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REGIONALISM IN THE POST SOVIET SPACE

The development of regionalism processes is the most important characteristic of the modern world economy. The processes of international economic integration significantly intensified in the second half of the twentieth century in various regions of the globe, in particular in the post-Soviet space. The sharp increase in inter-firm and inter-state competition, new spheres of competition and tougher competition in traditional markets necessitates cooperation of both financial and production efforts of geographically connected countries, allows strengthening its positions in the globalizing economy. Over the past 25 years, regionalization in the post-Soviet space has ensured the unity of goals and means governing the progressive development of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) countries based on trade and production ties and proves the need for further development of the process at a high pace.

Key words: regionalism, integration, globalization, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), Eurasian Customs Union (EACU).

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Посткеңестік кеңістіктегі аймақтану

Регионализм үдерістерінің дамуы заманауи әлемдік экономиканың маңызды сипаттамасы болып табылады. Халықаралық экономикалық интеграция үдерістері ХХ ғасырдың екінші жартысында, жер шарының әр бөлігінде, жекелеп айтқанда посткеңестік алаңда едәуір белсендірілді. Мемлекет аралық және мекемеаралық бәсекелестіктің күрт өсуі, сонымен қатар дәстүрлі нарықтағы бәсекелестіктің жаңа салалары географиялық байланысқан мемлекеттердің қаржылық және өндірістік күштерінің ынтымақтастығын шарттап, ғаламдық экономикада өз тұғырларын бекітуге әрекет етеді. Соңғы 25 жыл ішінде посткеңестік алаңдағы регионализация үдерісі ТМД (Тәуелсіз мемлекеттер достастығы) елдерінің сауда-өндірістік байланыстары негізінде даму мақсаттарының ортақтығын қамтамасыз ете отырып, үдерістің болашақтағы даму қажеттілігін анықтайды.

Түйін сөздер: регионализм, интеграция, ғаламдану, Тәуелсіз мемлекеттер достастығы (ТМД), Евразиялық экономикалық одақ (ЕЭО), Кедендік одақ (КО).

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Регионализм на постсоветском пространстве

Развитие процессов регионализма является важнейшей характеристикой современной мировой экономики. Процессы международной экономической интеграции заметно активизировались во второй половине ХХ века в различных регионах земного шара, в частности на

постсоветском пространстве. Резкий рост межфирменной и межгосударственной конкуренции, новые сферы конкуренции и ужесточение конкуренции на традиционных рынках обуславливают необходимость сотрудничества как финансовых, так и производственных усилий географически связанных стран. Данный процесс позволяет укрепить свои позиции в глобализирующейся экономике. За последние 25 лет регионализация на постсоветском пространстве обеспечила единство целей и средств поступательного развития стран СНГ (Содружества Независимых государств) на основе торгово-производственных связей и доказывает необходимость дальнейшего развития процесса высокими темпами.

Ключевые слова: регионализм, интеграция, глобализация, Содружество Независимых государств (СНГ), Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС), Таможенный союз (ТС).

Introduction

One of the peculiarities of the world development after the collapse of the bipolar system of international relations is the intensification of the international regional integration processes. The objective basis of regional integration is the historical geographical and social community. Within the framework of this community, the interaction of countries and peoples is developing, technological and economic specialization and cooperation is being formed, national, subregional and regional markets are being formed. At the same time, the objective nature of the community does not preclude the absence of various kinds of contradictions, conflicts and centrifugal tendencies that change the configuration of the region. Some contradictions and centrifugal tendencies are the result of the movement of the regional community as a system, others arise due to the discrepancy of groups of interests of economic and political elites and their actions, as well as the influence of external forces.

In the course of historical development, numerous ways and forms of cooperation of States as agreements, unions and associations of different countries were developed and tested within the framework of various regions, but they were, as a rule, political and military-political according to their nature and objectives.

The most important feature of our time is the growing interdependence of different economies, the development of regional and transregional integration at the macro and micro levels, and the intensive transition from closed national economies to open economies facing the outside world. All this is due to the laws of development of the world economy. But despite the importance and objectivity of economic processes, political cooperation remains the central and most important point of international cooperation. The solution of problems of interaction in economy and other spheres largely depends on its efficiency. The experience of Europe

is particularly illustrative in this regard, where economic cooperation is closely intertwined with political cooperation.

