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Research on the Constitutional Reform of Kyrgyzstan and Its Influence on Political Transformation

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Abstract

In the 1990s, Union Republic of the Soviet Union Kyrgyzstan passively began the process of national independence and political transformation. As a country in transition, all the constitutions in Kyrgyzstan not only regulate the political life of the country, but also epitomize the practice of political transition. By combing the history of political transformation and constitutional reform in Kyrgyzstan, this paper analyzes the main contents and characteristics of the successive constitutional amendments in Kyrgyzstan by using the methods of literature analysis, text analysis and comparative study, and focus on analyzing the impact of constitutional reform on political transformation.

Keywords

Kyrgyzstan, Political Transformation, Constitutional Reform

1. Introduction

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Mikhail Gorbachev changed the constitution to make significant changes to the Soviet political system. As one of the Union Republic of the Soviet Union, the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic also carried out corresponding reforms, which became the background and starting point of its political transformation and constitutional reform after independence. The constitutional reform in Kyrgyzstan has gone through five stages: the establishment of democratic constitutional system, the transition from semi-presidential system to presidential system, the exploration of centralized presidential system, parliamentary system and the return to presidential system. In the process of political transformation, the political system of the separation of powers is not mature, and the struggle for political power has become a shackle in the process of political transformation, the constitution reform, as a construction system, revolves around the distribution of state power. At the same time, the constitutional reform of Kyrgyzstan was adopted by referendum, with the common opinion of all citizens as the basis for its legitimacy. The Constitution of Kyrgyzstan

has been amended to provide institutional guarantees for political transformation at the level of the rule of law; its provisions on the political rights of citizens to form associations and political parties have expanded channels for citizens' political participation. However, frequent constitutional amendments in Kyrgyzstan have led to the loss of constitutional authority, the construction of the rule of law is difficult to sustain, and political operation is not institutionalized, which has hindered the process of national political transformation.

In a word, all the constitutional reforms in Kyrgyzstan are the process of exploring and adjusting the combination of western Democratic constitutional system and specific national conditions. Influenced by many factors, the content of Kyrgyzstan's constitutional reform mainly focuses on the power distribution between the President and parliament, and shows a swing between centralization and decentralization. This makes the constitutional reform become a tool of power struggle of different political factions, and also restricts the smooth progress of the political transformation process in Kyrgyzstan.

2. Background to the Launch of Constitutional Reform in Kyrgyzstan

Constitutional reform began in the Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev with constitutional changes and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Union Republic of the Soviet Union Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic issued the Declaration of Independence and the declaration of sovereignty, opening the way for the distribution of political power under a presidential and popular system. The "Dual Power Center" is a preliminary exploration of the western Democratic constitutional system within the Soviet system, which Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic the foundation and direction of the Kyrgyzstan constitutional reform.

2.1 Constitutional Reform as a Republic

Since the mid-1980s, when Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet league and state, out of the blind pursuit of the western democratic model, he carried out drastic reforms in politics, economy and ideology and launched the "democratization, Openness and New thinking" movement. In 1990, Gorbachev amended the constitution to eliminate the political leadership of the Communist league of the Soviet Union, implement a multi-league system, return state power to the People's Congress, and create the post of President of the Soviet Union to promote reform. This triggered fierce fighting between liberals and conservatives in the Soviet Politburo, between the central and regional republics of the Union, and between ethnic groups within the republics, and plunged the Union into political and economic turmoil. In general, under the influence of the wave of democratization and the reform environment of the former Soviet Union, the constitutional reform of the Kyrgyzstan Soviet Socialist Republic was mainly reflected in the establishment of the people's representative system and the presidential system, which laid the foundation for the political transformation and constitutional reform of Kyrgyzstan after independence.

2.2 *The Country Gained Independence*

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan officially became an independent and sovereign state, and the constitutional laws of the Soviet era could no longer be adapted to the needs of the new state system. Therefore, Kyrgyzstan must revise the current constitution, laws and other normative documents to meet the actual needs of an independent country. On December 15, 1990, the Third Session of the 12th Supreme Soviet Council of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic. On August 31, 1991, the Sixth Special session of the 12th Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic adopted the Declaration of the Independence of the Kyrgyz Republic, which made clear that Kyrgyzstan is an independent and sovereign democratic state governed by the rule of law.

