homogeneous system. After all every oppositional movement should be guided by the interests of certain social groups, which is leading to a clearer socio-political structuring, more material accounting and reflection of group interests (legislative restrictions of interests' representation, based on discrimination by ethnic, religious, territorial or other characteristics is a separate subject)

The New Concept of Power is reflecting the basic principles of Ata-Meken party's political strategy, a rejoinder on the opponent statement of not having a clear program and concept for pulling the country out of the crisis.

In its political strategy Ata-Meken clearly defines the needs and expectations of the society on modernization of government system and ways of implementation for the sakes of protecting the fate of the country from whim and subjectivism of one individual or a group of individuals.

### **On the economic policy**

Ata-Meken party has a definite economic program.

The main thesis's of the program are: socio-oriented market economy; protection of private property firmness, stimulation of private initiatives; government support of vulnerable population, effective reformation of pensionary system; economic policy liberalization – optimization of the tax structure and the fiscal policy, implementation of international standards of accounting and accountability, support of local production by tariff, preference, quotas, tax allowances for investments in high technologies, achievement of positive balance of trade, purposive migratory policy (regulation of migration and in-migration based on economic expediency and national interests); rational monetary policy; minimization of government spendings by improvement of administrative structure, suppression of parasitic attitude in the social and governmental structures; administrative-territorial reformation: determination of the number of links in the vertical of power and examination of their functional expediency (minimization of parasitic structures and provision of efficient management); delegation of as much as possible of credentials to the local authorities, since local communities have a better knowledge of their own needs and accessible resources; elimination of "rayons" or "oblasts" and establishment of a compact unit of administration with clearly defined functions of medical services, social regulation and education, aggregated service centers, law enforcement and civic

security, support and development of local communication and utility infrastructure (power grid, communicational networks, roads, ducts, reservoirs and others); transparent personnel policy, based on fair competition, guaranteeing continuity and stability of personnel policy of any public service institute, improvement of the institution of Secretary of State, creation of legal capability of maintaining of the bulk of state institution professional staff, regardless of change of government, identification of political capacity executives to be replaced upon change of government.

In the environment of fair competition between political actors, intellectual assets with experience and knowledge of international economic trends and conditions of the world market will be a great demand; they are to adjust the ruling party's economic policy to the current situation and community needs.

Bakiev's regime and his Ak-Jol party base their arguments on that they doing their best ("Aigan" newspaper 10-Apr-2009 p. 6) and "there's state consolidation: new rural schools are being inaugurated, new roads are being built, local authorities are given quarters, medical service is given vehicles, construction of hydro power stations and other projects are being done on the state level, etc."

No one negates Bakiev's authorities doing their best within their capabilities and potentials, and actually it all happening. But a retirement pensioner (a teacher, a doctor or another public servant), not interested in numbers, percents, etc., reasonably question: why during Akaev the monthly pension rate (monthly salary) was enough to buy a bag of flour or a ton of coal, when now it's only enough to buy a half? And the general public question the reasons of corruption's rapid upsurge causing misappropriation of vast national funds by different groups, approximated to the authorities?

One might get perplexed by the naivety of some patriots, opponents to the opposition (Jenishbek Nazaraliev's interview to the "Delo #", 1-Apr-2009) who promise to give out each family 2,500 USD for development of family business, or by President Bakiev's speech about "establishment of monitoring council on expenditures of the Russian loan". What to discuss here if according to the recent data Kyrgyzstan has dropped to the level of decelerated African countries on corruption and it should be realized that the funds are not going to be properly spent with such corruption level. Even the present Parliament having a higher institutional status with broad controlling credentials is just an impotent decoration.

That is why the community has amassed numerous questions about: mining (starting with notorious Kumtor, Jerui, Andash and Taldy-Bulak), energy industry, revenues from Manas Air Force Base, frequency distribution in telecommunication and aviation, alcohol and tobacco industries, etc. State of affair in those fields is not less important to the community then the Russian loan. Correspondingly, until fundamental systemic change is done no particular cosmetic corrections will improve the general situation with regards to protection of public interests.

## **On the Geopolitics and Foreign Policy**

Ata-Meken foreign policy outline.

Despite its relatively modest potential Kyrgyzstan is interfaced between geopolitical interests of greater powers. This is a given and only a flexible, well balanced foreign policy will secure the sovereignty of the nation and undoubtedly bring good to Kyrgyzstan. But that takes a legitimate and accountable government with full support of the people. In the conditions of streamlined

democratic institutions (transparency, appointment by election, effective political competition) any political force making decisions compromising the sovereignty and territorial integrity is urgently dismissed. At this form of governance when the government is protecting the peoples' interests thus enjoying a broad and unconditional support, no power can dictate and thrust its will. This is axiomatic in the world practice.

When the government is weak regarding its legitimacy it makes concessions to the prejudice of national interests for saving the regime, as it was demonstrated recently: transfer of Karkyra and resorts in Issyk-Kul to Kazakhstan; spontaneous call for withdrawal of Manas AFB made in Moscow, hiding behind the Russia's back, and the statement on willingness to continue negotiations over the base upon achievement of certain agreements between Russia and US; etc. All these actions make the government puppet and irrevocably undermine its international reputation.

