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**CHINGIZ AITMATOV, THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS IN 2005 AND 2010 IN KYRGYZSTAN AND SOCIOLOGY IN TIMES OF TURMOIL**

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**ЧИНГИЗ АЙТМАТОВ, НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ 2005 И 2010 ГОДОВ В КЫРГЫЗСТАНЕ И СОЦИОЛОГИЯ ВО ВРЕМЕНА СМУТЫ**

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**ЧЫНГЫЗ АЙТМАТОВ, КЫРГЫЗСТАНДАГЫ 2005, 2010-ЖЫЛДАРДАГЫ ЭЛДИК РЕВОЛЮЦИЯЛАР ЖАНА КЫЯМАТТЫК КЫСТАЛЫШТАГЫ СОЦИОЛОГИЯНЫН ОРДУ**

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*In the article the author outlines his historical and sociological perspective on important historical milestones and post-Soviet realities of the sovereign of the Kyrgyz Republic. In a comparative analysis based on specific economic indicators studied the economic and political transformation of post-Soviet Kyrgyz society.*

*The center line of a scientific article are popular revolutions that took place in 2005 and 2010, and led to a change in authoritarian regimes of power, the political reorganization of the Kyrgyz state. Research the author's approach to these historic events is complex. They consider the origins and nature of popular revolutions in the economic, political and geopolitical dimensions, thus providing a deeper cause-and-effect analysis. Author referring to the legacy of the great Kyrgyz writer Chingiz Aitmatov, emphasizes his prophetic ideas expressed relative to the Kyrgyz people's revolutions.*

**Key words:** *Chingiz Aitmatov, economy, commodification, Westernization, market, peripheral capitalism, involution, politics, clans, "family-clan rule", national revolution, public sociology.*

tual heritage, peace on earth. His calls for prudence addressed to ail the mankind, cautions about global threats to our land have been spread worldwide.

The great writer ChyngyzAitmatov in his brilliant thoughts related to the society, and the global world, was always interested in the fate of the motherland, where he was born and grew up, where his works were created. In difficult times he focused all the attention on his homeland, said prophetic words trying to ease its fate.

During the diplomatic service in the countries of Western Europe, he often wrote, gave interviews about people's social revolution that took place in our country on March 24, 2005. ChyngyzAitmatov said: "I expressed my opinion about the March 24 several times. I have been interviewed by European newspapers, television, in particular the Russian television, almost all the reputable publications in Russia, like "Izvestia", "Trud". In addition, there was a TV program, "Moment of Truth", where I also talked about it. I gave an interview to the famous newspaper "Frankfurter AllgemeineZeitung", which was published in three issues of this newspaper" [see: the newspaper "Zhangy Ordo", August 19, 2005]. Despite the fact that ChyngyzAitmatov was far away from the homeland, he, unlike journalists of the country, gave more profound and meaningful opinions about the nature, prospects and objectives of the people's revolution of March 24, 2005:

"The problems pile up, and there comes the time to actions - to get rid of all the old, and pave a new road. The revolution has fulfilled its mission. It threw away all the old and brought the new, but the question is whether we we'll be able to enjoy the results of it?" Saying his thoughtful, strong words ChyngyzAitmatov was pondering about the ways of post-revolutionary development. "What will happen to our economy? Our economy is weakened; we have grown into one of the backward countries. We take the last place on the list. Moreover, unemployment is rising, especially among young people. It has evolved into a hard, incurable disease. But there is even more terrible disease - corruption. Everybody wants to steal, "eat" the national wealth. Can we overcome and defeat them?"

ChyngyzAitmatov noted the second big problem emphasizing intellectual achievements: "Issyk-Kul Forum has become an important event within a number of significant world ones of our time related to globalization. Our intelligent movement and efforts have been huge. However, if they do not correlate to the economic life, it will not have a positive impact on the population. Kazakhstan in this respect is in a very mature state - in economics, business, trade, and intellectual life".

Unfortunately, the March revolution has not achieved its goals and "intellectual achievements are becoming a formality because of corruption. Today to get a university degree, or a "very good" grade have become very easy,"- he said with deep regret and sadness [see: the newspaper "ZhangyOrdo", August 26, 2005].

The third major problem pointed out by Chyngyz Aitmatov is that after the March revolution Kyrgyzstan stepped back in its development. In all spheres of life there evolved such negative phenomena as "mankur-tizm", "looting", "corruption", "tribalism", and the sale of land to foreign countries. In 2007 a journalist asked ChyngyzAitmatov: "What do you think whether we have a political ideology today?" He answered strongly: "Our current government does not have any ideology, and if it has, then it is an ideology of 'mankurtizm'?" [see the newspaper "Asman Press", July 26, 2007].