Methodology

The methodological basis of the dissertation research was made by general scientific (analysis and synthesis, description and explanation, dialectical approach) and political science (system, structural-functional and comparative analysis, forecasting) methods.

One of the leading methods of research is the system approach, which allows considering integration processes as an open dynamic system in the aggregate of its most important internal and external relationships, which makes it possible to find ways to optimize this system.

Historical and comparative analysis makes it possible to clarify the nature of the influence of political, economic and social factors on the evolution of the main integration paradigms, especially during the transformation of social systems.

The institutional approach combined with the structural and functional approach made it possible to clarify the role of the main structures and mechanisms in the process of integration transformation.

The method of comparative analysis is used to identify common and special in the process of creating regional integration associations. The forecasting method was adopted in the preparation of proposals to justify the priorities and prospects of Eurasian integration at the present stage.

Research Objectives

The purpose of this research is to give a reasoned assessment of the prospects of Eurasian integration in the post-Soviet space in the context of modern globalization processes. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to solve the following objectives:

- Substantiate the theoretical and methodological basis for the study of the phenomenon of regional integration;
- Identify the factors that ensure the balance of national and supranational interests in the process of integration of States;
- To determine the ratio of general and special in the modern integration associations of the world;
- Assess the nature and direction of the development of the Commonwealth of Independent States;
- Substantiate the legitimacy of the Eurasian economic community's choice as a «solid core» of post-Soviet integration;
- Assess the prospects of the Eurasian Union idea.

Significance of the Study

The relevance of the research is because the collapse of the Soviet Union has radically changed the lives of peoples in the vast geopolitical space of Eurasia. The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has softened, but failed to eliminate, the negative consequences of the «civilized divorce» of the Soviet republics. Moreover, in recent years, the activities of the CIS have increasingly focused on discussion and exchange of views, rather than on practical issues to improve the quality of life and security of the peoples living in the participating countries. As a result, the organization loses support for both political and economic elites and ordinary citizens. This, however, applies to the CIS, and not to the idea of integration in the post-Soviet space as a whole.

The need to intensify integration processes in this region, on the one hand, is determined by a common history, which included not only socio-political and cultural-linguistic unity, but also the presence of a single economic complex, the rupture of inside ties, which led to an economic crisis in all, without exception, the former Soviet republics. On the other hand, an integral characteristic of the current stage of globalization is the creation and strengthening of regional integration associations, which are becoming increasingly active actors in the global political and economic processes.

Under these conditions, the intensification of efforts to give a new impetus to integration in Eurasia seems quite natural. Thus, an objective analysis of the current stage of Eurasian integration, the processes taking place in and around the CIS, a comparison of the positions of the leading actors of the integration process, an assessment of its prospects, based on

the domestic political situation in the participating countries and the overall geopolitical situation in the world, as well as changes in the balance of power in the region and world are relevant (Libman 2007, Baimukhamedova 2017, Dobrota 2017, Molchanov 2005).

Conceptual Framework

On the threshold of the XXI century there so-called «new regionalism» has appeared. The sharp increase in inter-firm and inter-state competition, new spheres of competition and tougher competition in traditional markets necessitates cooperation of both financial and production efforts of geographically connected countries, allows strengthening its positions in the globalizing economy. As a result, there is not just a certain correlation of national and state interests, but their elevation to the level of regional interests. Thus, the processes of globalization in the world economy are accompanied by regionalization, that is economic convergence of countries on a regional basis, taking the form of economic integration.

The founders of economic science (A. Smith 1776, D. Ricardo 1817, K. Marx 1867) and their followers (modern scientists-economists) derived international trade, world economic relations, international economic relations, and at the same time international economic integration from the division of labor in society between countries and peoples. The concentration of labour and other resources in the manufacture of certain products for sale in the foreign market and the importation of necessary goods presuppose a demand-driven specialization of production in the international market. This means combining efforts to meet the needs of individual countries, creating conditions for increasing the number and range of goods and services through their imports, deepening the international division of labour, and the quantitative and qualitative development of global economic relations, which are ensured by the economic interests of their participants.

