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**THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE CONDITIONS OF
EURASIAN INTEGRATION**

5.5.2. – Political institutions, processes, technologies

Annotation of the dissertation submitted for defense for the degree
of Candidate of Political Sciences

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The topic of this PhD thesis is «Socio-economic foundations of the development of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the conditions of Eurasian integration».

The dissertation explores the historical prerequisites for integration into the Eurasian Economic Union for the possibility of determining its sustainability in the future; according to the already modern volumes of economic interaction, it assesses the economic, socio-demographic and cultural origins of relations between Russia and Kazakhstan, as well as with other EAEU member countries.

The relevance is due to the processes of globalization, the strengthening of States due to regional integration, as well as rapid changes in the global situation and the alignment of international forces. Economic centers will change their location due to military threats and it is possible that the Republic of Kazakhstan will become one of such centers in the near future.

The unification of countries into the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) as a process on the success of which great hopes are pinned, requires a qualitative analytical assessment of the positive and negative factors of the impact of membership in the EAEU on socio-economic development. Every year there is a deepening of the processes of regional economic integration in the post-Soviet space and, in this regard, the theoretical and practical significance of research in this area is growing.

The dissertation research acquires particular importance in the context of a special military operation and globalization, which lead to the convergence and fusion of national economies and allows individual countries to maximize the benefits of integration and thereby ensure their security at all levels. Currently, in an effort to create regional sustainability zones, the EEC member states are at different levels of efficiency in using the above advantages.

Under the influence of Western sanctions, the question arises of coordinating the investment policy of Russia and Kazakhstan and the development of domestic investments, which are undoubtedly the best incentive for creating internal

Eurasian credit and developing the investment potential of all EAEU member states.

Cross-border trade development issues also remain relevant. Interaction between regions not only has significant potential, but also retains completely unused growth points, as evidenced by the annual forums of interregional cooperation.

Of particular relevance is the implementation of the "digital agenda" of the EAEU countries and the formation of a single digital space throughout its territory. In addition, according to experts, there are quite definite prospects for the creation of a single currency market on the basis of the EAEU, the launch of which is scheduled for 2025, and the introduction of a single currency (the so-called "altyn" or "evraz").

In the dissertation research, integration processes in Eurasia on the territory of post-Soviet states were fundamentally studied, both objective and subjective reasons for obstacles to the rapprochement of countries, as well as the reasons for their unification were identified.

The purpose of the work is to study the socio-economic foundations of the development of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of Eurasian integration and to analyze the prospects for strategic partnership within the EAEU in the context of economic benefits for Kazakhstan.

Research objectives:

to give an analysis of the theoretical foundations of Eurasianism;

to reveal new approaches to the ideas of Eurasianism in the works of N.A. Nazarbayev;

to analyze problematic aspects in the possible implementation of the Eurasian concept;

to identify the origins and nature of the socio-economic development of Kazakhstan in the Soviet period,

its achievements and miscalculations;

to identify the causes and problems of industrial and agricultural choice by Kazakhstan in its economic development;

to analyze the ways and forms of integration of Kazakhstan in the socio-economic sphere in the conditions of the EAEU;

to assess the effectiveness of Eurasian integration for the participating countries and prospects for the expansion of the EAEU;

to propose ways of developing strategic partnership in the economic and social spheres.

The object of the research is the ideas of Eurasianism in their evolution and living practice on the example of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The subject of the study is the development of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the social and economic spheres on the basis of Eurasianism and its new ideas in the conditions of Eurasian integration within the EAEU..

Research hypothesis: The Republic of Kazakhstan, being the initiator and active participant in promoting the idea of "Eurasianism" in the post-Soviet space, remains the ideological inspirer, but does not fully use the integration potential of the EAEU in its socio-economic development. Internal and external factors are being investigated.

The scientific novelty of the study is: firstly, that there are no scientific studies devoted to the topic "Socio-economic foundations of the development of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of Eurasian integration"; secondly, no one has analyzed the socio-economic benefits of the country within the EAEU in one large-scale study, there are only small articles and reports on narrow topics; thirdly, the results of the work of the EAEU on economic indicators for 2019-2021 have not yet been studied by scientists, and in our study they are given a full analysis; Fourth, the dissertation includes practical recommendations for improving the effectiveness of Kazakhstan's integration into the Eurasian Union. They may be of interest to other participating countries or observers.