The great writer and thinker of our time was loo-king with deep regret at how the revolution did not meet the hopes and expectations of the people, but deep in the heart he might not lose the hope that sooner or later a new revolution will lead the Kyrgyz people to prosperous life. However, he did not live to see the new revolution...

per year. By the end of the 1980s the production of "black gold" considerably reduced. Yet 495000 tons were mined and it overexceeded many times the demands of the local population (190000 tons per year on the average) [The mining industry ..., 2005].

Rapid development of the industry positively influenced agriculture as well. By 1991 the area of agricultural grounds made up 10,1 million hectares, and the share of branches of animal husbandry in the total agricultural production made up more than 60%. The mechanical engineering, production of construction materials, light and food industries were rapidly developing. Particularly production of meat, flour and sugar made up about 24,8% of all industries of the republic. More than 70 types of products of machine engineering were delivered to the enterprises of the USSR, and 60 types of production were exported to foreign countries. If at the beginning of the XX century the share of the industry in economy of the republic made up only 5%, in the early 1980s it increased to 30% [20 years of independence ..., 2011].

There was a diversified economy with the priority in industry. According to the importance of structural transformations and scales of growth of economy (that was ahead of other union republics on several parameters), high level of industrialization during this period, the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic gained a quite reasonable name of "the economic Renaissance" by economists [Koychuyev, 2007].

However, by 1992 the national income of Kyrgyzstan decreased by 26% in comparison with 1991, industrial production fell to 27%, and agricultural production by 38%. Thus the Kyrgyz Republic entered a sovereign, Post-Soviet stage of the development, having lost economic "charge" accumulated during the Soviet period for a further jump to industrialization and technologization of the nation.

III. Market and revolution 'tsunami': total corn-modification

Analyzing of the sources, reasons and the nature of the social national revolutions taken place in the contemporary history of sovereign Kyrgyzstan, it is necessary to note that they are interpreted differently. There are various points of view in scientific, expert communities and political circles. No doubt, international community has its opinion as well. But, we are inclined to perceive it as a natural process of judgment of an essence of these resonant events, which are not only internal problem of the small country, and are deeply "symptomatic" for all Post-Soviet political area.

At the same time, today the historical distance doesn't enable us to survey to the utmost and to give a comprehensive assessment of essence of the Kyrgyz revolutions because it is too short. Yet, it is indisputable that ordinary people were the revolutionary "chargers" and implemented. And we will try to identify a number of the circumstances that has led to expansion of a revolutionary "five-year period" (2005-2010).

Collapse of the Soviet Union brought economic involution, instead of the revolution with capitalistic approach, and paved a trail for the former union republics to westernisation. For sovereign Kyrgyzstan the market relations became an uncontested way of further activity of

the country. Transition to market mechanisms, entry to the global market and following westernization models almost destroyed economic structures. Thus for example, agriculture based on collective farms and the enterprises of manufacturing industry based on the unified scheme of the Soviet industry underwent large-scale destruction. Many types of raw materials were brought into, and on the contrary agricultural raw materials were taken out from the country for processing, the qualified manpower was attracted from other union republics, etc. Dominating part of industrial facilities needed reshaping. In fact, Kyrgyzstan appeared in the conditions of an economy archaism. So, the considerable part of farms because of lack of equipment (and technologies) and elementary chemical fertilizers came down to natural farming. Therefore, the republic couldn't provide itself with food, and had to import it from abroad. Similar processes were also in industry that was actually destroyed.

Besides, westernization led to deep transformation of social structure, crisis of social and moral being of people. There was a rupture of social communications, destruction of former social groups that led to the growth of marginalization of the population. Internal mass migration (from villages to the cities) generated extensive unemployment, informal sector of employment and city power. Hundred thousands of people were excluded from normal employment structure, distracted from production working in the sphere of small services, so called retail stall trade, primitive ("handicraft") business and one-time jobs.

The western (capitalist) countries "mastered" subtleties of market relationship for more than 150 years. Within this period they endured some waves of expansion of the market that were accompanied at the beginning by "commodification of labor first, then money and on the third wave - transformation of environment, the earth and body into merchandize". Studies on decline of life expectancy conducted by demographers showed that capitalism caused deaths of as many people, as from the horrors of Stalin collectivization [Burawoy, 2009].

Sovereign Kyrgyzstan was overflowed by the third wave of expansion of the market where almost everything was commoditized. The republic had to bear heavy burden. It had to go through a sesquicentennial stage of capitalistic development only within 5 years. It seemed passed through an "accelerator" of historical time and left it absolutely in another shape and fairly shabby.

