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ДЕМОКРАТИЯ В СТРАНАХ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ : ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ И РАЗВИТИЕ.

После полученной независимости государств Центральной Азии (САС) был поднят вопрос о политической системе, которой они следуют. Поскольку эти государства получили независимость, минуя любые политические движения, обсуждения и борьбу, поэтому там не может возникнуть никакого консенсуса по вопросу политических моделей и структур. В отсутствие оппозиции политическая власть перешла к бывшим руководителям компартии или секретарям во всех этих государствах. Государства стали развиваться в старом советском стиле «диктатуры», отрицая любые демократические права своих соперников и политических оппонентов. Чтобы сохранить свою власть над системой, эти правители сильно нарушают права человека. Принятие различных типов и версий конституций не помогли взрастить мультипартий или справедливые политические системы. Многие лидеры оппозиции этих государств были вынуждены жить в изгнании или тюрьмах. Выборы хотя и проводятся регулярно через пять-шесть лет, они не являются свободными и справедливыми, об этом сообщают многие независимые наблюдатели. По мнению экспертов, эти выборы технически разработаны для того, чтобы утвердить авторитарные режимы. Даже после 23 лет независимости до сих пор в республиках правят старые советские, коммунистические лидеры и в том же стиле, без реального развития демократических систем. С этой точки зрения настоящая работа предназначена для анализа политических и демократических процессов в Казахстане, Туркменистане и Узбекистане. Кроме того, появление различных оппозиционных партий и их неудачи, президенты этих государств и их политика, программы по поддержанию своей власти также рассмотрены в нашей статье.

Ключевые слова: демократия, выборы, права человека, оппозиционные партии.

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DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL ASIAN STATES: PERSPECTIVE AND DEVELOPMENT.

After the sudden independence of Central Asian States (CAS) a question was raised about the political system which they would follow. Since these states got independence without going through any political movement, debate and struggle so there could not emerge any consensus on political models and structures. In the absence of any opposition, political power was transferred to former communist party leaders or secretaries in all these states. These rulers run their respective states in old soviet dictator style and denied any space and democratic rights to their rivals and political opponents. To maintain their hold on the system these rulers also committed huge human right violations. Adoption of different types and versions of constitution failed to nurture multi party and fair political systems. Many opposition leaders of these states had to live in exile and state prisons. Elections, though conducted regularly after five or six years were not free and fair as reported by many independent observers. According to many experts these elections were not more than referendums technically designed to approve the authoritarian rules. Even after 23 years of independence the CASs are still being ruled by old soviet communist leaders and in same style without any real development of democratic systems. With this perspective, present paper is intended to analyse the political and democratic developments in Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Further, emergence of different opposition parties and their failure, rulers of these states and their policies and programmes to maintain their grip on system have also been examined in this paper.

Keywords: Democracy, Elections, Human Rights, opposition.

KAZAKHSTAN

Kazakhstan is the 9th largest in the world and 2nd largest country in the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) with a geographical area of 27, 17 300 square kilometres. It's situated from 40° N to 54° N and from 45° E to 86°E. Its territory stretches 3000 km from west to east and 2000 km from north to south. Kazakhstan is divided administratively in 14 provinces and 3 union territories. Its location is between China, Russia and Uzbekistan and Caspian Sea. Though it was not the part of the Central Asia during USSR period, however, in 1991 during Almati meeting of CIS it was considered as a country of Central Asia. For 5000 kilometres its northern and western borders are contiguous with Russia and its 1700 kilometres Eastern frontier is with China. In south its borders meets with all central Asia's countries except Tajikistan. In the west it meets to Caspian Sea, the world largest lake. Most of the Kazakh area is flat and low lying. In central Kazakhstan vast plain give way to the isolated low mountainous region of Saryarke; to the south and south-east they meet mountainous system of Altai, Saury - Tarbayati, Dzhurher Alatau and Tien Shan. The highest point, Han Tengri peak, is at 6,995 meters. Kazakhstan population is about 17 millions with 106 ethnic groups of foreign origin. Other than Kazakhs the most prominent among them are Russian, Ukrainian, German, Uzbek, Tatar and Uigher. In Kazakhstan the main ethnic problem is that out of 17 million people 36 percent are of Russian origin while 42 percent are Kazakhs beside other minor groups. There are about one million each of Ukrainians and Germans and nearly half a million each of Uzbeks and Tatars. Half a million are of Chinese origin in which nearly 300,000 are illegal migrant workers. Kazakhs are also scattered themselves throughout Central Asia. About 6,50,000 Kazakhs are in Xinxiang- Uigher autonomous region in China. 3,00,000 Kazakhs are living in Afghanistan and some 70,000 are living in Mongolia. More than 3,00,000 Kazakhs live in other former Soviet republics.

Besides Oil, mining industry has also great potential in Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is the leading producer of barites, lead and wolfram. Kazakhstan is world's second largest producer of chromate ore and second largest producer of silver, zinc as well as third in manganese production with 8% of total manganese of the world [1, p ?]. Kazakhstan is sole producer of chromium in the northern hemisphere with 30% of world total reserves. Kazakhstan has also 25% of the world's total uranium reserve [2].

Kazakhstan is Central Asian economy which has more than 9% of GDP growth rate stable for the last five years and was 9.4% in 2004 and with \$49 billions of nominal gross domestic product. Kazakhstan government plans to triple its GDP by 2015 compared to 2000 [3].

Russia, Uzbekistan, China Turkey, U K, Germany and Ukraine are major trade partner of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan exports, Oil, ferrous and non ferrous metals, machinery, chemicals, grain meat and coal. It imports machinery and industrial material and vehicles.

Politics and Democracy

Kazakhstan emerged as an independent nation after breakup of USSR. Since its independence to 2007 Kazakhstan is single party dominated, legally protected and ruled count. Although Kazakhstan declared itself as a constitutional democratic country but all power s constitute in president post. Since its independence Kazakhstan is solely ruled by Nursultan Nazarbayev and his political party formed just after independence.

Nursultan Nazarbayev is former communist leader and has served on different levels in CPKZ(Communist Party OF Kazakhstan). Niyazov came in light when he became first secretary of CPKZ at the place of Kulbino in 1989. Again in first direct election in 1990 he was re elected as a first secretary and became chairmen of Supreme Soviet.