Methodological basis of the research is the philosophical principles of analysis and synthesis, unity of consciousness and activity, theory and practice of

studying the topic of "Eurasianism", which allowed us to consider the subject of research in dynamics, taking into account the complex of factors affecting its formation and development. The thesis used historical and logical methods, as well as methods of comparative and retrospective analysis, which made it possible to link the Soviet period of economic development of Kazakhstan with the modern one. The method of system analysis was actively used in describing the processes of integration into the EAEU and the formation of supranational institutions.

Research methods. Research methods are divided into several groups: analysis, comparison, measurement, abstraction. It is impossible to write a scientific paper without using a combination of these methods. A large volume of literature was analyzed on the topic of the study - both theoretical sources and practical data from monographs (monographic method) and mass media (Internet). Content analysis of sources is the most popular method of research in modern conditions of Internet libraries. The method of abstraction helped to isolate from the huge array of information about the activities of the EAEU its special parts concerning the subjects of research.

The theoretical basis of the study was the works of Russian and Kazakh scientists who studied the idea of Eurasianism in retrospect and perspective. One chapter of this work is devoted to the Soviet period, so the works of Soviet authors were of particular value for research, but their analysis was complicated by the strong propaganda component of the works of scientists of that time.

For the objectivity of the scientific research, foreign sources were also analyzed on the topic of the dissertation, and in general on the functioning of the EAEU and interaction with the global space.

A lot of information was contained in the materials of international conferences, round tables and meetings of the EAC.

The **empirical basis** of the study was the data of statistical collections, the content of existing treaties, agreements, conventions concluded within the framework of the EAEU. The data of population censuses, sociological surveys and archival materials on the research issues were also used.

Base of research sources: treaties, agreements and other documents that consolidate: strategic directions of cooperation between Kazakhstan and other countries (the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, the Consular Convention between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Declaration of Eternal Friendship and Alliance Oriented in the XXI Century, etc.); regulating defense and security, trade, economic and financial relations, social and humanitarian relations. The provisions and conclusions contained in the reports and speeches of the leaders of the post-Soviet countries on the problems of integration interaction, materials of scientific and practical conferences, dissertation research, monographs and articles, other documents and materials, including statistics, devoted to the problem of research were important.

The main scientific results obtained by the author and their novelty.

1. The conclusion is made about the high level of development of social ties between the EAEU countries and the real possibilities of their further development at the level of regions and border territories. It is determined that an important condition for integration is a high level of education of the population of all EAC member countries. To a certain extent, Eurasian security is a code of the multilateral dimension of cooperation.

2. The analysis of the Soviet period of development allowed us to conclude about the very contradictory nature of its consequences for Kazakhstan and other Union republics. On the one hand, the policy of the Soviet government led to serious negative changes in the fate of the Kazakh people: a decrease in the number of indigenous people; the breakdown of the socio-cultural foundations of traditional Kazakh society, imbalances in the social structure and development of certain sectors of the national economy of the republic. On the other hand, it should be recognized that during the Soviet period Kazakhstan made a leap in economic development: it turned from a territory with rare industrial centers and cultural centers into an industrial-agrarian republic with a developed industry. In addition, it is necessary to note the increase in the standard of living of the population of the republic, the increase in the quality and accessibility of

healthcare in a short time period, and the achievement of a high level of education of the population.

3. In the modern world, every State contributes to the international economy. The level of Eurasian integration, as the most obvious market for goods and services for the participating countries, should also be in the nature of demand, competitiveness and even uniqueness. The primary task for Kazakhstan is to determine its list of goods and services according to the specified criteria. The raw materials orientation of Kazakhstan's economy will remain for the international community for many years, but for the Eurasian Union it is necessary to form a self-sufficient market, using the maximum potential of each of the countries and a market that provides the world with a unique and in-demand product range.

4. The huge territorial and economic potential of Kazakhstan, low real estate prices, a climate that allows you to organize an uninterrupted business in various fields, a large resource of labor with education and readiness for professional reorientation, an accessible Internet with many active users, and many other factors allow us to talk about considering the country not only in the agricultural and raw materials spectrum. Here you can expand your "Silicon Valley", get licenses for many world brands, open institutes of digital technologies, molecular medicine and other areas. The Expo-2017 exhibition, which was held in the capital of Kazakhstan, demonstrated the possibilities of moving computer and innovative technologies to this territory.

5. It is established that, despite different assessments of the integration process, numerous socio-economic problems have been solved over the years of operation of the NPP and the unification is progressing.