In conclusion, the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic formed the basis and principles of the legal system of the post-independence Kyrgyz State and created the necessary conditions for the promulgation of the new Constitution. The Constitution is the fundamental law of the country, the general constitution of governing the country and the basic basis for all legislative activities of the country (<https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1594775402764413748&wfr=spider&for=pc>). With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the first priority for newly independent states like Kyrgyzstan was nation-state building and political transformation (Li, 2013). After Kyrgyzstan gained independence, it became necessary to reform the constitution, which was born out of the Soviet Union, in order to adapt to the new stage of state-building. Thus, after the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Sovereignty, Kyrgyzstan, as a subject of international law, began a process of constitutional reform in which the state apparatus of the Soviet Republic was "reorganized" to meet the needs of the new political and economic system.

3. **The Practice of Constitutional Reform in Kyrgyzstan**

In order to adapt to the new development of the domestic political situation and smoothly promote national construction and political transformation, the Supreme Soviet of Kyrgyzstan established a Constitutional working group in 1991, which is specifically responsible for the task of drafting the Constitution. In 1993, the 12th session of the Supreme Soviet adopted the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, which made it clear that the President is the core of the state system and established a democratic constitutional system. At the same time, the promulgation and implementation of the first Constitution marked the loss of the effect of the Soviet-era constitution, so that as an independent sovereign country, Kyrgyzstan has its own constitution in a real sense. Since then, with the development of its domestic political practice, there has been a dilemma between the political system established by the constitution as the cornerstone of the three powers and the political practice with the power struggle as the core. In order to solve this dilemma, Kyrgyzstan has achieved phased stability through several constitutional reforms and adjustment of the distribution of political power.

The Constitution is the fundamental law of a country, the highest law, and the basis for the formulation of all laws. The core of the Constitution is to restrict the public power of the state and protect the private rights of citizens. Constitutional reform should focus on the core issues of the constitution to adjust the relationship between state power and class structure, the internal horizontal and vertical relations of state power, and the relationship between the ruling league and the organs of state power (Xia, 2003). In the course of 30 years of political transformation, Kyrgyzstan's constitutional reform has gone through five stages: the establishment of a democratic constitutional system (1991-1993), the transition from a semi-presidential system to a presidential system (1994-2000), the centralization of a presidential system (2001-2009), the exploration of a parliamentary system (2010-2020), and the return to a presidential system (2021-present). Throughout the practical process of constitutional reform in Kyrgyzstan, it can be found that all the constitutional reforms in Kyrgyzstan were the result of the power struggle of the domestic political elites. All those in power tried to maintain the ruling foundation through constitutional reform, and used constitutional amendment to change the power distribution pattern, which further intensified the risk of political struggle and regime change.

3.1 The First Stage (1991-1993): The Establishment of the Democratic Constitutional System

John Anderson refers to the Constitution as a "map of power" and an "official blueprint," and sets out the framework for the exercise of public power, the geographical distribution of power within the state, the framework of government institutions, and the relationship between those institutions and the citizens (Anderson, 1997). The 1993 Constitution, aimed at resolving the choice of political system in the early days of the founding of the country, established a Western democratic constitutional system in the form of modern constitutional standards such as human and civil rights, equality before the law, separation of powers and political pluralism. Objectively speaking, however, many of the provisions of the 1993 Constitution were out of step with the realities of political development in Kyrgyzstan, so many of the provisions of the Constitution were left on paper. First, the Constitution established a political system close to the presidential-parliamentary system, in which both the President and the Supreme Soviet had a wide range of powers, with no clear boundaries between them, and formed a two-headed political center of power. In a newly independent country like Kyrgyzstan, the division of power is unclear during the transition period, and it is very easy to have conflicts of authority, especially between the president, the Supreme Soviet, the government, and the central and local authorities. On the one hand, when major decisions need to be made, if the parties do not agree, various departments may fall into endless disputes, which will have a lot of adverse effects on the daily work of the country. On the other hand, the legislative and judicial organs lack effective checks and supervision on the president and the executive branch. This planted an uncertain time bomb for the power struggle between the president and the Supreme Soviet, and between the president and the government in the future, resulting in the political crisis of the country due to the power struggle.