In 1990 Kazakhstan declared independence and became a severing state and faced first presidential election in December 1991[4]. In that election without any opposition party Niyazov elected nearly unopposed. Although some parties tried to participate in election as

Socialist party, social Democratic Party, and Azat, but because, with out of any preparation they could not challenged Niyzov successfully. One more reason was that Niyazov was already popular, experienced and deep routed leader. In Defeat of opposition new legal provisions played important role. According to law any presidential candidate had to collect 100,000 signatures to participate in the election and opposition leader Hasan Kozhankhemtov failed to collect 100,000 signatures to make the presidential candidate. Since 1991 to 93 Kazakhstan administration was run by President Niyazov and former deputies of Supreme Soviet.

In January 26 1993 sovereign Kazakhstan adopted its first constitution [5]. In this constitution Kazakhstan government gave the provision to facilitate a unicameral parliament. In this unicameral legislature, whole country was divided in 177 seats in that 40 seats were to be filled by candidates on a prudential list. This parliament was to replace the 350 seats of the soviet time deputies. These deputies were allowed to run the administration till 1995. According to this constitution although President was most powerful but through some constitutional provisions it was tried to counter balance to presidential powers.

On March 7th 1994 first unicameral legislature election were held and in that president Noor Sultan Nazarbayev won with three quarter of seat, in the new 177 members legislature opposition parties only successes to won 23 seats. Government data showed that Nazarbayev's party Union of People's Unity-SNEK and other pro prudential independent won 39 and 60 seats. 42 were filled by candidates from the prudential list. People congress (NKK) and Socialist party claimed only 13 and 14 seats respectively [6]. Immediate after the first parliament election official observer those were invited from different part of the world were not satisfy with the standard of the election. Observers doubted about processer and pointed out serious violation of electoral law. Central election commission and other local branches protested against rigging in the election. Famous journalist and former member of Kazakh Supreme Soviet Tatania Kviatkovskaya filled a complain in constitution court against partiality in the election.

In the beginning of March 1995 after the examine the formal complaint of Tatiana, constitution court ruled that violation of constitution and election law during the election. Consequently newly elected parliament and its members declared illegitimate [7].

President and newly members of parliament protested to constitutional court decision but constitutional court overruled there objection. After the dismissed the election results now there was not any legitimate parliament. Therefore taking the advantage of any parliament absence president Noor Sulatan Nazerbayev declared two referendums in that first referendum was about extending his presidential term up to 2000 because his five years term was going to end next year in 1996. Nazerbayev bypassed the election and extended his presidential term for next five years. Second referendum was held on August 30 for new constitution draft because president Nazerbayev was not feeling easy with 1993 election. He wanted to increased prudential power through this referendum and he successes in these both staged referendums. The new constitution was based on 9 sections and 98 articles.

In new constitution in 3rd section and in article 40 presidential powers described presidential powers. According to this, presidential is highest official determining the main direction of domestic and foreign policies of the state. He can suspend any political party. He got also power to appoint and release prim minister, determine the structure of government, abolish and recognise central executive bodies. He can veto also in parliamentary decisions. President was also appointed commander of Armed forces. He could have also initiate constitutional reforms also. After becoming so much powerful he also reduced the budget and size of constitutional court from 66 to 44.

Through these constitutional reforms Kazakhstan abolished unicameral parliamentary system and adopted a new bicameral legislature. In this bicameral legislature parliament consist two houses, the majilis which had 67 seats and the senate with 47 seats. Provision for Mjilis members was by direct popular vote and Senate members election was through indirect voting.

Again when new parliament election was held on 9 December 1995, Noor Sultan Nazerbayev's party emerged as largest party with 24 seats out of 67 legislatures. Democratic Party which was pro presidential party also successes to gained 12 seats. Independent candidates those were also pro nazerbayev won 19 seats. Thus once again president Noor Sultan Nazerbayev success to dominant and capture maximum part in Mijilis [8].

Now after new election victory and constitutional reforms Nazerbayev felt some relief. Because before that in which manner opposition and his party fellows also opposing his policy it could made his position weak. It was indicated in 1994 during consumer protecting bill when his prime minister opposed the bill and created a political crisis. After a clash between prime ministers and president, prime minister was to resigned and president accepted it.

But after election and domination in Majilis situation was not so smooth. Because opposition was also in good position and some time independent members and other supporters made trouble before him. After the new election there were two type of threat before Nazerbayev, first was that the privatization of economy differences between society were increase rapidly and because of failure economic reforms some leaders were talking about alternative economic development plane. Through this alternative development plane they wanted to slow privatization and giving investment and economic advantages to poor. Secondly many legislatures in his party and in opposition also had the presidential ambition and were involved to form new parties to oppose Nazerbayev.

Some parties and individuals were also opposing constitution amendments because providing unlimited powers to president. Pro democracy and human right groups were also opposing Nazerbayev policy also and were criticising Nazerbayev for rule through presidential decree.

New clash began between president and parliament on pension bill in 1996. Through this pension bill president wanted to increase in pension age for men 63 years and for women 60 years. Before that it was 60 and 55 respectively but parliament and his government rejected the bill and created political crises. According to new constitution if government rejected any bill twice, president had the power to terminate his prime minister or dissolved. Therefore in second vote parliament passed the bill. Again in 1997 Nazerbayev faced the opposition during the language bill. All these events show that relation between Nazerbayev and government was not normal and good. In 1997 Prime minister Kezhegelidn removed because of health problem but in fact he was strong rival of Nazerbayev and was preparing for next election to oppose Nazerbayev. He had strong economical interest also. Nazerbayev replaced also many ministers, directors and commission chairman to make strong grip on administration. Nor Sultan tried to make his government popular internationally and launched "Young Turks" policy and apart from that many programme were also introduced to increased popularity and credibility.

