

FORMATION OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ENTITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF KYRGYZSTAN

FORMAÇÃO DE ENTIDADE SÓCIO-POLÍTICA E INDEPENDÊNCIA DO QUIRGUISTÃO

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originou-se na era do grande poder Quirguyz e como parte do Império Russo e do período soviético e os quirguizes conseguiram formar sua própria entidade sócio-política na região. O objetivo do estudo é demonstrar os aspectos positivos e negativos da formação do estado Quirguistão e da elite quirguistanesa. Os autores examinam o período do grande poder Quirguistão, o período soviético e o período moderno da independência. Uma análise histórica dos períodos do Estado Quirguistão mostra como os quirguizes conseguiram formar sua própria entidade sócio-política na região. A confissão do Islã, a afiliação da aristocracia Quirguize original com os Kipchaks e o respeito pela autoridade dos quirguizes permitiram que os quirguizes ocupassem um lugar importante na história da Ásia Central.

Palavras-chave: Grande poder. Manas. Chinggisids. Kipchaks. Elite. Estado.

Abstract: The relevance of the research topic owes to the fact that today's independent Kyrgyz Republic originated in the era of the Kyrgyz great power and as part of the Russian Empire and the Soviet period and the Kyrgyz have managed to form their own socio-political entity in the region. The goal of the study is to demonstrate the positive and negative aspects of the formation of Kyrgyz statehood and the Kyrgyz elite. The authors examine the Kyrgyz great power period, the Soviet period, and the modern period of independence. A historical analysis of the periods of the Kyrgyz state shows how the Kyrgyz succeeded in forming their own socio-political entity in the region. The confession of Islam, the affiliation of the original Kyrgyz aristocracy with the Kipchaks, and respect for the authority of the Chinggisids allowed the Kyrgyz to take an important place in the history of Central Asia.

Keywords: Great power. Manas. Chinggisids. Kipchaks. Elite. Statehood.

Resumo: A relevância do tema da pesquisa deve-se ao fato de que a atual República Kyrgyz independente

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Introduction

The relevance of the research topic is determined by the specifics of the current domestic and foreign political situation in Kyrgyzstan, which is marked by the striving of the political regime to more fully and clearly designate the system of national interests of the state and to rationally use the connection and dependence of these interests on the regional and geographic factor of the location of the Kyrgyz Republic. This factor finds its distinctive manifestation in the modern conditions of development of the political process in the country, which is characterized by increased attention, on the one hand, to the issues of statehood and the functioning of the higher echelon of state power in general and, on the other, to the actions, behavior, and personal and business qualities of state and political figures. Particular attention is also paid to the study of the social, political, and economic problems that Kyrgyzstan has faced since becoming independent.

The purpose of the study is to identify the positive and negative aspects of the formation of Kyrgyz statehood and the Kyrgyz elite.

The attainment of this goal logically dictates the formulation and resolution of the following research objectives:

1. To disclose the specifics of the transformation of the Kyrgyz great power, the Golden Horde, and the Kyrgyz as part of the Russian Empire and the role and place of the supreme aristocracy and religion;
2. To study the political and cultural understanding of time as a symbolic form, inseparable from the corresponding cultural context and as one of the most important factors in constructing the symbolic space of the Manas epos culture;
3. To explore a comprehensive approach to defining the role and position of the political elite in the Soviet period and at present and substantiate that the movement and positioning of the elite is a vital factor in the development of the political process as its foundation and a precondition for self-realization, as well as in the formation of modern civil society.

The relevance of the study is shaped by the fact that it indicates the urgency and timeliness of studying and solving the problem for further development of the theory and practice of the studied area. The study characterizes the contradictions between social needs (demand for scientific ideas and practical recommendations) and the available means of their satisfaction, which science and practice can provide at present.

1. Literature review

The theoretical and practical issues of Kyrgyz statehood are undoubtedly a very topical and global problem for today's political science in Kyrgyzstan. This same problem is also rather important in historical and legal sciences.

The opinions of Kyrgyz scholars on this matter diverge. Along with other scholars of Kyrgyzstan, we outlined our version of the main stages in the development of Kyrgyz statehood and the Kyrgyz elite. From the available written sources, several stages in the development of Kyrgyz statehood can be distinguished. Consideration of the formation of Kyrgyz statehood allowed us to identify and study important moments in the history of the development of Kyrgyz society and the governance of the Kyrgyz Republic.