In the process of regionalization, new flows of goods are created between the member countries of the integration group, which eliminate the production of more expensive similar goods within the country, and then the goods manufactured in the integrating countries gradually replace the imports of the relevant goods from third countries. Thus, the «net result» of new commodity flows within the framework of integration is the growth of production and, consequently, welfare in the

member countries, the level of international specialization increases. All this contributes to the efficiency of production in general and in each country. The creation of an integration system allows the participants to set a common goal and jointly achieve it (growth of production and employment, social stability, etc.). In this case, a clear emphasis is placed on increasing the importance of the state in solving the problems of economic integration, when it creates a common market, optimal measures are taken to ensure the production of goods and services.

The integration process usually begins with liberalization of mutual trade, removal of restrictions in the movement of goods, services, capital and gradually, under appropriate conditions and the interest of partner countries, leads to a common economic, legal, information space within the region. A new quality of international economic relations is being formed. The relevance of the theoretical understanding of the world experience of economic integration is due to the fact that many developing countries have not found the optimal way of development.

CIS is a geopolitical reality that plays an important role in ensuring stability and security in the Eurasian space. By effectively combining efforts and competitive advantages, as well as developing the world experience of integration, the countries of the region are able to achieve the desired results (Fedorov 2015). The most important result of the cooperation of the CIS countries in the field of economic integration is the formation of the Eurasian economic community (EAEC). This is the most successful and really working integration Association in the post-Soviet space: in October 2000 in Astana, the presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan signed an Agreement on the establishment of the Eurasian economic community (Eurasian Union is strategy of the future).

During the 14 years, the EAEC implemented a number of economic policies to unify the community. The Customs Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia was formed on the 1 January 2010, and later renamed the Eurasian Customs Union. The four freedoms (goods, capital, services, and people) were fully implemented by 25 January 2012, with the formation of the Eurasian Economic Space.

On 10 October 2014, an agreement on the termination of the Eurasian Economic Community was signed in Minsk after a session of the Interstate Council of the EAEC. The Eurasian Economic Community was terminated from 1 January 2015 in

connection with the launch of the Eurasian Economic Union 2015). While the Eurasian Economic Union effectively replaces the community, membership negotiations with Tajikistan are still ongoing. All other EAEC members have joined the new union.

The Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), created in 2015 by Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus and Armenia, claims to be the first successful post-Soviet initiative to overcome trade barriers and promote integration in a fragmented, underdeveloped region. Supporters argue that it could be a mechanism for dialogue with the European Union (EU) and other international partners (Moscow/Astana/Bishkek/Dushanbe/Brussels, 2016).

The formation of a Common economic space is an objectively determined process, and the achieved level of social and economic development of each country allows to approach the creation of this Association in terms of equal development of the new economic system.

The Eurasian economic Union is an international organization of regional economic integration with international legal personality and established by the Treaty on the Eurasian economic Union.

The EAEU ensures freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and labor, as well as carrying out a coordinated, coordinated or unified policy in the sectors of the economy.

The member States of the Eurasian economic Union are the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic and the Russian Federation.

The EAEU was created in order to comprehensively modernize, cooperate and improve the competitiveness of national economies and create conditions for stable development in order to improve the living standards of the population of the member states (Baidurin 2015).

During his first official visit to Russia, March 29, 1994, at Moscow state University. President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev for the first time came up with the idea of the formation of the Eurasian Union of States (Baizakova, K.I. & Kemelbayev 2015).

In June 1994, a detailed integration project was sent to the heads of state and then published in the press. For the first time in an official document the new integration Association was called Eurasian Union.

To date, EurAsEC, within the framework of which more than a hundred agreements have been signed, is the most effective interstate entity in the CIS, as can be evidenced by the existence of a free trade zone (more than 80% of foreign trade

operations within the CIS), a minimum number of anti-dumping procedures.

To date, the Eurasian idea of the President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev embodied in three dimensions of integration at the regional level—primarily the economic dimension, then the military-political and humanitarian. It is possible to say with courage that no leader of any state in the world shows such insistence in the development of the idea of integration, and Eurasian integration in particular and features. Consistent development of the Republic's foreign policy and consideration of the challenges facing the country were reflected in the new document «Foreign Policy Concept for 2014-2020 Republic of Kazakhstan» (2014). First of all, it is necessary to name the further aspiration of Kazakhstan to the development of integration processes. Eurasian integration for us is one of the important parts of the overall integration of Kazakhstan into the world economy and global economic relations.