But 1998 Kazakhstan economic crises deemed his popularity. By frightened from all these development in October 1998 Nazerbayev again introduced new constitutional amendment without any public debate and persuaded legislature stamped nineteen constitutional amendments. Through these amendments Nazerbayev increased presidential term from 5 years to 7 years and lifting 65 years age limitation on government services. By these amendments Majlis term were also increased from four to five years and senate term from five to six year. Ten more senate members were added from winning party list. But after these amendments also his clash was increasing continue in government and in out of government. These clashes come on layer when Prime Minister Balegimbayevs and many members clashed with him on budget deficit. Opposition was also in aggressive mood. Therefore to remove these hurdles Nazerbayev again played political card and declared election one year before in 1999 which in 2000 according to schedule. He also asked to Prime Minister Balegimbayevs to resign and appointed Kasymzhomart Tokayev as new prime minister [9]. Opposition and many international institutions criticised Nazerbayev decision of early election because opposition was not ready to face the election so early. Because of poor opposition preparation in January 1999 presidential election Nazerbayev claimed heavy victory [10]. Total vote turnout was 88% and Nazerbayev received 81% of vote. Other than Nazerbayev communist party leader gained 12% and independent candidate Gany Kesymov received 5% vote. Many prominent candidate as Auzezov and Kezhegeidin could not participate in election because of election law. Voting for senate was on 17th September 1999. Majlis election voting was conducting in 2 rounds. First round was held on 10th October 1999 and second round was held on 24th October 1999. In these election pro presidential parties emerged as largest group in parliament with 57% of vote and claimed 88% of seats in Majilis. Main opposition parties as communist party and RNKP (formed by former prime minister) once again failed to face aggressiveness of Nazerbayev. Opposition parties also were not agree with election result and blamed rigging in elections. International observers also criticised these election quality because many candidates were harassed and were not permitted to use media and other resources.

Although Nazerbayev's supporters won the parliamentary election and Nazerbayev itself became the president for third time but opposition was still alive and challenging Nazerbayev policies. As it seen in many events that parliament created many problems before Nazerbayev.

Again Nazerbayev played the game and proposed change in election law. Despite opposition protest parliament adopted these change and Nazerbayev signed on this law on 15 July. Constitution court also confirms this new election law. According this new law all political parties had to register before 17th January 2003. Opposition parties blamed the government that government want to reduce the ability of opposition parties and independent observers for next 2004 elections. Many NGO and human right organizations also protested against this change and intention of government. This law also effected the preparation for next election. Because when opposition parties were thinking about launching campaign against current government, now they were busy in full fill the conditions of new election law.

All these exercises by president reflected in 2004 lower majilis elections. In these election Nazwebayev's Otan party and two other pro president parties AIST (Agriar- Industrial Block) and Asar founded by Nazerbayev daughter dominated Majilis. In that Otan once again emerged as largest party with 60.62 percent of the votes and 42 seats, Asar (all together) with 11.38 percent of votes and 4 seats and AIST success to gained 7.07 percent of vote and 11 seat in parliament. Interestingly all opposition parties failed to won any parliamentary seat. Only Ak-zhol (Bright path) successes to won only one seat individually. AKZHOL fought strongly and gained 12 percent of vote and won only 1 seat but in the compression of pro presidential party AIST who received only 7 percent of vote and won 11 seats. Another opposition parties including communist party performed disappointedly [11].

Although government announced these election free and fare but opposition parties rejected the govt claim. Main opposition party Ak-zhol rejected the official result and said that result do not represent peoples will. Ak-zhol also challenged these result in constitutional and demanded to declare these result unconstitutional. Another opposition political party DCK (democratic choice of Kazakhstan) and communist party claimed that more than 90,000 voters were denied to vote. The OCSE 'S monitors also criticised the govt and reported the violence of election law. OCSE also criticised govt media to only support pro govt candidates. These election not only strength the position of Nazerbayev but also clear the way for next year presidential elections. Now it was clear that in opposition nobody was in position to challenge in 2005 presidential election. And this came true in 4th December 2005 presidential elections. Nazerbayev won once again with unprecedented 91 percent of votes. Opposition leader Zharmakan Tuyakbai was on second position with 6.69 percent of votes and Alikhan Baimenov was on third with 1.65 percent of votes. Other candidates failed to get even to 1 percent of votes. Again International observers show their disappointment about the fairness of election, Bruce George, coordinator for observers from the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, criticised the election and stated "Regrettably, despite some efforts which were undertaken to improve the process, the authorities did not exhibit sufficient political will to hold a genuinely good election"[12]. So there was not any significant change in policy and politics of Nazerbayev and he continued his old practice to suppress the opposition and opponent. President continue played the tactics to make his grip strong on political system. In 2007 president Nazerbayev called for constitution amendment for the purpose so called redistributing the power [13]. Through this amendment he increased the number of seats in Majlis from 77 to 107. He also reduced the presidential term from 7 years to 5. Though the term of Majlis was up to 2009 but in pretext of execute new constitution amendments Nazerbayev dissolved the Majlis the called early election in 2007 itself. Seven parties participated in including Nazerbayev's Fatherland (Nur-Otan). As it was expected all the 98 seats were won by Nazerbayev's Fatherland (Nur-Otan) with the 88.5% of total votes. Opposition got none. This election again proved despite much rhetoric by Nazerbayev for multiparty political system there is no space for real opposition. To make their position strong and fight against Nazerbayev rule two main opposition parties, the Democratic Party Azat (Freedom) and the National Social Democratic Party, announced their merger on Oct. 13, 2009. Opposition tried to maintain its position by the unity and other tactic but Nazerbayev did not any space to them. To perpetuate his president Nazerbayev once again planned to by pas election and called a new constitution amendment and referendum to extend his president up to 2020. Officially this proposal was offered by Nazerbayev's ally Vladimir Redkokashin. Vladimir Redkokashin basically submitted request central election commission of Kazakhstan to conduct the referendum instead of presidential elections scheduled for 2012. Through an imitative group "Astana city council" Vladimir Redkokashin argued "as of now, there is no alternative to Nursultan Abishevich [Nazarbayev], the Leader of the Nation and the president of our country." The holding of the referendum, "very positive initiative" which is supported by the 'overwhelming majority' of the Kazakh people". Though in the beginning Nazerbayev support this referendum but after the rejection by Kazakhstan's Constitutional Council Nazerbayev itself rejected this idea and called early presidential election in April 2011. The story was same like past election s, out of 26 application election commission approved only 4 candidates including Nazerbayev. On 3 April 2011 election were held and Nazerbayev got 95% of total votes and none of the opposition candidate could even secure 2% of total vote [14]. This election was clear message that there is no any serious challenge to Nazerbayev authority.