A well-balance, flexible, adequate, consistent foreign policy based on the real national interests; international regulations and humanitarian values; on absolute inadmissibility of obtrusions, disregarding their origins, including obtrusions of "good" relationships conditioned to oppose the originator's opponents; under a legitimate government, will be clear to the major geopolitical players in the region and will not contradict with their strategic interests (in the context of humanitarian principles in conditions of globalization and nowadays challenges – international terrorism, religious extremism, drugs trafficking, water shortage, etc.).

Certainly, after the events of March 2005 USA and the European Union were expecting democratic reformations of the governmental form in Kyrgyzstan based on democratic values. They were interested in promoting their own geopolitical interests together with the new consonant to them government not only in Kyrgyzstan but in the Central Asian region. On the contrary the neighboring ruling elites were alarmed by the fear of spreading the revolution "plague" to their countries. Here is where a conflict of interests of the major geopolitical players occurred. The neighboring ruling elites were vitally interested in failure of democratic changes and in discrediting possible changes that may result in presidential exile. They have certainly achieved a success in this. Now they have a great argument for their opponents and their people – the example of Kyrgyzstan and its disastrous "velvet" revolution. As the result of March 2005 events, according to expert evaluations from various international organizations, Kyrgyzstan has rolled down by all indices of development: economic, political and social. The US and European Union witnessing a rollback from democratic reformation discontinued funding of democratic reformations, limiting to sufficiently small "keep-alive" infusions.

The current processes in Kyrgyzstan are giving concerns to the interested parties because of violations of regulations and all the democratic norms by the Kyrgyz government that is leading into radicalization and extremization of social relations. As the consequence of all this a certain consolidation of geopolitical interests is occurring since neither Russia nor USA or European Community or even China, especially Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan want a poverty-stricken community member, a neighbor with unstable political order ("another Afghanistan" in the outlook), as a source of new menace for the region and the whole world.

Ata-Meken reckons it possible to superpose the interests of the European Community, USA, Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan on development of democratic institutions, sustainable and effective form of government with competitive economy. The US and EU interests in this direction remain the same, as it implied above.

Russia and Kazakhstan in their turn also experience difficulties of the transitional period. They both have chosen their way, evolutionary way of development: advancement of governmental

effectiveness by means of sovereign or controlled democracies, for that they have fairly sound arguments and impartial prerequisites (temptation of the other players to access or control their vast territories, natural resources, national, military and strategic secrets). But in the end of the day it's their internal business. However, Medvedev and Putin, and Nazarbaev are seeking ways to government reforming and effectiveness improvement.

Taking into account the above factors, supporting democratic changes in Kyrgyzstan is going to fit with the strategic interests of both Russia and Kazakhstan. Especially in consideration with similarity of post-soviet systems of government, social relations, mentality and many other factors, on the example of Kyrgyzstan these nations will see democratic institutions in use, and in the nearest perspective will utilize particular elements of or the entire system adjusted to local specificity guided by the existing example of specific real outcomes of new Kyrgyz government's activities.

For Russia it would be a new model (concept) of relations with the post-soviet countries and most likely it would bring success to the foreign policy doctrine with regards to those countries. I.e. in this case Russia would forestall and offer its partners a fishing rod instead of fish.

Publicity tricks of equating Bakiev's actions and decision with Putin's and equating Kyrgyz processes with Russia's done by conditioned journalists and political strategists, are absolutely groundless because the nature, scale and geopolitical orientation of these processes and nations, intellectual level (!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!**ПРИМ. ПЕРЕВ. – оскорбительно**), background and mentality are absolutely different. Putin came to power evolutionally and inherited the country standing on the verge of disintegration and destruction thanks to familial-oligarchic regime. During eight years he managed to stop destructive tendencies though with some autocracy, he managed to build up the "vertical-of-power", strengthen sovereignty and territorial integrity and, as one may say, "raised the country from the knees". All this is providing him with positive reputation among the Russian elite, and with support of the nation's majority. Now he is working through the system of powers' separation and party organization in the tandem with Medvedev without violation of the constitution and creation of precedent of third presidential term. Most likely besides Putin's "United Russia" (**Edinaya Rossya**) (accounting for his mentality and left views) there will be Medvedev's "Just Cause" (**Pravoe Delo**) (accounting for his mentality and liberal views), and the next parliamentary election will be held in conditions of real competition of these two parties, and in the succeeding years Russia will turn to president-parliamentary form of government.

Kyrgyzstan with its sorrowful experience of March 2005 has an absolutely different nature and logics of political processes and does not have another way out of severe political and economical crises but making broad democratic reformations.

Opponents of the opposition have grounded and objective argument saying that all above is really hard to achieve and it looks Utopian. But in the light of Sir Winston Churchill's pronouncement one might say that implication of democracy, of course, is not as simple, it is an arch-complex, long-standing and controversial process, but Kyrgyzstan has no another way. And as a Chinese proverb says: a thousand step way starts with the first step.

On the threshold of the presidential elections citizens of Kyrgyzstan must realize the all-importance of exercising the right to vote and self-assertion of this right is given by the constitution. This will be the first and the most important step in the thousand-step journey to the merited future.



The Socialists Party ATA-MEKEN has a perfectly clear vision that the roots of the existing problems primarily lie in the legacy of the soviet way of thinking and mentality, social relations, and it is first of all a issue of digenesis. The mission of the contemporary generation in the government and society is to lay the groundwork for effective democratic self-regulating form of government, main features of which should be primarily national sovereignty, territorial integrity and provision of dignified living for the citizens. The nearest future ought to give the younger generation possibilities to make this objective a reality.