In the societies that have accepted westernization, the latter leads to the establishment of so-called "peripheral capitalism". Bases of the concept of dependent development and peripheral capitalism were put by the outstanding Latin American economist Raul Prebisch. The essence of the concept of peripheral capitalism is that the world capitalist economy is accurately divided into the center that includes some advanced industrial powers, and the periphery, which is made up of generally the agrarian countries. The peripheral countries are in economic dependence on the center that causes obstacles for their development and therefore their backwardness. Peripheral capitalism develops under other laws and thus, neoclassical economic theories aren't suitable for its analysis and understanding. Its peculiarity is in duality of development of society where, on

the one hand, peripheral capitalism leads to emergence of peculiar enclaves of the modernized production and a "modern" way of life, and on the other hand, to permanent backwardness and an archaism of dominating part of the society. Development of peripheral capitalism is reproduction of deprivation. "The system excludes broad masses of population which are doomed to wretched existence at the bottom of a social structure" [Prebish, 1992:22].

Today Kyrgyzstan lost its former industrial shape, turned into the developing backward agrarian country. From 1991 to 1995 GDP of the country reduced twice (by 45%), and so far more than 12 times led to sharp decrease of living standard. The majority of the population of Kyrgyzstan appeared below the poverty line, having lost the workplaces and prospects on the future. Falling of national economy was sharply rapid. According to experts, economic losses of this period for national economy are comparable with the

The decline of industry and commerce, destruction of system of collective farms and rural infrastructure, break of the common social and economic and political mechanism intensified migration processes. For example, within twenty years of independence of Kyrgyzstan Russian population reduced from 916,6 thousand people (21,5% to total population) to 419,6 thousand people (7,8% to total population) [20 years of independence ..., 2011]. The majority of skilled workers, technical engineers, intellectuals (scientific and cultural communities) left the country that caused in its turn demodernization and deindustrialization.

Meanwhile throughout the entire period of independence of the republic, internal migration intensified, i.e. youth inflow from villages to large cities, in particular to the country capital - Bishkek. This fact resulted with the formation of "poverty belts" around the cities and Bishkek in particular. Currently around the city of Bishkek more than 140 new housing estates emerged (these are the settlements spontaneously emerged as a result of unauthorized capture of agricultural grounds). Thus, low-income residents have become a source attracted to mass unrests.

During the time prior the first revolution (till 2005) all necessary system arrangements were done which became the foundation of an inevitable way of Kyrgyzstan to market economy. The silent majority already accepted market mechanisms and rules of a new game in the management. However, the level of economic growth by 2005 did not reach the level of 1990. Poverty and unemployment rates remained extremely high: 45,9% of the poor and 13,4% of the very poor. As a whole, in pre-revolutionary period distribution of the monetary income of society was done in favor of high-income groups. So, if in 1990 of 20% of high-income groups in Kyrgyzstan the income was nearly 3 times higher than of 20% of low-income groups, in 1995 this gap was 7 times higher, and by 2000 increased up to 10 times [20 years of independence ..., 2011].

The Strategy of development of the country for 2006-2010 adopted in 2006 by the new political power of the republic (second president's regime) pursued the ambitious goals. For example, according to the strategy it was supposed that during this time GDP was to increase by 41%,

times of the Great depression in the USA [Douling, Vignaraya, 2005].

If in 1990 the share of industrial sector in national economy made about 42%, by the end of 2005 it decreased to 12-16%. Kyrgyzstan in 2005 among CIS countries took the last place on growth of industrial production (- 9,8%). According to Interstate Static Committee of CIS the growth of industrial production of the commonwealth countries made up 5% on the average in 2005. Growth rate of GDP made up about 4% while in other CIS countries average annual growth rates of gross domestic product were much higher - about 7% [The report of interstate ...]. According to the data of the World Bank Kyrgyzstan took the 84th place in 2005 among 150 countries on the ease of doing business, and according to Transparency International the country took the 126th place in 2004 among 146 countries on corruption.

GNP per capita by 50%, and poverty was to be lower than 30%. But the reality showed that the plans were very Utopian. For the program period only top political persons fantastically grew rich.

According to the survey of the World Bank, GDP growth of the republic in 2007-2009 gained not at the expense of development of technologies (as it was specified in the strategy), but generally at the expense of trade (markets) and clothing manufacture. So, according to the expert data, the total amount of sales in three largest markets of Kyrgyzstan made up USD 4,3 billion a year, and GDP in 2008 didn't exceed USD 5,1 billion. Market trade and clothing manufacture turned into one of the main economic mechanisms of Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan providing jobs to 700 thousand citizens.