TURKMENISTAN

Turkmenistan is the fourth largest country in CIS with 488100 square km. It is situated in south western part of Central Asia between 42° 34' 37.16" N, and 35° 04' 42.31" N latitude; 53° 53' 33.76" E and 66° 43' 57.46" E longitude. Its expansion from west to east is about 1,110 km and from North to South is about 650 km. Republic of Turkmenistan is divided into five administrative regions which are also called as Wilayat. These are Ahak, Kalkan, Dashhowuz, Lepab and Mary. Turkmenistan lies between Iran, in the south and in the north and north east Turkmenistan's borders meets with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

The desert of Turan low land, the central Zaunguz and south east Karakum occupy the Percent of the Turkmenistan's territory. In the South-east the foot hill of Paropamiz are situated, in south desert turn in to the hills and foot hills of the Kopetdag. To the East of the Caspian Sea lies in the western Turkmenistan's Sea side low land, which is covered with saline soil and loosely fix sands.

After the disintegration of USSR all the republics announced independence but Turkmenistan leadership was not very much eager to take independence and decided to go for referendum on either to live with Russia or declare independence. This referendum was held in October 1991 and in this referendum the people of Turkmenistan unanimously voted in favour of independence with 95.7% of votes [15]. Therefore, on 27th of October 1991 Turkmenistan declared its independence.

Turkmenistan population was 5,097,028 in 2007 with 9 different ethnic groups, among them Uzbek 5%, Russian 4%, other 6% and Uzbek are 85% out of total population 89% follows Sunni Islamic tradition [16].

Turkmenistan's economy totally depends on oil and gas resources. In total export of country, oil and gas share is more than 80%. Other than oil and gas, food processing, textile and chemical industry also contribute in Turkmenistan's economy. Except hydrocarbon, Turkmenistan is a good exporter of cotton, textile products and electricity. CIS countries, US, UK, China and Germany are main business partners of Turkmenistan.

Politics and Democracy

Since independence Turkmenistan is under one party rule. In the whole period of post independence period till now Turkmenistan is autocratically ruled by formally communist Democratic Party of Turkmenistan. Until his death in 2006, Super Murad Niyazov was head of state and the head of Democratic Party of Turkmenistan. Niyazov was elected unopposed as the first president of Turkmenistan in 1991. In 1985 he became the secretary of Communist Party and had worked for Communist Party of Turkmenistan at various levels. He worked as the head of Industrial Transport of Turkmenistan Communist party. After the breakup of USSR Turkmenistan declared a referendum and Niyazov was elected as executive president with 98.9 percent of votes. On 26 October 1991 in first presidential election he was elected president with 94 percent of vote [17]. In December 1991 Turkmenistan Communist party was renamed as Democratic Party of Turkmenistan and Niyazov was declared as head of party.

The president Niyazov proposed a new draft of constitution for the democratization of Turkmenistan and on February 15, 1992 Turkmenistan adopted the new constitution [18]. This constitution was based on 8 sections and 116 articles. In many respect Turkmenistan constitution was similar to the that of Kazakhstan constitution especially about President's decree and powers. The constitution had provision of presidential authority for a 5 years term. Through this constitution former Soviet Supremes were replaced by a Majilis (Assembly) with 50 members and 10 nominated members from different constituencies. The term of Majilis was decided as 5 years. A people Council (Khalak Maslakhaty) was also established as the supreme representative body of popular power. The people's council consist of the president, the deputies of parliament, the people's advisers (Khalak Vekilleri) one of whom is elected by the people from each district, the

chair supreme court, chair of high commercial court, the general procurator, the members of the cabinet of ministers, the head of regional administration and the chief of the municipal councils of the towns and also of those villages which are the administrative centres of their respective district. This body was to serve as the "highest representative organ of popular power". The term for the members of this body was 5 years. Therefore, according to new constitution there was a requirement of a new election for all the posts of "People Council". In January 92, Election commission of Turkmenistan declared the new election of president. In the new election Super Murad Niyazov declared as president unopposed with 99.5 percent of vote in his favour with a turnout of 98 percent of votes [19]. Election for Majilis was declared in 1994 and until 1994 Supreme Soviet deputies were asked to serve as care taker ministers.

Just after the unopposed victory in presidential election Niyazov started to create his personality cult and used both houses to glorify his personality. On 30th September 1992 parliament announced Niyazov as country's "First Hero" the highest civil award of the country. Niyazov denied registering any opposition party on the pretext of immaturity of public for democracy. Only his own party Democratic Party of Turkmenistan (DPT) was only legal and registered party which could take part in election. During independence there were 48,000 members of Turkmenistan communist party and after the declaration of independence all communist party members joined DPT. Thus, in proxy, former communist party is ruling Turkmenistan.

Niyazov made changes in the government and in the party to make his position further strong. In April 1993 Niyazov dismissed interior minister Serdancharyyov and replaced him with Karpanmukhmed Kasymov. Later Kasymaov was appointed as deputy defence minister.

In first parliamentary (Majilis) election 1994 Niyazov's DPT swept the election and 49 out of 50 seats were won unopposed. In this election not a single opposition party was allowed to participate [20]. According to constitution next presidential election was scheduled in 1997 but Niyazov organised successful referendum to extend his term up to 2002. To maintain his personality cult, many institutes, streets, public building, roads, air ports, sea ports were named after Niyazov. Niyazov also established a new method to govern the state. He ordered to appoint minister on 6 month probation to be changed in case of unsatisfactory performance.

Niyazov suppressed his political opponents brutally [21]. Many of the opponents were jailed and murdered by security men. Many opposition leaders left the country and run their activity from CIS countries and Eastern Europe. Some opposition leaders continued their activities from Russia despite Turkmenistan's opposition. In November 1994 Niyazov blamed exiled leaders living in Russia as if they had plotted his assassination and, demanded therefore, extradition of those leaders. Russian government arrested these leaders but denied to extradite under the pressure of human rights groups. Russian government later released these leaders. Turkmenistan's government not only pressurised foreign governments but also arrested all persons associated with the exiled leaders within the country.

Many journalists and other persons were also detained and tortured without any charge. In October 1994 security persons arrested anti Niyazov journalist Iusup Kuliev and tortured him without any charge. Opposition leaders were not only detained and arrested illegally but also sentenced for years without any fair trial. Mukhamad Aimaradov and Khos hali, prominent opposition leaders, were arrested for unsuccessful assassination effort on Niyazov. The opposition leaders and anti Niyazov activist were not provided legal help. During this period in spite of government suppression many individuals and groups as well as political parties rose to oppose and counter the Niyazov policies and autocratic behaviour.