The Kyrgyz are one of the oldest peoples in the Central Asian region. According to official data, they have been around for about 2,000 years. During the period of the Great Power, the rule of the Kyrgyz people extended over vast territories of Asia, which included important strategic and economic objects. At that time, the Kyrgyz then entered the region we know as Central Asia or Turkestan where they now reside. After the disintegration of the great power, the Kyrgyz retained influence in the area of their compact settlement, and the groups of Kyrgyz who settled in other areas became part of other peoples as separate tribes while retaining their self-designation.

Until the 16th century, the Kyrgyz were one of the many Turkic tribes that lived in different countries. The situation was further complicated by the fact that in Muslim lands they practiced Islam, while in pagan lands they practiced Zoroastrianism, Tengriism, or Buddhism. Thus, the Kyrgyz were not a unified people during this period.

Later on, the Kyrgyz managed to reestablish themselves once again as a Muslim community in Central Asia. Both under as a great power and in the 16th century, the ethnonym Kyrgyz, which implied a tribe, changed into a polynonym referring to the incorporation of other peoples and tribes subordinated to the Kyrgyz rulers into the Kyrgyz community.

The tribes of the Altai, Tuvinians, and Buryats were called kyshtim, which meant "vassal". Under the Kyrgyz great power, the Kyrgyz aristocracy took the surrounding tribes and peoples under its patronage.

After the 16th century, the Kyrgyz elite was able to assert itself as a new political force in the region amid the weakening of the central power of the Chinggisid Chagataids.

The Kyrgyz elite certainly could not claim the titles of Khan or Sultan, as they did not belong to the descendants of Genghis Khan. However, Tagai Biy, known as Muhammad Kyrgyz, was able to convince the mountain nomads of Mogolistan to recognize himself and his tribe as the supreme leader. The Kyrgyz tribes were able to pursue the right elitist policies, managing to convince other peoples and tribes to recognize their supremacy and then integrate them into their own.

One of the factors preventing the understanding of the original place of the Kyrgyz in greater Central Asia is the lack of research on the epic of Manas.

K. Abakirov (2016) asserts that the time has come to systematize and study the most prominent works devoted to Manas in specific aspects (folklore-literary, cultural-historical, artistic-cultural, sociopolitical, philosophical, pedagogical, ethnocultural, geographical, etc.). Apart from individual studies, the epic generally remains an untouched virgin land in this area.

R.A. Abdumanapov (2002) states that Manas was the grandson of a certain Karkar Khan and the leader of an el (people) called Kyrgyz. At the same time, Manas's el was also called Karkarine Kipchaks.

This issue has been studied by such scholars as S. Akhsikenti (1996), M.T. Baidzhiev (2010), V.V. Bartold (1992), S. Begaliev (1993), V.M. Zhirmunskii (1974), and S.O. Omurzakov (2012).

The Kypchaks were one of the leading Turkic tribes with great influence in various countries from Egypt to China. In some countries, the Kipchaks nominated their own rulers, as was the case with the Mamluks. The presence of part of the Kyrgyz in Kipchak tribes gave them authority as well. Although Kipchak princes did not belong to the ruling families, even the Chingizids during their reign had to reckon with the Kipchaks. For example, the Ulus Dzhuchi, known as the Golden Horde, was referred to by many historians of the time as the Kypchak state, which once again emphasizes the importance of this tribe in governing the state. Whereas the 15-16th centuries for the Kipchaks of the Golden Horde came with dire consequences in the form of devastating foreign invasions, in Central Asia they made great progress, freeing the region from internecine turmoil and invasions by the Kalmyks and Persians.

At that time, the formation of the Kyrgyz elite took place. The Golden Horde, waging long wars with the Timurids, used the forces of the Kyrgyz tribes inhabiting the territories of the Irtysh, Volga, and Siberia. According to Majmu-Tavarikh, it was then that

Golden Horde Khan Tokhtamysh sent one of his generals from the Kyrgyz tribe named Manas to the Tien Shan and Fergana Valley to fight his enemies. Subsequently, the Golden Horde Kipchaks led by Abulkhair Khan invaded Turkestan and his descendant Muhammad Sheibani fully liberated the region from the Timurids. As a result of disagreements among the Golden Horde princes, the two Sultans Janybek and Kerey withdrew part of their army to Semirechye, obtaining the Turkic exonym for the wandering fugitives, the Cossack. They came to rule the lands inhabited primarily by nomads, while another branch of the Golden Horde stepped in to rule the cities and villages, retaining the name they inherited from the Golden Horde Khan Uzbek. The Kyrgyz who at that time inhabited the mountainous regions of Mogolistan also began to assert themselves as a separate force. The other tribes, divided into two wings, the right and the left, began to cluster around the Kyrgyz Kipchaks, known as Ichkilik. The authority of the Kipchak tribe was the decisive factor that united the disparate tribes around a single center.