«Considering the Eurasian economic integration as one of the most effective ways of promoting the country in a stable position in the system of world economic relations, Kazakhstan will strengthen the Customs Union and the common economic space...», noted in this concept (Foreign Policy Concept for 2014 – 2020 Republic of Kazakhstan, 2014)

In this process, according to the Concept of Kazakhstan's foreign policy «will be adhered to such basic principles as inviolability of political sovereignty, economic feasibility of decisions, phasing, pragmatism and mutual benefit, equal representation of parties in all integration organs and consensus at all levels of integration interaction» (Foreign Policy Concept for 2014 – 2020 Republic of Kazakhstan).

The First President of RK N. Nazarbayev noted that «Kazakhstan is a unique state in Asia, infused with European and Asian roots. Representatives of different peoples make up a unity in diversity. The combination of different cultures and traditions allows us to absorb the best achievements of European and Asian cultures» (Baizakova & Kemelbayev 2015)

The experience gained by the leading European countries in establishing the European integration system will be very useful in practical application in the future to our region.

Integration is a difficult way to reconcile national ambitions, genuine problems of co-development of economies of different levels, structures, rapprochement of social, legal, etc. historical spaces, requiring high supranational wisdom, understanding that the new stage of world development is based on regionalization.

The European Union is based on the equality of the States parties that have United in it and is a Union of States of a special kind. In its activities, it shall be guided by the principle of observance of certain specific powers conferred upon it by States parties.

In the theory of development, the process of integration is accompanied by a partial transfer of the share of sovereignty to supranational bodies. The rejection of this principle makes integration almost impossible. In the process of establishing the European Union, it was given specific powers by its members.

The basic provisions of the Union are of practical importance for the development of the CIS. The practice of building the European Union has shown those opportunities that can be used in contentious situations. So if national law comes into conflict with EU law, i.e. Treaty of Alliance, the first has no effect. It does not, however, become null and void, nor does it constitute a valid principle according to which the right of the community Annuls national law. Rather, it is the advantage of application: where EU law is contrary in content, national law cannot be applied.

The creation of the European Union, as we see it now, took more than 60 years, so for the Eurasian Union takes time.

It is impossible to omit the fact that the period of the last century is in many ways different from the present time, therefore, we can assume that Eurasian integration will be accelerated than European. But here is a slightly different picture of the region. There are various disagreements between the States of the former Soviet Union, the problem of water resources, energy, the factor of the leaders of the countries and much more. And in this case the Eurasian integration in the form of the Eurasian Union on a voluntary and equal basis will exclude any conflicts and disagreements (Eurasian Union is strategy of the future, 2014).

The solution of common problems in the region depends on the interaction of politicians and their policies: either neighbors will establish relations of cooperation and mutual understanding, or they will face a state of confrontation in the face of increasing pressure from the outside. In this sense, the idea of the Eurasian Union is objectively justified, theoretically possible and in terms of mutual understanding and manifestation of political will is implemented in practice.

The development of integration processes will be facilitated by a coordinated investment policy. It is necessary to create financial and industrial

groups, which can include enterprises and banks of all Central Asian countries.

It is difficult to create a common economic space without a qualitative system of collective security. Cooperation in the field of the economy cannot fully develop without the normal maintenance of military-political security. Consequently, ensuring the security of the state is the main priority for Kazakhstan and other countries in the region.

There are such regional associations in the field of security as the CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization), SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation), but it is still very early to talk about the military and political component of the Eurasian Union. Kazakhstan in the near future can play the role of a buffer and shield to curb negative political trends, as well as claim the role of economic integration center, because of its favorable geopolitical location, ambition and initiative in the field of economy.

Kazakhstan in the center of Eurasia is one of the so-called landlocked countries (closed countries). Access to global markets for both exports and imports is critical to us. We must understand that if we do not have the CES (Common economic space), then there will be problems both in the implementation and in the transit of our goods. At the end of the 1990s, the quota for oil exports through the Russian pipeline system was 3.5 million tons, today we export more than 70 million tons (<http://www.evrazes.com/en/about/>).