Agzy birlik (Unity) was the first major opposition party which was register in 1989, to establish a Turkey style multiparty political system in Turkmenistan. This party wanted to replace communist political legacy with that of democratic system. Niyazov administration banned this party first time in 1990 when independence process was taking place. But UNITY members founded another party i.e., "Party for Democratic Development" (PDD). Niyazov also banned this party and forced its members to leave this party. Government also banned the official news paper 'Daynach (Support)' of this party. Again, this party members floted a new party "Gengish" which was not allowed to work freely [22].

Turkmenistan government suppressed the freedom of speech and free press. Government maintained her control on television, radio and print media. All the news papers were censored by the authorities and they were ordered to disclose the sources of any publication before they publish it. Niyazov and his officials strongly restricted media to give space for opposition parties. All opposite political parties and leaders criticized government for not to allow presenting their views in media. Government also pressurised the foreign media not to give much space to opposition parties.

Turkmenistan government always tried to suppress public movements against president Niyazov. In July 1995, thousands of citizens organized a rally against his leadership style and his economic policies. This was the first huge public protest which alarmed the government. Hence, Niyazov declared these types of protests as political unrest against the country. Niyazov blamed local administration failures to control such situation and dismissed the local administration. In October 1995 Niyazov dismissed many senior members of the People's Council because of the failure of achieving the target of wheat harvest and announced a six months probation period for new ministers to show their performance. Many people were arrested in January 1996 in connection with last year protest against the government policies. Niyazov continued to dismiss and replace his ministers in the later months of 1996 also.

In August 1996 another opposition party "Social Democratic Party" was launched in Ashgabat. The basic aim of this party was to oppose Niyazov's autocratic rule and to establish a democratic system and pressurize international community to support democracy in the country [23].

After a lot of domestic and international criticism Niyazov took some steps to improve his image. In April 1996 he dismissed Prosecutor General of Turkmenistan on charges of unable to control the crimes. In October 1996 Turkmenistan government established "Institute for Democracy and Human Right" in Ashgabat to show his seriousness about human rights. Next year in June 1997 on the occasion of fifth anniversary of his re elections of 1992, he released more than 2000 prisoners. Thus, on one side he ran the programs to improve his image but on the other he continued to dismiss ministers and government officials. In June 1997 Niyazov also dismissed many senior members of defence staff and judiciary. In the next month (July 1997) deputy prime minister with other many senior administrative officials were dismissed on charges of insufficient production of food grains and cotton.

In 1998, elections for People Council were held with earlier style and no opposition party was allowed to participate. The voting turnout was about 99.5 percent and in the absence of opposition all seats were won by Niyazov's Democratic Party of Turkmenistan. After these elections Niyazov suppressed opponents more aggressively and took some steps to improve his image also. Government released some prisoners on the occasion of OSCE delegation visit to Turkmenistan. After the delegation visit was over, the government again arrested opposition leaders and workers. Government also arrested Abdykuligev a top opposition leader as he returned from Russia to Turkmenistan to make his party strong. Niyazov tried to maintain his personality cult, and in 1997 consecutively he received the third award of "Hero" of Turkmenistan. He also established his gold plated statue in central Ashgabat.

In December 1999, second Majilis elections were held with the same story. Total turnout was about 99 per cent and all seats were won by DPT [24]. International observers, specially OSCE officials criticised the whole process of elections but irrespective of all criticism Niyazov continued his grip on the administration of the country. After Majilis election he introduced new constitutional amendments to increase presidential powers. In these amendments he proposed his presidential term for whole of his life and Majilis approved these amendments. But after strong international criticism he changed his stand and extended his term up to 2010. He also promised that after 2010 he will allow the opposition to participate in elections.

Niyazov continued to pursue the practice of dismissal and replacing of ministers and other officials in order to maintain his grip on the country. In June 2000, he removed many government official and three prime ministers. In July 2000, Niyazov dismissed foreign minister Boris Shikhmuradov and appointed him as ambassador to China. He also made it compulsory to learn Turkmen language within 30 days for ministers and government officials if they do not know the language. To strengthen his personality cult he wrote a book "Rukh nama" and declared this book as a code of morality and spirituality. He also made this book mandatory for school curriculum and government officials. The copies of "Rukh nama" were ordered to keep in Mosques also. Again in 2001 Niyazov dismissed his foreign minister Beriyev who was appointed as foreign minister replacing Shaikh Muradov in July 2000. At the same time Muradov was also dismissed from the post of Turkmenistan's ambassador to China. After dismissal, Muradov did not returned to Turkmenistan and fled to Moscow and founded a political

party "People's Democratic Party (PDP)". Latter on many exiled leader declared their support to PDP. Turkmenistan ambassador to Turkey Nurmukh Ahmad resigned and declared his support to PDP and the opposition movement to remove Niyazov from presidency. Former deputy prime minister Kuhdayberdy also announced his support to PDP. As opposition pressure increased Niyazov again used his old tactics and dismissed and reshuffled government officials to show his seriousness towards good administration. In March 2001 he dismissed defence minister with many other defence officials. Many intelligence officers and security officers were also dismissed in charge of making conspiracy to over through the government.

A new term of political clash began in Turkmenistan when President Niyazov motorcade came under gun fire on 25th November 2002. Niyazov declared this attack as a coup against his government and pointed his figure on exiled opposition leaders. He blamed former agriculture minister Supermurad Yklymov, former deputy prime minister Boris Shaikh Muradov, Hudayberdy Ararov and former Turkmenistan ambassador to Turkey Hnonmov for his assassination conspiracy. These all leaders were living in exile in Russia and denied any hand in his assassination conspiracy. They also claimed that this assassination attempt was self staged to crush the increasing opposition's popularity. Turkmenistan attorney General Kurbanbibi Atadzhamova claimed that these master minds used many Turkmen and non Turkmen persons to attack. Turkmenistan authority also claimed the arrest of three Chechens, six Turks, one Maldivian, one Armenian and Turkmen as 25 suspects in motorcade attack. Turkmenistan Sunni mufti Nasrullah ibn Abdullah was also accused in attack conspiracy [25]. Government prosecutor claimed that Nasrullah and his followers were involved in this attack.