Thus, we can state the fact that the lack of direct Chingizids became the reason that the Kyrgyz did not have their own khans. The belonging of the primary Kyrgyz aristocracy to the Kypchaks prompted the rulers of neighboring countries to recognize the autonomy if not complete freedom of the Kyrgyz.

The Kyrgyz in Turkestan were isolated from the surrounding reality and left to their own devices. The Kyrgyz biyas and manaps recognized the authority of the Genghisids and acknowledged their powers regarding the rights of autonomy.

Under Tagai Biya, the Kyrgyz recognized the authority of the Chagataids, who ruled in Kashgar, although their power was weak in the nomadic areas and was limited to the oases of East Turkestan. This factor prompted the Kyrgyz to acknowledge the authority of another branch of the Chinggisids, the Kazakh Khans, again on the rights of autonomy.

The tribal congresses of the Kazakh Khanate held in the city of Tashkent always featured five important people, the rulers of the three Kazakh zhuzes, the Karakalpaks, and the Kyrgyz. Being part of the Kazakh Khanate did not mean the slavish position of the Kyrgyz before the Kazakhs, but it did imply respect for the tradition of Chingizid succession that was common among nomads at the time.

As a result of the aggressive policy of the Jungar Khanate, many Kyrgyz and Kazakhs were forced out of their lands and moved to the Ferghana Valley, Gissar, Karategin, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Afghanistan. This caused the Kyrgyz to leave the

Kazakh tribal union, living among the sedentary rulers of other dynasties, where the authority of the Chingizid dynasty was gradually fading away. This period lasted almost a century, but the Kyrgyz were grouped around their Ichkilik center, which, like the Egyptian Mamelukes, was like a headquarters in the struggle against the Kalmak invaders. The Ichkiliks lived mainly in the Fergana Valley, which would later contribute to their prominent role in the Kokand Khanate.

The beginning of the 18th century in the settled part of Central Asia, primarily in Bukhara, Khorezm, and Fergana, was marked by the fall of the power of the Chinggisid-Juchids. It was during this period that the Kipchak tribes seized power in the region explicitly. In Khorezm the power was taken by Muhammad Amin of the Konyrat tribe, in Bukhara – by Muhammad Hakim of the Mangyt tribe, in Kokand – by Shahrukh of the Ming tribe. These three tribes were descended from the Golden Horde. The Kyrgyz princes, primarily of the Ichkilik tribe, occupied important positions in the Kokand Khanate, related primarily to the armed forces, as the remaining Uzbek Kipchaks were gradually becoming sedentary, transitioning to a sartorial estate. The presence of warlike nomads was necessary for any state at that time, and the Kyrgyz were well-suited for this role.

While southern Kyrgyzstan, owing to its geographical position, immediately became part of the Kokand Khanate, northern Kyrgyzstan was integrated only in the 19th century.

The Northern Kyrgyz, headed by Atake Biy, Jaiyl Batyr, Esengul Biy, and others, were at a major political crossroads after the liberation of their homelands from the Dzungars. Their leaders were well aware that in that political reality isolation was impossible. At that time Qing China, led by Emperor Qianlong, was gaining power, under which Chinese troops destroyed the Dzungar Khanate and claimed many conquered Dzungar territories as part of their dominion. The Kyrgyz and other peoples of the region were aware that Chinese power meant absolute religious, cultural, and linguistic assimilation. The leaders of the Northern Kyrgyz decided to write a letter to the Russian Empress Catherine the Great to become a Russian subject. This step was driven not by sympathy for Russia on the part of the Kyrgyz, given that the Kyrgyz and Russia were separated by the Kazakh steppe at the time but by fear of Chinese invasion. Atake-Biy understood that the Chinese were strong and dangerous but would be afraid to invade lands patronized by the Russian Empire. The Kazakh khanate under Abylai Khan tried to restore its former greatness, but it found itself between a hammer and anvil in the form of

two empires assailing from the northwest and the east. After Abylai's death, the Kazakhs started to gradually lose their sovereignty, falling under the power of Russia, which subsequently liquidated the Khanate institution. The Kokand Khanate was also distant and also under the threat of Chinese invasion. Thus, the elite of the northern Kyrgyz were left to their own devices for a brief moment.

The revolt of Jangir Khoja in Kashgar, in which the Kyrgyz took an active part, enabled the northern Kyrgyz to join the Kokand Khanate. In this way, the Kyrgyz people were completely incorporated into the great empire while having extensive autonomy and control over the armed forces. All Kyrgyz biyas and manaps in addition to clan titles also wore Kokand military and administrative titles: toksobo, datka, kushbegi, lashkarbashi, and others.