An important factor maintaining economic viability of the republic became money transfers of the labor migrants the number of whom during a revolutionary five-year period comprised 500-700 thousand (according to expert data about one million) people. For 2009 money transfers from Russia to Kyrgyzstan according to the Central Bank of Russian Federation made up USD 894 million, and the average sum of one operation was equal to USD 372. For Kyrgyzstan it is a huge amount - about 27% of an internal gross product. Against the background of a tensed situation, this was and still is the major source of income in domestic labor for the population in maintaining minimum standard of living.

The price rise on gold in the world markets became a factor that provided economic life of the country during the period. Gold mining plays a very important role in country's economy as it provides 8% of GDP, about 40% from the general level of exports and 30% from the total volume of industrial production of the republic [Material .... 2013]. But, gold mining, particularly one of the largest gold deposits "Kumtor", appeared to be in external management and in hands of the comprador national bourgeoisie, and the income of this was of insignificant amount in the national "moneybox".

Liberalization of the state economy went along with liberalization of the political system. There were formed political parties (about forty), a civil sector represented by more than six thousand non-governmental organizations. This has not taken place in any of CIS countries. Economy

modernization mainly concerned the sector of mass media. There were more than hundred printings and electronic mass media.

The westernization extended to all spheres of society and peripheral capitalism began to be carried out with a support of small number of compradors who were ready to sell the interests of the people for their own wellbeing. The national elite took the shape of the comprador bourgeoisie, which, as an intermediary, was keeping trade with foreign companies in the internal and external markets, selling natural resources, the lands and pumping out income in favor of the foreign capital.

Along with market economic reforms, there were also outrunning political transformations in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan. This time had one most important political feature. It is the formation of a "new" managing director of a political class, national political elite. Formation of a political establishment took place against the background of formation of a state political system with a strong leaning towards ethnocracies. One of the distinctive features of ethnocracies, according to the Russian sociologist Zh.T. Toshchenko, is their clannishness in implementation of authority powers, revival of ambitions and claims of various tribes. The facts of clannishness make a basis for oppositions of various ethnopolitical groups [Toshchenko, 2004].

Tribal relations, which revived later, within a modern political system in the form of a clan and corporate tribalism, played a basic role in the socio-political establishment and interpersonal communication both in the Kyrgyz society, and in all eastern states as well. Prior gaining state independence, tribal relations in Kyrgyzstan preserved in "frozen" form for many years under the dictatorship of the Soviet totalitarianism, which later rapidly developed and gained dominance. Today, clan division both at the level of daily social life, and at the level of a state policy has become a significant factor providing certain guarantees and advantages. So, having a high-ranking official in a clan reinforces the position of the tribe, but his/her removal from the position (leaving political arena) lowers the clan status.

In mass consciousness of the population of Kyrgyzstan dominates regional self-identification along with tribal criteria, which together prevail over the national and state identity. Historically it is so settled that traditional areas (earlier - cantons) of Kyrgyzstan include political formations geographically isolated with ridges. Each region (there are seven of them) has its own tribal isolation, is committed to the subculture, tribal cultural values, a way of living. The general line of a watershed, which defines today the process of formation of a ruling class, and as a whole internal policy of the country, goes between two geographical segments - the South and the North of the republic.

The northern part during the Soviet era was a political center that determined its priority development in social and economic and cultural perspectives. It should be noted that the political, scientific and creative intellectuals were mainly northerners. At the same time, the considerable part of the Kyrgyz population and the biggest Uzbek diaspora live in the southern area. Regionalism, tribalism in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan acquired political nature and had a strong impact on formation of a political elite. Fight for the

political power in many respects has become an interregional issue.

Thus, the modern Kyrgyz clan - a peculiar Kyrgyz political phenomenon is not only a group of influential families and tribal issue, but also the community based on regionalism. This kind of relations means the principle of patronage where recruiting in a political circle is carried out by strict selection from among relatives, fellow countrymen, representatives of the appropriate tribe. Such scheme of communications is deeply rooted and controls all the society generating the related model of a political culture. Thus, for political realities of Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan it became usual to organize so called "urgent" meetings of a few hundred to several thousand people from among the tribesmen in case an official - a representative of a clan - faces problems.

The first president of the republic was a representative of a northern clan and this caused appointing northerners key political positions. Though they also had high positions during the Soviet time. At the same time, to be fair, it should be noted that the first president undertook certain measures for eliminating regional clan imbalance, appointing to high positions representatives from the southern regions. Despite it, position of political elite of the country consisting of northerners was still strong and interclan disproportion continued to exist and accumulate critical weight.

It is known that internal stability of a country depends on how proportionally political resources and material benefits distributed in society and how proportionally various groups of elite represent power.

The Kyrgyz political phenomenon generated by a clan and corporate tribalism, regional gap between the North and the South as a result became itself a nutrient for a pivotal reorganization of all political elite structure within national revolutions of 2005 and 2010.