After this attack government run aggressive campaign against political rivals. According to human right groups, immediately after the attack security persons arrested more than 700 civilians associated to opposition party. In an unprecedented event former deputy prime minister Shaikh Mouradov (main accused in the attack) returned Turkmenistan and got arrest. On 17th January 2003 National Assembly of Turkmenistan passed a resolution for these accused opposition leader in which they were declared as traitors of the father land. Assembly also urged the Supreme Court to give maximum punishment with no amnesty, pardon, any relaxation or change in prison. On 30th December court found Shaikh Muradov guilty in the attack and sentenced him for the 25 years of jail. Another two opposition leaders were also convicted for the same 25 years sentence in absantia. Many other opposition activists were also connected and sentenced to jail.

On 6th April 2002 election for Khalk Maslak was held in same style as before and no any opposition leader and party was allowed to participate [26]. Only DPT candidates were allowed. Therefore, DPT won all seats with 89.3% of voting turn out. According to Turkmenistan election commission voting turnout was 89.3% but according to free press and observers voting centres were empty and Turkmenistan authority sent their employ home to home with ballet papers and gifts to cast their votes. After these elections Niyazov again announced another constitutional amendment to make Khalk Maslakhaty as a supreme body of Turkmenistan parliament at the place of Majilis. In an important move in September 2003 many opposition groups meet in Czech Republic and established a united opposition group "United Democratic Force of Turkmenistan (UDFT) to oppose Niyazov policis and to establish democracy in Turkmenistan.

In spite of all these developments Niyazov continued to practice his oppressive policies. Majlis elections were held on 19th December 2004 [27]. Niyazov did not allowed any opposition party again to participate in these elections. In the absence of any opposition party Niyazov's DPT won all 50 seats unopposed. In 2005 Niyazov dismissed his deputy prime minister Yolloy Gurbamvradav and sentenced him for 25 years of jail. After some time he was killed by security persons during investigation.

On December 21st 2006 Niyazov died due to a heart attack [28]. Niyazov's death created a vacuum and inter party clash in DPT. According to Turkmenistan constitution Mjilis speaker was to overtake in any emergency. But mysteriously Turkmenistan prosecutor conducted criminal proceeding against Mjilis speaker Ovezgeldy Atayeve just after death of Niyazov. Therefore, security council appointed deputy prime minister Gurbanguly Berdymukhmedov. According to Turkmenistan constitution acting president may not stand in the election for presidency. But on 26th of December People Council removed this provision from constitution and made the path clear for Berdymukhmedov to participate in the president's election. Thus, Gurbanguly was elected as Turkmenistan second president with 89% of votes on 11 February 2007 [29]. Gurbanguly started following Niyazov policy in Niyazov style, no space for free media and opposition parties. To make his grip stronger president Gurbanguly proposed new constitution amendment. On 22 July, 2008 Turkmenistan adopted new constitution with less power of parliament's houses and more powerful president. Through these amendments eliminated Khalk Maslakhaty (People's Council) the highest legislative and deliberative body of Turkmenistan and transferred its powers to the president and the parliament. The process to elect district governor was also terminated and power of direct appointment of district was transferred to president. Through article 82 of constitution major provisions of provincial, district, and local governance powers were transferred to the president "provincial, city, district and town governors would be appointed directly by the president of Turkmenistan and they would act as representatives of the president of Turkmenistan. Local bodies will no more have the power to appoint or remove governors at any level", now it was clear there whatever reaming democracy was existed in Turkmenistan it has also eliminated through this amendment. These amendments were to make more authoritative to president Gurbanguly. In the absence of any real opposition, political party and free media Gurbanguly contested next term presidential election in 2012. In the 12th February 2012 presidential election Gurbanguly successes with more than 97% of total vote [30]. Other seven candidates distributed remaining 3% of votes.

UZBEKISTAN

Uzbekistan is most populated country in Central Asia with 26 million population. It covers 4, 47,400 sq km area on globe. Uzbekistan touches all Central Asian countries with 2,203 kms border with Kazakhstan, 1,099 with Kyrgyzstan, 1,161 with Tajikistan and 1,621 with Turkmenistan. Uzbekistan also shares 137 km of border with Afghanistan. Uzbekistan's four fifth territory is covered by plain. Turanian plain is the main Uzbekistan's plain. Northern part of Uzbekistan is mostly covered by Kizilkum desert. Mountains and foot hills covers approximately one fifth territory of the Uzbekistan.

The 26 million populations are concentrated mainly in south and east of the country. Ethnic Uzbeks are about 80% of the total of population. Beside Uzbeks, Russian (5.5%), Tajik (5%), Kazakh (3%), karakalpak (2.5%), Tatar (1.5%) and other 3% contribute in the remaining Uzbekistan population. Sunni Muslims are in majority with about 88% in ethnic Uzbek population and Eastern Orthodox contribute about 9% in Uzbekistan population [31].

Uzbekistan is very rich in natural resources. Other than Oliy and gas Uzbekistan enjoys a significant place in respect of many other resources. It has fourth largest gold reserve and seventh place in gold mining. In copper Uzbekistan has 10th largest reserves in the world.

Politics and Democracy

Uzbekistan is also following same political system as that of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan which is consisting of a single political party, with authoritarian and presidential type of government. Just like other CIS countries Uzbekistan is also ruled by former communist party elites. After the independence communist party of Uzbekistan was converted into People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (PDPU) [32]. Islam Krimove who was the secretary of Communist party of Uzbekistan became the president of PDPU and later he was elected as the first president of Uzbekistan. Just before independence all government position were headed by to communist party of Uzbekistan (CPU) and after independence all Uzbekistan government position were transferred to CPU cadres.

First presidential election was held in December 1991. In the first presidential election only two candidates were allowed to contest the election, Krimove and Mohamed Salih. Karimov won the election with 88% of total votes [33]. After the election in 1992 Uzbekistan unveiled its first constitution with 126 articles. In this constitution Uzbekistan declared President as the head of state which guaranteed the right and freedom of citizen and observance of constitution and laws.

Uzbekistan adopted unicameral legislator system. According to this system highest representative body is the Oliy Majilis (supreme assembly) of the Uzbekistan. Through this constitution president was declared both as the head of the state and the head of the government. President was also given the right to dissolve the government and declare the state of emergency. The term for the president and parliament was set for 5 years. In 1991 when there was no one to form the parliament or Oliy Majilis, 250 deputies or members were elected for Oliy Majilis as per the new constitution. In that 250 deputies and 150 members were fixed for supreme assembly or Oliy Majilis and cabinet.