Such factors as the confession of Islam, the belonging of the original Kyrgyz aristocracy to the Kipchaks, and respect for the authority of the Chingizids allowed the Kyrgyz to take their rightful place in the historical reality of Central Asia.

As the Kyrgyz became part of the Russian Empire and then the USSR, the center of political gravity shifted from Central Asia to St. Petersburg and then to Moscow. The Russian Empire tried to preserve the privileges of the old elite by giving them positions of volost administrators and sometimes officer ranks (Kurmanov, 1997).

The Soviet regime at first, contrary to the Marxist principle of class struggle, used the elite in the face of the Jadids, who according to Marxism were considered to be bourgeois nationalists. The only thing they had in common with the Communists was their desire for Westernization and a yearning for the destruction of the old foundations of society. This elite included Kasym Tynystanov, Zhusup Abdrakhmanov, Abdykadyr Orozbekov, Torokul Aitmatov, and others. For the most part, these people were educated in Russian-Turkish schools and Tatar madrassas. This very elite led their people down the path of initial Europeanization, in a period that was known as korenizatsiya. They instilled in the Kyrgyz people a new identity that was based not on religion and tradition as before, but on secular nationalism. At the same time, it was utterly ignored that by its nature the nomad was not aimed and not adjusted to change (Abdrasulov, 1995). The nomad initially was a collective member of societies that did not allow them to think and exist apart from their kin. Such are the origins or ontological preconditions of the tribal way of life. For this reason, any struggle in Kyrgyz society could not help but bear the stamp of a clan struggle. This explains the current revival of the phenomenon of tribalism, used during

parliamentary elections, in conducting personnel policy, the movement of capital and material resources, the distribution of wealth, etc.

By 1937-1938, however, members of this elite were no longer needed. During the 20 years of Soviet power, the Communists managed to raise a new generation that was fully and unconditionally devoted to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism (Sydykov, 1993). Representatives of the Kyrgyz elite and intelligentsia that emerged under the Soviet Union were detached from the religious, historical, and cultural roots of their ancestors and were completely aligned with Moscow. The new identity granted by Soviet rule encouraged the Kyrgyz elite to view itself as an abstract entity under the auspices of an even larger entity, but not within the greater Central Asia as it had been before.

The political activist Dz. Abdrakhmanov described the Bolshevik leaders' contacts with the Manapas as "mastery of the tribal system". He called upon the European political leadership of Kyrgyzstan, which could not understand the specifics of the social behavior of nomads, to pursue such a policy. The call to adapt the tribal system to the Soviet system was also made by another national politician, A. Sydykov, but in a form that was somewhat veiled and more understandable to Europeans. The idea was to conduct a personnel policy based not on class characteristics, but on the level of education and business qualities (Sydykov, 1993).

The transition to a new society was seen by its leading representatives as a harmonious fusion of past and European traditions so that they would not oppose each other, but peacefully and rationally coexist, as happened in the inner world of the Kyrgyz innovators themselves. European values in no way prevented them from being themselves, from communicating with their people, from being aware of their aspirations and needs, from being in touch with them (Madaliev, 2012).

The Kyrgyz were able to reassert themselves in 1991 with the formation of the independent Kyrgyz Republic. It is important to note that in order to further develop the country and gain its rightful place at the regional and international level, it was necessary to consider the experience of the past. Due to the fact that Kyrgyzstan did not go through the stage of formation of a civilized civil society, the political elite was usually formed around certain personalities, the tribunes of the people.

2. Methods

The methods employed in the study include historical analysis, the norm and value

method, culturological and critical-dialectical analysis, and the functional method.

- Historical method – the study of political phenomena in consecutive chronological development, identifying the relationship of past, present, and future;

- Norm and value method – determining the meaning of political phenomena for society and the individual, assessing them in terms of the common good, justice, freedom, respect for human dignity, etc. This approach focuses on the development of the ideal of political order and the ways of its practical embodiment. It requires starting from the proper or desirable, from ethical values and norms, and building political institutions and behavior in accordance with them;

- Culturological and critical-dialectical methods – revealing the dependence of political processes on political culture and contradictions as a source of its movement and socio-political changes. Reveals the relationship between the politics of society, between society and culture, society and man, society and morality;

- Functional method – the study of relationships between political phenomena manifested in experience, such as the relationship between the level of economic development and the political system, between the degree of urbanization of the population and its political activity, between the number of parties and the electoral system, etc.