In 1990, with establishment of an institute of president, forms of the parliamentary republic were introduced in the country, i.e. president was elected by parliament, and was dependent on it. But soon the political scenario in Kyrgyzstan started having the similarities with the neighboring Central Asian republics. In a year, in 1991 the first president confirmed his power on national uncontested elections, having about 96% of votes. There was a permanent process of change of the Constitution. The first Constitution of sovereign Kyrgyzstan was adopted by parliament on May 5, 1993, but not by people's vote. Then it was exposed to changes in 1994, 1996, 1998, and 2003. The years of independence prior to March events of 2005 the government was appointed and resigned 10 times, 8 prime ministers were replaced, average term of stay in this position was a little more than a year.

The Parliament's power constantly reduced, and president's gradually increased. Thus, the model of strong presidency where the head of state possessing all key powers to form and manage executive authorities and formally wasn't responsible for their work was step-by-step being realized.

With the growth of influence of "family" of the first president on all spheres of social and economic and political life of the country, the fragile clan balance began to collapse. In this respect it is to be noted that after March

revolution of 2005 the formation of political elite, internal policy and imperious mechanisms began to develop on the basis of a special law - "acceleration of historical time". For less than a five-year period the post revolutionary super-presidential regime started high-speed usurpation of the power and accumulation of strategic financial resources and other material benefits of the country in family hands. As a result all national wealth of the republic passed from hands of one ruling "family" to another. It became the major bitter "fruit" of the revolution on March 24, 2005.

Since the regime of the first president the concept of a multivectorness cultivated and implemented in foreign policy. Its essence consisted in balance observance in relationship with such countries as Russia, the USA and China, the geopolitical and geo-economic interests of which often crossed in this region.

At the beginning of the third millennium geopolitical opposition of powers in Central Asia came to a new qualitative level. Kyrgyzstan joined processes of world geopolitics in 2001-2002 with emergence of military bases of the USA, and then of Russia in the republic. It should be noted predominantly the USA purposefully and systemically increased its influence in Kyrgyzstan. From the beginning of 2000 active penetration of the USA into the region began, one of the main aspects of which became close interaction of American governmental (and not only) structures with political parties and non-governmental organizations.

Despite this circumstance, Kyrgyzstan due to some objective (historical and cultural, geographical, etc.) reasons nevertheless adhered to a "Pro-Russian" vector. Opening of the Russian military base in the republic (Kant town) became a peculiar balancing of geopolitical interests of the powers. The Russian base also became the main subject of concern for a neo-imperial policy of the USA.

The major role in creating revolutionary situation belongs also the non-governmental organizations (NGO) the number of which reached more than 6 thousand (!) and mass media as well, the main help to which was rendered by the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and other American organizations: "Freedom House", "Peace Corpse", "Counterpart Consortium", "Eurasia Foundation", "Soros Foundation", Institute for War and Peace Reporting. For example, "Freedom House" organized in Kyrgyzstan a "Center for Mass Media Support" for printing opposition newspapers.

Therefore, when examining sources of the revolution in 2005, one should take into account external, geopolitical factors as well.

Thus, in the analysis of sources of the Kyrgyz revolutions in 2005 and 2010 it is possible to track a number of similar circumstances. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account that there was a number of reasons for people's revolutions. They are:

in 2005:

1. Westernization and peripheral capitalism that brought to deplorable state of the economy and low living standards of the population with all the consequences became a favorable ground for revolutionary changes of clan political system (this circumstance belongs also to the period preceding April revolution in 2010);

2. The imbalance of political forces, disproportion in

representation of elite groups in formation of a ruling class served as an accumulator of political oppositions between northern and southern political clans (this factor also characterizes well the period between the first and second revolutions);

3. The good democratic intentions which have developed as a result into an autocracy and its degeneration into a "family and clan" regime, controlling almost all national resource of the country and limiting democratic freedoms (the word and actions);

4. Extension of powers of president and the fact of the third term of presidency of the first president laid time bomb under a ruling regime;

5. Paradigm of the multivectorness of the foreign policy played a cruel joke with Kyrgyzstan that made the country an object of geopolitical interests of world powers. As a result, the influence of external political forces resulted in 2005 in direct intervention of the USA into internal affairs of the republic.