3.2 The Second Stage (1994-2000): The Transition from a Semi-presidential System to a Presidential System

In 1994, there was a major conflict between President Akayev and the Supreme Soviet over economic reforms and the distribution of power. There was a fierce conflict between the executive authority headed by President Akayev and the parliament headed by Selim Kulov over the issue of reform and the distribution of power, which developed into a debate over the choice of the national political system. The former advocates a presidential system, while the latter advocates limits on presidential power. "Parliament is blocking reform," Akayev said. "If we want to find a way out of the economic crisis, we need an authoritative government" (Murzaeva, 2011). "The centralization of presidential power is necessary to accelerate economic, political and legal reforms and to reduce the influence of great powers" (John, 1997). The constitutional reform of 1994-2000, aimed at resolving the instability caused by the coexistence of the dual political power centers of the President and the Supreme Soviet since independence, was a stage in Kyrgyzstan's political transition from a semi-presidential system to a presidential system. In the constitutional reform of 1994, Kyrgyzstan established the referendum system, forming a system for the people to decide major national issues through referendums, and the president is also elected by popular vote, and has greater powers. After the adoption of the Constitution in 1996, the political system of Kyrgyzstan changed dramatically, completely ending the coexistence of the dual political center of the President of the State and the Supreme Soviet since its independence, the power of the parliament has been severely reduced and the independence it should have, and the principle of separation of powers has essentially lost its role as a check and balance. The executive power centered on the president occupies a dominant position in national politics. The political transformation of Kyrgyzstan began to enter the period of strong President Akayev, forming a "presidential system" with authoritarian nature. Kyrgyzstan began to change from a mixed presidential system to an authoritarian presidential system, which opened the political system pattern of "strong president, weak parliament and small government" in Kyrgyzstan.

3.3 The Third Stage (2001-2009): Centralized Presidential System

Although Akayev established the authoritarian presidential totalitarian regime through three constitutional amendments (1994, 1996, 1998), the distribution of interests between the president and the parliament has not been properly arranged, and the struggle for power between the two sides has been a major disease in the process of Kyrgyzstan's political transformation, seriously affecting the national political stability and political transformation development. In order to continue to resolve the conflict between the parliament and the president, ease the pressure on the opposition, and preserve the foundation of the current regime. In 2002, Akayev issued a presidential decree and in September of the same year established a Constitutional Committee to begin a new round of constitutional amendments. On February 2, 2003, Kyrgyzstan held its fourth referendum on constitutional amendment, which was successfully passed. The main contents of the constitutional amendment are to change the bicameral parliament to a unicameral parliament, reduce some presidential powers, and strengthen the role of

parliament and the government in the political and economic life of the country. Parliament has increased its power over appointments and dismissals, such as the appointment of the Prime Minister and cabinet members, the Attorney General and the Governor of the Central Bank, all of which must be approved by Parliament.

During Akayev's rule, there were repeated battles over balancing the distribution of power between the president and parliament. Before 2002, President Akayev's power was relatively stable, after the "Akse bloodshed time" and the constitutional amendment in 2003, Akayev's authority was challenged, but the attachment to power caused him to meet more and more opposition, and finally broke out the "Tulip Revolution". Parliamentary elections were held in February and March 2005. The parliamentary election was criticized by international observers as dishonest, and triggered opposition and popular discontent, which eventually led to the rapid deterioration of the situation, the overthrow of the Akayev regime, the change of the highest power center of the country, President Bakiyev came to power. After toppling Akayev's authoritarian rule, Bakiyev promised to rewrite the Akayev-era constitution to make Kyrgyzstan a parliamentary state and prevent too much concentration of power. During Bakiyev's five years in power, the Constitution was amended three times, in November 2006, December 2006 and October 2007.