During this period when PDPU was ruling without any challenges some opposition parties and groups were also shaping. Birlilik was most

powerful and famous opposition group. Birlik was formed in 1989 by Uzbek intellectuals and writers. Birlik participated in first presidential election but Islam Karimov banned Birlik in 1992. Members of Birlik were suppressed and tortured by Uzbek authority. Uzbekistan also banned and suppressed Islamic groups in fear of being overthrown, and established Iran like Islamic system. Therefore, Uzbekistan banned all Islamic group including Islamic Rebirth Party and Hizub ut- Tehrir. Government also banned other opposition group, like Adolat (Justice) which was formed by former Prime Minister and former vice Prime Minister Shukrullo Mirsaidov in 1992. In the response of opposition parties Karimov also promoted some new puppet political groups as Vtan tarraqiyyati (nation development), Father Land Party, The Milli Tirklanes (National Resurrection) and Khalk Biragi (unity of people), only to show the existence of multiparty political system [34].

First post-independence parliamentary elections were held in December 1994 and January 1995. Age for voters was declared as 18 years. Although government promised to allow all parties to participate in the election but only Karimov ruling party PDPU and Karimov puppet Father Land Party was allowed to participate in the election. Both parties made coalition and fought election . PDPU won 69 out of 634 seats and Father Land party won only 14 seats, out of 250; 124 seats were won by independent candidates who were also considered as associate or members of PDPU [35].

ERK (Unity) and Birlik were not the only opposition parties in Uzbekistan which were banned but other Karimov opposition parties and small groups were facing also a ban and suppression and were not allowed to be registered as political parties. On 29, Jun 1992 Uzbek government banned Islamic Renaissance Party of Uzbekistan (IRPU) which was the most popular anti Karimov party in Fergana valley. Although IRPU fulfilled the condition and collected 3000 signature to be registered as a political party but government denied its registration. In August- September 1991 Adolat started campaign in Namangan, Fergana and Andijan region but was suppressed, crushed and arrested for a crime of making illegal political party. Another political party Movement of Democratic Reforms (MDR) tried to unite all other opposition parties at one stage and in beginning gained some success. In 1991 many opposition leaders and groups participated in MDR's programmes and expressed their support. MDR got success to register at the office of ministry of Justice but at the time of election's, the election authority did not allow to participate. The Free Dehqan party or Peasant's Party was also not allowed to be registered.

Uzbekistan not only suppressed and banned the opposition groups but also tried to pressurise foreign governments not to support the government opponents. In 1994 during the Turkey visit Karimov tried to pressurise the government of Turkey to extradite most vocal opposition leader Solih. Solih was living in exile in Turkey. After this Karimov visit Solih left Turkey for Germany.

Karimov always tried to show that situation is under control but just after election, on 16-17 January 1995 a massive student demonstration against Karimov's policy exhibited the real picture of Uzbekistan government popularity. As per his habit Karimov crushed peaceful demonstration and jailed and killed many demonstrators. As per schedule presidential elections were to be held in 1997 but Karimov bypassed the election and conducted a nationwide referendum in order to extend his presidential term further for the next three years from 97-2000. The result of referendum was declared in favour of Karimov with 99% of votes. Many opposition leaders were arrested on charges of opposing to referendum [36]. A vocal opponent of Karimov policis Ibragim Buriev a former civil servant was also arrested on charges of illegal possession of narcotics and arms. However, after being severely criticised and pressurised internationally Ibragim Burieve was released on 29 April 1997. Many other opposition leaders were arrested and beaten by police. Some leaders were blackmailed by making fake video tapes. On April 18 1997 opposition leader Mirsaidov and his son were beaten by the police and made their video with nude women. Several members of ERK were also arrested on charges of providing military training for rebellion. On one hand Karimov was suppressing opposition and was not ready to provide them any political space but on the other hand he was allowing to some puppet political parties show his liberal face before the World. In May 1995 two political parties were allowed to be registered: The National Revival (Milli Vtklanish) Democratic party and People's (Xalq Birligi) Movement. Both the parties were considered as the president's loyal groups to support Karimov dictatorship. According to some observers both parties were created only to exhibit "political plurality" of Karimov in Uzbekistan.

Political Islamic parties were also gaining popularity in Uzbekistan especially in Fergana valley. Therefore, to counter Islamic political groups Uzbek authorities introduced a new law on political parties in December 1995. According to this law government prohibited the formation of any political party on the basis of religion and ethnicity. In this law authorities also made it obligatory that at least 5000 members from each region should extend support as proof for registration of a new political party. Despite all these efforts government failed to diminish the increasing influence of Islamic groups. Main influence region of Islamists was Fergana valley where Uzbekistan borders meets with other Central Asian countries. According to Uzbekistan authority Islamic groups were taking training in Afghanistan and Tajikistan where Civil war was going on and many Tajik Islamic parties were involved in this war. Therefore, Uzbekistan sent her troops to help Tajik government against Islamic rebellion.

In November 1997, deputy head of local administration and some other government official were killed in a bomb blast. Uzbekistan government blamed on Islamic groups and launched campaign against Islamic parties. Government arrested hundreds of citizen in charge of supporting Islamic parties. According to human right groups many innocent citizen were arrested and tortured by Uzbek police. Many supporters and activist sentenced to jail and one of them sentenced to death also. Government also introduced some laws in May, 1998 to curb Islamic influence. In February, 1999 clash between Islamist and government took place when Uzbek Government blamed Islamic groups about serial bomb blast in Capital Tashkent. These serial bomb blasts exploded on three important places of government offices of interior ministry and building of police houses. Karimov also came under these attacks, however, he escaped and at least 15 people were killed and 120 were injured. Government blamed Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) and Freedom Party for these attacks; some ERK supporters were also arrested for their alleged involvement in these blasts. The government also announced new legislation and criminal code to curb Islamic groups. After the court inquiry six persons were sentenced to death while others were sentenced for 8 to 15 years of jail.

After curbing the potential opposition groups Uzbekistan government conducted Oliy Majilis election on 15th and 19th of December 1999. In these elections also only PDPU and pro Karimov political parties were allowed to participate. According to Uzbek central election commission except PDPU and loyal 132 independent candidates were in participants' list. Therefore, in the absence of opposition, PDPU emerged as the largest party with 48 seats while , pro Karimov party National Democratic Party won 34 seats, DF was successful on 20 seats and Justice Democratic Party won 10 seats. In January 2000 Karimov conducted presidential elections in the same manner as parliamentary elections. Islam Karimov gained 91.4% of total votes and his only opponent Abdul Hafiz received only 4.2% of votes. This election is also criticised by international organizations specially OSCE and US and declared these election undemocratic.