6. Criminalization growth, merging of power structures with the criminal world;

7. Corruption growth in all spheres of the society (during the office of the second president it reached unprecedented scales, devouring statehood bases);

8. Shooting down peaceful demonstrators in 2002 in the south of the Republic ("Aksy events");

9. Unfair parliamentary elections in 2005 (the son and the daughter of the first president were running for the parliament and became members of it), played a role of a trigger of revolutionary processes.

in 2010:

10. Restoration of the overthrown authoritative regime and construction of the superpresidential Republic;

11. The family and clan governing which has reached the peak of "blossoming", absolute control of "family" over all financial flows, political leverage, attempt to change the constitutional system of the country and establish the "monarchic" form of government;

12. Establishment of unconstitutional power structures under certain members of the "family";

13. Doubtful (criminal) financial relations of the ruling family with the international structures and organized criminal and financial groups;

14. "Bad" game with geopolitics (manipulation with the status of the American military base, terms of its stay in the country, the external credits, including from Russia, a problem with oil supply from Russia), loss of the trust from strategic partners;

15. Repression of the media and the political opposition including punitive measures and killings (which largely took place just prior to 2005);

16. Failure to realize the expectations of the society from the 2005 revolution (particularly, reformation of the authoritarian family system of government);

17. Increase of payments on electricity and heat (during winter time), the arrest of the opposition leaders in early April became a trigger that led to the April revolution and again flee of the President of the Republic.

Thus, having made historical parallels between the two revolutions there can be found much in common (similar), as well as specific features in terms of organization (see table). This is related to the mechanisms for

the implementation of revolutionary scenarios.

IV. Sociology as a "stormy petrel" of the revolution

Today, the idea that the prosperity of modern societies significantly depends on effective social management becomes a kind of axiom. Achieving effective social management is not possible without awareness of the real situation in the society, without a comprehensive analysis and understanding of the processes taking place. This accounts for the increasing demand of the modern world in scientific knowledge and information produced by sociology.

Turning to history, I would like to note that the institutionalization of sociology as a science and profession has begun in Kyrgyzstan recently, since 1960s. The formation of the Kyrgyz sociology experienced and is still experiencing a very difficult process development. This is caused by a small base of scientific human resources, i.e. the small number of social scientists, professionals working in the scientific field. No doubt, the economic backwardness of the country and the lack of government support also do not advantage the development of both national sociology and other branches of science in general. At the same time, the lack of social science knowledge and thinking with a ruling class that says about its dislike to the sociological information about the society also plays an important role. Dialogue between the government and sociology in Kyrgyzstan does not work. Moreover, there were the times when the government attempted to make sociology a servant-maid of the power. But such actions of authorities were opposed by the true patriots of the science, the number of whom is unfortunately few [Isaev, 2003].

Despite all the difficulties, the Kyrgyz national sociology keeps its path of sustainable development. Today there are four universities in the country that prepare

sociology specialists. There are more than a hundred graduates of the specialty every year. The scientific potential of the national sociology is growing every year.

At present, more than fifty doctors and candidates of Sociology work in the scientific field. Since 1990, Sociological Association of Kyrgyzstan has been operating, which brings together social scientists and researchers of the Republic, and since 2010 it has become a member of the International Sociological Association (ISA).

Today, the sociology of Kyrgyzstan is recognized by the international sociological community, both at the level of Central Asia, CIS, Eurasia, and globally as well. This is due to the active and hard work of the Sociological Association of Kyrgyzstan and its leader, who since 1997 has been representing the Kyrgyz sociology at the Global Congresses: XVIIth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Seoul, Korea, 1997; XIVth Congress of the International Sociological Association, Montreal, Canada 1998; XVth Congress of the International Sociological Association, Brisbane, Australia, in 2002, the 36th Congress of the International Institute of Sociology, Beijing, China, 2004; XVIth Congress of the International Sociological Association, Durban, South Africa, 2006; 1st Sociologists Congress of Turkic-speaking countries, Istanbul, Turkey, 2005, Hnd Congress of Sociologists of Turkic-speaking countries, Almaty, Kazakhstan, 2008; 1st Forum of the International Sociological Association, Barcelona, Spain, in 2008, Hnd Forum of the International Sociological Association, Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 2012, as well as a number of Russian Sociological Congresses. Thus, the process of formation and development of sociology in Kyrgyzstan goes on, keeping up with the time in terms of globalization.

	March 24, 2005	April 7, 2016
The decisive impulse of revolutions	falsification of Parliamentary elections	Rising tariffs for electricity and heat
The human resource revolution	The people of Kyrgyzstan, in particular young people (mobilized by youth organizations) mainly from the regions	The Kyrgyz people, mostly young people (organized spontaneously) from suburbs (newly built estates, the nearby villages)
The nature of the power change	Definition of a "velvet", non-violent is more appropriate and tends by its nature to the so-called "Color revolutions"	Violence, victims took place: 87 people were killed, mostly young people, more than 1,500 people were injured, including bullet wounds
The implementation of the revolutionary scenarios	A significant role of non-governmental organizations (civil sector) in the mobilization and activation of the protest potential of the population, purposeful work, Involvement of criminals (from the south), the influence of the external "player".	Domination of spontaneous organization of the masses of people, distancing of the civil sector, rapid and unexpected development of events, the participation of criminals (from the north)
	The consolidation of opposition forces (leaders of the revolutionary movement), usually occurred at the last moment, just before the revolution	
The fate of the presidents overthrown	Fleeing from the county	
Post-revolutionary political course	Super Presidency	Parliamentarism