In short, after the transition from a semi-presidential system to a presidential system was completed, the constitutional reform from 2001 to 2009 aimed at resolving the conflicts between parliament and the president and establishing the institutional support needed for the establishment and formation of a presidential system, which was the formation stage of a centralized presidential system in Kyrgyzstan's political transformation.

3.4 The Fourth Stage (2010-2020): The Exploration of Parliamentary System

After the establishment of the presidential system, Bakiyev further concentrated power in the hands of his family through a series of measures, and excessive centralization also brought negative effects, such as prominent corruption and cronyism, so that the state power was controlled by his family, which triggered strong dissatisfaction of Kyrgyz people against Bakiyev's regime, and finally led to the outbreak of the "April Revolution" in 2010. Mr Bakiyev stepped down. After the "April Revolution", Kyrgyzstan adopted a new constitution and began the transition from a presidential system to a parliamentary system. In June 2010, Kyrgyzstan adopted a new constitution through a national referendum, which declared that the country would change to a parliamentary system of government and limit the powers of the president (Fumagalli, 2016).

After the 2010 constitutional amendment, the Parliament will exert greater influence in the political life of the country, the number of members of the parliament increased from 90 to 120, all elected on a proportional basis of political parties, and a new distribution of presidential, parliamentary, and government powers. After the constitutional reform, the role of parliament and the government will be further enhanced, and a parliamentary system of government will be established. In reality, however, Kyrgyzstan's president still wields a lot of power, and it is a hybrid parliament-presidential form of

government (Cummings, Sally N. et al., 2013).

In November 2011, Atambayev was elected president, which realized the first peaceful transition of power since Kyrgyzstan's independence, opened a new stage of political transformation and development in Kyrgyzstan, and created conditions for the establishment of a parliamentary government. Some scholars believe that for a country such as Kyrgyzstan, which is divided between the north and the south and has many tribes, the implementation of parliamentary system is the only way to solve these problems (Aydingun, Ismail, & Aysegul, 2014). In general, the constitutional reform is a new exploration of the national political system in Kyrgyzstan, but the new constitution is not a "silver bullet", but the result of the compromise of the political elite's interests, and does not solve the inherent contradictions of Kyrgyzstan, such as tribal issues, ethnic issues and economic problems.

On 11 December 2016, Kyrgyzstan's pro-President Social Democratic league and other political parties jointly launched an initiative to hold a referendum on revising the 2010 constitution. About 1.2 million people participated in the vote, 79.59% voted in favor, 15.4% voted against, and 5.01% of the votes were invalid (Dukenbaev, 2017). On 28 December, President Almazbek Atambayev signed the constitutional amendment bill approved by the referendum. This revision is also due to the frequent changes in the government, which is not conducive to the stability of the government and the coherence of policies.

In order to solve the disadvantages brought by the centralization of the president in the previous stage, the goal is to promote the transformation of the political system from the presidential system to the parliamentary system. The constitutional reform at this stage provides a legitimate basis for strengthening the president's power base by reorganizing the parliament, modifying the way of parliamentary election, weakening the power of the parliament, and reducing the status of the parliament in the national political power structure. After two presidents, Bakiyev and Atambayev, amended the constitution at will, leading to frequent political turmoil, a high degree of presidential centralization, and increased social corruption. At the same time, the Kyrgyz economy has continued to stagger and living standards have not improved substantially, leading to a deep distrust of the presidential political system. So the people voted in a referendum for a parliamentary system of government that would avoid family rule. The parliamentary system of government is not only an institutional avoidance of family politics and state power struggle brought about by the previous stage of the presidential system in Kyrgyzstan, but also a new exploration to ensure the stable advancement of political transformation in Kyrgyzstan.