After the victory in 2000,s election again Karimov launched suppression campaign against Islamic political groups. Only IMU blamed the government for the arrest his 1,00,000 supporters. In August 2000 Uzbek army came under attack near Kyrgyzstan by un- identified militants. Militants also attacked on police and military establishments. Government blamed IMU leader Juma Namangani for these attack and charged him with acts of de-establishing the country. In November, 2000 Uzbekistan court sentenced Namangani to death in absentia. Many other opposition leaders including exiled leader Solih were sentenced for 8 to 12 years. Government also tried to extradite Solih from Czech Republic but Czech court did not allowed extradition.

Uzbekistan government again found opportunity to curb Islamic groups after 11th of September, 2001event and alleged involvement of Al-Qadea in Afghanistan. Karimov offered US his co-operation to curb Taliban in Afghanistan and war against terrorism. Through this cooperation Karimov won the support of Western countries and rest of the World and used this support to suppress Islamic groups and made his political position stronger and more legitimate.

After establishing strategic relation with US and Europe, Karimov used his old cards and conducted referendum for the extension of his presidential term further for 2 years. He also proposed to establish another parliamentary house to make bicameral legislature system. The extension of presidential term for 2 years and constitutional amendment to establish another house and making bicameral legislature were approved through referendum with 93.7% of votes later on Majlis also approved it. Despite Karimov's strong grip on government and administration clash between Islamic and Karimov camps continued. On March 28-29, 2002 two police officers were killed in a shootout event, again on 29th of March, 2002 more than 10 people were killed and several injured in a bomb blast in Tashkent market. Government blamed Islamic groups for these events and launched new campaign against Islamic opposition groups. Many suspected militants were shot dead in different encounters and several were sentenced to imprisonment, hundreds of activist Islamic parties and other opposition groups

met with the same fate. In July, 2002 many people were killed in suicide bombing outside Israel and US embassies. Government blamed Hizb ut Tehrir (HT) for these blasts but HT denied any involvement in these events and clarified that HT does not believe in violence.

In December 2004 and January 2005 parliamentary elections were held in the same manner as before. Not even a single anti-Karimov party was allowed to participate in elections. Many opposition activists conducted march before US embassy to support democracy in Uzbekistan. US urged the Uzbekistan authorities to bring reforms in election law but Uzbek authority ignored US appeal and only allowed pro- Karimov parties. In this election pro-Karimov's Liberal Democratic Party lead by Muhammadjan Ahmadjonov emerged as largest party with 41 seats and 34% of total votes and PDPU won only 28 seats with 23% of votes. Other than these parties Self Sacrifice National Democratic Party gained 18 seats, Uzbek National Revival party won 11 seats and Social Justice Democratic Party won 10 seats. Independent candidates succeeded on 14 seats [37]. Although election result show strong grip of Karimov on country but violence and unrest prevailed. The unrest and violence came to surface on 14th of May, 2005 when more than 700 people were brutally killed in police firing during a peaceful demonstration in Andijan city to demand the release of arrested innocent businessmen [38]. Government blamed HT for this unrest and killings. Although, government failed to provide any evidence and proof to prove that there was any link of these businessmen with HT. International community and human right groups strongly condemned Andijan event and demanded international inquiry but Karimov rejected any international inquiry. Inside Uzbekistan also rose the criticism of Karimov government and in ruling coalition also many government members and

Karimov . To control the new situation Karimov changed the portfoIiyo of ministers and suspended some ministers as well.

Thus, since independence, Karimov ruled by decree, authority and suppressed brutally and crushed his political opponents. He did not allow any other opposition political party to participate in election. Human rights record became horrible in whole period.

Uzbekistan did not privatize his total hydrocarbon industry and made compulsory to involve Uzbekneftgaz in each joint venture. Uzbekistan also tried to remove its dependence on Russia and involved US, China and European countries in joint ventures. Many laws related to hydrocarbon industry development were passed to protect FDI legally and in fact tried to create a pro FDI environment.

However, internal security still remains a matter of concern. The autocratic attitude of the present government towards the political rivals seems to be a big hindrance in putting the development of the country on a fast track. For reason of fragile internal security FDI is also greatly affected and foreign relations are not healthy too. So a political will is seriously required for political reform for the overall development of the county from within.

Though in the presidential election of 2007 Islam Karimov was not constitutionally eligible because he has served two presidential terms but Islam Karimov rejected this and argued that his first term was not elected and it was only referendum and that term would not count. Officially also there was no any clarification on this issue. In November 2007 Election commission of Uzbekistan announced 4 candidates including Islam Karimov. First time in Uzbek short electoral history a lady Toshmuhamedova from Justice Social Democratic party was presidential candidate. In the result as it was expecting, Islam Karimov got 90. 76 percent of total vote. Nearest rival was Asliddin Rustamov from Uzbekistan People's Democratic Party and he gained 3.27 percent of total votes. As usual International observers including Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) show their dissatisfaction over the quality of election but it was only a practice not any action suggestion [39]. This election again proved that despite huge human right violation and corruption current opposition is not in position to challenge his at maximum level and there would be no different and change in Uzbekistan politics and government. International powers though show their difference with Uzbekistan government in different term but they cannot go for 'regime change' program for various reason like Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.

Conclusion: Politically, all Central Asian countries are ruled by former communist party leaders and these leaders are following former Soviet style autocratic government systems. Noor Sultan Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan, Islam Karimove in Uzbekistan and Super Murad Niyazov in Turkmenistan captured the government in almost unopposed situation. Islam Karimove in Uzbekistan and Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan are still ruling till date. In Turkmenistan, Niyazov declared President himself for lifetime but after being criticised globally reset his term till 2010 but died in 2006. After his death his son was enthroned and he followed his father's policies and style. Human right violation is at massive level and there is no space for opposition multiparty system. Real opposition leaders either in jail or exiled. Many opposition leaders are punished absentia. International organizations are not satisfy with political condition with these countries and cannot take any decisive action because all big and international powers including Russia, China and US are supporting these regimes for various reasons.

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