The advantages and benefits of Kazakhstan as a part of the EAEU (Eurasian Economic Union) is obvious:

- more simplified option of transit and sale of our main goods (oil, raw materials, grain, etc.) to the main consumers-EU – European Union), Russia, Eastern countries;

- under the terms of creating and doing business, Kazakhstan is more attractive for foreign and Union investors. A number of Russian and Belarusian companies have opened their branches in Kazakhstan. Russian businessmen are interested in Kazakhstan as a consumer of industrial goods (machinery, equipment) and as a major supplier of raw materials.

In macroeconomic terms, the UES benefits large industrial enterprises in the oil and gas, mining, metallurgy, chemical and other strategic sectors of the country, forming the basis of our budget well-being. Russian business needs us as consumers of industrial goods. This is evident from the structure of our trade. Almost 40 percent of Russia's total

machine-building exports (2015) go to Kazakhstan (<http://www.evrazes.com/en/about/>). In the context of increasing competition in the world market, objective mutual integration should be strengthened, especially when the press of economic sanctions by the US and the West presses on the Russian economy.

As world practice shows, even a self-sufficient economy of the US and the EU need to be mutually supporting and expanding their markets. These countries are actively discussing the establishment of a free trade zone in the framework of regular meetings G-20, G-7, as well as closer cooperation at the level of international integration associations NAFTA, MERCOSUR, ASEAN and others. The EU (European Union), despite half a century of operational experience, is still looking for the best solutions and improvements to existing standards, especially in the area of improving the Maastricht agreements (1992) and the creation of a single financial centre (pool) to regulate the economies of EU member States, especially in the context of the global crisis.

Admittedly, the EEU countries separately and together at the technological level and the efficiency of the economy is still not competitive. The purpose of the establishment of the EEU was originally regarding the protection of domestic markets from external competition. The Eurasian integration therefore covers only the issues of economic cooperation between the States. This is an essential principle of integration. In the framework of economic integration do not address the situation beyond these issues, including security, defense, a common Parliament, passport and visa regime and social policy. This is the position of Kazakhstan, which has been repeatedly clearly expressed by the presidents of Kazakhstan at the meetings of the Supreme Council of the EAEU (Eurasian economic Union).

Realizing the benefits of the single market in the common customs territory in the framework of the EAEU cannot happen successfully if not to analyze maturing today, some difficult issues and to seek solutions. It is important how clearly the political dividends of such an Association or the benefits of transportation (transit) of important resources outside and inside the EAEU are combined with the interests of the comprehensive development of the economy of the Republic, the construction of vertically integrated holdings with the receipt of the final product as the basic areas of the national economic system.

Result and Discussion

Thus, the ideas of Eurasianism of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev and their development in modern history are progressive and dynamic. Further prospects for the implementation of this initiative are large-scale and represent one of the priorities of the country's development, moreover, a large part is already embodied in reality. Eurasian integration clearly demonstrates that the formation of similar national models does not abolish the political independence of the States of the region. At the same time, numerous prerequisites are created for the modernized type of their relations, which are based on trust, partnership and the application of the same principles and criteria to both economic and political interaction.

Conclusion/Implication

Regional integration is becoming one of the main trends in the development of the modern world. At the same time, regional forms of unification of countries can be sustainable if they are based both on

the laws of economic and social development of the XXI century and on powerful civilizational factors. For post-Soviet countries, which are Eurasian in their history, this factor is belonging to the Eurasian civilization and the Eurasian space. And it not only unites cultural and historical traditions of the Eurasian countries and peoples, not only means common geographical space, but also determines the possibility of forming a new influential geopolitical center of the modern world of the XXI century. The Eurasian Union from the very beginning of its activity does not create obstacles for a multi-vector, multipolar foreign policy, the entry and inclusion of Kazakhstan in other regional associations corresponding to the priorities and objectives of the state policy of our Republic. The idea of Eurasianism is not identified with any one country, it is aimed at such unity and integrity, which would not suppress and assimilate the uniqueness of the peoples, but, on the contrary, fed on their diversity. After all, the fundamental feature of modern Eurasia is the ethno-cultural wealth and the connection of elements of Turkic, Islamic, Slavic and Western European civilizations in one model.

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