3.5 The Fifth Stage (2021-present): Return to the Presidential System Again

In 2020, due to the COVID-19 epidemic and the global economic slowdown, the epidemic has had a huge impact on Kyrgyzstan's economic development, social stability and political life. Repeated internal epidemics and slow economic development. As Figure 1 shows, Kyrgyzstan's economy is growing at its slowest rate since independence, and the slow economic growth and declining living standards have raised doubts about the ruling group centered around Jeenbekov. This, combined with

the opposition's defeat in the 2020 parliamentary elections, triggered a new round of political tensions that led to the collapse of Jeenbekov's regime. The regime change that took place in October 2020 once again put a shift in the political system on the agenda, and immediately after taking office, Zaparov called two referendums. The first referendum was held on 10 January 2021 on whether to approve the transition of the country's political system from a parliamentary system to a presidential system of government, with more than 80% of voters voting in favour of a presidential system of government. A second referendum on constitutional reform was held on 11 April 2021, which resulted in the adoption of a new constitution with a turnout of more than 79% (Schmitz, 2021).

The constitutional reform, which aims to resolve the tension between parliament and the president in a parliamentary system of government and form a presidential system with the president at the helm to cope with the impact of the epidemic, is being carried out in the face of great changes at home and abroad. In the short term, such a political structure that centralizes the power of the country to a single president will help Kyrgyzstan achieve political stability, avoid the interference of various parts and help the country recover from the epidemic. However, in the long run, this kind of political structure in which the president is dominant and the government and parliament obey the president lacks mature institutional guarantee, and there are certain risks.

4. Characteristics of Constitutional Reform in Kyrgyzstan

4.1 Constitutional Reform Revolves around the Distribution of State Power

The distribution of state power is the core and fundamental issue of politics. The history of constitutional reform in Kyrgyzstan is a history of a struggle over the distribution of power in the state, with the division of presidential power at the center of the struggle. "A change of regime must lead to the division and reconvergence of the class and social bases that supported the existence and development of the old regime" (Wang & Lei, 2014). The three non-institutionalized changes of regime and several constitutional reforms in the process of political transformation in Kyrgyzstan are fundamentally aimed at the redistribution of state power. At the beginning of independence, the Western democratic political principles and systems such as separation of powers, checks and balances of power, democratic rule of law, and multi-league system were accepted by the Kyrgyz political elite to build democratic state power (Wang & Lei, 2019).

The political transformation of Kyrgyzstan has always been swinging between centralization and decentralization, and the constitutional reform has always been choosing between parliamentary system and presidential system, which makes the political transformation and constitutional reform present a double swing, and the fundamental reason is the mismatch and imbalance between the political system "grafted" and the democratic foundation through "transplantation".

4.2 The Constitutional Reform was Pushed through a Referendum

As one of the most direct forms of democracy, referendums are the organization of a constitutional system in so-called democratic countries through the direct vote of the electorate. A referendum is

based on a specific issue, by all voters to express a clear attitude of agreement, opposition or abstention on a specific issue to vote, and then according to the voting results to determine whether the issue is passed or not. Referendums, as the most legitimate form, are usually on major issues in the political life of the country. After the independence of Kyrgyzstan, a referendum was introduced in the new constitution. But from the practical effect of the national political power, the referendum did not make the country more democratic, but became one of the means of strengthening the centralization of the ruling elite.

Kyrgyzstan has called a referendum to decide on constitutional reforms involving the country's political functioning. In essence, referendums are a complement to representative democracy, not the primary form of democratic governance. Due to the authoritative nature of referendum, Kyrgyzstan's constitutional reform often adopts the form of referendum to camouflage its constitutional reform with "public opinion", and at the same time, it takes advantage of the public's dissatisfaction with the former rulers to win the legitimacy foundation and popular support for the incumbent's rule. The constitutional reform adopted by referendum in Kyrgyzstan is based on the needs of the people to a certain extent, so that the constitutional reform and the changes in the political operation mechanism promoted by the constitutional reform can obtain democratic legitimacy to the greatest extent. However, the frequent implementation of constitutional reforms through referendums in Kyrgyzstan is not conducive to the stable operation of the political mechanism, but also to the citizens' authoritative cognition of referendums, and is not conducive to the cultivation of the rule of law consciousness of all citizens through voting.