In light of the above, it deserves great praise the idea of "public sociology" offered by an eminent sociologist of modernity, ISA President Michael Burawoy. I think the following is quite reasonable opinions of him "if the starting point of economics is the market and its extension, and the starting point of political sciences is the state and the guarantee of political stability, the starting point of

sociology is the civil society and the protection of the public. In times of market tyranny and state despotism, sociology - and particularly its public aspect - protects the interests of humanity "[Burawoy, 2008].

Burawoy outlined four ways (options) for public sociology. Some social scientists "can become allies of the government in the struggle against the market hoping to

take advantage of what's left resulted from resistance of the government. Such an applied, registered science is based on the search for internal spheres designed to serve as the altars of the market. Sociologists can choose the second way, to bury their heads in the sand, saying that before they come out of their hiding place, let the science first to be established. According to this position, we do not have to risk our legitimacy, our existence, rushing into the storm's center. Professional sociologists, having hidden, are waiting for the storm will pass and the hope it does not sweep them away along with society. The third way - is to oppose the first two approaches, write papers, debunking their moral misery, endlessly complaining about those who are on the side of this evil, which is embodied in the government and the market. However, in the midst of the storm apologists of critical sociology appeal to the audience almost deserted. Yet, there is the fourth way, rejecting cooperation with the government and the market, - the position when the science is blind without politics, and criticism without action is empty; the approach calling for sociologists to interfere in the affairs of the society before it finally dies. This approach is what I call a public sociology. We should not just passively serve the community, but to preserve and maintain it"[Burawoy, 2008].

On the analogy of Michael Burawoy's classification of public sociology, it can be stated that there appeared two categories of sociologists in the development of the Kyrgyz national sociology. Perhaps the first (and numerous) of them are those sociologists who "buried their heads in the sand" and went to universities in order to develop academic science. They rarely give their opinion on the pages of newspapers (media) commenting various issues of public concern.

Another, much smaller in number, group includes the sociologists who are not afraid of that their speech, outside the academic life, against the powers would undermine their reputations, threaten their lives. They work in close connection with a visible, active, and often opposing community, the people in general, who turned in the reign of family regimes into a "counter-public". Despite the difficult situation, the Kyrgyz sociology, the "public sociology" in particular, now is supported by a handful of patriots and its fans. They conveyed to the public the sociological information on the status and problems of the society. There were the times when they were the first to give the alarm, taking the role of "stormy petrels" approaching people's revolutions. Then they went to meetings with their people against the rotten political regimes.

The overthrown political regimes of modern Kyrgyzstan in certain times of their reign, attempted to ban "public sociology." Authorities preferred to ignore the sociological diagnoses, and were severely punished by history. Ignorance of society - one of the main causes of low quality and management decisions, and all sorts of high loud slogans, strategies and others. People's lack of awareness - the "lower classes" about the "higher classes", and vice versa creates distrust that being hidden does not become less dangerous.

Analyzing historical events, we are convinced that the positive dialogue with sociology and government could avoid many of the social and political upheavals that left a deep wound on the body of a young Kyrgyz State, protect

the country from the bloody inter-ethnic clashes and bloody revolutions to overthrow the people's anti-social political regimes.

The sociological surveys carried out in certain times of the sovereignty of Kyrgyzstan show permanent increase of citizens' distrust to the institutions of government, to the President of the country. Existence of a crisis of legitimacy, the decline of public confidence in government that preceded the people's revolutions since 1991 have been reflected in the results of monitoring by Kyrgyz sociologist. For example, if the first president until 1993, in the political ranking took first place, but after was steadily losing the leading position. During this period, the first president's supporters hampered, created artificial barriers to the publications of sociologists who were persecuted, "removed" from their positions in the universities, and finally resulted with personal death threats. Despite this, the Kyrgyz sociologists did not stop working, have continued their surveys, performed on television and radio, published their works in newspapers, websites, participated in debates, people's kurultays (meetings) [Isaev, 2010:8].