The experimental part of the study was conducted on the basis of the non-profit educational institution International University of Kyrgyzstan, the National Institute for Strategic Studies of the Kyrgyz Republic, the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, and the National Library of the Kyrgyz Republic named after Alykul Osmonov in Bishkek.

The formative experiment was joined by the Candidate of Philosophy A.A. Aidaraliev, Professor M. Madaliev, and doctoral students of the university.

3. Results

The norm and value method establishes that as a result of a long victorious war, the Kyrgyz were able to defeat their southern enemies, the Uighurs, subdue other nomadic tribes of Central Asia, and create a powerful nomadic power – the Kyrgyz Khaganate. The culturological and critical-dialectic methods specify the time of the prime of the Kyrgyz culture, whose borders expanded from the Angara River in the north to the Gobi Desert in

the south and from the Tien Shan in the west to the Great Hingan Range in the east. The functional method is used to study the era of the Kyrgyz great power, the time of the highest success of the Kyrgyz state in military affairs and foreign policy. The Kyrgyz Khagans were able to unite the Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes of Central Asia under their rule and establish a relationship of friendship and equality with the Chinese Tang Empire. In the times of the Kyrgyz great power, a nomadic people from the far northern periphery, the Minusinsk Basin, first took the dominant position in the steppes of Central Asia. The events of that time had scattered the Uighurs across the Asian steppe from Transbaikal to Eastern Turkestan and opened the way for the Kyrgyz to Tian-Shan.

A comprehensive analysis of the formation of Kyrgyz statehood and the Kyrgyz elite suggests the following conclusions:

1. Proceeding from the specifics of the transformation of the Kyrgyz great power, the Golden Horde, and the Kyrgyz within the Russian Empire and the role and place of the supreme aristocracy and religion, the study specifies the conditions and parameters for strengthening the political order and to guide the social, economic, and political development of the Kyrgyz Republic, accompanied by a multi-vector political orientation;

2. In the meantime, it is derived from the political-cultural understanding of time as a symbolic form, inseparable from the corresponding cultural context and as one of the most important factors constructing the symbolic space of the Manas epos culture, that the Kyrgyz people have gained independent statehood and for the second time in their history are on a great march for a decent life. Today, the sacred duty of each Kazakh is to protect the statehood and the achievements of democracy. In the current circumstances, the national idea "Kyrgyzstan is a country of human rights" is the most effective;

3. In the study of the comprehensive approach to the definition of the role and position of the political elite in the Soviet period and at the present stage, it is substantiated that the movement and positioning of the elite is a vital factor in the development of the political process as its foundation, as well as in the formation of modern civil society. Further formation of the elite in the Republic should have a functional and institutional specificity associated with the limited capacity of the talent pool and the recruitment of the political elite with a certain predominance of informal practices and connections.

Conclusions

The conducted study reveals the specifics of the transformation of the Kyrgyz great power, the Golden Horde, and the Kyrgyz in the Russian Empire and the role and place of the supreme aristocracy and religion. A political-cultural understanding of time as a symbolic form, inseparable from the corresponding cultural context and as one of the most important factors in constructing the symbolic space of the Manas epos culture is established. A comprehensive approach is proposed to define the role and position of the political elite of the Soviet period and at the present stage. It is established that the movement and positioning of the elite is a vital factor in the development of the political process as its foundation, as well as in the formation of modern civil society.

The current problems that Kyrgyzstan faces in politics and in the economy are directly related to the problem of public administration of managing a civil society. While carrying out political, economic and social reforms, not enough attention was paid to the formation of the government. Under these conditions, the pathologies of the Kyrgyz society have become a serious barrier to the democratization of governance, destroying the foundations of the state. Now that democratic ideas in Kyrgyzstan have been seriously challenged by opponents, there is a new opportunity to demonstrate that the main idea of Kyrgyzstan is building a free society and a free economy. But to revive the idea and achieve this goal, the government will need to radically reform the state apparatus and institutions. Democratic principles are deeply embedded in people's minds, and even today, when democratic ideas are being seriously tested, the Kyrgyz society has sufficient potential to carry out the second step of radical reforms.

Currently, Kyrgyzstan has a new Constitution, adopted by referendum on April 11, 2021.

“The new Constitution is written considering exactly those challenges that are relevant to our country, it reflects the values that we cherish as a people and the ideals that we strive for as a society. I am confident that the Basic Law will successfully serve the interests of our people and contribute to the further effective development of Kyrgyzstan” – President of Kyrgyzstan Sadyr Japarov.

The research findings can be used as an information base for subsequent socio-political research, as a basis for sections of curricula of educational institutions and programs of special courses and elective courses, and in the development of textbooks and teaching aids.

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