4.3 Constitutional Reform Shifted From Wholesale Westernization to Gradual Pragmatism

In the course of exploring political transformation, Kyrgyzstan has experienced major practices such as regime change, era change and power reorganization. In the process of integrating the Western democratic constitutional system with the specific national conditions, Kyrgyzstan gradually realized that due to the basic weakness of its democracy, the complete "transplantation" of the Western democratic constitutional system could not bring stability and development. At the beginning of its independence, Kyrgyzstan established a state power operation mechanism in the form of a constitution with the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers. In the actual political practice, it has become a three-power constraint, quarrels and evasion, resulting in a fierce struggle between the president and the parliament, and thus triggered different degrees of political turmoil. Since then, in order to resolve the power struggle between the president and the parliament, the government has successively changed its constitutional practice to pragmatism.

5. The Impact of Constitutional Reform on Political Transition in Kyrgyzstan

As for countries in transition, the constitution, as the fundamental law of the country, makes fundamental and authoritative institutional arrangements for the direction of political transformation, provides a good legal environment for political transformation, thus ensuring and promoting the

smooth progress of political transformation, and continuously promotes political development by recognizing the achievements of political transformation. Constitutional reform is closely related to the practice of political transformation. The implementation of constitution is an important part of the practice of national political transformation, and the practice of political transformation provides the power source for constitutional reform.

5.1 The Positive Impact of Constitutional Reform

In terms of positive effects, the constitutional reform of Kyrgyzstan has clear provisions in terms of the structure of the political system, such as advocating the establishment of a democratic country under the rule of law, the separation of politics and religion, and the establishment of a political system in accordance with the principle of a secular state, which provides institutional guarantee for its political transformation and establishes the basic direction and content of political transformation. The Kyrgyz Constitution provides for freedom of association and voting, which guarantees the rule of law for citizens' political participation.

In short, the independence of Kyrgyzstan has laid the fundamental political premise and institutional foundation for its citizens' political participation, and its constitution has endowed citizens with various rights of political participation, which has greatly enhanced their enthusiasm for political participation. As the first fundamental law in Kyrgyzstan's history dealing with the relationship between the state, society and citizens, the 1993 Constitution has provided fundamental legal guarantee for the people to be masters of their own country and citizens to participate in politics, and is of landmark significance. Since then, on the basis of the Basic Law - the Constitution, Kyrgyzstan has gradually promulgated the Electoral Law and the Political league Law, which has consolidated the legal basis for citizens' political participation. This series of legal construction not only improves the awareness of political participation of Kyrgyz citizens, but also enables Kyrgyz citizens to expand the breadth and depth of political participation by forming or participating in political parties and non-governmental organizations.

5.2 Negative Effects of Constitutional Reform

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan started the prelude of constitutional construction, and the constitutional reform provided the basic legal basis for its constitutional design. Although the constitutional reform of Kyrgyzstan has brought some positive effects on its political transformation, due to its weak legal foundation and frequent constitutional reforms, the constitutional stability is insufficient, which hinders the construction of national rule of law and makes its political operation non-institutionalized. In short, the establishment and improvement of the democratic political system by constitutional reform is reflected in the authoritative confirmation and standardization of the value orientation of a country's democratic model and the selection of different systems in political practice at a specific stage. Therefore, in the period of political transition, the primary task of constitutional reform is to establish and perfect a democratic political system with national characteristics, and to ensure the effective and orderly operation of various systems within the system. In the process of Kyrgyzstan's

political transformation, Western democratic politics has become its value pursuit and evaluation criteria, and the establishment of Western-style democratic political system has been one of the main directions of its efforts. Since its independence, Kyrgyzstan has formed a Western-style democratic constitutional system based on the separation of powers through the formulation and amendment of the Constitution. However, in the practice of Kyrgyzstan's political transformation, from the establishment of the "Democratic Island" in Central Asia to the "Tulip Revolution", to the "April Revolution" and then to the "October Revolution", there were three abnormal and non-institutionalized regime changes accompanied by violence, and the constitution, as a formal institutional arrangement, did not play a substantive role in maintaining the stability of the regime. In the process of Kyrgyzstan's political transformation, all those in power tried to maintain their ruling foundation through constitutional reform, and changed the power distribution pattern by amending the Constitution, which further intensified the risk of political struggle and regime change. At the same time, during the regime change, both the government and the anti-government forces billed themselves as representatives of democracy, claiming that they were safeguarding and defending democracy, while the anti-government forces regarded their actions as a "democratic struggle", and the two sides fought for power under the cloak of democracy, resulting in frequent regime changes in Kyrgyzstan. Therefore, from the beginning of independence, the democracy "transplanted" from the West has become a curse affecting the political stability of Kyrgyzstan. Instead of promoting the establishment of a stable political order in Kyrgyzstan, promoting the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people, democracy has led to the frequent subversion of its regime in waves of "democratization".