6. The study of the socio-economic sphere of integration in modern conditions, the role of Kazakhstan in these processes, the analysis and synthesis of the entire integration process, the generalization in one work of all the ideas of the evolution of Eurasianism can pave the way for the development of new paradigms of integration and a new strategy, tactically important stages. Given the unprecedented pressure of Western countries on Russia in the form of economic

sanctions, the strengthening of integration processes can strengthen the heartland and turn it into a powerful, long-standing leadership formation.

Theoretical and practical significance of the study

The conducted research, its conclusions and recommendations, analytical calculations, can be used in the practical work of supranational bodies of the EAEU, for decision-making by participating countries and strengthening their positions in integration processes, as well as for developing a strategy for further socio-economic development of Kazakhstan and interested countries. Interest in the work is also possible for those scientists who develop the idea of the "Great Silk Road", explore past experience of interaction and build economic cooperation today.

This dissertation work is of interest to researchers of the Eurasian theory, its transformation and futuristic analytical views. Cooperation within the framework of the EAEU is a complex process, and the dissertation provides the latest data, accumulates all the material that allows you to see the dynamics and prospects for further integration.

The results of the study were tested by the author in scientific journals in the form of articles and as presentations at conferences.

The structure of the scientific qualification work (dissertation).

The scientific qualification work consists of an introduction, three chapters consisting of nine paragraphs, a conclusion, a list of used sources and literature, and appendices.

First chapter «Ideological and economic foundations of Eurasianism» examines theoretical approaches to understanding Eurasianism, explores the works of N. A. Nazarbayev and his view on the path to the integration of Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet space; analyzes problematic aspects of the implementation of the Eurasian concept: "for" and "against" the idea of Eurasianism, namely continental and post-Soviet.

The Eurasian Economic Union is a modern form of expression of the ideas of the Eurasians of the twentieth century, such as N.Trubetskoy, K.Leontiev,

N.Danilevsky, N.Gumilev, etc. All these thinkers saw in the integration of Russia with the countries of Central Asia a sacred meaning and the future of these states only in the interpenetration of cultures, traditions, and the mixing of ethnic groups.

And although they had some scientific disputes about what is primarily "personality" or "ethnicity", but they were united by the idea of the unfair historical superiority of Europe on the continent of Eurasia. There was even an opinion that there was a European conspiracy to suppress all opportunities for Russian power and elevation. The dream of Eurasiacentrism as opposed to Eurocentrism inspired thinkers to develop theories of integration. In the 30s of the twentieth century, magazines and works on this topic were published. The Eurasians proposed a strategy for a new future of Russia for the Soviet government.

And during the Soviet era, the ideas of Eurasianism were unintentionally put into practice, when all the states of Central Asia, Ukraine, Belarus and other union republics concentrated around Moscow and received legal registration. Of course, the motives of integration were different, but in fact it was an education in the spirit of the ideas of classical "Eurasianism", formulated by P. Savitsky, N. Trubetskoy and others. These thinkers wrote about the decisive role of Russia and its creative role on the Eurasian continent, its integrating power, its potential and the importance of unification as a condition for "survival", a condition for development and entry into the world arena as a powerful state.

In fact, the Soviet leadership took advantage of the already historically established state education and divided the territory of the Russian Empire into republics for the convenience of governance and self-determination of various ethnic groups. "Divide and rule" is a formula of public administration, known since ancient times. It was effective for the ideas of communism and Sovietism, collectivization and socialism, but it was ambiguous for the processes of further integration.

On the one hand, the Soviet period geographically formalized all ethnic groups, revived their culture and customs, gave education and national identity. The policy of resettlement has intensified the processes of assimilation and mixed

people according to family and kinship relationships. But on the other hand, he showed the depth of differences, cultivated hatred for Moscow and its leaders, blamed the entire responsibility for failures in politics and economics on the Russian ethnic group, etc. Therefore, after the collapse of the USSR, it was easy for American propagandists to strengthen the negative confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, Georgia and Russia, the Baltic Republics. There was no longer any talk about integration with Russia, it became fashionable for post-Soviet countries to emphasize their independence and independence from Moscow.

But the statehood created in the Soviet period, the dependence of the economies of the Soviet countries, one school of leadership and education, mixed families and security issues forced to reconsider the "fashion trends" on the "survival issues" of the former USSR countries.

Therefore, the ideas of Eurasianism became relevant again, we can say "forced" after the collapse of the USSR, and such a far-sighted politician as N. A. Nazarbayev saw this and began work in this direction.