From 2002, the ratings of the first president started falling rapidly, and sociological surveys conducted in January and March 2005 (i.e. just prior to the first revolution) showed that the political power's rating was no more than one point in the five-point rating scale. Furthermore most members of the government of that period received a negative evaluation. Sociological surveys conducted in 1991-1993 showed that the previously identified causes of deterioration of inter-ethnic situation in Kyrgyzstan in 1990s were not resolved in time, there wasn't a proper response of authorities, which led to recurrence of the bloody ethnic clashes in 2010 in the South of the Republic. Besides, the surveys were made on issues related to the economic sphere. Thus, sociologists within the research project "The Kyrgyz Republic: social changes in the transition to a new state" studied the effects of mass privatization of public property in the 1990s. In four books on the results of sociological survey partiality, injustice, lawlessness taken place in the process of privatization and as a result generated social tensions have been clearly and precisely shown. There were made disappointing conclusions about the critical expansion of the gap between the rich and the poor, and that could cause social explosion. But the follow-up surveys of sociologists were banned. There were also surveys within international projects: "Democracy and Local Authorities", "Living conditions, social quality and health", "Economic, social and political indicators in terms of social changes", the results of which were depicted in a number of books and articles in the English, Russian and Kyrgyz languages, and in several doctoral and candidate's theses as well [Isaev, 2010:6-17].

As Michael Burawoy notes, the global society is experiencing the third wave of marketization and there fore differentiates three types of sociology. The third he calls "public sociology", which is a reaction to the processes of commodification in the third wave of marketization. Burawoy puts a very relevant question: "Can the sociology resist the third wave of marketization? Or it can also be subject to commodification - commodification of knowledge production in universities, following the criterion of profitability?" [Burawoy, 2008]. Indeed, the expansion of the market has invaded "the hidden abode of

production of academic knowledge." Today in Kyrgyzstan, an "ivory tower" - academic freedom and university autonomy - is falling, unable to resist the pursuit of profit and finally turns from public good into economic commodity. Applied sociology went in pursuit of money, becoming a commercialized structure. However, they carry out orders only of interested parties.

Sociology was born in a period of transformational social changes at the beginning of the XIX century. It was a time of great revolutions - political, industrial and urban. Like 150 years ago, during the turmoil and social transformation, now having not only a local but also a global dimension, sociology should come to the forefront of intellectual life and public debates. Today, the question of "openness" in science or publicity in sociology (or public sociology) in Kyrgyzstan is the problem of not only moral but also pragmatic. As the experience of the development of our country shows, the gap between real life and the practice leads to a theoretical blindness, sclerosis of thoughts of the government. Sociology must relate the social diagnosis to the problems emerging in the society. Now it's a historical moment for bold and vigorous actions to "reveal" the true causes of social problems. Sociology must become a science for the people, a major producer of sociological information for effective management at the local and government levels, and finally, for improving the lives of all Kyrgyz citizens. However, it cannot be only the knowledge of experts for experts, its achievements should be available to the public. Public sociology is a realization of the social role of sociological science.

VI. Kyrgyzstan has abolished the current "family" ruling, adopted a new constitution, revived the course of democratic development, and has become a parliamentary republic. These are the main results of the April 2010 revolution. But it cost the country the lives of hundreds of people who became victims of the regime (more than a thousand of people were seriously injured), leaving a deep scar on the body of the young democracy.

No doubt, the revolutionary five-year plan has caused deep stagnation and decline of the economy in all respects. Today, sustainable economy has not yet developed. There is also a strong social and political turbulence, which does not give the country strong and balanced position. However, the economy gradually begins ascending. Therefore, everything is still ahead. It is necessary to restore the industrial image of the republic, to reduce the frightening scale of poverty, to form production capacity, etc. However, this will not be the second economic renaissance. It is only an intermediate stage on the way to the present revival of the nation. Getting out of the backward countries' list and entering the group of developed ones are strategic goals of the first half of the XXI century.

On a broader scale, the political turmoil in Kyrgyzstan, accompanied by the change of government and political structure of the state, can also be considered in the context of post-communist transformation, which included all the CIS countries. Therefore, the modern history of Kyrgyzstan is a kind of a testing ground for searching for optimal solutions, and in this respect the Kyrgyz revolutions

give everyone food for thought about the future.

Revolutionary period of sovereign Kyrgyzstan updated the problem of the future. Today breaking down and search of new take place on many directions, and perceived as social and political chaos. But in the chaos there is really a big demand of the people for a positive future. Despite the dramatic events and economic collapse, Kyrgyz people are amazingly optimistic about the future. Optimism is not based on the arguments, but on the desire. This almost irrational belief in the future - today is a major national resource of the country.

When sociologists ask people in Kyrgyzstan about the past and the future, the opinions are strongly different. Assessment of the past and the present causes disagreement. When people are asked about the future, there is a consensus of positive expectations.

Only the idea of the future is now able to retain Kyrgyzstan. But this idea is vague yet. Crystallization of the image of the future is in the process. And we just hope for the better-

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