Actually, democracy is more of a historical concept. It has different connotations at different historical stages. For countries at different stages of development, the pattern of democratic politics, the form of realizing Democratic politics, is also different. In the practice of political transformation aimed at establishing the western Democratic constitutional system, there is a certain gap between the constitutional reform of Kyrgyzstan and the political operation mechanism established by it and the region, cultural customs and political tradition of Kyrgyzstan. On the one hand, Kyrgyzstan emerged from the highly centralized political system of the Soviet Union and was influenced by the soviet union's "Centralized" political heritage, it is difficult to form a western democratic constitutional system that can operate in a real sense in a short period of time. On the other hand, the people of Kyrgyzstan have a strong sense of geography, such as localism and tribalism, and it is difficult to dissect the sense of geography in the process of their political participation, it is difficult to make rational decisions that are in line with national development and safeguard the interests of all. Therefore, when a country chooses Democratic politics, it should combine its own political reality and historical heritage to find a suitable democratic political model for its own development and stability.

6. Conclusion

The Constitution is the product of the comprehensive political and economic conditions in a specific period of Kyrgyzstan, and the change of the relative relationship of political forces within the country is the direct factor of its constitutional reform, reflecting the result of the struggle of various domestic political forces at a specific stage. Kyrgyzstan's political transformation provided the necessary basis for its constitutional reform, which in turn acted on the process of political transformation. Through the analysis of the background, course and influence of Kyrgyzstan's constitutional reform, the following two conclusions can be drawn:

First, the political transformation process of Kyrgyzstan since independence is a process of breaking away from the highly centralized political system of the Soviet Union, "transiting" the Western democratic constitutional system with the separation of powers and checks and balances as the basic principle, and then swinging between centralization and decentralization with the separation of powers as the background. The constitutional reform provides the legal basis and system guarantee for this exploration process. At present, Kyrgyzstan has established a democratic constitutional system through five stages of constitutional reform, set the direction for political transformation, established institutional arrangements for political transformation, and achieved phased stability.

Second, the process of constitutional reform in Kyrgyzstan is also a history of the struggle of the country's political elite over the power of the president. In the process of Kyrgyzstan's political transformation, the democratic constitutional system has completed its formal framework and its substantive operating mechanism has not yet been improved. As a result, the institutional arrangement with constitutional reform as the core is not sufficiently binding on the distribution of political power. As a result, the previous constitutional reform is essentially a concentrated reflection of the result of "political power struggle" and a compromise plan for temporary power distribution. And set the stage for a new round of "political power struggle" and constitutional reform. As a result, the constitutional reform based on political transformation presents the shortcomings of frequent changes and lack of permanence, which leads to difficult construction of the rule of law and non-institutionalization of political operation in Kyrgyzstan.

At present, the political transformation of Kyrgyzstan is still in the process of adapting the western democratic constitutional system to the national conditions, and there are many uncertainties about the direction of constitutional reform and political transformation. At a time when the epidemic of the century is intertwined with the changes of the century, changes such as the ups and downs of the COVID-19 epidemic, the increasing downward pressure on the economy, and the realignment of regional and international geopolitical patterns have brought new challenges to the transformation and development of Kyrgyzstan and even all Central Asian countries. "What the people want and what the government wants", for countries in transition, including Kyrgyzstan, in the face of old and new challenges, to establish and constantly improve the political system that conforms to the national conditions, social conditions and people's conditions, it is more important to commit to the

implementation of the system, which is also the fundamental influence on their political transformation.

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