Chapter two «Transformation of the socio-economic foundations of the development of the Republic of Kazakhstan» examines the origins and nature of the socio-economic development of Kazakhstan in the Soviet period: achievements and miscalculations, the formation of the ethno-social structure of Kazakhstan in the conditions of the Soviet Union and modernization in the industrial and agrarian sphere, the transition to the post-Soviet period of socio-economic integration.

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was formed as an international organization designed to regulate the relations of cooperation between post-Soviet countries and to which analysts predicted a short life. But the CIS still exists and other organizations specializing in different areas have grown up around this organization (SHOS, ODKB, EAC, EurAsEC, SVMMDA and others).

In 1994, in Moscow, the President of Kazakhstan, N.A. Nazarbayev, made a proposal to create a completely new association from the member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and call it the Eurasian Union (EAC). The EAC should be built, Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed the opinion, on completely

different principles from the CIS. They are based on the formation of supranational bodies to coordinate economic, defense and foreign policy. The Council of Heads of State and Government of the EAC should be established to discuss strategic issues. The next step is direct elections to the general parliament to coordinate the legislative activities of the countries that are members of the Eurasian Union. The creation of a real military complex requires the establishment of the Council of Defense Ministers, and the coordination of actions on the world stage requires the Council of Foreign Ministers. It is also necessary to create a permanent interstate executive secretariat of the EAC, whose composition would be appointed by the heads of State and would be formed from representatives of all countries of the Union. This executive committee should receive observer status in the UN and the CSCE.

According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, the creation of the EAC implies the introduction of a common document or citizenship for all countries of the Union, the mandatory development of coordinated economic reform programs, the adoption of a supranational currency.

Thus, the ideas of "Eurasianism" were picked up by the country that most wanted to ensure its security. By that time, Kazakhstan had already abandoned the nuclear legacy and was between two giants: Russia and China. And the historically established diplomatic policy of the Kazakh Khanate (Ablaikhan) taught to be friends with neighbors. And the proposal of integration within Eurasia, precisely in line with the Eurasian idea, satisfies the interests of the same territories that received self-determination at the beginning of Soviet power.

The only difference between the ideas of N.A.Nazarbayev and the classical ideas of Eurasianism is that the latter tried to resist Europe through the plan of the rise of Russia, while today this idea of social, cultural and economic development and there is no need to prove anything to Europe or anyone else. The EAEU today is an absolutely self-sufficient organization, in which there are many organizational issues and mechanisms for their solution are being thought out for the sake of deepening integration in the Eurasian space.

It is possible to make a forecast and propose three scenarios for the development of Eurasian integration:

The first scenario assumes that the member states of the EEC will maintain the status quo and further integration will remain at the same level: signing agreements, resolutions, holding meetings and maintaining an independent existence, protecting the borders of independence. Such a "post-Soviet performance" to ensure their own safety.

The second option for the development of Eurasian integration involves moving along the planned path of the EAEU and transferring part of its sovereign powers to supranational bodies. But the level of qualification of specialists from each participating country is not the same and the effectiveness of interaction for each country will also not be the same. What can carry negative and conflicting moments, for the elimination of which a single training center is needed.

The third option is that the EAEU member states will reach the level of a new supranational structure and the confederation will receive worldwide recognition, create strong supranational bodies and raise all countries to a high level of development. This is possible if countries recognize their strengths and weaknesses and, taking this into account, build the management of the EAEC.

And the fourth option is when external interference and/or internal unwillingness of the government will lead to disunity and the spread of anti-Russian sentiments, nationalism, separatist sentiments (Kazakhstan) and in connection with these factors separately or collectively stop the integration processes.

Chapter Three «Eurasian integration and its impact on the socio-economic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan» examines the political and legal foundations for the implementation of the interstate integration processes of the EurAsEC and the EAEU, as well as the socio-economic effectiveness of Eurasian integration; forms of development of strategic partnership in the economic and socio-cultural spheres; analyzes the socio-economic benefits for the participating countries and mainly for the Republic of Kazakhstan.

This chapter explores practical methods of removing obstacles to integration between the participating countries and analyzes the work of already functioning supranational bodies for 2019-2021.

And, of course, scientific work offers practical proposals to improve the efficiency of socio-economic cooperation of Kazakhstan within the framework of the EAEU.

Proposal 1. Dual citizenship within the EAEU, or a single one.

Proposal 2. Formation of the identity of the "Eurasian".

Proposal 3. State support for the process of interaction of EAEU scientists: dialogue of the peoples of the EAC member countries.

Proposal 4. Active propaganda of the common history: achievements of the Soviet period and AT ALL.

Proposal 5. Activation of the activities of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan within the framework of the Confederate Union of the EAC.

The EAEU has a very important feature that none of the integration associations in the world has – a common history and long-term joint management experience. This applies, in particular, to the unified industrial, transport and energy complex, which since the 1990s have been the driving factors of constructive dialogue between the new States, reconciliation and the transition to friendly relations between them, especially in the field of economic cooperation. The participating States have no problems with language barriers, a common history and knowledge of different cultures unites and positively contributes to integration.

The participants of the EEC, despite their common historical past, have differences in the principles of economic organization and the level of economic potential, so it is quite natural that the main effects of the interaction of the Union countries will manifest themselves in the long term. The economic benefits that the creation of the EAEU brought to the participants are short-term and haphazard.

Integration should proceed consistently, and with an assessment of the effectiveness of each step, because this association has neither the time to make

mistakes, nor the opportunity to make mistakes, because the close attention of world analysts is waiting for a reason for criticism, in order to distance other post-Soviet countries from the association. In addition to the will and consent of the national elites, the development of the EAEU requires the participation of specialists in integration issues: political scientists, cultural scientists, sociologists, religious scholars and, of course, strong economists.

At the present stage of the development of the world economy, the creation of conditions for the accelerated development of innovative breakthrough industries of the EAEU is a condition for the transition from the catch-up model to the model of innovative economic development. The digitalization of the economic sphere of the NPP is in full swing and by 2022 it is planned to form an institute of digital economy and digital assets, as well as develop digital ecosystems, and by 2025 to reach the global level.

The idea of «Eurasianism» is the idea of promising development and strengthening the positions of the post-Soviet countries. The Eurasian Union can reach the level of a superpower setting the tone for world politics and international relations if this goal determines the actions of the EAEU member states.

In fact, the role of the EAEU is to create an economic support for a more global project of interaction between the countries of the post-Soviet space in order to increase the efficiency of economic relations, increase the level of socio-economic development, and ensure the security of integration participants.

The EAEU member states, thanks to their historical past of the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods, already have the ideas of Eurasianism in their ethnogenesis. Therefore, nationalist movements in these countries are insignificant and are not supported by the masses. Basically, the disunity on national grounds is connected with the influence of the technologies of the "color revolutions" and with the marginalization of the population at the present time. Accordingly, if the cultural and educational level of the population of the participating countries is maintained, the integration processes will go faster.

Integration brings many positive results for Kazakhstan: growth of gross domestic product, improvement of economic indicators, inflow of investments, transfer of enterprises to the territory of the country and growth of tax revenues.

Within the framework of integration cooperation, two spaces are being united – European (Russia, Belarus) and Asian (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Armenia). Due to the positive results, the integration process has many supporters in Kazakhstan. It should be mentioned that there are a large number of mixed families and cultures, which is reflected in public life and is its unique feature of development, the legacy of Soviet history. This part of Eurasia, as an arena for the movement of civilizations, has naturally become a place of interaction, compromise and the search for ways of co-existence at every historical stage, one can even say "survival".

International economic integration is the highest form of internationalization, within the framework of which the interdependence of countries is increasing, which gradually leads to the interpenetration of national markets: capital, services, labor and goods, a single market space is being formed on the basis of a unified legal framework, coordination of internal and external economic policies of the participating countries is being implemented.

The global processes of increasing complexity: military threats, increasing competition and globalization pose challenges for the EAEU to move with triple force in order to develop rapidly. Strained relations with the United States and a number of European countries require the search for reliable allies. In this vector, awareness of the synergetic effect of the interaction of the participating countries becomes the key to predictability in relations, commitment to the common course of foreign policy. The CSTO embodies partnership in the military-political sphere, and the EAEU in the economic sphere. These associations create conditions for development, security and stability in the global space.

Kazakhstan, as the center of Eurasia, free from sanctions, possessing territorial, investment, and resource potential, is now actually becoming the center of socio-economic interaction between the EAEU countries, a platform for

dialogues at various levels and a support for the further development of Eurasian integration.

The ideas of "Eurasianism" were developed in the history of the twentieth century and have reached our days in the 21st century in their new relevant version, but essentially unchanged in their problems. Eurasian integration is necessary for security, for development, for the economic self-sufficiency of the country.